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ARTICLES AND TREATISES

CLONING: THE RIGHT TO THE ‘ONSET OF EXISTENCE’

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SUMMARY: Evolution established relationships between the living and the non-living counterparts as well as systems through which the organisms flourished on earth. Asexual reproduction, a naturally developed cloning process, establishes species in a continuously changing environment, while sexual reproduction renders diversity as a characteristic to organisms. All organisms acquire a defining moment at which they come in life called the ‘onset of existence’. Moral dilemmas rose to humans as a result of their social, scientific and technological development. Among such dilemmas, the issues of identity and ‘onset of existence’ characterize human’s personality. Animal cloning contributed to further discuss moral dilemmas. Considering that cloning may be applied to humans, the issue of the right to the ‘onset of existence’ is discussed. Humans that will occur by implementing cloning processes will certainly be deprived of this naturally emerging right. A new right, a ‘post-onset of existence’ requires to be defined.

KEYWORDS: Onset of existence, cloning, autaxia, personality, ethical dilemmas

INTRODUCTION

Evolution determined relationships among the various organisms that are not independent of the non-biotic conditions of a particular area. Tansley¹ [1935:

¹ Tansley [1935] quotes: “The more fundamental conception is, as it seems to me, the whole system. (in the sense of physics), including not only the organism-complex, but also the whole complex of physical factors forming what we call the environment of the biome – the habitat factors in the widest sense. Though the organisms may claim our primary interest, when we are

299] reported that the biotic and non-biotic constituents of a certain area seen holistically ‘form one physical system’. This defines the so-called ecosystem. All organisms and each one individually, in the ecosystems, acquire an inherent value [Skolimowski 1981; Tsekos and Matthopoulos 2014: 1] that defines their precise place and the relationships to develop towards all other neighbouring organisms. This inherent value could precisely be defined with the Greek term ‘autaxia’² [Tsekos and Matthopoulos 2014: 1] that was initially introduced by Despotopoulos [1945]. An ecosystem is a well-defined system of relationships that over time has to be kept steady, for the living organisms to survive and flourish. However, it is continuously reshaping by natural forces driving its living organisms to evolve. Thus, the dynamic equilibrium established at any time is crucial for evolution. Deranging this dynamic equilibrium renders the ecosystem’s biotic constituent vulnerable to extinction. Forces capable of such derangements are either natural ones or may have a human aetiology. A typical human-driven ecosystem’s reshaping was observed during the 18th and 19th centuries in Britain. This reshaping triggered the so-called industrial melanism to the peppered moth *Biston betularia*. As a result, the typical moth of the area of Manchester, *Biston betularia*, was replaced by its variety *Biston carbonaria* that was better adapted to the darker tree barks resulted from burning coal due to industrial development [Neal 2019: 228-230]. Consequently, an ecosystem is continuously reshaping, establishing a dynamic equilibrium. Deranging the established equilibrium may be crucial for the survival of the ecosystem’s biotic constituent.

In ecosystems, there are two groups of organisms, the prokaryotes, containing bacteria and archaea, and the eukaryotes. Their main differences are the organization of their genetic material and their compartmentalization. Prokaryotes have their DNA free in the cytoplasm; while eukaryotes have theirs organized in the nucleus. Prokaryotes are not characterized by internal compartmentalization, while the cytoplasm of eukaryotes contains membrane-enclosed compartments performing various chemical reactions [Purves et al. 1998: 66-69]. Prokaryotes and eukaryotes are indispensable to the proper development and evolution of ecosystems. All prokaryotes are unicellular organisms, while eukaryotes are unicellular and multi-cellular ones.

To survive the biotic constituent, it is necessary to replace the organisms that for some reason, natural or accidental, die; failing to renew the ones that die results in weathering the established equilibrium. Unicellular organisms are renewed by increasing in size and doubling their genetic material followed by binary fission (asexual reproduction), resulting in two new identical organisms [Simpson 1902: 400; Jennings 1908: 415-455]. At that precise moment, the original organism ceases to exist and, in its place, two new organisms derive from the original one. It could be alleged that this binary fission (asexual – vegetative reproduction) is a ‘cloning’ process that nature applies [Moore et al. 1998: 638] and

trying to think fundamentally we cannot separate them from their special environment, with which they form one physical system”.

² Originally the concept ‘autaxia’ was introduced by Despotopoulos [1945] in his essay “Anthropos and Politeia”. He quotes “each individual is an ‘autaxia’, a self-valourising entity”,

for which no ethical dilemmas are raised. It is worth noting that in unicellular eukaryotes' evolution facultative sex, the alternating asexual and sexual cycles, was the first to evolve [Dacks and Roger 1999: 779]. In the meantime, Good-enough and Heitman [2014: 1] and Speijer [2016: 1, 8] reviewed the evolution of the processes multi-cellular organisms follow to renew themselves. The end-point of these processes is the emergence of a new member of each species. The characteristic of these processes in developmentally higher organisms is that, with the birth of the offspring, its ancestors coexist with it; however, it is well documented that there are deviations, such as the sexual cannibalism in various organisms [Schneider 2014: 1-12].

THE 'ONSET OF EXISTENCE'

The process of propagating the species defines a special characteristic for every individual organism that is the specific moment when it comes in nature. This time point could be named the 'onset of existence'. The 'onset of existence' depends on the evolutionary state of each organism. Considering a prokaryote, this particular moment is defined as the time that the initial cell/organism is divided into two new organisms, cellular fission. A similar process is followed by several evolutionary lower eukaryotes, while higher eukaryotes have adopted a more complex mechanism. Arguments may raise on the issue that fission products are continuations of the organism they derived from. To some extent such an argument stands and is based on the fact that cellular fission is a cloning process. The pre-existing organism transfers its genetic information on its descendants. However, attention has to be led to the fact that mutations constantly occur on the genetic material rendering the descendants slightly altered than their progenitors [McArthur et al. 2013: 3356; Blair et al. 2015: 45-46]. Taking this into consideration then one should allege that the personal identity of progenitors and descendants differs.

It is important to note that, regardless if a eukaryote is of the plant or animal kingdom, the fundamental renewing process is more or less similar. The process requires the existence of a female and a male gamete to fuse for a new member of a particular organism to develop (sexual reproduction). During evolution, nature tested and adopted deviations from this process that helped to establish the various species under noxious environmental conditions. Such deviations are characteristic in plants and lower multi-cellular eukaryotes. Plants are easily multiplied by offshoots, layers (stolons) or grafts, processes that comprise the vegetative reproduction [Moore et al. 1998: 312]. Animals that are lower in the scale of evolution can easily be multiplied asexually, either by budding or fragmentation³ [Storer et al. 1979], whereas vertebrates naturally can be multiplied only by sexual reproduction. At this point, two issues require particular attention, 'parthenogenesis' in animals and 'apomixis' in plants. Apomixis, being a life-cycle renewal through gamete-like cells but

³ Budding is the asexual reproduction in coelenterate and fragmentation in acoelomates [Storer et al. 1979].

without sex [Albertini et al. 2019: 2951] and as a process being far older than sex reaching back possibly 3.95 gigayears ago [Tashiro et al. 2017: 516], offers plants an enhanced ability to adapt to and survive in difficult environments [Fei et al. 2019: 1724]. In the meantime parthenogenesis, introduced by Owen [1849: 14] as ‘procreation by an animal without sexual concourse’, is distinct from asexual reproduction since it involves the production of egg cells, whereas in asexual reproduction new individuals are formed from somatic cells of the parent [Mittwoch 1978].

Processes such as shooting, layering, grafting, budding or fragmentation resemble, to some extent, to ‘cloning’ processes. The characteristic of the cloning processes is that cloning establishes species in a continuously changing environment. On the contrary, sexual reproduction results in variety and diversity [Solomon et al. 1996: 5], characteristics helping organisms to overcome noxious environmental conditions, in addition to contributing to their evolutionary processes.

The majority of animals are reproduced by the fusion of two sexually opposed gametes, the ovum and the sperm. The result of their fusion is the development of the zygote that gradually will become the offspring of its parents. This offspring obtains a defining moment, its ‘onset of existence’, that comes in life. Although this point is chronologically well defined, it is seen differently by different religious groups, cultures and moral philosophies [Beller and Zlatnik 1995: 477]. Several define this point at the moment of birth, while others at the moment of the fusion of the nucleus of sperm with the female nucleus in the fertilized ovum. It is of importance to conceive that if one wants to deal with the issue of the ‘onset of existence’ he has to consider not only a human being but all organisms, present living on earth and those extinct from the beginning of life up to the present era, as well as the ones to evolve in the future. In the meantime, the issue of the ‘onset of existence’ is not only a biological one but a philosophical one as well. We should simultaneously address it on both its considerations, the biological and the philosophical one and not only on its biological one as it was addressed on the debate in the US Senate, in the early ’80s, when it was pointed out that ‘present-day scientific evidence indicates a significant likelihood that actual human life exists from conception’⁴ [Condic 2008: 7]. However, according to Jewish religious law, there is a distinction between Talmudic and rabbinic considerations. While the Talmud gives the full status of humanness to a child at birth, the rabbinical writings have partially extended the acquisition of humanness to the 13th postnatal day of life for full-term infants [Schenker 2008: 271, 273]. It is meaningless to confine

⁴ Analysis of the introduced bill in the US Senate on the ‘onset of human life’ was presented by Walter Sullivan on May 4, 1981, in *The New York Times*. In the same text it is reported that “The definition of when a developing embryo becomes ‘a person’ must remain a matter of moral or religious values”. Additionally, Randy Alcorn [<http://www.naacpc.org/why-life-begins-at-conception/>] reported that several scientists testified on the onset of human existence. Prof. J. Le Jeune stated “Each individual has a very neat beginning, at conception”, while Prof. A. M. Bongioanni stated “I have learned from my earliest medical education that human life begins at the time of conception” and Prof. H. Gordon stated “By all the criteria of modern molecular biology, life is present from the moment of conception.”

the issue of the ‘onset of existence’ only to humanity. It is not just a medical issue but rather a philosophical one that requires deeper consideration.

There is a well-defined difference between the moment of gamete’s nuclei fusion, for the development of the zygote and the moment of animal’s birth. At the moment of gamete’s nuclei fusion, the organism consists of only one cell, the zygote, the initial one bearing all the genetic information of the organism to develop, while at the moment of birth the organism is a well-organized multicellular entity. Between these two particularly important moments there is a chronological period that depends on the organism to be born. Nature has taken care so that, depending on the evolutionary status of the new organism, to be able to survive independently at the moment of birth. There are organisms able to independently survive immediately after their birth, such as the lower classes of higher eukaryotes, and organisms that require time, dependent on an organism’s evolutionary state, under the supervision of their parents to become skilful to independently survive. Examples in the first case are insects, fishes and amphibians, while in the second case birds and mammals. During this chronological period developmental processes, embryonic development – embryonic and foetal life, are going on to properly develop the organism. Embryonic and foetal life is a continuum but there are points and processes within the continuum – the birth of the new-born, viability, neuromaturation, implantation and conception – that may be considered as the beginning of human life. For each of these points, there are ethical, medical, and legal implications and considerations [Beller and Zlatnik 1995: 477]. Following the developmental process of the various vertebrates, in their initial steps, it is hard to distinguish the animal to which they belong. However, at later embryonic stages, the various vertebrates are more similar to the animals they derived from [Storer et al. 1979]. In the meantime, it is important to consider an organism’s evolutionary status trying to study the issue of the ‘onset of existence’. Almost all higher animals start their lives from a single cell, the fertilized ovum (zygote). The time of fertilization represents the starting point in the life history, or ontogeny, of the individual [Carlson 1996: 3]. Concentrating our discussion on human beings we should bear in mind that life is a continuum that begins in the moment of fertilization, with the zygote ‘that houses all the necessary instructions for building a human body’ [Lodish et al. 2008: 12]. There is only a single definition of the term ‘zygote’ and that is a one-cell organism that forms immediately upon sperm-egg fusion. Therefore, the life of a new being, and as a consequence of a new human being, commences at a scientifically well-defined event; the fusion of the plasma membranes of sperm and egg [Condic 2013: 44]. Fertilization is a critical landmark because, under ordinary circumstances, a new, genetically distinct human organism is thereby formed. The combination of 23 chromosomes present in each gamete’s nucleus results in 46 chromosomes in the human’s zygote. Thus the diploid number is restored and the embryonic genome is formed, thus the embryo now exists as a genetic unity [O’Rahilly and Müller 1996: 33]. The fertilized human ovum, from conception to birth and from babyhood to adulthood and old age, moves along various developmental stages of human life; “we all were a fertilized ovum that required food

and time for the next stages of our lifetime” was stated by Willke [1979; 1984] and Willke and Willke [2000]. In the meantime, Lejeune [1981: 101] stated “Each individual has a very neat beginning, at conception”. This very moment defines what we should assign as the ‘onset of existence’. Thus, it is hard not to accept that life exists from conception rendering the concepts of personality and identity of the organism as the most crucial ones.

The concepts of personality and identity have also to be dealt when referred to cloning and particular on human cloning. Does the human clone consist, in a part, of the personality of the person we selected to clone? Is it a different personality or does it attain its own one? To address properly this question one should consider the factors influencing the development of human personality. Our genetic hypostasis, influenced by the natural and social environment into which we grow up, defines our final outcome. Incoming stimuli during our babyhood and childhood, in conjunction with our education, define to a certain degree our personality. Taking into consideration that a human clone will grow up in a different social environment from the one that the donor grew up, it is rather logical to think that the clone will rather develop, to a certain degree, to a different personality.

At this point, a particular issue regarding the clone’s personality emerges. The donor derived from the fusion of two opposite sex gametes. He has an already developed personality. His genetic material has been influenced for a long time by environmental effectors, such as natural radiation and chemicals, and as a result, several at least, point mutations may have been incorporated in almost all of his cells [Eyre-Walker and Keightley 200: 6147; Haag-Liautard et al. 2007: 82; Loewe 2008: 113]. Considering that we select a particular cell, taking for granted that we are unaware of the possible DNA alterations that may have occurred in addition to epigenetic alterations that will have left their traits, we should be certain that the resulting clone will develop to a different personality. The developing clone will grow in a different socio-political environment from the one that the donor grew up. Regardless of these biological facts and under the influence of various social and political groups, the European Parliament [1998] decided against human cloning, inviting the United Nations to take action to globally forbid human cloning. The decision taken was based on the fact that everyone has the right to his own genetic identity. By cloning humans, the persons to grow up will lose their right to their genetic identity and, thus, the cloning process downgrades this right [Ahlberg and Brighthouse 2010: 540-541]. However, Evers [1999: 75] reported that Wertz [1997] noted that the argument that cloning robs people of their individuality does not hold, on the basis that the cloned human would be raised in a different historical period. It is worth mentioning that the clone possessing to some extent a mutated genetic identity of the donor, due to point mutations that emerged on the selected cell to be cloned, will attain its own personality. In the meantime, Brock [2002: 314] commented that the human clone and his donor will be two different beings and not one, on the basis that identical twins, who begin life nearly simultaneously, with the same genetic inheritance, are distinct individuals, according to the science of human development, that pos-

sessing identical genomes will not lead to qualitatively identical individuals. This is true based on the fact that epigenetic processes contribute to the development of one's individuality and personality. Thus the issue of identity is related to somatic and biological criteria (DNA, body and mind).

CLONING

Contemporary bioethics, under the influence of technological and genetic innovation, faces dilemmas, difficult to be resolved by philosophical reasoning. Solutions dependent upon specific issues are not the desired moral answers. A dialogue between bioethics and genetic engineering is under dispute according to Habermas and Sandel. Habermas [2003: 16-23] condemns, in general, predominantly eugenic methods, while Sandel [2009: 5-6] remains sceptical of modern genetic methods, in particular to the ones that focus on interventions and amendments to organisms and the introduction of genetically modified organisms in ecosystems that may endanger public health. These modern methods were developed to help us in elucidating the control of mechanisms involved in life and thus to tackle many issues related to organisms' health. However, one of the main goals of molecular biological methods is driven by anthropocentrism. Thus, instead of being interested in dealing with the improvement of all organisms' health and, as a consequence, taking care of the established natural equilibrium through evolution, scientists and mainly heads of states, are interested only in human wellbeing.

Nature developed, through evolution, equilibriums between the living and the non-living environmental counterparts that comprise the ecosystems. Changes in the established equilibriums endanger the health of the organisms that live in them. However, nature in its evolutionary process compensates these changes by establishing new equilibriums. Evolutionary processes are time-course changes. Human technological interventions, in the living environmental counterpart, bypass evolutionary processes and thus may comprise a threat to ecosystems' health and consequently to human health. We all should keep in mind the fact that we, humans, belong to the living counterpart of the natural environment. Our scientific achievements should focus on the wellbeing of our environment and not only on our own health.

In this scientific revolution and progress, the boundaries between ethics and scientific consciousness are in perpetual questioning, not susceptible to practical moral norms that can give solutions to modern society's deadlocks. Thus queries should continuously be set forth, so that bioethics should have the flexibility to mediate between science and policy.

Contemporary technological developments in molecular biology as well as genetic engineering interventions brought into attention new philosophical and moral issues. The issue of 'cloning' during the last three decades became the main issue of interest among moral philosophers and biologists. If science accomplishes it on humans, moral philosophers repeatedly suggested that it will be far from the context of deontology, may escape moral control and can be used for the exploitation of man by man [PCBE 2002; Pynes 2003; Sandel 2005:

241-242; Strong 2005: 48; Cottrell et al. 2014: 13-14; Ştefan 2015: 1]. Unraveling the human genome and detecting peculiarities and imperfections in conjunction with ‘human cloning’ may lead to a new eugenics. As a consequence, employees may be genetically preselected and those with unwanted characteristics may be rejected to start-up genetic ghettos. Too many legal issues are raised. Respecting protocols and deontology codes will enable us to overcome scientific oversights that might prove fatal. The progress made through empirical efforts and scientific methodologies has biological, moral and legal side effects, particularly when, in purpose, one tries to falsify the possible side effects on the axiological scale that is on universal generalizations about how things happen [Searle 1985]. According to Searle [1985], it is tempting to think that just as we have discovered that large portions of common sense do not adequately represent how the world works, so we might discover that our conception of ourselves and our behaviour is entirely false.

The mechanism of natural selection is based on the success of reproduction. Which is the role of reproduction and in consequence the one of identification regarding the right to ‘existence from the beginning’? Nature, during its course, gave rise to the so-called natural environment into which mechanisms developed that resulted in the emergence of life. Living systems, organisms, started to propagate, under the influence of simple reproductive mechanisms that by the time became more complex, were granted the ability to evolve into new ones. Thus at any time, there was a moment that each organism emerged in the natural environment. Hence we could allege that was granted a defined beginning time. However, each member of each organism as a result of the propagation of its precedent one acquires immediately, upon its presence in the environment, its right to ‘existence from the beginning’

During evolution, the original reproductive mechanisms evolved into more complex ones, from the simple cellular division to the more advanced fertilization process, i.e. the gamete fusion. Thus, in gamete fusion, does reproduction, related to the process of fertilization and the development of a new being, evaluate equally compared to the identification processes of human cloning, where the genetic material of a new cell is similar to the one from which it derived, concerning the ‘existence from the beginning’? Does life begin with the development of the zygote that derived from the fertilization of the mother’s oocyte by the father’s sperm? Does the multiplication of the initial zygote and the embryonic development mark the onset of the right to the ‘existence from the beginning’? We all were a fertilized ovum that required food and time for the next stages of human life stated Willke [1979; 1984] and Willke and Willke [2000]. Each individual has a very neat beginning, at conception and this very moment defines what we should assign as the ‘onset of existence’ stated Lejeune [1981: 102]. Furthermore, the developing embryo, from conception onwards, is subjected to environmental interactions – epigenetic ones [Shi and Wu 2009: 2-8; Fisher and Brockdorff 2012: 3893; Messerschmidt et al. 2012: 1499-1500].

Under the above-mentioned considerations the reasons for attempting cloning, and in particular human cloning, should be examined. Molecular

Biology and Genetic Engineering interventions were developed as a result of scientific efforts to elucidate the mechanisms that control living processes. Scientific data, derived after time-consuming attempts, led scientists to plan methods to help humans bearing particular genetic defects. As a result, human cloning is planned for two moral reasons, the reproductive and the therapeutic.

The reproductive one has an obvious and a subtle objective. The obvious one consists in the scientists' objective to help couples, unable to have children, either genetically or not, to build up their marriage by having offspring. A relationship between two persons, to be complete, requires the development of the so-called family space, where, apart from partners, children are inherent. There are cases where, although the couple tries for their children, childbearing is not successful. In the past, there was the alternative of adoption. However, there are cases where adoption is not the couples' choice and they are desperate of having their own children. In such cases, science is moving in providing the solution of assisted fertilization or the alternative of human cloning could be a solution. Assisted fertilization is an acceptable social outcome. Soon after the first successful attempt of cloning Dolly [Wilmut et al., 1997: 812], it became obvious, that in time due, scientists could clone human beings. Since then, somatic cell nuclear transfer (SCNT) has been under severe criticism and its impact on individuals has long discussed [ASRM Ethics Committee 2016: e4; Häyry 2018: 18-20; Segers et al. 2019: 70-72]. However, we should keep in mind that, even under these circumstances, our thinking is highly anthropocentric. In the meantime, the subtle objective concerns the 'custom-made' reproduction of persons with particular genetic traits or to create people with a 'favourable' genotype [Steinbock 2006: 99-103, 106-108; Thomas 2017:630-637] has received criticism. These selfish purposes driven by either official or personal motives, regardless of the intent to have persons bearing particular 'positive' attributes, such as strength, intelligence or avoiding several dangerous genetic traits, render human cloning immoral.

The therapeutic objective, despite encountering ethical obstacles, offers potent solutions in regenerative medicine and the treatment of genetic defects. Regenerative medicine intends to cover the enormous demand for human organs for transplantation [Hodges and Atala 2014: 1766]. The shortage of the availability of organs required from human cadavers leads to very long waiting times and many deaths among potential transplant recipients. This situation led to an increased demand for organs from living donors and the abhorrent practice of trading human organs [Abouna 2003: 54, 63]. According to the Center for Bioethics of the University of Minnesota [2004], one way to avoid the ethical problems associated with the shortage of transplantable organs is to increase the number of organ donors. The maximization of organ donations could go too far, leading to organ farming or premature death declarations to harvest organs. Taking organs from any source is a justifiable practice within certain ethical boundaries. However, according to Childress [2001: 12-15], there is a lack of defining where these boundaries lie. In the meantime, therapeutic cloning could help on the treatment of genetic defects through autologous nuclear-transfer embryonic stem cells (ntESC), serving as vectors for gene-

delivery [Kfoury 2007: 112; Khademhosseini et al. 2014: 609]. According to Arsanjani [2006: 171, 176], the Oviedo Convention on Human Right and Biomedicine [1997] declared that “an intervention seeking to modify human genome may be only undertaken for preventive, diagnostic or therapeutic purposes” (article 13) stipulating that “the creation of human embryos for research is prohibited” (article 18).

THE RIGHT TO THE ‘ONSET OF EXISTENCE’

Taking into account scientific data, the phenomenon called ‘life’ has an existence of several billion years, during which natural forces acted over the abiotic constituent of the environment. Chemical processes resulted in the first living systems. Systems gradually developed from the simplest to the most complex patterns that reconfigured according to the existing natural conditions to survive. The time-dependent re-configurations resulted in the plethora of organisms that presently live on earth and those that are now extinct. Taking into account religious perspectives, life on earth is the result of Divine Will. According to Osler [1994: 15] as early as the medieval age, theologians tried to reconcile the Old Testament God of Hebrew Patriarchs, who created the world and rules it freely according to His own Will, with the Greek ideas about the self-sufficiency and rationality of cosmic principles. However, regardless of the way to define this Divine Will, no life on earth would exist without a ‘Divine Will’ or ‘cosmic principles’. The main point is that this ‘Divine Will’ takes care of living systems, ensuring that the developed relationships will remain in equilibrium. In the meantime, special skills were granted to a particular organism, the human being, characteristics and abilities that rendered him unique in the entire creation. Based on these characteristics civilization developed and flourished, driving humans from the state of wilderness to permanent habitats. Furthermore, humans gradually developed new skills and, as a consequence, science evolved, giving them the ability to seek causality and control on the various natural phenomena.

One of these phenomena is the process by which a higher eukaryote multiplies. The fusion of the two reproductive cells, the gametes ovum and sperm, defines the moment we named as the ‘onset of existence’. The zygote, the fertilized ovum, has a well-defined time of appearance. It just requires time and nutrients to become a developing person. The entire process of life begins with the fertilization of the ovum, it goes through developmental stages into the birth of the new person and from there onwards to puberty and adulthood in order, one day, based on the genetic potential and the conditions of the environment into which it exists, to follow the process of death and the final deterioration into the elemental materials from which it started as a living system. Thus, each organism developed through the so-called ‘natural way’ naturally attains the right to the ‘onset of existence’. This natural right issues all cells of the organism its validity throughout their life span. Accordingly, each individual organism’s cell bears its right to the ‘onset of existence’. It must be conceived that, depending on a person’s maturity, each one of his constituent

cells will be at a defined developmental stage. A programmed cell death, named apoptosis [Atkin-Smith and Poon 2017: 151], follows the cell's maturity, controlling the integrity of the organism. In the meantime, the organism's integrity is based on the ability of multi-potent cells to replace the cells that die. It is important to understand that even these multi-potent cells are subjected to alterations, due to environmental effectors, like all other cells in the organism. Thus, each replaced cell during an organism's maturation may be slightly different from the replaced one.

Therefore, attempting to clone a certain organism, we clone a certain cell of the organism bearing a certain genetic potential. The selected cell inevitably owes its 'onset of existence' attained from the zygote out of which it developed. The selected cell bears its own potentiality, genetic potential or otherwise named 'cell personality', which will pass to the clone that will develop. It is important to note that the resulting clone will bear its own personality because except for the genetic material the cloned nucleus will provide to the new person to derive, from the maternal ovum mitochondrial DNA will complete the clone's genetic potential. Mitochondrial DNA being distinctive from nuclear DNA and only deriving from the maternal ovum renders the resulting clone distinctive from the person we obtained the nucleus unless the cell to be cloned derives from the same female as the ovum. In the meantime, as earlier stated, the European Parliament [1998] reiterated that every individual has the right to his own genetic identity and that human cloning must be prohibited. However, Ahlberg and Brighthouse [2010: 540-541] commented that the result of human cloning would be a human being in its own right, but in the meantime, cloning undermines individuality and thus, personal dignity. Thus, the contribution of mitochondrial DNA undermines the donor's individuality, but in the meantime it renders the clone distinctive from the donor. At this point, the possibility of a discrepancy intervenes. Consider two clones that are derived from the nuclei of two adjacent cells. To some extent the two adjacent cells have the same DNA; however, they may either be transferred in two ova of the same female and subsequently to two different wombs to develop or in the womb of the same person. In the first case, the two clones will develop in two different environments and thus will become two different personalities influenced by environmental conditions. In the second case, the two clones will start competing with each other and this may affect their final personality outcome.

Hence, taking into consideration the above mentioned, two main queries rise: (i) which is its clone's 'onset of existence' and (ii) what kind of 'soul' bears the resultant clone? The issue of the soul should be dealt with by others.

To address the first question, one has to consider that the resultant clone will not develop *de novo* from an ovum fertilized by a sperm. What has been defined as the 'onset of existence' varies as the clone develops from a de-nucleated ovum and the nucleus of a pre-existing cell bearing its own 'onset of existence'. Thus there is a need for a new definition, a 'post-onset of existence'. A time moment that will only apply to the clone. Therefore, the clone *de facto* loses its right to the 'onset of existence'. To what extent this condition will affect

its personality requires to be defined. Without any doubt, the clone will have its own rights, like all other humans but, to some extent, he will have several new ones derived from its particular situation. Several of these new rights are the rights 'of personal genetic identity' [Macklin 1994: 215-219; Evers 1999: 69; Brock 2002: 315], 'not to know' [Canellopoulou-Bottis, 2000: 185; Harris and Keywood 2001: 416; Andorno 2004: 435] and 'to an open future' [Finberg 1980: 124; Davies 1997: 9; Mills 2003: 499-502; Mameli 2007: 87]. Science is ready to go forward in cloning humans, but are we ready as a society to endorse and accept these new rights? Are our society's leaders prepared to take this responsibility? To what extent has society's morality advanced to take this responsibility? These are the new questions seeking answers.

To address the previously referred second question, we will also have to consider that the resultant clone does not develop naturally. Thus we have to define its soul. This is a task that others have to deal with.

Under these circumstances, it must be conceived that the 'onset of existence' comprises a naturally emerging right that the cloned organisms are deprived of it, as *a priori* they are the result of an unnatural way of propagation. In case that one would intend to assign them such a right it should be a 'post-onset of existence' that has to be defined. The natural way of fertilization involves two gametes, an ovum and a sperm, bearing their own 'onset of existence', each one with half of the genetic information of the contributing partners with the additional genetic information of the mitochondrial DNA exclusively from the ovum, entitles the resultant zygote and as a consequence the new human being his 'onset of existence'. The cloned organism who is the result of an unnatural creation, the transfer of a reprogrammed nucleus, bearing the entire genetic information, of a cell that has its own 'onset of existence', into a de-nucleated ovum, bearing her mitochondria, cannot be assigned the naturally emerging right of 'onset of existence'. Attention should be focused on the fact that a cell being an organized entity bears naturally its own right to the 'onset of existence'. A nucleus by itself is deprived of this natural right, as not being an organized entity. Accordingly, an ovum being as well an organized entity bears this natural right. A de-nucleated ovum is deprived of the same natural right, as not being an organized entity. As a consequence, implementing cloning processes to create new humans, people that will occur will certainly be deprived of this naturally emerging right, as they will be the result of technically organized entities from the combination of two parts that are deprived of their own right to the 'onset of existence'. Thus a new right has to be defined for these people. This new right has to be a 'post-onset of existence'.

CONCLUSION

The relationships developed among organisms during evolution resulted in ecosystems, a dynamic equilibrium based on each organism's inherent value named 'autaxia'. In ecosystems, the established equilibrium requires the organisms to renew the ones that for various reasons die. The renewal processes being the asexual and the sexual reproduction, endowed organisms,

regardless of their size or evolutionary status, with a distinctive right that characterizes their identity, the right to the ‘onset of existence’. Human social, technological and scientific development became the driving force to derange the naturally established equilibrium. Human effort to ameliorate living conditions through scientific innovation implemented evolutionary lower systems to higher organisms. Thus, science accomplished the cloning of organisms that were only sexually reproduced for millennia. These scientific accomplishments resulted in moral dilemmas, applicable mainly to higher animals and especially to humans. One of the most crucial ones is the right to the ‘onset of existence’. This right, defining the natural way by which the various organisms evolutionary develop, is definitely lost in the organisms that humans develop by genetic innovation techniques such as cloning. Concerning human cloning for therapeutic purposes, the resultant clone has lost its right to the ‘onset of existence’. Thus, scientists, as well as philosophers, have to deal with the emergence of a new right, the one of the ‘post-onset of existence’.

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CULTURAL REVIVAL AND MORAL EDUCATION OF THE SERBS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

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Literate Serbs in the 16th and 17th centuries have held in their hands the works of ancient Greek authors with a clearly expressed ethical content. They did not only read them, but in their own writings used the sermons of Christian rhetors, who have marked the beginnings and remained at the foundations of Byzantine spiritual literature and its cultural sphere. Serb Orthodox Christianity responded to the Catholic propaganda's aggressive emphasis on morality at the end of the 16th century with finely tuned alertness to hidden dangers, but also with the sense for adopting something from the opponent – primarily the rhetors' way of governing the people's conscience and their day-do-day conduct and the ethics of the family, social and business life. In urban environments, where Serb patricians arrived and matured later than what was the case in the closed circles of other wealthy merchants, especially Greeks, moral education was obtained within the process of learning the vocation: like in western Europe of that time, particularly in Protestant environments, the merchant's skills, firmly defined by experience and obtained through years of practicing the business, was inseparable from the code of duty and norms of conduct, since these were the conditions for success as much as the working skills.

When Serb people are observed as a whole and in the conditions of political subjugation, however, social uniformity predefined by the regime of cultural isolation as well, teaching about moral life was primarily the task of parish priests and monks and, parallel with that, an obligation of the community, starting from the immediate family, collective and kin, to the village and tribe, to maintain and carry on the traditional rules of understanding and conduct.

The teaching of morals among the Serbs in the 16th and 17th centuries was least of all a school subject; it was not taught from special textbooks, nor carried out through particularly conceived efforts detached from everyday life. The community was above the individual because everything was acquired by joint effort – both the legal position in a foreign state and one's daily bread. Furthermore, life was strenuous in many ways: the Turks were constantly on the verge of doing evil, nature was on the verge of hunger, the plague under everyone's shirt, and those who stayed out past sunset didn't know if they would

see the dawn of the next day. Failure to submit to the prescribed values of life and the violation of duty by not reaching perfection could lead to the undermining of internal equilibrium and put everyone in danger, because neither the law of the Turk, nor the scourge of God, who viewed everyone as guilty and accountable, knew of the individual. That is why the survival of each person depended on the society and was completely determined by it. Any feat had meaning and value only when performed in keeping with the common requirements and needs. An outcast who would leave the society and its law may have caused admiration and find a way into poems, i.e. to lasting remembrance; but, his predestination for demise was known in advance, because such a man could not return into the circle that he had left out of desperation, his restless blood or a crazy head, trampling on the joint hardships, obligations and destiny. Particular characters were also hard to cope with, unless their extraordinariness led to the establishing of the interests and views accepted by everyone. Everything with value had to obtain the meaning of a recognized virtue; and, if sufficiently repeated, a useful activity would acquire an aura of a cult. From there, it is not far to the beginning of a process in which the collective morals are freed from the necessary foundation, break the shell of existential fear and start operating as an independent function of life. The long duration of a particular aggregate of spiritual phenomena, especially if they are caused by fighting for survival and the materialization of "that which cannot be," inevitably led to the transformation of traditional laws, unconsciously maintained, into a myth about the values of one's conduct, which one obeys consciously and willingly. It is not possible to clearly emphasize the limit between these two states, because there is not enough material for the process of their separation, which could not have been brief, to be thoroughly researched and described: Serbian development in different areas was neither identical, nor synchronized. However, as for moral instruction, the thing that remained constant in both states of this mentality – the subordination of the individual to the community, and that with responsibility that increased with the increase of emphasis on individual capabilities, is undoubtedly more important as the subject of observation than the differences which, caused by the passage of time, were reduced to the degree and type of the conscious in relation to the rules of conduct in the society.

One of the factors that determined the content and purpose of moral instruction among the Serbs in the 16th and 17th centuries was, without a doubt, the church. After it became very influential in the Nemanjić state when, while it was raising the dynasty, it identified its interests with that of the dynasty and became national in great measure in the period in question, the Serbian church passed through the deepest and most hazardous crisis, together with the people, during the first century after the fall of the Despotate. There are indications, sufficiently reliable, about Makarije Sokolović having invested particular effort into reviving the work of the Patriarchate, as soon as possibilities for that arose, in order to save from dissipation not only the church, but its flock, too: during constant migrations, they turned more and more into a wayward herd, whose movement was governed solely by foreigners and who were becoming lost in uncontrolled areas; changing their legal status, residence and occupation, by

the turmoil of events or by the will of any and every master, the flock was left without those people who led it by their intellect; and, according to accounts of contemporary observers, their character became rough, cruel, wild in the foreboding of lack of any hope; still, the greatest damage was inflicted by the abandoning of faith, sometimes for benefits, seldom out of conviction, usually because of numbness, without having second thoughts, in groups.

The organization and work of the Patriarchate of Peć after 1557 unveil the solutions that were based on the accurate observation of problems, and that is why they were well conceived and purposeful. While establishing the limits of its jurisdiction, the Patriarchate knew only about the space occupied and settled by the Serbs and since it had almost full insight into where and how far they had spread by following the people's every step, its borders encircled the biggest territory that was ever under the jurisdiction of any Serb institution. The only obstacle to the spreading of these borders, which unified the Turkish with Austrian and Venetian lands on behalf of the Serb interests, was the Patriarchate of Constantinople, that is the Ohrid Archbishopric, and that has left a mark in the history of some of its areas. By restoring its activity, the Patriarchate of Peć actually became the supreme self-governing institution of the Serb people under the sultan's sovereignty, and it skillfully used it. With the purpose of convincing the Christians in its domain of that, it used medieval relics, revived the Nemanjić traditions, emphasized the role of the church in the former state, expressed concern for the daily needs of the people; the church tax was collected consistently and also for the purpose of demonstrating the obtained authority, while church elders were playing an increasingly visible role in political events. Still, the church utilized the change of its position primarily to improve the faith and the morale of the people.

Although in its assets and spirit – teaching, lore, literature, architecture and painting – the Serbian church remained medieval, with emphasized traditionalism; it acted in a rather modern manner when it demonstrated attempts to determine the area of its jurisdiction according to the principle of national presence, and not according to its former borders: the narrow notion of the national in the Middle Ages, which coincided with the territory of the state and the Serb name, was transformed into a different quality of the living mass of people, which had to be kept together and governed. Still, the Serbian church acted even more in accordance with the demands of the times when it turned to its flock with a deliberate effort towards reviving the purpose and strength of their faith and spiritually enable them to endure temptations. While temporally coinciding with the Protestants' return to pure faith and with the Catholic rehabilitation well under way with the rising religious zeal, the restoration of Serbian Orthodox Christianity belonged to these movements primarily because of its measures for reconstituting everything that defined it, from church legislation to the dogmas and the spiritual composition of believers. Indeed, the restoration of activity of the Patriarchate of Peć was accompanied by a kind of Serb reform, performed and experienced in accordance with medieval forms, albeit with spiritual innovations. The collecting and rescuing of the heirloom, hurried transcriptions, revival of translations, restoring the old legislation of the church

and the state alike, a new wave of historicism, literary work and sacral art – all this took place in the attempts to, in this way, revive or create the notion about one's own history and its present traces in the traditional awareness of broader masses.

At the time when the Serbian church started addressing its faithful as a restored institution that takes on the struggle in a more organized fashion, the Serbs might still have possessed some characteristics of their medieval piousness. Certainly before the end of the Nemanjić state, they were reflected in historic material as a people whose mentality has been permeated by the idea about the holiness of actions, initiated by Stefan Nemanja with his sons, so that God-pleasing feats, loyalty to the church and fine cults, excessive sensitivity, propensity to quickly succumb to impressions all together, with tears and weeping, a sense for ktetorial contributions and, finally, a particular kind of piousness among the men of adult age, became the elements of general belonging and loyalty to that which had already been unified – the dynasty and faith. The fall under Turkish rule that was to last, accompanied by horrific suffering and hopelessness, led to the gradual transformation of that mentality into a myth about self in the past, but the religious sensitivity of the Serbs was not completely spent by that, because its remains were drenched with the easily aroused awareness of suffering and were conserved by it. It was in this fact that the church, after being revived, found the possibility to separate and emphasize the religious from everyday life and the feelings of existence. This took place in the period of relative calm in southeastern Europe when, during the lull in the wake of sultan Suleiman's major conquests, the Serbs were able to, at least to an extent, determine where they were, what they were, what they had and what they should consider in the future. To prove that their faith was the sole reliable consoler, guardian and savior, after everything that they had endured, was, indeed, redundant. Everything took place and remained within the boundaries of faith: the entirety of a man's being, the memory of lore, the connection with history, with the offspring and, especially, the preservation of the community, as the guarantor of any form of existence, a defense against dissipation and disappearance. Parallel with this, the rise of the Serbs in certain parts of Turkey, where self-governing privileges were given as the sultan's gift for military service, was accompanied by the development of self-awareness that sought support. While encouraging this process through the revival of historicism, the church at the same time revived religious convictions, because the search for one's being and name in the past could not have been accomplished without finding the faith that initially defined it. As of the mid-16th century, an increasing number of Serb princes and lords in Turkish service began researching their genealogies, secretly working for the future in the name of the past and becoming ktetors of new endowments, or giving gifts to the church for their soul. The reason for inciting religious feelings among the people, however, was not solely the possibility for these feelings to be linked with the beginnings of the political and, to a certain extent, national rallying. After major wars, frequent migrations and much suffering, significant spiritual fatigue was felt in the first longer period of calm, one of those in which the man

of the 16th century, frightened in the face of new challenges, preferred to return to faith. The most disturbing dilemmas of European consciences of that century appeared usually in bouts of fatigue and always had a religious content, largely incited by the propaganda of the quarreling churches. The fatigue and the following feverish unrest among the Serbs were observed by some of the foreigners who visited Turkey during the years of revival of the Patriarchate of Peć. Their emphasizing of their religious being, preserved or reborn, which led them from fatigue to exaltation, and sometimes even to catharsis, was understood by those who experienced it in person or in their surroundings, the first Protestant missionaries in the East.

The revival of Serb Orthodox Christianity was not carried out only through its restoration. The church also relied on the heritage of the Middle Ages and, by celebrating the Serb saints, some of whom were rulers, archbishops and famous heroes, brought faith closer to the people, their fight for survival and their memory of the time when they were wholeheartedly and meekly pious, and safe in that memory. Besides these, however, the church found other ways to come closer to the people and transform the faith, as much as it could, to match their spirit and needs. Irrefutable data exists according to which, in the century of political and religious chaos among the Serbs that preceded the revival of the Patriarchate of Peć, the Orthodox Christian faith, often left to the people themselves, began in great measure to return to paganism, cults and customs, and to simplify ethical comprehension by reducing it to the level of moral norms formed through social experience. While initiating its revival at the time when the Catholic Reconquista threatened not only with great knowledge, but also with flexibility to adjust to the possibilities, habits and cultural level of the environments in which it operated, the Serbian church supported and revived Christian faith among the Serbs by not opposing those customs and cult activities through which the people shaped their interpretation of the attitude towards God. Thus, popular religion was reduced to the role of cult décor to Christian holidays, unless it remained the mythical explanation of natural phenomena and the means of influencing them directly, i.e. independently from God. In this way, Serbian Orthodox Christianity, more firmly than before, occupied the fundamental position in the popular understanding of the cause and purpose of existence, and in its moral character.

Formed in the Middle Ages, Serbian Orthodox Christianity fully approached its final shape during the second half of the 16th and in the 17th century, the period when it experienced greater, deeper and more substantial changes than in the subsequent 18th century of learned theological defenses of its doctrines and traditions. A symbiosis was established as of the mid-16th and in the 17th century, characteristic of the Serb people in a particular way, of patriarchal mentality, the Orthodox Christian approach to the essence of existence and morals, the daily life marked by the customs that were imbued with Christian content, and of the revived medieval heritage, which the broad masses endorsed in a unique way. The church preserved the primacy of the interpreter and teacher in at least three of the four mentioned elements of this symbiosis; only the patriarchal mentality remains disputed because, with its most prominent

phenomena, it resembled the spiritual characteristics of other societies, some of them very distant, which were organized in a similar way. Despite the resemblance with the overall sociological, historical and psychological patterns, however, this mentality was still adjusted to Serbian Orthodox Christianity, if not determined by its beliefs and ethics; it remained incorporated within the customs and cults, in spite of the fact that they, at that very time, were going through one more, albeit rather late, process of Christianization; although being the expression of life in the collective or kin, it was permeated not only by the mythical, but also by the sacral comprehension of medieval past. The proof of all this is the fact which, due to being viewed separately, has not been sufficiently explained: with the further development of the Serbian society, in which, while taking the path of becoming more aristocratic, the strata of merchants, urban patricians, people's leaders and, finally, aristocracy, began to be discerned, the mentioned symbiosis was largely preserved: the patriarchal mentality was transferred from villages to the higher classes without losing its most important characteristics.

After the revival of Serb Orthodox Christianity was carried out in the decades after the establishing of the Patriarchate of Peć, the work of the church in moral instruction was made easier by the fact that the goals of that instruction corresponded with preserving the established situation, and it was dependent on a number of other conditions – primarily social, psychological and political. The care in cultivating the flock was not directly inherited as a characteristic of the Serbian church. The flock was most often left without detailed religious instruction, and the church did not connect the people with its more prominently expressed role in supplication to God and bringing salvation. The mission of the church was mainly reduced to prescribing a simplified code of norms of life that is pleasing to God, through which the people were given the basic Christian character; to abiding by and providing of the holy sacraments, the true meaning of which was not interpreted and which mainly had the role of marking the members of the church as Christians or to separate them from other Christians, to holding services in which the flock was not able to participate inclusively.

The reform of the Serbian church did not seek the transformation of believing that would be deep, thorough, even disturbing of one's conscience and, most importantly, which would be materialized through the reconsideration or revision of religious dogmas and of the church organization. The primary goal of that reform was in the reconstituting and strengthening of that what was possessed as heritage. This was considered sufficient, providing that it took root and was adjusted to the new circumstances, for the revival of the church as an organization and for the more thorough rallying of the people of the same name and faith. After that was accomplished in observable measure, since the symbiosis of the patriarchal, the Orthodox Christian, the customary and the traditionally historical became, to an extent, obvious in the posture and expression of the people taken as a group or an average, and then began marking the notions that remained after such expressions, the church – already believing at the end of the 16th century that it was to be mostly credited for this Orthodox Christian as well as Serbian revival – could deliberately or by inertia limit its

activity to keeping the flock in faith and to morally instructing the people on how to maintain their virtue; starting from that basis, it could then use its position of the sultan's self-governing vassal to take political leadership of the nation and make the first visible liberation endeavors.

In daily contacts with the people, the church supported everything in their patriarchal mentality that could in any way conform to the Ten Commandments. Moral instruction was performed in parishes or monastery schools, most often as part of religious education, indirectly through the interpretation of the Holy Scripture, and directly through the presentation of Christian edification. That was the curriculum that, as for the principles, was mainly learned off by heart under the greatest authority, not subject to doubt and proving. Because of this, it was kept in the Church-Slavonic language of classical meaning and sacral value, and it was delivered to be remembered in that language. However, although it was not subject to proving, this curriculum still called for some interpretation; besides, even among pupils, life was bringing happy moments or incidents, which called for rhetorical repetition, implementation in sanctions or the victorious endorsement of principles of the Christian edification. Regardless of whether they did it inadvertently, just because they belonged to the same mentality – and that certainly happened within the long passage of time – or acted as shepherds who deliberately and from a superior position maintain the spirit of the community, priests and monks, acting as teachers, interpreted the Christian edification in accordance with the norms that were already recognized as the foundations, advantages and pillars of the internal strength of the society and as virtues of the common character, which every individual is obliged to endorse and nurture. And, since the patriarchal society had kept its institutions and the spiritual characteristics that were established over time in the measure that secured its preservation, the teaching of Christian morals was accepted with a measure of understanding, while the taught principles were conveyed and fortified in everyday life. Social laws and introduced virtues were supported all the more so because they were interpreted and were offering the basis for further perfection by those who conveyed the word of God and, sometimes, enjoyed the reputation of increasingly prominent leaders of the people.

The didactic deliveries of priests and monks during sermons, addresses at gatherings, counseling with the rulers, trials, mediations, in disputes in clans and families, and in participation in the life of certain homes, show in a more determinate way that the goals of Christian education that the church delivered to its believers coincided in a particular way with the needs for development and, even more, conservation of patriarchal morals, family relations and the broader social order. The cross was raised high in that, too, Christian laws were invoked, action was ordered that would be fitting of God, and the materialization of God's will was proclaimed to be the final goal of everything, with the aim of proving which way leads to salvation. Still, all that could have been accomplished by emphasizing the respect for domestic order and brotherly unity and preservation of the patriarchal man's morals, and by endorsing, with utmost loyalty, the pledge of Serbian history, by resisting everyone who threatened the people's name and survival and, finally, by fighting against the foreigner who breaks the agreement.

Due to the scarcity of sources, it is hard to closely determine the measure of the revived Orthodox Christianity's participation in education and nuancing of characteristics of patriarchal mentality. It is even harder to assess the scope and outcome of adjusting that Orthodox Christianity to what has been created by other circumstances of life, in order for that to be perfected and then conserved as beneficial. On the other hand, the role of the church in interpreting the historical heritage and creation of spiritual culture in accordance with that heritage had left traces that are quite clear.

When the Serb church, at the end of the 16th and during the first decades of the 17th century, began using its theocratic custody of the people for the fight against the Turks who, with increased violence, neglected the people's privileges, as well as those of the church, moral instruction started more prominently to have the goals, which have been present before, in equalizing Christian virtues and patriarchal morals with historical awareness and its practical values.

Traditional concepts of the past, especially the Kosovo myth, sufficiently coincide with the data and spirit of written historiography and sacral literature marked by motifs from the Serbian past, for the assumption about the church's influence on the forming of collective historic awareness and epic lore to be considered a daring one. The patriarchal and democratic origin and character of verbal historical traditions and their mythical function were taken to excess in research to the measure in which the role of the church was presented as completely depending on the corporate organization and spirit of the Serb society that is reduced to complete (actually illusory) equilibrium. The closest measure of relations, it seems, lies in the fact that several of the most important elements of verbal lore owe their origins to historical interventions of the church (consecration of members of the Nemanjić dynasty; the cult of Prince Lazar; judging the worth of a ruler by their God-pleasing actions, primarily the building of endowments) or the subsequent Christianization of the legend (choosing the Kingdom of Heaven ahead of the Kosovo defeat and the meaning of that choice for the future). Justice is done and plaintiffs compensated only through the intervention of heavenly forces: without it, equilibrium, as one of the bases for comprehending the order in history, would disappear. It is this very influence that made the verbal epic lore an inseparable part of Serb literature as a whole, since similar motifs and interpretations make up one of the most visible and very characteristic foundations of written literature, which was mostly in the hands of church members until the end of the 17th century. This also rejects the relatively naive notion about the autochthonous character and constant stability of development of epic remembrance and poetry.

Lower social classes accepted the historical heritage of feudal Middle Ages by endorsing chivalrous poetry in everyday life in circles close to the court and within the military vocation. However, although that is characteristic of many nations, the Serbs became one of the exceptions by extending the course of that poetry in the long period of Turkish conquests, and this in the sense of its gradual reduction to folklore and poetry, because the very burden of history laid more and more on the shoulders of the broad masses. Without a doubt, therein lies the origin of the epic about Marko Kraljević, Prince Marko, for a while one

of the most prominent of sultan's vassals among the Serbs, to whom the people attributed the moral dilemmas characteristic of that role, because he began to accept and finally accepted serving the Turks. The ethical meaning of the lore about the Nemanjić dynasty and, especially, about Kosovo, eventually ripened under the influence of different factors when, at the end of the 16th and the start of the 17th century, the first major attempts were made to rise against the Turks, and when the Serbian church was at the helm of that movement, giving the historical heritage its spiritual mark and pragmatic meaning. This took place in the measure in which the church, besides being a religious one, became the supreme political organization of the Serbs. By rallying the people with the purpose of securing unity of the areas under its jurisdiction, the full subordination of believers, their spiritual uniformity (which all churches worked on at that time) and preparing the collective awareness for resisting the foreigner, the church incited historicism and took over the heritage of the past in the measure that surpassed its cooperation with the state, or its subordination to the state, of the Nemanjić epoch. With this breaking of obstacles, the limits of historical concepts were cast aside in favor of the acceptance of the spirit of Christian universality, as well as of the more prominent interpretation of Serb heritage by the ethical norms of Orthodox Christianity that were more easily adjusted to broader understanding. In other words, history was being given the meaning that separated it from the realistic notions of the Middle Ages, marked by prominent differences in the legal position, because people and events, for the sake of moral principles, were mostly accepted metaphorically, thus making it possible for the broad masses to embrace them and bind their being to them.

It is interesting to point out the fact about the rapid reduction of the sacral foundation in poems about the haiduks of the second half of the 17th century (the Candian and Morean wars), when the Serbian church, especially under Patriarch Pajsije, once again became peaceful and patient in relation to the Turks, and the Venetian Republic assumed the role of the initiator of the struggle.

If relations are observed up close and thus reduced to everyday actions, however, we can primarily see the accomplished goals of moral instruction that the church provided to the people, in the form of the mark that the church impressed into the historical concepts and motifs of verbal lore. The assets of the education that was accomplished by maintaining and interpreting the historical heritage, were multi-faceted.

Medieval hagiographies were the most frequent among the *starostavne* or *carostavne* books (the books about old days and past emperors) from which the curriculum was delivered and taught in parish and monastery schools. The name *carostavnik* (a book on past rulers), which was also registered in tradition, describes the collection of hagiographies compiled by Archbishop Danilo II and his successors. Chronicles and genealogies, suitable for learning history because they established the connection with the more distant past by registering more recent events, and were also written in simple language, were created and multiplied as the extension of this historiographic literature, which possessed the authority of uncontestable and sacred heritage because of its age, subject and manner of creation. The *trojecarstvenici*, chronographs about three

empires – Jewish, Byzantine and Slavic – served best to spread the concept of the universality of history and the legitimate, i.e. God-given origin of the Serb dynasty. The dissemination of the knowledge of history by writing compilations, some of which were accepted as textbooks, further fortified the incontestability of testimonies of *starostavne* books. More freedom in interpretation only appeared in the works made after the *Chronicles* by count Đorđe Branković, which were unexpectedly extensive and inexhaustible in original value, and subjective and profane in the sense of their creation and content.

Addressing *starostavne* books, which is mentioned in poems, can often mean using the legal monuments of the Middle Ages, which are known with certainty to have been used in self-governing municipalities, mining settlements, sometimes for maintaining the organization of clan and tribe, in the Patriarchate and bishoprics, and mainly in regulating life in monasteries (wherein lies the part of the explanation of the lasting authority and cult of St. Sava, the legislator of Serbian monastic life). The impression about the power and value of the Nemanjić state legislation had been preserved in the transitional phases of the Ottoman regime, in which it relied on Serbian law, but also in those institutions which were subsequently established as definite, although they retained the traces of old regulations and relations. The guardian and, most often, the interpreter of Serbian legal monuments – the church – also found in them the means of instruction, because it established the notion in collective awareness about not just the wealth and glory, but also about the ruling power and love of justice of the Nemanjić dynasty. In its essence, this teaching was not casuistic, because the monks, as pillars of the church, were the first to accept, besides the regulations about their life, the cult of kings and archbishops of the holy Nemanjić dynasty.

The epic lore testifies indirectly about the church having used obvious means in moral instruction. In some folk poems, about St. Sava, the building of Ravanica or about Miloš visiting the Venetians, which Vuk Karadžić claimed to have originated in south-western Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Kolašin, monasteries and churches are mentioned in a long list, most often with correct names and, sometimes, with accurate data about their geographic position, ketors or most prominent characteristics, but also with the strong and firm emphasis on what these endowments meant, how much their beauty was worth and what kind of pledge and obligation they represented for the Serb people. The images of rulers, archbishops and holy warriors did not serve merely as the illustration, but also as the glorious confirmation of history, completely persuasive all the more so because it was preserved on the walls of sacral buildings, which are themselves the guarantor of truth, elevation and holiness of everything that they harbor. The relation towards these characters, which invoked instruction, was established in the most suggestive way by the cult, that is, by celebrating those that were described not only by the historical teachings, but also by their appearance. The reflections of the Middle Ages on behavior and attire, i.e. on the process of raising to aristocracy of those who, on the path of rising through the acquisition of property or through struggle, bound their aspirations and feats with their ancestors, hinted to by poems or

an observed picture, testify to the fact that this relation was created by daily observation, wherein, besides the external instruction, one's own observational intelligence, marked by interest, also had effect. The extent to which church items, with their obvious meaning, represented one of the foundations of moral instruction through the knowledge of history, is shown most persuasively by the cult of the relics of Serbian saints, particularly of St. Sava, the Holy King (the First Crowned) and the great Prince Lazar, which were not kept and carried along the hazardous paths of the Serbs' migrations for their miraculous qualities, but because of the history they represented, and which sometimes was the most valuable proof of existence to the people.

The church obliged the people to be loyal to the past also by the increasingly prominent maintaining of the cult of Serb saints. The collection of hymns dedicated to those saints, often copied and occasionally supplemented, were constantly available to the monastery's pupils, while some of them were available to the rest of the flock several times per year, during Sunday services and holidays. Within the expression encircled by symbolism and metaphor, in the language that was frequently refined by mature spirituality, praises of Serb saints caused among the attending believers the understanding that was not direct and literal, since they did not reach their awareness through plain hearing, but through respect prepared in advance, through belief and feeling of duty to not deviate from ancestral demands.

The activity of the Serbian church on inciting and preserving the historical awareness among the people was not significant as moral education just because that awareness was part of the ethics of an emerging modern man: by educating its members on examples from the past, the church provided Serbian Orthodox Christianity with the foundations and spirit of belief that was national in character in many aspects, which undoubtedly supported the accomplished level of Christianization, with all the ethical norms that marked it; parallel with that, by influencing their historical awareness, the church developed the knowledge among the people that they are obliged by exceptional duties, such that exceed their capabilities; it forced them to effort and accomplishment, led them to the creation of common feelings and, essentially, equalized them with those tasks that were prescribed by the tenets of patriarchal society.

The role of the church in the moral instruction of the people is also important because, throughout Europe as well as in Eastern Christianity, the 16th and 17th centuries were a period of revived, reformed, transformed and often belligerent religions. Still, while teaching morals, the church essentially had the role of an external factor, the institution that intervened, in an organized manner, in the establishing, developing and maintaining the sense of responsibility and contributed to the content and meaning of that responsibility. The foundation of moral education was obtained primarily by accepting social obligations in the family, collective, village, clan and tribe. These obligations stemmed from the collective services to the Turks and the joint responsibility for their execution; from the internal laws of governing and judging, introduced over time, which made the communities, which these laws applied to, closed,

tight and firm; from particular forms of commerce, which called for not just the complex participation of many hands, but also balance, carefully and strictly guarded, within the division of labor; from fear for survival and the need to stay together, because almost everything that came from abroad represented a threat: foreign authority, epidemics, famine, robbers, brigands stealing cattle. The pressure of obligations was felt in gripping circles, being the strongest in the immediate family, spreading to the village and ending at the boundaries of the community or clan, tribe and sometimes the region, geographically and legally determined, which lived by the functions of internal bonds. Historical tradition, that is, common self-awareness, and the church, i.e. the only institution that stood over the entire people, prescribed, however, that those obligations imposed by the broadest circle – the entirety of the people with the same name – were taken as the constantly present, the most unavoidable and the most solemn. One of the experiences of the first period of Serb history under Turkish rule was that all other obligations, without this most general one, could not have prevented the moral dissipation in which the foreigner's name and political ideology were accepted together with the foreign faith.

Moral instruction in a patriarchal environment was accomplished by forcefully introducing into its laws the completely regulated life and by constant lessons prompted by any violation of the general rules of conduct. The goals of such instruction were to form a man who, as a developed personality, would become an independent bearer and interpreter of the laws of the community. From that moment on, there was no instruction. The only thing left for the violator as a mature individual was to experience the sanction that would serve as a lesson to younger generations. As opposed to those imposed by foreign authority that were accepted as unavoidable, the laws that governed the patriarchal society, regardless of whether they were about conduct at home, in the village, the clan or tribe, were primarily viewed as the code of virtues that are crucial for survival and, at the same time, the pride of every individual and of the community. Every man had to prove those virtues by his heroism, striving towards accomplishment, noble deprivation, keeping his word, vengefulness, hospitality, domineering appearance, more by temperance than by modesty, dignity in expression, by confirming himself in mimicking the ancestors and examples from the past, and by the constant observation of the environment, which must confirm the value of his conduct. Women maintained the family order, made sure that the house was always supplied, they had to be thrifty and not squandering, make sure that provisions are made for joyous as well as rainy days, they often cared for the house better than men, who were prone to feats, brigand-like adventures and entertainment in conversation. Still, with all the personal sacrifices, they were the reliable guardians of the common laws and virtues, proud of the often impractical heroism, idle wisdom and cocky leisure of their men.

In each group of the same faith, the introduction into the society and its norms by means of moral instruction was performed identically and in the accomplishable measure. Young boys and girls who would demonstrate resistance to that instruction would remain in their environment, patient in its tolerance,

until they would express their resistance by a hazardous violation of customs, when they would be cast out. Family upbringing and conduct was completely dependent on the laws of the broader community, usually the village, and they, in turn, were strictly determined by the norms according to which the clan or tribe was sustained as a unified group. An individual in a family was actually shaped by everyday moral instruction to become a member of that broader community that can be formed under the circumstances and, in its entirety, the struggle for survival. Since that shaping was aimed at forming members of individual groups which were close in spirit, because of having the same attitude towards the common law and understanding of virtues, the impression about general equality, and – due to them being equal – the freedom of patriarchal individuals, was imposed as a historical assessment of circumstances that were long-lasting.

Although a subject of a patriarchal society demonstrated pride on every occasion, often obtrusively, for belonging to a community in which law was no longer necessary because it had become a virtue, fear was at the core of his conduct, at least subconsciously, and, for that reason, he, while demonstrating his pride, actually demonstrated the need to bond with the most extensive entirety of the people he belonged to through kin, political aspirations, faith and name. That was one of the possibilities for patriarchal upbringing to remain dependent on historical traditions, with the Nemanjić dynasty and Kosovo as the main motive, and on the church as their guardian and bearer of general and common ethical norms. By acquiring this pillar, the patriarchal moral system became more adaptable, durable, lasting and less subjected to the strict regime of the group. That is why it became characteristic, while modified, not only of the collectives and villages which, mainly due to migrations, found themselves outside the framework of clan or tribal bonds, but also of the merchant and artisan communities in towns, because of which it appeared early as one of the foundations, perhaps the most effective one, for the forming of a common national awareness of the Serb people. Opposite to that, in some communities which remained socially closed for longer, conditions were created for greater independence, i.e. hypertrophy of patriarchal morals and its turning into a petrified code of behavior which, in circumstances which did not call for it, insisted on it with full awareness, deliberately, sometimes needlessly and often through acting. In this way, one of the preconditions for leaving the national whole was prepared.

The particular significance of moral education in the Serb people lied in the fact that it created the conditions for accepting western civilization without abandoning one's traditional foundations.

Awareness of one's own history, which was one of the main supports for that education, did not act conservatively, because it incited liberation aspirations. After all, the poets constantly added new poems to the verses about the Nemanjić dynasty, Marko Kraljević, Kosovo and the time of despots, about new heroes, originating from the people and marked solely by characteristics of the people. When the Serbs in the Danubian region fell under a stronger influence of western civilization during the 18th century, traditional historicism did

not prevent them from quickly embracing its fruits and adjusting them to their purpose. Moreover, historiography, especially the rationalistic one with Jovan Rajić at the helm, made a notable effort to establish the real values of Serb history, by contesting the lore. This overcoming was perhaps expressed even more strongly in the First Uprising against the Turks which, as a liberation revolution, was completely based on historical heritage, written as well as traditional, but only as an attempt to find the strongest possible support for surpassing the difficulties and lack of possibilities in the fight and in reviving the state. Historical awareness permeated by lore became the factor of withholding of development only in the period, marked by misunderstanding, when overall cultural opportunities surpassed epic poetry as the way of remembering and subsequently experiencing the past, but not yet providing foundations for a deliberate, calm and critically refined acceptance of surpassed values of traditional heritage, so that the late Romanticists, insufficiently equipped in their national and enlightenment utilitarianism, appeared as those who, perhaps as the only and undoubtedly the last ones, utilized the verbal historical chronicle at the expense of scientific thought and method. The weakness and brevity of this phenomenon, however, may serve as proof that the conservative effect of historic awareness was not deeply instilled in the spiritual life of the Serbs, despite the fact that this awareness relied also on the traditional understanding of the past.

Moral instruction aimed at developing and perfecting the virtues of patriarchal environment did not lead to the encapsulation and stagnation of collective awareness. During the Turkish reign, at least, patriarchal morals did not disintegrate as social development progressed, but instead became also a characteristic of the environments that were free from rural apartness, tribal closeness and self-government bonds. Although its origins lay in the laws of joint conduct and general fear for survival, essentially in the willing submission to the established regime of obligations, these morals still created people with a feeling of personal independence, as well as that of a group. Each individual submitted to the adopted norms, but the society could not have survived if that was not done of one's free will and each member's personal effort. Thus, spiritual characteristics were formed in the Serb nation, by which the obstacles, arising from the impossibility of individuals to be liberated via the development of the civil society and its production model, which was taking place in the West at that time, were overcome. When faced with an unhindered opportunity to be educated in keeping with more developed civilizations, the Serb people were generally free from the feelings of legal inhibitions, social inferiority and political indifference characteristic of the societies and peoples that lived for a long time in conditions of feudal suppression. Moreover, as a group they possessed the phenomena of individualism based on the principle that each individual is obliged to perfect, by personal effort, the virtues that were beneficial to all. And finally, they faced the tide of different influences by establishing an active relation towards them, fully aware of their own cultural heritage and moral values.

The participation of the Serbian church in moral education was not determined by the intention to protect social relations and maintain the political

state of mind in which the lower classes, those most numerous, would remain in submission, while the higher ones would act in accordance with its ideas. Monasteries possessed certain holdings even under Turkish rule, but the number and size of these holdings were not such so as to affect the ideology of the church as the institution that protects its own material interests through others; besides, the legal order in Turkey was such that it was impossible to assume anyone's deliberate intention to keep their position by influencing those who depended on them; that could be done only through petitions to the Sublime Porte, which ruled the country in a sovereign manner and issued decrees as it pleased and as it needed. Contrary to that, the Serbian church maintained and developed self-awareness among the people, which called for the overcoming of the imposed circumstances, as well as the patriarchal morals that were different from the serf mentality nurtured by the church in some countries of central and western Europe. It fostered integration of the revived Orthodox Christian faith with historical awareness and patriarchal morals. Had it intended to influence the spiritual education of the people according to the existing principles, the Serbian church would have undoubtedly guarded its status of the sultan's vassal with more care and caution, and would not have risked its political position, as the highest Serbian institution, for the sake of resistance, covert or open, and, in that, rely on the people's leaders, as well as on the awareness of every single Serb. When, at the start of the 18th century, the Serbs' visible rapprochement with western civilization began, the church resisted when it discovered the means of conversion (and, as an extension, of cultural and national alienation) under the guise of beneficial influence. It is from that fear, together with the effects of other causes, relating to issues of class and property, that the core of its conservatism emerged. This, however, came too late to pose a serious obstacle to the overall process of Serbian liberation.

Translated from: Културна обнова и морално образовање у XVI и XVII веку, in: Радован Самарџић, *Усмена народна хроника*, Матица српска, Нови Сад 1978, pp. 117–142.

TITOIZATION OF YUGOSLAVIA:
PROPAGANDA AND EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE
(1952)*

KAJICA MILANOV

The only instruments of power Communists firmly believe in are force and propaganda, and the only methods their propaganda operates with are intimidation by threats and deafening by repetition. All other educational methods are either put in service of or are subordinate to those two methods. Education and science, religion and art have partially already been put in service or are soon to be wholly put in the service of propaganda. If the so-called large masses of the working people from the country and the cities cannot be forcefully kept within the limits of party directives, they must be coerced into obedience by propaganda. It is partially systematic intimidation, partially stereotypical repetition of slogans, praise for the leadership and their actions, and praise for the measures taken to maintain the party and its leadership in power.

As strange as it may seem at first glance, the fact is that the Communists have managed to also activate intimidation, in a sense, and use it for their propaganda. They have placed their reputation as revolutionaries, who during the civil war in Russia did not shy away from the most ferocious fighting methods, from collective massacres to the general starving of entire areas, in the service of their cause and instead of covering up those acts, they have managed to use them to intimidate their political opponents to such an extent that they have almost completely psychologically and politically paralyzed them. In a word, their propaganda did not claim: "We are not cruel," but rather: "This is how you, too, will fare, like our opponents in the Soviet Union did."

That all-encompassing propaganda is not just a means of recruiting supporters, rather it is much more an instrument for reforming citizens, therefore a means of creating citizens suitable for the communist system. They know full well that the predominant majority of the citizens, such as they are, are not suitable for a communist society now, even many of those who support and approve of communism. To become suitable for the communist system, they must turn from

* Chapter Six, Propaganda and Education of the People: Education, Propaganda, the Church, in the book by Kajica Milanov PhD, *Titovština u Jugoslaviji (Titoistic Practice in Yugoslavia)*, Sloga, Perth, Australia, 1952

independent and rational persons into easily pliable but diligent beings, who affirm everything and think nothing, unquestionably worship their political leadership, blindly trust and industriously repeat all the communist slogans, in other words, beings who are capable of being happy even in deepest poverty, which is to say they have to be destroyed and built anew.

To understand the importance of propaganda in Yugoslavia, one must compare it to industry. Just like industry by processing raw materials must manufacture economic goods as cheaply and as quickly in the biggest quantities possible, so propaganda should produce as many new people as cheaply as possible, by processing both old and young ones. That is why the educators, journalists and all the aides of propaganda are in the same sense workers like all others.

Just like some process wool, others steel or wood, so another group processes human individuals, all in the service of the leadership and the new order. Since all intellectual work has been put directly or indirectly in the service of propaganda, so it must be understood as a sort of general activity which is to produce new people partially out of old and partially out of young people and children. He who is not a suitable raw material for that new industry, or who will not submit to it, shall be cast out of the community, that is, exiled, incarcerated, or murdered. And so, every citizen in Yugoslavia must choose between being raw material for the Communist propaganda machine and exile, prison or death. In any case, they must renounce their own selves, their personalities and freedom.

EDUCATION

The main institutions of that propaganda machine are schools: elementary, high schools and universities, generally vocational ones. Communist party schooling begins as early as in elementary school, through the so-called pioneer units. They are also used for party oversight of children and through them over their parents as well. The pioneers are divided into *kruzhoks*, circles, and each of those circles gets a child, usually a good student, as a leader and supervisor appointed by the party.

Teachers especially, preferably proven communists, are “in charge of the pioneer sector” in schools, i.e. they supervise the children’s political development. One should not assume that this is about minor, children’s, naïve matters. All the slogans and accusations against the world democratic order, as well as the simultaneous hailing of the communist movement and its leadership, are poured daily into children’s brains. Children’s political statements are strictly supervised, potentially interpreted and, if necessary, forwarded so as to potentially spy on their parents and also to draw the necessary conclusions about the achieved success. Classes are completely imbued by open communist propaganda, starting with slogans and participation in rallies, to learning about and retelling various sentimental, for the most part fictitious anecdotes about Lenin and other revolutionary greats. School books are either pure translations of appropriate Soviet textbooks or their simple reproductions.

The political education of high school youth is carried out through the People’s Youth of Yugoslavia (NOJ = Narodna omladina Jugoslavije) organization.

Thereby it has already in a way been included in the front organizations of the party. While pioneers are just candidates for the party, there are already party members in NOJ, and those who manage the party political propaganda.

The party's work in high schools is much more intensive. There are not only textbooks permeated by communist propaganda, but also all the party's directives to the teachers are aimed at imbuing all the school subjects with examples from communist revolutionary practice, dialectical materialism and propaganda slogans. Furthermore, NOJ and its bodies work toward filling all of the students' free time if not with pure propaganda activity and political education, then at least with sports, entertainment and other activities under the party's control.

For the entirety of their waking life, students are to be either under the influence of propaganda or at least under the party's control. As a result, children cannot do anything freely and independently, nor can they develop individually and personally.

Moreover, any organization of youth or its education outside or possibly against the party have been completely disabled. The entire free time outside of school is organized to that end, through common collective learning classes, collective play, sports, field trips, singing of communist songs, collective reciting of communist slogans and short texts, collective visits to cinemas, theaters, concerts, art exhibitions etc., which is always, if it is collective and organized by NOJ, at a considerably lower price or often even completely free of charge.

If, nevertheless, there remains a spare moment in the life of Yugoslav youth, for example, even in between certain classes, it is immediately filled by the agents of the party, i.e. by ad hoc conferences and discussions. If not even that is possible, then at least by the reading of articles in the daily communist press. There is conferring and discussion, of course, only of communist doctrines, plans, successes and shows, with the obligatory emphasizing of the advantages of the current regime in Yugoslavia relative to the previous regimes and to the regimes in other states.

Every discussion starts and every discussion ends with the stressing of the extraordinary capabilities of the Communist leadership and with pointing out how everything in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia was bad, miserable and unfree, whereas now everything is nice, free and great. In a word, the party makes sure that youth, if possible, remains beyond the influence and control of the party only at mealtime and bedtime. They must not have any free time for their parents and family life. Mothers have no time to talk to their children, to advise or scold them, sometimes not even to give them a kiss.

The party is particularly interested in the especially gifted and otherwise likable and attractive students, those who are favorites among their friends and therefore have an influence over them, who are, as the Communists put it – “mass-appealing” – i.e. who influence and attract the masses. The party leaders first point them out and praise them and after some observation invite them to join the party.

That is presented to them as a special honor and reward for some success of theirs, or for the result they have achieved in their work. If a student happens

to resist that invitation, then the party leaders, initially only with mild hints, attack his or her parents, who as reactionaries and anachronistic people harbor the wrong and outdated ideas, without a sense of the new, beautiful and progressive. At the same time they talk to the student about the advantages and privileges that await him, especially regarding his future, his plans and ambitions, which he will enjoy if he joins the party, as well as about the damage, obstacles and inconveniences he will be exposed to if he miss the current opportunity. If, however, that offer fails too, then they openly attack the student's parents as wicked, selfish, backward and reactionary people, who are destroying the happiness and future of a young man, i.e. girl – who are now in communist terminology called youths – for their irrational, self serving reasons. They are also threatened that further studies will be made difficult and ultimately hindered and that in the end they will be considered reactionaries.

If the party proclaims a person a reactionary, in Yugoslavia that means not only that they will become a second-grade citizen, with considerably reduced rights, but also a citizen without any rights upon whom, so legally and socially unprotected, all the rage of the party and all the ill will of the omnipotent Communist administration will bear down. In many cases, those threats are enough.

But even if they fail, then begins the third stage of persecution of the hapless young man, i.e. girl. First their reputation among the other students is torn down through grades, punishment and scolding and then, finally, a so-called mass student demonstration is provoked and organized where, as per the party's instructions, a so-called free decision of the class is made to expel the student in question from school, and that practically means from society in general.

If the students are reluctant to expel their friend, who has done nothing wrong, from school, so-called parents come to their aid, in the form of street and home secretaries, commissars and spies, and other partisan street mercenaries, who in that case play the role of the people and in the name of the people expel the unfortunate child from school, often physically beating them in the process and occasionally even defenestrating them, sometimes even from a higher floor. That happens to all those students, children of parents who owned something or who were someone in the previous society and who are now because of that not allowed to study and develop further, so as not to potentially become leading elements. After they have been accused of doing something against the current system, they are physically thrown out of the school, often through a window on a higher floor onto the street, having been beaten up before that. No one must resist and oppose the Communist propaganda machine. That would be a social sabotage of the manufacture of people suitable for the communist order and the processing of human material.

What is the worst about the whole thing is not the collective education or the complete occupation of children's time, but rather the one-sided party and political education with one hundred percent unconditional subjugation of children by the party. In that way, the party raises them to be mere instruments, specifically instruments of party goals and the party leadership, which are kept as top secret.

That education is to make them into not only blind instruments, but also into blind active instruments of uncontrolled forces, so that there is always a danger of that entire human apparatus being not only used but even abused for party purposes. One need only think about the seduction and abuse of German youth by National Socialism, to see how irresponsible forces can mislead youth. Parents in Yugoslavia do not know for what cause their children are being raised, where they are led and what they are being seduced into.

Forced propaganda and strict party control have turned school, which used to be a place of gentle teaching, children's play and development, into a political den full of fear, distrust and hatred. Whereas earlier children sang songs and recited poems about spring, butterflies, the cricket and the ants, and with suitable lessons listened to fables, folk songs and tales, nowadays they sing about the class struggle and reaction, about revolutionary fighting and class conflicts, about the terrible lies, sins and corruption of their ancestors, especially their parents; they recite slogans full of hate, political rage and party violence, and instead of engaging in carefree play in moments of leisure, they are introduced to the problems of adults, with the worries and tasks that would not even prepare adults for the path of virtue being imposed on them. And when they engage in work, instead of getting useful knowledge and good lessons and advice, they receive one-sided party training, they are instructed in methods of destruction, and instead of being prepared to become hard-working and useful citizens of a harmonious future human society and instructed to cooperate, they are raised to become class fighters and revolutionaries, who are to bring chaos, hatred and destruction to all of today's society.

Because of that, children have lost the innocent carefree aspect of youth and have become distrustful and worried, while schools have turned from educational institutions into the meeting place of future revolutionaries. Frightened and confused, due to that odd education children have become even more disoriented, as it has created a terrible gap between home and school.

While they listen to one thing at home, at school they are being told something completely different. Aiming to paralyze the influence of school, parents, the most courageous ones, attack, mock and refute the new party goals, slogans and leadership with the same fervor with which the party members at school attack the parents, mock their ideals and tear down their values.

What particularly also increases children's confusion to a great extent is the circumstance that their parents, whom they naturally love and respect, express both their overall dissatisfaction and their dissatisfaction with the education and work being done at school only in a very restrained manner, timidly and with certain internal difficulties. It is thus not expressed by spontaneous and reasonable criticism but rather as explosions that occasionally burst out with irresistible force and feeling, and in the meantime only with acrid remarks voiced here and there. They show the children that their parents are deeply unhappy about something very important, that they are terribly scared, that they cannot express it and, finally, that they are extremely worried.

That gap between home and school leads to children not being able to feel the true spirit of freedom and the healthy directness of a domestic atmosphere

at home, and coming back from school confused and worried, instead of finding a shelter of love and rest at home, they encounter problems and emotional conflicts, which are even more difficult because they are deeper, and even worse because they pertain to the feelings and values that are much more directly tied to their most intimate emotional life.

Therefore, the most horrible destruction that the Communist Party in Yugoslavia is carrying out today is the destruction of the internal development of our youth. Under the impression of those difficult experiences both at school and at home, and especially of the horrible gap between them, it is difficult to assume that most of our youth will manage to find the right way out and a healthy solution.

The youngest ones will be the worst affected, since for them there is a danger of losing faith in any kind of moral values, under the influence of criticism of moral ideals by both sides, and falling into psychological and ethical nihilism under the influence of that moral gap. Psychological and moral conflicts, created by that internal emotional and moral disorganization, will probably follow that generation throughout their life and will cause problems and difficulties which will not be only political by nature. By bringing down a class, the communists will not only bring down a society, rather they will greatly damage and possibly even tear down the healthy emotional culture of an entire generation. For the sake of the rule of the minority, not only those over whom they are wielding their political power today will suffer, but certainly a whole generation will, too, throughout its lifetime, even when their rule has vanished completely.

UNIVERSITIES

Universities in Yugoslavia, especially the ones in Belgrade, have been very communist-oriented in the past. Leftism has always been highly fashionable in Yugoslavia, particularly among the Serbian academic youth.

Until recently, it was considered natural and healthy for youth prone to idealism to be left-leaning. And leftism was considered to be not just something progressive, but also ideally beautiful. When communism took over leadership of all leftist parties and aims, youth transferred all of their fondness to it.

With its extreme attitude, direct and aggressive methods and its simple and easily understandable ideology, it completely suited the Yugoslav youth. Criticizing everything, it greatly increased the desires and general level of demands of our youth – raised superficially and quickly – which were not likely to be achieved in reality, especially in Yugoslavia at the time. For youth, communism was a sum of all that is ideal and beautiful, easily achievable provided that those in power and the social order at the time are toppled. Faced with such prospects, Yugoslav youth approached communism with the verve of one standing in front of heaven's gate.

But, as powerful and as attractive communism was in theory, promises and in criticizing the previous society, its reality has now largely disappointed Yugoslav youth. Communism in power is not nice, nor ideal, nor just. The horrible communist reality, despite all the propaganda being carried out now, has deeply

disappointed the student youth and driven it away, and so the vast majority of youth today is against communism. Before the war, communism presented itself as the bearer of the fight for freedom, social justice, economic equality, and as the protector of the poor and socially weak. Students saw communists as devoted fighters willing to help others, and idealists striving for a better, brighter and more just future. That impressed the non-communist youth, too.

However, the communist reality, with the terrible omnipotence of party bureaucracy, especially of the police, with vast social inequality in exercising power and enjoying material wealth and its use between the new classes: between the Communist rulers and the rest of the people with versatile party protection which always favors party members, as opposed to any capabilities and merits of the non-member; with extreme social injustice, not just toward opponents of the party, but also to the politically disinterested masses of non-members; with heartless economic exploitation of the economically weak, farmers and workers, who have largely been exploited by the new rulers through forced labor and other obligations that even a medieval baron would not allow himself to demand, and finally, the great authority and willfulness of the police (especially the secret one) and the party and, consequently, the absence of any personal, economic and political freedom. That communist reality has deeply disappointed them.

With its rich imagination, the university youth of Yugoslavia cannot forget the promised paradise, nor accept a reality that is so far removed from its ideals and their promise. It cannot understand how the former “champions of freedom” could have established such shameless tyranny.

The unbearable police control, with branched out secret espionage, which goes as far as the bedroom and the kitchen, confuses and constricts the Yugoslav youth, accustomed to almost unbridled nonchalance, while the refined intimidation methods hinder its love of initiative and somewhat conspirative work. That is what has alienated them from communism the most.

Finally, add to that the fact that communism was previously prohibited and as such attracted youth, especially Serbia’s imaginative and emotional youth. Furthermore, its secretive, forbidden work, which alongside the charm of the prohibited and the hidden also carried a certain dose of danger, attracted adventure-prone youth even more.

Today, communism is not only free, but is even disagreeably and excessively privileged. There is nothing mysterious about it anymore, and its boring, worn out and empty phrases, found on all the walls, being the opposite to the awful new reality seem even more pathetic and fake to the youth.

Once, communist slogans sounded to them as magic words that opened new horizons of knowledge and social harmony, of happiness and well-being. For the university youth, they have now become empty phrases which cannot conceal either the horrible reality or their false nature.

Repelled by that sorrowful reality, under the pressure of permanent employment, especially by the communist propaganda, it has even lost the possibility of retreating into its own private dreamland. Youth today does not have time or capacity to even dream about a better, brighter and freer future.

If they do not have to study, young people have to work or at least listen to the endless repetition of slogans which are thus all the more disgusting and more difficult the more youth used to find them holy, and all the more painful the deeper and more terribly they desecrate what was once sacred. Not having the time to even give itself over to its dreams and fantasies, youth suffers, powerlessly indignant in the face of all that is happening around it, piling up hatred and dissatisfaction inside itself and eagerly awaiting the moment of explosion and freedom.

Given that the direct leadership and membership of the party is somewhat secret, therefore, even though the actual rulers are invisible, the piled-up anger and discontent of the university youth all the more forcefully and bitterly turns against the communist ideology and its program.

The gruesome communist reality and, more importantly, the terrible gap between ideology and reality, between propaganda and practice, is so obvious and clear that the university youth has completely been driven away from the old leftist political line and there is a great likelihood that, having been repelled by one extreme, it will easily fall into the other. It is difficult to assess its current concepts of freedom and democracy, but any future regime in Yugoslavia will certainly find it very difficult to meet and achieve them.

To somehow keep the university youth on their side and under political control, they have organized it in the People's Student Youth (NSO = Narodna studentska omladina), which is the core political organization of the university youth. All university students must voluntarily join that organization. Those who are not members of NSO will sooner or later lose any possibility of further education.

NSO is led, under the directives of the party's Central Committee, by a small number of party leaders. They appoint the secretaries of student groups, while they supervise student life in its entirety, their attendance of lectures and exercises, as well as political conferences and events. They test the students' semesters, i.e. without their signature the professors' signatures are invalid and the secretariat cannot verify anyone's semester. They approve or ban the taking of exams by the politically "unreliable" and, finally, they issue the secret student characteristics which determine the fate of a student, not only at the university but later in life as well. A student who comes from a politically unreliable family cannot study what he or she wants. For example, they cannot study medicine and technical sciences, except in extraordinary cases, but rather possibly philosophy – humanities or law, where being and staying neutral is more difficult and where the ideological component is more pronounced: and those professions are now very fashionable among students. They can also easily be expelled from university and that has already happened to many of them.

Expulsion is done in a similar way as in high schools, but slightly more theatrically. A big so-called mass conference is organized, which all students must voluntarily attend. The conference starts, like any other, with a speech going into detail about how everything was bad in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whereas now everything is good. At the end of that well-known speech, the NSO secretary simply reads out a list of students' names, with a note that they

are traitors of the people and opponents of the people's government. As if on cue, the party members dispersed in the crowd begin to systematically shout that the students should be expelled. The secretary of the conference then proposes expulsion. Those same Communist claqueurs start applauding frenetically, with such enthusiasm! Those who do not applaud, or do not do so convincingly enough, can easily end up being candidates for expulsion at the next conference, or can find themselves in a position where the group secretary will not verify their next semester and will not let them take exams. Knowing all that, those who accidentally end up in the proximity of the party members, or think that they are in their proximity, also slowly start applauding, and thereby the students from the aforementioned list are expelled from the university "by the freely expressed will of the people." The university authorities later only implement that "decision," i.e. the party's decision is sanctioned by that strange, new, allegedly democratic procedure. Those and similar events falsify the overall student mood so drastically that the majority of the student youth finds them directly repulsive.

That is accompanied by the experience of the so-called youth railroad, for which all students who want their next semester to be recognized and to be allowed to take the next exam must apply. On that railroad, the students who are party officials, with the excuse of supervision and other party organizational work, take rides in American SUVs received through UNRRA all day long, while the others do the hardest physical labor in the sun. Nonetheless, if they are not party members or at least qualified by the Communists as supporters, they cannot obtain the title of *udarnik* or shock worker and consequently cannot get the privileges such status carries. Therefore, instead of taking a break from their studies during the summer and potentially preparing for the fall exams, they are laboring in the sun in order to be granted the right to take exams and continue attending university, i.e. to have the right that every student enjoyed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, without any labor and merits.

Not to mention machinations with studies, student cafeterias, entry to student dormitories, work in certain student professional associations and other matters in which the party exerts drastic pressure, protects the select few and tyrannizes the majority of the student youth. Students see through that too well to be blinded by the tiring propaganda, which constantly repeats to them from all sides: that they are free, that they are well and happy with everything that is being done. For that reason, one can easily understand why 90% of today's student youth is against Tito's tyranny. Maybe around 5% is neutral, while the remaining 5% is trying by all means to maintain the illusion of the so-called general student movement, authority and control over their fellow students.

ADULT EDUCATION

In addition to education and political forming of youth in and outside of schools, the Communist propaganda also aims to not just win over adults to become supporters of the Communist regime, but also to reform them as much as it can and make them suitable for life in a communist system. For that purpose, the propaganda approaches them from two sides.

On one side, the public and secret police have built an entire system of instruments aimed at making adult citizens soft, obedient and pliable. Exposed to these frightening methods, people become incapable of seriously examining even the most bizarre communist ideas and start finding even the most fantastical communist plans and reforms achievable. Without protesting, they accept even the people least known to them as their leaders and face even the most unexpected changes of plans, personalities and ideas without surprise, resistance or dismay. Under the constant pressure of threats and fear, adults have also lost the will, and even the capacity to criticize and independently judge and look at people and problems.

On the other side, a broadly and well-organized system of civil espionage and political control, even of the completely private life and activities of citizens, numerous arrests and searches of apartments conducted almost always at night, the surrounding and blocking of houses and streets by the secret police without any explanation, refined and infinite interrogations and torture in the jails of the State Security Administration that are always carried out at night, constant verdicts handed down by the so-called people's courts, and ceaseless justifications with various excuses published in the newspapers, as well as frequent political murders in jails and camps without a court verdict, the taking of citizens abroad who then vanish without a trace until some mysterious Russian brings a secret little letter from Tajikistan, Ploiesti or the Ural Mountains and thus news of the taken, and finally the release of frightening news of lists of the Communists' political opponents who are allegedly to be taken to Siberia, sometimes false but often true as well – all that has created a sense of insecurity and a vague and constant fear among the citizens.

Fear has made people not only pliable, but also gullible, causing them to lose any sense of distinguishing reality from figments of imagination, any sense of measure, of what is possible and true. Thus, the most unbelievable news spreads rapidly and easily across the country, everyone believes it and everyone is afraid of everything and everyone. Any, even the most bizarre excess and most obvious unjustness by a party member and the regime is understood and taken as something normal. People have already experienced such strange things that even the wildest product of fantasy no longer seems impossible to them. People have seen such injustice and such excess from the Communists that they no longer find anything unnatural or impossible.

The swift conveying of news quickly puts the people into a panic, but they just as quickly settle down and overcome the issue. They try to find a psychological way of dealing with all the Communist shock methods. Just like a sick person over time finds psychological ground and deals with a chronic illness, for example, with tuberculosis or syphilis, they realize and come to terms with the fact that many things that are permitted to other, healthy people are forbidden to them; that they must suffer and tolerate much of what others do not have to; that they must give up a lot and refrain from what others consider their natural rights. And just like that leads a sick person to become obedient, pliable and gullible, especially where their illness is concerned, and sometimes lose their sense of reality without noticing it immediately, so adults in Yugoslavia, under

the influence of intimidation, become soft, gullible and obedient and lose their sense of reality, truth and justice, without actually noticing it. The system of party intimidation aims to paralyze their civil awareness and strip them of their power of healthy reasoning, so as to prepare them for new ways of thinking and feeling. It wants to completely destroy them internally in order to prepare them for new communist political and psychological building.

But, just like a sick person physically builds in their body certain means of defense during their illness and through so-called immunization gradually becomes fully secured against certain illnesses, so the people in Yugoslavia are now trying to build within themselves certain defense measures against communism and to secure themselves through a sort of spiritual immunization not only against the Communist propaganda, but also against all the evils of their social system.

Under the influence of the communist terror, the people partially bend and follow, but deep down they are creating a solid and impenetrable spiritual cocoon, in which they carefully protect the inviolable values and a healthy sense of all that is not related to communism. Just as they are gullible and pliable regarding all that comes from Communists, so they are still firm, rational and unwavering as regards all the things and values that are not directly related to communism. They have built within themselves two worlds and live a double life. Like in the time of severe Turkish occupation, the people are simultaneously poor and obedient Christians in the Turkish empire and independent descendants of Emperor Dušan and Prince Lazar, in whom the memory of the fallen empire lives on. Today, they are at the same time obedient subjects of the Communist administration and free citizens, proud and invincible, who persistently hope and bide their time.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA

With the use of the aforementioned different ways of intimidation, the softened citizens who have been made pliable are further systematically processed by the propaganda machine. And an entire system of control organs makes sure that they move and act according to specifically defined instructions. The Central Committee issues slogans, therefore, it decides what will be said and praised and what will be criticized and attacked. It decides how global events will be served to the citizens, how they will be interpreted. It decides how various political measures will be executed and how decisions will be implemented. Deviation from the prescribed slogans and methods is strictly prohibited, even for the party members, in fact for them even more than for ordinary citizens. In every historical period, for every situation, question and problem, separate slogans are issued, and so the already highly intimidated citizens with their free reasoning almost completely paralyzed do not need and are not able to contemplate and judge all things on their own. And for all political decisions and social measures, the Central Committee determines the way in which they will be carried out and the methods that will be applied.

Thus, for example, the first slogans were the so-called people's liberation slogans. The words "communism" and "party" were strictly forbidden. No one

was allowed to call themselves a communist. In parliament, the party members were indignant if any proposal of theirs was labeled as communist and fiercely protected any statement in that sense.

At the time, Communists wanted to be just undefined and invisible in terms of their party membership, but also conscious leaders of the people's liberation movement. The main catchwords were: democracy and freedom. Everything was democratic. The state itself was called: Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, even though it was not in fact democratic, or federal, or Yugoslavia. It was not democratic because it was not ruled by the people, but rather by a handful of professional demagogues of the Third International. It was not federal but strictly centralist, because all the decisions and laws were enacted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party rather than the federal units or any sort of forums. And it was not Yugoslavia either because it was not governed by Yugoslavs, nor was it governed by the will of the Yugoslav people nor in its interest, rather it was governed by internationals, by the will and in the interest of the Third International.

At the time, the main method was: grab the instruments of force and thus hold power in the state under the guise of democracy and nationalism to an extent, back during the people's liberation struggle, i.e. while the people were still fighting for freedom. Kill all the conscious political opponents using various excuses, but never as opponents of communism because a shadow should not be cast on communism for those numerous crimes and unjust cruelties. That had turned out badly in the Soviet Union.

The destruction of the Communists' political opponents needed to be presented to the people simply as the people's own showdown with their political opponents and traitors. In that way, those murders were not to be blamed on the Communists, while they were supposed to bring them enormous political advantages. That was the period of the Tito-Šubašić Agreement, the founding of the U.N. and UNRRA's deliveries.

And when the people began to show signs of fatigue from the slogans of democracy and freedom, and when even the politically least informed citizen finally had to see that there was neither freedom nor democracy in Yugoslavia, and that the people did not make decisions and the decisions were not in their interests, therefore that it was the Communists, not the people who ruled Yugoslavia, and when the Communists realized that they could not get anything more from the Western Powers, America in particular, the Central Committee abandoned the old catchwords and came forth with new ones. But the old methods remained.

The word "democracy" was erased and replaced by the term "the people." Yugoslavia went from being "Democratic Federal Yugoslavia" to the "Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia." Just as the previous words "democracy" and "anti-fascism" had been masks for communism, so the word "people's" became a new facade. Yugoslavia turned from a democratic into a people's republic. Instead of the old anti-fascist parties that comprised a coalition on the anti-fascist council, the so-called People's Liberation Front (PLF) was created. Consequently, the former communist intelligentsia, called "honest," became

the people's intelligentsia. Courts became the people's courts; congresses became the people's congresses; the anti-fascist council became the people's assembly; students became the people's youth etc.

The Tito–Šubašić Agreement was violated: relations with the western democracies deteriorated, whereas the ones with the Soviet Union and its satellites became more open and pronounced. Reading Anglo-American newspapers, which arrived with a two-month delay and called pro-fascist, was frowned upon. Listening to Anglo-American radio was overseen by home commissars and street secretaries, who wrote down the names of those who continued to do so, despite serious warnings at conferences. American reading rooms were closed down, UNRRA cans vanished from all windows of state-owned and co-op stores. UNRRA goods were – if possible – repackaged and sold as Yugoslav, under new names. The western democracies were no longer democracies but pro-fascist political systems, masked fascism or reactionary capitalist systems.

Communism, however, was still secret – both its leadership and membership. It did not even appear in slogans much. The name was still heavily weighed down by murders and horrors; and the reality itself was still far from something it could be proud of. The typical communist institutions such as: soviets, kolkhozes, commissars etc. were masked by new names. Soviets, i.e. councils, became committees; kolkhozes became co-ops; commissars became ministers, i.e. secretaries, OZNA (the Department for People's Protection) became UDBA (State Security Administration).

The slogans are, therefore, systematically adapted to the new propaganda tasks and goals of the party, not only relative to the central and highest state relations, but rather that direction goes through slogans all the way down to the smallest everyday problems and tasks. So, slogans are issued for elections and for rebuilding the country, for a five-year plan and for paying taxes, even for pioneers' field trips and events of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front. But, according to the tasks and goals of the party, they are arrogantly altered. For example, the communization of private property was initially carried out with the proclaimed idea of punishing collaborators of the enemy, then of punishing participants in Draža Mihajlović's Chetnik movement; then laws on communization without compensation were issued, under the slogan: "The people have become aware of their rights and are taking what is theirs." And, finally, laws with the illusion of compensation were passed under the slogan: "The legal fight against bourgeois (capitalist) society." In that way, the propaganda machine takes care not only of what the citizens should say and think, but also of how they should value all matters and events, and of what attitude they should have regarding all events, problems and reforms.

Besides the slogans meant for the "general masses," the party members receive small, short brochures filled predominantly with thoughts and brief speeches, which they are to give out at conferences, instructions on how to behave in private conversations on the street, at a bar or at work, and with appropriate advice on how to behave in certain situations, if they end up in an uncomfortable position in a discussion, what to pay special attention to, how

to react to what type of people, what matters to even talk about, and what issues to avoid and play down, and what subjects to respond to and how. Those are semi-secret instructions for the executors of propaganda directives, and that means for the secretaries of unions, branches of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front, PLF organizations, for the street secretaries, student groups' secretaries and for all other activists.

In short, the big propaganda machine takes care of and strictly regulates not only the thoughts and speech of the people, but rather to an even greater extent the thoughts and speech of the party members themselves. Bound by the directives of the party, not only do they not need to think and to solve social problems on their own, rather they are not allowed to. The party thinks for everyone and the Central Committee takes care of everyone. It is not only all-powerful, but also all-knowing and all-good like a deity, some sort of secret, invisible, omnipresent supreme power.

CONFERENCES

But, to prevent slogans and instructions from remaining only on paper, the Communist propaganda machine made sure to force citizens in various ways to read and repeat them as often as possible. One of the most boring such ways are conferences, i.e. reading and discussion kruzhhoks. There are no more pathetic lectures and worse mental torture in the 20th century than communist conferences and reading, i.e. discussion kruzhhoks. They are called for every minor thing, at any time of day and by any instance and institution. They mainly aim to achieve three things.

First, those meetings serve to maintain the illusion of democracy in people's eyes and to create the illusion that the people decide on what party officials actually forcefully impose on and more than often clumsily serve to them. That is, therefore, an attempt at masking the true dictatorship of the party. Party officials stage the making of the decisions that are ordered by the directives of the Central Committee.

Second, people are forced to say and repeat slogans and to listen to presentations of party positions on all issues. And the Communists firmly believe that the propaganda importance of repetition is magical and omnipotent, even if it is completely mechanical, without any conviction and true belief. They are certain that people, if they do not believe and accept something they have heard 99 times, if they hear it 150 times they will finally believe and accept it after all, that the ceaseless repetition of slogans and ideas will result in their plans eventually penetrating the minds of the people.

And finally, third, in that way even in their spare time people remain under the most efficient control of the party, its officials and agents. From the standpoint of the party, it is dangerous to lose sight of citizens and leave them to their own devices. They might use that free time of theirs to create an opinion of their own on various issues, they might start reasoning about slogans and reality, about themselves and their fate, and ultimately about politics and the state, not to mention that they might freely gather, even organize. All that is

prevented by these conferences. At the same time, the propaganda machine uses such events to process characters, grind personalities, break personalities and violate the last internal resistance to communism and to the party's machinations. Those who cannot be internally broken even by fear, conferences or reading kruzshoks, will at least be so fatigued that the fatigue will paralyze them. And that is certainly achieved. After every such conference and all those reading meetings with so-called free discussions, everyone feels not only terribly humiliated by the methods used so shamelessly and by the machinations that are so easy to see through, but above all terribly psychologically exhausted and beaten down.

After those meetings, I always felt like someone whose last thought and impression has been sucked out of their consciousness by some dust extraction machine, who has had even the weakest feeling pulled out of their heart and even the most hidden thought from their mind, and especially any will to do anything. After a conference, a person feels mentally empty and is incapacitated for any kind of initiative, with everything looking as miserable to them as the communist present and as hopeless and empty as the horrible communist future.

That is probably why the Communists are so insistent on attendance of those conferences and meetings and consider their avoidance a greater sin than unprofessional and poor work, even less of a sin than inactivity in general. Those conferences and meetings are held everywhere, in every place. They are called in unions, at factories, kolkhozes, on the streets, in houses etc. And nothing has made communism odious, especially in the eyes of the little man, like conferences and mental torture which never leave him alone, which will not even let him get some proper rest after a hard day's work. If, however, someone is not completely beaten down by labor and mental torture, then it is exactly at those conferences that they can best see how all the party machinations are artificially staged, how the propaganda machine operates without any life or internal conviction, how the party members try in vain to nonetheless give that whole spectacle some form and appearance, while in fact everything rests on fear and force, and that both they and the people are actually unnecessarily exhausted by all those gatherings, and deeply humiliated as people.

Every conference is mostly staged like this: first, of course, one of the Communists gives a mandatory speech, the first half of which extensively and usually distastefully smears the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, while the second half in the same way praises the current Tito regime. At the same time, to be on the safe side, the speech is peppered with several threats, of course aimed at the small home and wicked foreign reactionaries, along with other political opponents. The several Communists in attendance, who are like some sort of flying troops moved from conference to conference, are positioned in the auditorium so that they can applaud and control the people's mood.

Pressured by the constant running from conference to conference, these flying propaganda troops, exhausted and vexed by the boring and mentally draining work, are particularly enraged, angry and dangerous. They are also like that because they distribute material for citizen characteristics, the most

dangerous instrument of the secret police. Those who they say did not applaud or applauded without enthusiasm and conviction will get a bad characteristic, never a supply coupon, and they are socially lost.

After that introductory speech comes the main topic, i.e. what the conference is about. The speakers are always planned in advance, always the same, namely Communists, and they always speak for, never against.

Then comes the Communists' unconvincing and forced incitement of the audience to say something. The entire gathering finds itself in deep silence and confusion; everyone looks ahead and tries to somehow avoid saying or expressing anything. No one wants to say anything nor dare express anything and that makes them feel confused and a little scared, afraid that someone will notice their confusion and fear to speak, and that he or she, albeit remaining silent, will be perceived as disagreeing with what is going on.

Sometimes, in the worst cases, some sucker will ask a question, usually an inappropriate one, or timidly request an explanation. In those moments the Communists are usually perplexed by that unexpected development and find themselves in an uncomfortable position.

Finally, one of them proposes a decision or reads out a resolution prepared in advance, to which the Communists dispersed in the auditorium applaud, the confused, tired and intimidated citizens after some reluctance applaud too, after which the event commissar always utters the closing magical phrase: "Therefore, comrades, since we all agree, I propose that we enact the resolution, i.e. decision unanimously and with acclamation." That is followed by definite applause, this time slightly louder, since the citizens feel that the conference is almost over and the aforementioned decision, i.e. resolution is thereby definitely passed.

After that, the Communist leadership of the conference and the claqueurs who are always very busy quickly leave the room and those present feel a measure of relief. People start to talk to each other in a natural and direct way about various things, but not about what they so "unanimously" decided on just a few moments before. They might talk about that only after they have stepped out onto the street, and only *tete-a-tete*, and only between close friends.

Otherwise everyone is very tired of all that, they have gotten sick of it already and are ashamed of each other for partaking in such a spectacle. It is all the more pathetic because it always takes place among people who otherwise know each other well, therefore, who know full well what the other really thinks and why they are acting that way, who clearly see that it is all a pathetic illusion and poorly masked fraud – the applause, the speeches, the decisions and the resolutions. Therefore, all that masking is not fooling anyone, nor can it hide anything.

PROPAGANDA THROUGH TWISTING HISTORY AND DEFINED MEANING OF WORDS

To better find our way around Communist propaganda, it would be interesting if we looked at the systematic twisting of the meaning of certain words and fundamental life terms, as well as the systematically twisted interpretation of certain fundamental historical events.

According to that twisting, it seems as though, under the influence of Communist propaganda, words themselves and their meanings, too, have engaged in combat. The passion of combat seems to have permeated not only the present day and all its forms, but rather seems to have penetrated the future as well, promising people the realization of the most fantastical dreams, and the distant past, changing and mutilating events, overturning graves and deforming the faces of all historical figures.

The revolutionary passion and transformation appears to have taken over not only the present, but has gone into the unforeseeable future and the distant past, too.

In the midst of that fight, in action and reaction, it was not only the meaning of words that was often damaged, but words themselves sometimes lost all meaning and the presentation of historical events lost all content – so that it is no longer known, when someone is speaking, what they are saying; when they are working, what they really want; and when they want something, what they are really feeling.

The battle is, therefore, no longer fought on the economic, social and political plane, but rather through all manifestations of life; transformation is, therefore, being carried out in art, science and philosophy, and finally even within language, words and terms, even through the future and the past.

Thus, for example, the First Serbian Uprising against the Turks is no longer a national rebellion of the oppressed people against multacentennial Turkish occupation, as the first rebels believed and as we were used to understanding. The uprising, according to the new interpretation, is the struggle between the Turkish and Serbian bourgeoisie over civil privileges for the exploitation of the common people.

The Balkan Wars and the heroic struggles of little Serbia for the liberation and unification of, primarily, Serbs and then of all Yugoslavs, according to the Communist interpretation were not the national efforts of a small people toward freedom and national independence, but rather the forced dragging of the people by the Serbian bourgeoisie into an imperialist war of western capitalist powers, for the sake of international capitalism and global bourgeoisie's goals.

Accordingly, in 1914 the Serbian people did not engage in a struggle for defending their own national goals and interests, but rather the Serbian bourgeoisie pushed and practically tricked them into going to war, putting both itself and the people in the service of capitalism, for the purposes of western imperialism.

World War I and World War II – according to that interpretation – actually have nothing to do with peoples and their interests – except, of course, the fight between the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany – but are rather internal capitalist clashes between certain capitalist countries over sources of raw materials and markets, which in fact means that those wars are merely fights of the national bourgeoisies over the right to exploitation of all peoples of the world.

The Hungarians' atrocious slaughter of Serbs and Jews in Bačka region and the slaughter by the Ustasha in Bosnia are not national clashes between the Serbs and Hungarians or Serbs and Croats, but rather anachronistic fights

between the Serbian and Hungarian, i.e. Serbian and Croatian bourgeoisies over the right to exploit Vojvodina, i.e. Bosnia.

In that and similar ways, our entire history is being reinterpreted today.

There are several examples that can better illustrate the battle being fought under the influence of Communist propaganda in language, words and terms. The following list of twisted words and terms is by no means complete. Only that can illustrate and show the kind of mess of terms that has been created in the minds of our people by such propaganda over a short period of ten years.

Here are a few examples:

THE PEOPLE – members of the party plus supporters. The word is to also be used with the words “the working people of the country and cities.” It is used to denote all those who voluntarily tolerate and potentially recognize the Communist regime, and certainly and above all work for it without grumbling. The working people is a phrase primarily denoting Communist supporters – whereas the members of the party, for understandable reasons, are not called the working people, but only and simply – the people. That central part of the above-mentioned people, also called its best part or its flower, of whom one is a blue, i.e. white violet – as necessary – means the same thing as Communist.

The adjective “the people’s” always means Communist, like for example the people’s intelligentsia, the people’s warehouses, the people’s authorities etc.

ELECTIONS – the word is to be used only in combination with the words “free” and “secret,” with the emphasis being, as necessary, sometimes on “free” and other times on “secret” – and that is used to mark any forced voting for Communist candidates.

DEMOCRACY – the word is to be used in combination with the words “people’s” or “eastern” and “economic,” while combining it with the word “western” is prohibited – and it is used to denote any method of Communist rule.

TRAITOR – any non-communist who lives in the area approximately between Berlin and Vladivostok. The word is always to be used in combination with the word “people” – any traitor is a traitor of the people.

EQUALITY – any social order in which everyone acknowledges the authority and leading role of the Communist Party; all communist social forms and any dominance of the communists.

CLASSLESS SOCIETY – the social order of the distant – indeterminately distant – future, consisting of the ruling Communists and of people who, after having been reshaped according to the planned recipes, will in all things voluntarily accept Communist rule, considering it a natural, necessary and normal institution. The plan is for both sides to be as happy as possible in that case.

ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE – any person who is not happy and satisfied with the communist order and is not spontaneously obedient to the Communist regime.

VOLUNTARY LABOR – any overtime and unpaid work outside of jails and concentration camps.

FREEDOM – a social order in which Communists may be praised to one’s heart’s content and the Communist political leadership may be worshipped to the point of exhaustion, while all their political opponents may be attacked to the same extent.

FIGHT – the word is usually used in combination with the word “our,” and mostly denotes the unknown and mysterious activity of Communist Party members in the woods, during four years of war, while the people were fighting against the occupiers and amongst themselves. That activity brought the Communists power, well-being and, to an extent, fame – thus, lately the word “fight” is most often employed in the sentence: “That is what our fight has given us.” Otherwise, the word has lost its meaning in any other sense, owing to that one-sided use. Since the aforementioned fight has “given” everything to whom it had intended to give it, today no one can understand why a daily newspaper in Belgrade is still called *Borba* (Fight), because no one knows anymore what it is supposed to give and to whom.

INTELLIGENTSIA – a highly ambiguous word, with a multitude of meanings:

- a) Honest intelligentsia – all the clerks, officers and non-commissioned officers of Yugoslavia who previously were not successful in society for whatever reason, and who joined Tito during the war so as to be socially rehabilitated.
- b) The people’s intelligentsia – it comprises all those who, alongside the aforementioned honest intelligentsia, joined Tito later, when it was already obvious that the western democracies had also given him carte blanche to rule the country.
- c) The word intelligentsia also marks the bearers of a profession that, despite being semi-harmful, is still very favored by the so-called working people. Members of that profession – like the members of the party, too – worship and tirelessly praise any type of physical work, but persistently and systematically avoid it – probably thanks to the interesting dialectics of their character.

SCIENCE – all that the Communists claim and which can somehow be backed by quotes from Marx – Engels – Lenin – Stalin, and, as of lately, mostly by Tito.

EXPLOITATION – the earlier source of life and the main occupation of the so-called capitalists, rulers and bourgeoisie, and currently the source of life and main occupation of members of the Communist Party.

WOMAN – a member of the Women’s Anti-Fascist Front. Earlier, especially in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, greatly neglected and exploited, particularly by her husband. In 1945, she was finally liberated and having become “aware” of her rights, takes part in all voting and all voluntary unpaid work. Some think that this is the name of a new profession of persons who collect charitable contributions and magazine subscriptions and, as necessary, wipe, i.e. wash slogans off walls and pavements.

YOUTH – a special kind of being in whom great hope is put. Youth is divided into three groups: pioneers, male youths and female youths. They did not exist before. Earlier, in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, they were ordinary children whom their parents took care of. Now the party and Tito do – and in return they work for the party and Tito, hence the name “the people’s youth.” The main duty of that youth is to be enthusiastic communists. Since they did

not exist in the past, understandably they did not have any political influence or any political rights and so had no political duties. Today they must voluntarily do all kinds of work, while singing in the process, and after finishing their work cheerfully and tirelessly attend events in honor of Tito and the party. They must voluntarily read the party literature and be thrilled by what they have read. In exchange, they have the right to despise their reactionary parents and – of course – listen to them as little as possible, to berate their reactionary friends and, of course, spy on them politically.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat – the current, impermanent form of communist rule which, despite being impermanent, has been in place in the Soviet Union for more than 30 years now. The party literature foresees its eventual disappearance – but, unfortunately, no one knows when that will be. The dictatorship of the proletariat is also called the people's government in Yugoslavia. It is a very mild, more politically educational than politically organizational instrument made for, truth be told, cautious but systematic intimidation, and if that does not help, then for the destruction of all political opponents of the Communists who luckily, as it is often pointed out, barely even exist.

Terror – according to some, a feeling that only communists used to harbor, while now the entire nation does; according to others, it is a new terrible word that actually means the same as “state,” i.e. “authorities” (some even believe that is the name of a foreigner, the chief of OZNA). Others still think the word denotes the spiritual base of the Communist regime.

Justice – the name of a Moscow daily (*Pravda*) which no one reads because they do not understand Russian. Due to long use, the word has become worn out and lost all meaning, and so today it means practically nothing in the Serbian language. Thus, it is almost not even used, at least not by party members. The word was previously frequently used in combination with the word “social” – it meant, according to some, a social order with communists in power, while according to others it was about the same as heaven on earth. Today it is considered to be one of the surviving petty bourgeois phrases devoid of meaning, which is occasionally used only by the “unaware” supporters and the “unincluded” – i.e. lost – members of the party.

Shock Worker – the only simultaneously useful, respectable and foolish member of communist society.

Farmer – the word has two meanings. First, it denotes all people who now happily, sometimes even with song, work the land they used to work arduously. They all used to be unwell because they were working for money, whereas now they are all well because they are working for Tito and the party. From time to time, and only in passing, they play the role of the only natural allies of the Communists in the countryside, which is sometimes even acknowledged. Second, the word “farmer” also marks a former undefined profession of a small number of insignificant members of the Central Committee.

Agricultural Work(er) – a modern term and a surrogate for the word “farmer.”

Kulak or Prosperous Peasant – a man who is guilty of all the social ills in the world and for all the failures of the party in the countryside, of

which there is a growing number despite there being a decreasing number of kulaks. He is entitled to working up to 20 hectares of land, which he cannot call his own. He should see to it that he works as much as possible yet earn as little as possible, to produce as much as possible yet sell as little as possible, and finally to make sure that he disappears as soon as possible, both physically and from the market.

GOVERNMENT – used only in relation to the word “people’s” – denotes an omnipotent, omniscient and thus unerring yet extremely benevolent institution, the representatives of which are the biggest benefactors of the people. They constantly admit their small mistakes at all Communist gatherings, constantly point out their endless good will and constantly whine about their powerlessness – none of which anyone believes.

COMMUNISM – due to being extremely unpopular among the people, the word is not used at all – because of excessive use among party members, it has become so worn out that it has lost all meaning. That is why “this” is used instead of it, e.g.: “Are you for this, comrade?” Instead of the word “communism” other words that are used are: anti-fascism, eastern or economic democracy – the people’s government – sometimes socialism, and in more recent times and especially in expert circles, socialism-building. Due to that diverse use and frequent replacement by other words, which used to have other meanings, the word “communism” has lost its actual meaning and so many think that it actually means OZNA, i.e. UDBA.

COMMUNIST – a synonym for the term “party member.” The word denotes mysterious people who are very difficult to identify, even though everyone senses their very real and unpleasant presence, almost always and in all places.

SLOGAN – a brief sentence, usually political in nature, always without any connection with reality and sometimes even without any specified meaning. Slogans are the only political expressions the people are allowed to speak loudly and repeat to their heart’s content. The party members release them among the people, change them from time to time, which some think is because it gives the members of the Women’s Anti-Fascist Front something to write and wash off and gives female activists something to write and put on other people’s walls.

POLICE – an institution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and other capitalist countries, which has been completely annulled because of its unpopularity among the Communist ranks and due to a lack of work in the communist society in Tito’s Yugoslavia. Instead of it, two completely new institutions, highly favored by the so-called people, were formed – namely, militia and OZNA or UDBA. As we are supposed to be aware of, they are nothing like the old police, they have nothing to do and nothing in common with the previous force. The millennial Communist plan envisages that upon the disappearance, i.e. annihilation of all of the Communists’ opponents, they will be out of work and will be abolished – which is certainly eagerly awaited.

CO-OP – a farmers’ and craftsmen’s organization created so that farmers and craftsmen may exploit themselves as well and as successfully as possible.

WORKER – the word has many meanings. First, it means the same thing as “people.” Second, it means the undefined but highly profitable profession of Tito and many pre-war Communist officials. Third, the word “worker” denotes an undefined class of people on whose behalf the Central Committee of the Communist Party is ruling today, which is something they, like it or not, have to be happy about.

POLITICS – the word is predominantly used with three meanings: a) the lucrative profession of all members of the Communist Party; b) the invisible means of keeping Communists in power; c) the name of a Belgrade daily (*Politika*) which has nothing to do with either of the aforementioned meanings of the word.

REACTIONARY – a) a synonym for the terms “opponent of communism,” “counter-revolutionary” and a substitute for the former term “anti-state element;” b) a very widespread type of people whom no one in Yugoslavia is afraid of, in front of whom anyone can say what they want and no one has to praise Tito, and who do not worship their political leadership. Once that kind of people was called “the people.”

OZNA – means the same as UDBA – the only institution, even though it is an educational one, which besides the people is feared even by the members of the party.

THE PARTY – an invisible organization that is allowed to do anything, have anything and thinks it can do anything.

EXPERT – any party member or fighter, even any former goat farmer who receives special party brochures and even reads them from time to time.

MANAGEMENT – a group of often well-meaning, sometimes even smart, but always non-influential people, who are elected in all possible places, in factories, co-ops and institutions of all sorts. They often meet to discuss how to best and most successfully carry out the party’s secret orders.

MAN – a word that is practically no longer heard or used in Yugoslavia. Some think that is because there is a deficit of beings who used to be denoted by that word, while others think it is because those beings are now hiding under different names, or are masking themselves in various ways. Only according to the five-year plan are those beings to be either thoroughly recast or definitely liquidated.

COMRADE – a word with no meaning. It is placed before the name of every communist, according to some because that should make it easier for the people to say it, practically to have time to take a break and gather their wits before speaking a favorite Communist name. Others think it is only a substitute for the words “gentleman”, “sir” and “mister,” which are now banned. That, however, could not be determined since no real, genuine gentleman could be found whose name would be preceded by the word “comrade.”

CONSCIOUSNESS – the only word with two strictly separate meanings, one in the ekavian pronunciation and the other in the ijekavian pronunciation. In ijekavica, consciousness (*svijest*) means a mysterious psychological state of members of the party which enables them to believe that they can do anything, are allowed to do anything and have everything without private property. In

ekavica, the word “svest” again means a very mysterious psychological state which other people find difficult to achieve, even though the party members keep encouraging them to do so, which is to enable them to be hard-working without food, happy without justice and satisfied without freedom.

GENTLEMAN – this word is no longer heard and is not used publicly at all, like some kind of profanity. Lately it has been given a new meaning – Communists of different factions use it to insult each other, Cominformists especially like to label Titoists with it.

LABOR – a physical state which everyone praises without exception, and persistently avoids.

LIQUIDATE – a) a highbrow word for “murder;” b) one of the effective political means of creating a majority in all Communist political forums.

TAX – one of the least favorite functions of the so-called old Yugoslavia. Due to its great unpopularity among the people, it has been abolished in Tito’s Yugoslavia, with the word highly favored by the so-called working people “accumulation” put in its place. The difference between tax and accumulation is huge, even though many do not notice it. First and foremost, taxes were paid mainly by wealthy people, reluctantly. They did not know why they were paying it in the first place – and always believed they were paying more than they should be. Today the so-called working people, of course, do not pay taxes at all, because they have been abolished – rather they only partake in the “accumulation of financial means” with great love. First, because it is constantly being explained to them why they are paying, thus it must be assumed that they know why they are doing so, and second, they are doing so with love – some believe because money cannot buy them anything anyway, and third, they are convinced that they are always paying much less than what the Tito administration and plans need.

MARX – the name of the person who should be quoted in all important cases, if Stalin has already been quoted, to intensify the proving power of Stalin’s quote. Some reactionaries believe that he is a former president of the secret world organization of freemasons, while others think he is the founder and first chief of the intelligence service and that he has nothing to do with the absentminded bearded person whose photographs can be seen at all Communist congresses. Some party members believe he is Lenin’s doppelganger, while others claim that he is a former German philosopher and the author of several thick books, some of which they have even laid eyes on.

ENGELS – the word whose meaning no one knows, which is always used in combination with the word “Marx.” Some party members say that it is Marx’s pseudonym, whereas others believe that it is part of Marx’s name, i.e. that Marx is actually called Marx-Engels. Better informed Communists believe that it is the name of Marx’s wife and that after the wedding he added it to his own name for sentimental reasons. Either way, any Communist who wants to appear highly educated should always say Marx-Engels instead of Marx.

LENIN – according to some, this is Stalin’s alias, while according to others it is Marx’s alias. In any case, that denotes a mysterious person whose quotes have absolute proving power. One quote from Lenin is worth more than a

hundred experiments, a thousand observations and a million pieces of logical proof. No one, however, believes that he has anything to do with the stocky bald man screaming from all communist statues and raging in all paintings from the time of the Russian Revolution. Pioneers believe it is a person from children's reading textbooks who tirelessly teaches them how to be good communists, and at the same time happy people when they grow up.

STALIN – the name of an incredibly good man, who hates only those who do not listen to him, persecutes only those who refuse to be made happy by him and, truth be told with a heavy heart, but constantly and systematically eliminates only those who are obstructing him in achieving that heaven on earth. Some party members claim that they know from reliable sources that he is of Georgian origin, that he is a former Orthodox monk and that his monastic name was Rasputin.

TITO – an unknown and mysterious person who, from time to time, appears and speaks to the people, of course, from a decent distance. He tells everyone what they can and cannot say and what they can and cannot do. Some think it is an acronym made up of the first letters of *Tajna Internacionalna Teroristička Organizacija* (Secret International Terrorist Organization). But since such an organization never existed or did anything – as Cominformists have proved now – that assumption was dismissed. However, no one is quite sure who or what he is but everyone must worship him, as loudly as possible, admire his countless capabilities, believe unwaveringly in his wise political leadership and, if possible, do so in the most vocal way possible. But all the party members in Yugoslavia today know that he has absolutely nothing to do with the “fat individual without political principles,” which is what the Cominformists, his former friends who certainly know him well, call him.

YUGOSLAVIA – a mysterious Balkan country which, when viewed from the outside, looks like one country, but if viewed from the inside, one can see that they are two completely different countries: the old – also called reactionary, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the new – called progressive, and Tito's Yugoslavia. The old one was reactionary and that is why no one liked it. In it, man exploited man, and the majority was exploited by the minority and everyone in it was unhappy, and so they yelled against it to their heart's content. Thus for medical doctors it was unhealthy, for professors it was uncultured, for farmers it was too urban, for city dwellers it was too rural, for judges it was too immoral, while for lawyers, we believe, it was too honest. For the rich it was too poor, for the poor it was too rich, for the Croats it was too Serbian, while for the Serbs it was too Yugoslav. That is why everyone blasted and hated it. Only bellies, pockets and barns were full in it and everyone wanted to live in it. And those who made a mistake and left it, like for example some Germans and Hungarians in the beginning – they all wanted to return to it later.

The new, or progressive, or Tito's Yugoslavia was first the democratic and federative Yugoslavia and then, mysteriously, overnight, it stopped being democratic and turned into the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. In it, man does not exploit man, but rather the party exploits people – therefore the minority exploits the majority – which, of course, is something completely different. That

is why everyone in it is happy and thus it is no wonder that everyone is silent and is not blasting anyone. Everyone adores the authorities to the point of madness and loves them to the point of despair.

For doctors it is too healthy. For professors it is cultured, for farmers it is rural, for city dwellers it is urban, for judges it is moral, while for lawyers it is honest, and that is why they have all practically been left jobless.

The people are happy and satisfied, which is why they often dance around squares on various occasions, be it voluntarily or forcefully. However, even though it is the land of milk and honey, bellies, pockets and barns are empty and no one likes living in it. And those who make the mistake of accidentally coming to the country, like for example returnees from America, Australia and Canada, they all want to leave it again as soon as possible. Finally, the culmination of confusion was when the Communists in the country started convincing the entire world that it was still communist, whereas those outside the country started saying that it had always been fascist. To the people in the country, truth be told, it looks like cruel Communist tyranny, but to the journalists on the outside it seems like a mild democratic self-government. From the inside it looks like an ally of the Soviets, while from the outside it appears to be an ally of the Anglo-Americans. That is why, as of recently, its former friends are attacking it and its opponents are defending it; the Soviet Union curses it, even though it is a communist country, while America feeds it – to this day no one has been able to determine why. It is truly a very mysterious country.

For all those reasons, it is no wonder that such spiritual confusion and such a muddle of terms has been created among the people in Yugoslavia, so today no one knows for certain: who is for whom and who is against whom.

These randomly picked examples illustrate best how the meaning of many words has changed under the influence of Communist propaganda and how even the few words whose meaning, despite the Communist propaganda, had been more or less preserved, have lost their meaning under the impact of international events.

In the general spiritual confusion created from all that, the despairing people return to their original spiritual sources and often, with a sigh, mention the old adage: Save me, Lord, from my friends and I'll save myself from my enemies.

THE GREAT FAÇADE – THE PRESS AND RADIO, FILM AND THEATER, SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

The press and radio. – In addition to the more or less well-hidden propaganda and control of citizens through conferences and PLF local community organizations, education and the party's overall political activity, the denizens of Yugoslavia are exposed to the constant influence of the party through the press, radio, theater and other public events, too, such as for example, scientific lectures, sports games and music events.

Nothing more could be said about the press and radio in Yugoslavia aside from what is already general knowledge. They are public and open propaganda,

which is consciously and openly directed by the Communist Party, with no exceptions. All opposition newspapers and magazines are prohibited. Not even any of the PLF parties, therefore those who are seemingly a part of the government, have their own dailies or magazines.

The only exception in that regard is the weekly republican magazine *Republika (The Republic)*. It is probably permitted solely because of its name, even though it also writes completely in the communist spirit in a small format. It is the magazine of communist-oriented republicans, supporters of the late Jaša Prodanović, whom they called a sell-out to Tito when he was alive. Those at the PLF have a right to speak for themselves, but in the communist spirit, and to listen.

The Yugoslav press has in the past received most of the news and main articles on general and world politics in a semi-finished form, initially from the Soviet Union, via the Comintern of course. Today, Yugoslav journalists themselves work in the same spirit, having become experienced enough over time.

Any free report or any private opinion in the press and on the radio are strictly forbidden. How far that prohibition and control goes is illustrated by the fact that a special service has been organized on the radio to even control folk songs. It was noticed that folk singers on the radio sometimes by accident and sometimes even deliberately sing old folk songs, the lyrics of which are now labeled as reactionary. That means that sometimes when singing they do not adhere strictly to the new communist lyrics, obligatory for every public singing performance, but add the old, largely appropriate or sentimental song lyrics and thereby already show signs of a measure of resistance to communism. Therefore, not even in classic folk songs can the lyrics be free and independent from Communist Party propaganda.

However, several specific circumstances show how the people put up some, even if only passive resistance to that unilaterally directed press. They primarily avoid buying newspapers and magazines wherever possible, and especially reading the extremely party-oriented publications. To overcome that somehow, the Communists noticeably propose and in various ways impose public and collective subscriptions to all extremely pro-party dailies, especially *Borba*, at all conferences, public meetings and events.

Thus *Borba* is constantly publicly imposed on students in classes, clerks in offices, workers in factories, and in that way the party forces everyone to receive the daily. The people, however, use every possible opportunity to avoid buying *Borba* and make sure to buy – if they must – some other newspaper, for example *Politika*. Truth be told, it is as communist as *Borba* and has the same content, but at least it is not an official organ of the party. To deal with that, too, the Communists print all the other dailies in smaller circulation, send a limited number of copies to rural areas and do so late, and, finally, publish all the information important to the people, particularly on the distribution of food and clothing, primarily in *Borba*.

In terms of content, the press and the radio present the official standpoint of the party and as such make up the main parts of the great façade of Tito's regime. According to them, the people are free, cheerful and happy. They im-

measurably adore their political leadership and have infinite trust in it and in their own future. They compete not only in work and voting, but also in their love for the party and all its institutions. The whole foreign world – according to the Yugoslav press and radio – envies the Yugoslavs because they have such exemplary people's authorities, progressive legislation and a model state order. The world is constantly congratulating Tito on something and Tito is constantly replying to the world's various congratulations, following his various successes.

The people spend all of their free time partaking in events marking various economic accomplishments, especially those projected into the future, and dance in squares deep into the night, celebrating the various achievements and legacy of the party from the past.

OZNA and the prisons do not exist according to the Yugoslav press and radio, only those who deserve it are in camps and subjected to forced labor; resistance and revolt of the people exist only in western democratic countries, while shortages and poverty are passing phenomena which will disappear as soon as a lengthy series of five-year plans is completed.

Famine in entire areas of Yugoslavia is made no mention of, while UNRRA's shipments and aid from the western allies in fact constitute the legacy of the wise foreign policy of the unerring party leadership, or are not mentioned at all.

Judging by the press and the radio, the happy citizens of Yugoslavia see the only happiness in pleasing their infallible political leadership as much as possible, the leadership all the neighboring peoples envy it for, and constantly think about how to carry out every order by the party as quickly and as successfully as possible. Freedom, happiness and bliss are the main feelings of the people and they try to spend all of their free time in expressing them as clearly as possible. The people are looking at their future with great confidence, because they are led by the most brilliant statesmen of the world, who love them immeasurably and committedly. No one is naked or hungry, the jails are empty, while the people worry only about the fact that the western capitalist and eastern socialist peoples envy them for their happiness and well-being, especially for their wise leadership.

According to the Yugoslav press and radio, there has been complete freedom ever since the Communists came to power on behalf of the people. Their political opponents, dubbed enemies of the people, who of course are practically non-existent, are scoundrels, traitors and evildoers. They will not kill them all, which is what the people actually want, just because they are terribly noble and because they are nonetheless hoping that the enemies of the state will finally improve and become good, and that means obedient citizens who will only want, like all the others, to serve the people and even more the people's authorities.

Only the Soviet Union had until recently been a happier country than Yugoslavia, where everything had been even nicer and better than in Yugoslavia. But, luckily, even then Yugoslavia was on the best way to catching up with it in everything. In the meantime, things have changed somewhat and now Yugoslavia is an even more perfect country than the Soviet Union and is on a

much better, faster and more successful path to achieving that heaven on earth Marx had promised and Lenin had begun to realize in the Soviet Union.

The rest of the world – according to the Yugoslav press and radio – still staggers under the capitalist yoke and squeals under fascist tyranny. With the false dazzle of its industrial products, it unsuccessfully aims to conceal its internal poverty and horrible cultural void. Since they have happily solved all of their political, social and economic problems and since all of their future needs will be taken care of by the incredibly wise political leadership – may it live forever, by the way – so it is another concern of the Yugoslav people to also free the western peoples from capitalist exploitation and the fascist yoke, and to convince the eastern people of the enlightenment of Yugoslav communism and teach them how to swiftly and successfully apply the communist system. Also, one of the few concerns of the people is to raise the culturally backward western European and American peoples to their own, real and higher cultural level; to politically enlighten them and enable them to become conscious citizens of a future classless society, and to enable the eastern peoples to truly comprehend high communist wisdom, which has finally been found in Yugoslavia, and to implement it in its purest form, finally and successfully found by the Yugoslav political leadership, despite all great obstacles and difficulties.

That is the content of the Yugoslav press and that gives the tone to the Yugoslav radio. Alongside daily news and comments, that gives the great propaganda façade its main mark.

Film and theater. – Film, theater, sporting and arts events, scientific lectures, congresses, political assemblies and events, and, finally, a diversely built system of putting various, sometimes even accurate but largely fabricated, news and interpretations among the people, allegedly obtained privately and directly, also play an important role in creating the big façade as part of the propaganda. The news is fabricated by a special apparatus and released among the people via an organized apparatus of agents, who appeal to the people's propensity for believing more what they have privately heard than what they have read in official newspapers, all for the purpose of using the propaganda channels created during the war for word-of-mouth information.

This privately disseminated news makes up one of the most refined instruments of Communist propaganda and thanks to this many an opponent of communism has already taken the bait, while many acts, successes and aid from the West have been given a completely different form, have been received in a completely different way, and very often completely missed their target.

Film events in Yugoslavia were at first limited only to the screening of Soviet movies. English, French, American and a few German movies, all from the pre-war era of course, were screened for reactionaries in the lowest quality movie theaters. New ones were not allowed into the country with the reiterated explanation that there is not enough interest in them among the audience, even though western movies that were seven to ten years old were still very popular among the people.

Later, after the conflict with Cominform and the start of the so-called western orientation, suddenly western democratic movies were also screened and the

audience suddenly became interested in them even according to the claims of the Communist film censors.

The domestic film industry is almost non-existent, barring several newer labored attempts, the sole artistic objective of which was to tastelessly glorify the Communists' role in the so-called people's liberation struggle. In all those movies, the Communists are naturally the bravest, make the most sacrifices and are the most successful in combat, not to mention that they are always the most beautiful and most likable. All the others, except of course the so-called people who always immeasurably adore the Communists and trust only the partisan leadership, are pathetic traitors, puny scoundrels and ugly cowards.

However, to force those same people who, in films, adore Communists so much to watch partisan movies in practice, special mass visits to film events are organized in schools, unions, factories, co-ops and offices, all, of course, at a great discount, which very few dare to avoid.

Theater, music and sporting events and art exhibitions are under the strict control of the party and are organized for the sake of completing the general political propaganda effects. Their task is to keep the masses under the control of the party and the influence of the propaganda even during so-called entertainment.

The people, of course, again found ways to show various kinds of passive resistance, to the greatest anger and protests of the party leadership. Thus, for example, the people often very loudly applauded the fearless fighters in theater, roared with laughter at the governing bodies and noisily reacted to all individuals and events that are in any way opposed to the current authorities. That went so far that public events were banned because the gleeful masses shouted "Boo, partisans!" and "Long live freedom!" so loudly and so unambiguously at a game between two sports clubs, one of which was called *Partizan* (Partisan) and the other *Sloboda* (Freedom), that everyone understood that the people were not referring only to the clubs, but to reality as well.

Science and philosophy. – Scientific activities, with the exception of popularizing Soviet scientific successes and the propaganda of communist doctrines, have been completely paralyzed due to a lack of scientific freedom. Academies of sciences have been reordered and tasked with organizing scientific activity. They are to take on a portion of the purely scientific activities that have been carried out at universities in the past, alongside teaching and education. The aim of that reorganization is to breathe a new life into these academies and enable them to move from once only formal honorary and possibly publishing activities to concrete scientific research.

But the omnipresent Communist commissar or spy, actually a snitch, obstructs any free work in the field of scientific research. All the work at the academies is therefore reduced to complicated organizational activities and the mimicking of scientific activity.

Out of all sciences, the so-called spiritual, or social, or historical sciences are in the most difficult position due to historical materialism, which must be applied in them. The relationship between thesis, antithesis and synthesis, as the fundamental law of all existence in the world, is sought in all

spiritual, social and historical relations and whenever something that has three elements – which is certainly not difficult to find – and which may even from afar be associated with the famous Hegelian Triad, gives birth to an indescribable scientific elation. If an opposite joins that trinity, say a contradiction, vagueness or even an ordinary scientific difficulty, there is no end to scientific jubilation.

Attempts to implement Dialectical Materialism in other sciences, especially in mathematics and natural sciences, have luckily been completely fruitless in the Soviet Union and, understandably, in Yugoslavia to date. The new Yugoslav scientific greats from the so-called People's Liberation Struggle or, as some call them, from the woods, have not managed to surpass their Soviet colleagues in that as yet.

Philosophy is completely dead. Dialectical and Historical Materialism are replacing all other philosophical movements. The greatest philosophers in the past were Marx, Engels and Lenin, while the greatest philosophers of today are still Stalin and Tito. The latter has even managed to receive a compliment from an overeager professor of the University in Belgrade: that he is the greatest logician in the world.

Historical and Dialectical Materialism as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin constitute the official state philosophical doctrine. Any other philosophy is a pro-fascist ideology and any interpretation of Marxism except Lenin's and Stalin's is still a heresy and is denounced even more fiercely than fascism and its alleged ideologies, Idealism and Positivism.

Various idealistic movements are fascist ideologies. Positivistic movements are failed and futile attempts at reconciling various non-scientific fascist idealistic movements, and sometimes even vain attempts to reconcile a scientific philosophy – Marxism – with various fascist, therefore, non-scientific idealistic movements. As such, they are futile attempts at obscuring the truth and thereby falsify and distort the only scientific philosophy, namely Marxism. As such, they are to be considered pro-fascist ideologies and are therefore wrong, condemnable and prohibited.

In short, the entire philosophical activity is reduced to a stereotypical repetition of Marx's teaching and to propagating the study of Dialectical and Historical Materialism.

Art. – Artistic creation in Yugoslavia is greatly underperforming, due to a complete lack of any kind of freedom and mutual cultural inspiration. As a part of cultural superstructure, art – as the Communists see it – is a part of indirect Communist propaganda, whose task is to work on fortifying the new regime through various art forms.

Since, in their opinion, there is no art that would not be propaganda at the same time, they consciously strive to turn it into a successful propaganda means, and given that most of our artists have not yet settled into that new role, even in cases where there is good will for that, art in Yugoslavia is actually wandering from directive to directive, not knowing whom it is supposed to serve and whom it should glorify.

OPEN PROPAGANDA

In addition to hidden propaganda through science, art and philosophy, film, radio and theater, there is also open propaganda disseminated through congresses, assemblies, rallies, demonstrations, and slogans. The street secretaries and commissars of unions and other organizations force all that is living and able to move, to voluntarily take to the streets and demonstrate their political training.

All the congresses are demonstratively called free, probably because the Communists freely speak at them and also freely ban anyone else from doing so. They also supervise building and store windows and order the citizens to voluntarily decorate them, once with Stalin's and Tito's and now only with Tito's pictures, and also, of course, with rugs, flowers, state and party flags, Communist slogans, etc. All that, along with the forced and defiant singing of party members in the streets and the forced singing of the army during marches makes up the external image of present-day Yugoslav cities and settlements. The otherwise tired and depressed people, who feel more like crying than singing, are suffering, waiting and hoping. Since everyone has lost someone in the war or a foreign country, no one is singing sincerely, nor are they laughing happily, nor rejoicing of their own volition.

EFFECTS OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

With their propaganda methods, completely alien and foreign to the vast majority of the Yugoslav people, the Communists have totally distanced themselves from the people and separated themselves from the majority. With their doctrinaire views on all life issues and with their one-sided fanatical attitude, the party members themselves and their propaganda have spiritually and emotionally drifted very far from the majority of the people. The economic changes carried out so far could not have done anything to change that.

With their one-sided ideological education, which envisages a unilateral but ready-made solution to all of life's and scientific problems, with their particular partisan evaluation of people and things, they and their social system are not only foreign to the majority of the people, but also directly incomprehensible. With their special party training for treating people and the masses, envisaged in ready-made recipes, probably tested on the much more sluggish Russian man, and with their mechanical repetition of slogans, exclamations, speeches and ideas, they are too monotonous and faceless for the emotional and overly imaginative Yugoslav people.

Those people like change, they appreciate personality and understand the individual moment, and party training or a ready-made recipe do not suit them, but rather intuitive insight, spirituality and an individual approach to people and the masses.

Due to that distancing from the majority of the people, the party's propaganda machine steamrolls and tires the masses, but does not win them over or shapes them. Instead of affecting them in a deeper way, it confuses, scares and

repels them. No one can perceive it as an autonomous spiritual creation, nor can they feel it like something that would touch their heart.

As a result, the Communists themselves are incapable of establishing normal, close and direct contact with the people. Therefore, they cannot know what the people are really thinking and how they are taking the new reforms and authorities.

Thus, here and there in Yugoslavia one can still come across some well-meaning and naïve party member, who still believes that with their new reforms, institutions and political goals they have truly made the people happy. Most of the party members, however, clearly sense the deep and unbridgeable gap that still exists between them and the people.

However, they do not want to overcome that gap by adapting to the majority of the people; on the contrary, they want to do so by re-educating the majority of them, i.e. adapting the people to themselves. Therefore, they want to transform the people according to their one-sided doctrines and old molds, hoping, in a strange way, that the people might even be happy being thus transformed by the new social reforms.

However, since they have intimidated the people by various means, they in fact, like all bullies, cannot easily even know the opinions and feelings of the people. Today, no one in Yugoslavia will, and largely dares not, honestly and openly speak to party members. First, because everyone is afraid of them and consequently does not trust them, and second, because no one understands them.

They are afraid of the Communists because they know about their loyalty and oath to the party, and are never sure whether the Communists will betray them and denounce them to the UDBA, even if they are old friends. They do not trust the Communists because they still consider them foreign occupiers or someone's agents. They do not understand the Communists because everyone is used to thinking in their own particular way and to appreciating the value of people according to their own measures, therefore, to using their own head and feeling with their own heart, rather than thinking in slogans and feeling according to directives.

Most of the people, therefore, even now cannot understand the party unilateral assessment of the value of people, things and events. They cannot accept the Communist attitude toward family, the state and society. They cannot feel the value of their political goals and the importance of their economic endeavors. And first and foremost, they have no trust in the Communists' secret sources of directives, instructions and decisions – whether they come from Moscow like they used to in the past or, like now, from some secret source in Belgrade, inaccessible to them. They do not trust the Communists because they still do not know where those decisions come from, who is responsible for them, and why they are made.

No one can deal with the fact yet that the real source of power is secret, that it comes from somewhere and aims for something that they do not know and have no real influence on. No one can be happy if they only listen, or satisfied if they do not decide anything at all – in a word, if they are nothing but a political means, and sometimes an end as well.

For all those reasons, not only the party members and their entire propaganda machine, as oversized, complex, diversely built and skillfully designed as it may be, but the entire communist social system as well are a heavy burden for the majority of our people. They cannot shrug it off, but they cannot digest it either. They remain, for the people, imposed and artificial creations that intimidate, tire and repel them more than they win them over, form and build them.

THE CHURCH

The only area that has remained beyond the reach of the Communist propaganda machine and which they have not penetrated more seriously so far, is the church, the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Muslim. On the one hand, the Communists believe in their own slogans with a sort of religious fanaticism. On the other, they consider the existing religions opium for the masses which should be eliminated and which cannot be used for anything from their point of view or for their own goals.

In that sense, they tried to strip the churches of any possibility of existence through economic reforms. By complete separation of the church from the state, the churches were stripped of all the other material income as well, which the state had earlier collected through their bodies for the church. The churches are thus forced to survive with the help of gifts from the faithful.

But when the people sensed that the churches were the only Communist-free places, where the superiority of party commissars and the control of street secretaries were not felt, they started going to church en masse. Otherwise confused by the sudden social changes and intimidated by Communist persecution, they began to seek protection and solace somewhere.

Feeling that the churches are the only bearers of something stable and unchangeable in such insecure and changeable circumstances, the people found a measure of relief and release from all that the Communists were imposing on them so forcefully only in them.

That made the Communists more interested in the church, too, i.e. they stopped neglecting it and started actively persecuting it. First, they banned priests from collecting contributions for churches, explaining that it was soliciting. Priests were allowed to accept only the contributions the faithful brought to church personally. Then the Communists invented various methods for obstructing church activities. For example, during the service of God and other church ceremonies, the Communists organize various voluntary works, rallies, meetings etc., so that people, especially youth, cannot go to church. But churches full of believers remain firm and unshakable.

After that, the Communists organized a whole host of bogus proceedings against church dignitaries, both Orthodox and Catholic ones, so as to intimidate the clergy and get it to finally include churches in their propaganda machine. But churches remain full of the faithful, both men and women, who were not forcefully picked up by the street secretaries and the Women's Anti-Fascist Front.

Visiting churches is also one of the ways of putting up passive resistance to Communist aggression, one of the systems whereby the people tacitly demonstrate

against the communist tyranny of Tito's regime. Churches have turned from guardians of tradition and folk customs to meeting places of the frightened people, who have not yet managed to find an effective way out of the uncomfortable situation which, through no fault of theirs, the Great Powers had thrown them into. Since they have not yet managed to find their inner selves and their path, the people have begun turning to the church and God again, in the hope that those eternal values will not abandon them and that those stable institutions will never let them down.

There is nothing more impressive or more illustrative than churches full of worried people and long processions of the pious on one side and empty conferences and forcefully gathered assemblies and rallies of distracted people on the other. There is nothing more impressive than the difference between a deep and genuine feeling of old faith and the staged, artificial propaganda of new superstition.

As the third and final step in persecution of the church, a new clerical association has been formed, the so-called religious union, tasked with organizing priests in the same way as the other workers, based on the law on unions.

The aim of that association is to break the hierarchical organization of churches and to separate low-ranking priests in particular and have them potentially rebel against their lawful leadership.

After the Tito-Cominform conflict, the attitude toward churches has not changed significantly. The unresolved fight between churches and communism is still in progress and it is difficult to tell today what paths it will take and what means the Communists will use against the churches, and the ways in which the churches will resist. In any case, it is difficult to assume that any of the warring spiritual sides will easily leave the fight and admit defeat. Churches have certainly, until now at least, remained undefeated and it seems that they are invincible. They are the only ones whom the Communist means of violence and propaganda cannot seem to hurt.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF KAJICA MILANOV'S WORKS

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*Unlike other philosophers, Milanov communicates
his philosophy clearly and intelligibly.*

Miloš Trivunac, academician¹

*My only true teacher of philosophy was
Dr Kajica Milanov.*

Mihailo Đurić, academician²

Kajica Milanov (1905–1986) taught philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy (University of Belgrade) and the Department of Philosophy in Hobart, Australia (University of Tasmania – UTAS). He was educated in Vienna, Belgrade and Berlin. Before World War II Milanov had authored several books and special publications (*Die Gesetzesbildung, das Verstehen und die anschauliche Abstraktion im geschichtlichen Erkennen*, his Ph.D. thesis, 1933; *Основи проблема теорије сазнања* 1937, *Значај филозофије за културу* 1940 (*Fundamental Problems of the Theory of Knowledge*, 1937, *The Importance of Philosophy in Culture*, 1940), along with research papers and reviews in the most prestigious journals (*Srpski književni glasnik*, *Letopis Matice srpske*, *Vardarski zbornik*, *Kant-Studien* and *Philosophia*)³. He translated into German

¹ Inaugural lecture by Kajica Milanov, Ph.D., on the importance of philosophy in culture, *Време* (April 4, 1940), [Milanov 1940a: 11].

² Revolucija kao dovršenje nihilizma: Razgovor sa Mihailom Đurićem, *Theoria* 1/1981. [Đurić 1981: 68].

³ Kajica Milanov, *Die Gesetzesbildung, das Verstehen und die anschauliche Abstraktion im geschichtlichen Erkennen*, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, Ljudska Tiskarna, Maribor 1933; *Основни проблеми теорије сазнања*, Г. Кон, Београд 1937; *Значај филозофије за културу*, Ј. Богданов, Нови Сад 1940 (a reprint from *Летопис Матице српске*); Историјско сазнање у светлости теорије вредности, *Летопис Матице српске* 1–3 (1938), 198–213; Филозофија Бечког круга, *Летопис Матице српске* (July – December 1939), 89–101, 209–226; Значај филозофије за културу, *Летопис Матице српске* (July– August, 1940), 78–104; Аристотелово етичко учење [review of M. H. Ђурић's book], *Српски књижевни гласник*, 62/3 (1. 2. 1941), 239–239 etc.

a book written by his professor in Berlin, Arthur Liebert, *The Philosophy of Teaching: General Didactics* [Liebert 1935]. Milanov was one of the founders of the Serbian Philosophical Society in 1938. Milanov's writings on the theory of knowledge and translations of Kant's works were destroyed during the Second World War. After the war he lived, worked and published his work abroad, namely, *Titovština u Jugoslaviji* (*Titoistic Practice in Yugoslavia*), with a foreword by Slobodan Jovanović, was released in 1952, and *Обрачун: начела и разлози* (*Final Account: Principles and Reasons*), in 1969⁴. He took part in building the Association of Serbian Authors in Exile (at the initiative of Slobodan Jovanović), and worked with Serbian magazines that had brought together prominent prewar intellectuals (Slobodan Jovanović's *Порука, Тамо далеко, Српска мисао, Слоџа* etc.)⁵. He left a study in English in manuscript form (*Regulatorics*) [Božičković and Pavković 1987: 154].

Kajica Milanov shared the destiny of many prominent intellectuals who were unjustifiably forgotten, usually for having refused to build a research methodology upon a dominant political (party) ideology: "While still in Yugoslavia, Milanov, a lecturer at the University of Belgrade, was asked to teach philosophical subjects in the spirit of Marxism. He preferred to set sail for an unknown land rather than to speak from the lectern contrary to his scientific belief." [Jovanović 1952].

Kajica Milanov was born on December 7 *Julian* (which is December 20 *Gregorian*) in 1905, in Jozefovo (Jozepovo, Josepovo) or Josefsdorf, renamed Obilićevo in 1922, near Turska (Nova) Kanjiža (Novi Kneževac as of 1934), in Banat, then in Austria-Hungary [Пејин 2003: 211–277]⁶. The first inhabitants were frontiersmen settled there in 1752, after the Potisje-Pomorišje section of the Habsburg Military Frontier was demilitarized in 1748. By order of the Banat Land Administration, it was named after Archduke Joseph, Maria Theresa's 12-year-old son, a future tsar. Jozefovo (Obilićevo), a privileged municipality in the District of Velika Kikinda, has a rich and interesting history, just like Turska Kanjiža (until 1922), home to barons Taliani von Wieseck, the descendants of Prince Miloš Obrenović and the Đurkovićs de Servijski, the lords of Turska Kanjiža, who established the largest scholarship foundation for Serbian students in good academic standing in 1792, preceding Sava Tekelija's Tekelijanum (Hungarian; Tökölyanum) ([Пејин 2003: 218, 228 and 231], [Сабо 2003: 576–587] and [Милосављевић 2020: 123]).

It is certain that Kajica Milanov was named after a character from folk poetry, Duke Kajica, which against the backdrop of Serbian-Hungarian relations in Banat had a clear symbolic meaning ("Смрт војводе Кајице" – *The*

⁴ Kajica Milanov, *Titovština u Jugoslaviji*, Sloga, Perth, Western Australia 1952; *Обрачун: начела и разлози*, Српска мисао, Melbourne 1969. I am using this opportunity to thank Aleksandar Pavković for having forwarded to me Kajica Milanov's books in electronic form, and Vojislav Božičković for valuable informaton and Australian newspapers that were necessary to reconstruct the life of Kajica Milanov.

⁵ The Archives of Yugoslavia (Serbian: Архив Југославије, hereinafter: AJ), 859–10, 2 (Milan Gavrilović Fund). Slobodan Jovanović, March 15, 1951 (a circular letter), Appendix III. A list of persons invited to establish the Association of Serbian Authors in Exile, No. 19.

⁶ See [Milleker 1926] and [Стајић 1954].

Death of Duke Kajica)⁷. His father was Timotije Milanov, a proprietor, and his mother, Draginja Milanov née Stojkov. The Godmother at his christening was Vukosava, Miloš Ninčić's daughter⁸. The Ninčićs of Belgrade were originally from Jozefovo, i.e. (Stara) Kanjiža.⁹ Milanov was baptized at the St. Gabriel the Archangel Church on December 13 (23), 1905 by Father Joakim Suvajdžić, who represented Jozefovo in the Grand National Assembly of Serbs, Bunjevci and other Slavs in Banat, Bačka and Baranja, when on November 25, 1918, in Novi Sad, the legislature declared the region's unification with the Kingdom of Serbia ([Пејин 2003: 435] and [Петровић 1996: 291]). Kajica Milanov had a brother, Ranko, who lived in Belgrade's Vračar neighborhood (Čubura)¹⁰.

Milanov finished his elementary education in his birthplace (1912–1916), and went to high school in Novi Sad (1916–1919) and Veliki Bečkerek (1919–1924), renamed Zrenjanin in 1946 (after a national hero of Yugoslavia, Žarko Zrenjanin; from 1924 to 1945 it was Petrovgrad, named after King Peter I the Liberator). Having studied for two semesters at the University of Vienna (1924–1925), he moved to the University of Belgrade (1925–1928), where he earned a degree in philosophy at Belgrade's Faculty of Philosophy. He was awarded a PhD in Philosophy in 1932, at the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin (Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin), called the Humboldt University of Berlin (after 1945)¹¹.

In Vienna Milanov was exposed to logical positivism, a philosophical movement associated with the Vienna Circle [Миланов 1939: 89–101, 209–226], while in Belgrade his mentors were Branislav Petronijević and Nikola Popović. In Berlin he attended lectures in philosophy by Nicolai Hartmann, Arthur Liebert, Max Dessoir and Heinrich Maier. Wolfgang Köhler was his psychology professor, and Professors Friedrich Meinecke, Hermann Oncken, Karl Stählin and Werner Sombart taught economics and history [Milanov 1933;

⁷ In the folk poem „Смрт војводе Кајице“ (The Death of Duke Kajica), Ka(j)ica Radonja, a duke of Vojna Krajina (a district of the Military Frontier), who was a member of the entourage of Serbian King (Despot) Đurađ („...of glorious Macedonia, of a homey town of Smederevo“), died a treacherous death, killed by Sibirjanin Janko's (poisoned) arrow, but was avenged by Serbian dukes in a battle against „the Madžars“ (the Hungarians) in the Beljac (today Beluca) field, between the village of Pavliša and Vršac. Aside from German, French and English, Milanov spoke Hungarian, too (having been schooled in Hungarian as well, like Miloš Crnjanski, Isidora Sekulić and others).

⁸ Register No. 3, St Gabriel the Archangel Church in Obilićevo. Vukosava Ninčić, teacher, mentioned by Жеф Сабо (Jožef Sabo) in “Племићке породице Новог Кнежевца” (The Noble Families of Novi Kneževac), 613. The assumption is it's the same person. The register contains the name of Ana Gajer's midwife as well. The Archive of Serbia (Serbian: Архив Србије, hereinafter: AC), Teachers' Files, Г–183, File Letter М, ф XXXVI, No. 12. There's a mistake in the Register and Kajica's (postwar) file, where he was registered as Milanović, Kaica. His year of birth, given as 1909, and the year of his last promotion were also wrong. Milanov lived in Belgrade, 38 Dragačevska Street (renamed Filipa Kljaića, Patrijarha Varnave).

⁹ Aron Ninčić (1845–1906), a minister of justice, senator, lawyer and father of Momčilo Ninčić (1876–1949), a foreign minister and a corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy, was born in Stara Kanjiža, in 1845 (to Georgije and Teofanija Ninčić). See Жеф Сабо, Племићке породице Новог Кнежевца, 613.

¹⁰ Ranko Milanov lived in a first-floor apartment at 38 Dragačevska Street (renamed Filipa Kljaića and Patrijarha Varnave).

¹¹ See Kajica Milanov's biography (until 1933): [Milanov 1933; 109], [Стојковић 1972; 390–392; 427–428], [Вожићковић and Павковић 1987: 153–154] and [Милосављевић 2012: 314–331].

1, 109]. He defended his doctoral thesis on June 23, 1932, under Professor Heinrich Maier's mentorship, and was promoted the following year, on October 14, 1933 [Milanov 1933; 1, 109].

In 1934 Kajica Milanov was appointed Nikola Popović's assistant – apprentice¹². He was elected and appointed a docent (enjoying the prerogatives of the Staff Category VII) at the Department of Philosophy (Belgrade's Faculty of Philosophy) on February 14, 1940 [Миланов 1940б: 104]¹³. Milanov was a docent at the Department of Logic and Theory of Knowledge [Миланов 1940а: 114]. By the Order of the Minister of Education, Milanov was appointed to a three-year term at the Belgrade-based Permanent Examination Board for academic licensing (responsible for the theory of knowledge, logic, psychology and history of philosophy), from October 1, 1940 to October 1, 1943)¹⁴.

When Arthur Liebert, Milanov's professor back in Berlin, who chaired the Kant Society and co-edited *Kant-Studien*, was forced to leave Germany because of his Jewish roots, Milanov played an indispensable role in arranging his relocation to Belgrade, where Liebert was elected a philosophy and pedagogy professor [Basta 1995: 7–12] and [Žunjić 2014: 311]. Liebert, who mostly worked with Milanov, established an international philosophical society in Belgrade, *Philosophia* (1936–1938), bringing together prominent figures and associates from abroad (Edmund Husserl, Martin Buber, Ernst Cassirer, Max Dessoir, Karl Löwith, Eugen Fink, Ludwig Landgrebe, Helmuth Plessner, Roman Ingarden, Николай Бердяев, Paul Tilich), as well as leading local figures (Branislav Petronijević, Sloodan Jovanović, Ivo Andrić and Albert Bazala)¹⁵.

In 1937, Kajica Milanov married Ana Bešlić (1912–2008), the daughter of Lazar Bešlić (of Bunjevac descent), a proprietor from Bajmok (Šara Pustara), a Radical Party candidate for the Assembly of Bačka, a district in the Sombor Canton (1927)¹⁶ and Nina née Deak. Ana Bešlić was educated in Zagreb, Graz, Vienna and Belgrade, where she studied painting and sculpture. Bešlić became a famed sculptor. The couple was childless, and got divorced after the war¹⁷.

Just like almost all prewar graduates, Kajica Milanov attended the Reserve Officer School of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1933–1934). After he graduated in 1933, he was promoted to the rank of reserve second lieutenant in 1934, and to the rank of lieutenant in 1940¹⁸. As a reserve second lieutenant, Milanov

¹² AS, Teacher's Files, Г–183, File Letter M, ф XXXVI, No. 12.

¹³ Kajica Milanov's appointment order for docentship at the University on February 14, 1940 (V No. 4910), *Просветни гласник* (Teachers' Official Gazette (March 1, 1940), 226. On March 20, 1940, Milanov gave an inaugural lecture at the Faculty of Philosophy, the University of Belgrade. See [Миланов 1940б: 104].

¹⁴ *Просветни гласник* (November 1, 1940), 1133, (Permanent Examination Board).

¹⁵ The *Philosophia* society launched a magazine sharing the same name. See [Basta 1995: 7–12], [Žunjić 2014: 253–255] and [Kučinari 2011: 44].

¹⁶ *Застава* (The Flag) a Radical Party newspaper, 12 (January 19, 1927), 5.

¹⁷ AC, Teachers' Files, Г–183, File Letter M, ф XXXVI, No. 12. Ana Bešlić remarried, and her new husband was Jovan Mesarević, a journalist and translator. She was awarded a national pension in 2007.

¹⁸ The Military Official Gazette (Serbian: *Службени војни лист*, hereinafter: СБЛ) (September 23, 1933), 1459, ПИ No. 17824, a list of reserve sergeants (the Infantry), the cadets who in 1933

Kajica was defending the country in the April War (April 6–17, 1941), in which a full professor at his Philosophy department (the History of Philosophy and Ethnic Course), Dragiša Đurić, was killed at the age of 70 (1870–1941), serving as a reserve infantry officer, at the rank of lieutenant colonel [Ђукић 1963: 162–165]. Like most of the Kingdom’s active and reserve officers of Serbian ethnicity, Kajica Milanov was held in German captivity until the end of the war.

When the World War II ended, Milanov returned to Belgrade, and to his faculty, but prewar teachers were no longer welcome at the Department of Philosophy. An associate professor, Miloš N. Đurić, whom Professor Dragiša Đurić wanted to take over the History of Philosophy and Ethics Course¹⁹, was forced to accept a transfer from the Philosophy department to the Classical Philology Department (Latin and Greek), devoting his postwar professorship to it ([Budimir 1972: 20], [Đurić 1996: 243], [Žunjić 2014: 183, fn. 3] and [Milosavljević 2020: 37–52]). The circumstances at the Faculty, and at the University, had changed completely: “The triumph of the socialist revolution had paved the way to a profound change in the basic concepts of all sciences, the humanities in the first place. The change needed to be seen most clearly in philosophical disciplines. The plan was to exhibit the advantage of a Marxist view of the word, present historical and dialectical materialism as a cornerstone of philosophical disciplines, shape the history of philosophy using the tools of the Marxist method, developing, in a word, a philosophy of Marxism. From the first semester after the war to 1953, when he retired, Dr Dušan Nedeljković taught all philosophical disciplines – the history of philosophy, logic, ethics and esthetic [Ђукић 1963: 165]²⁰. Non-Marxist directions of thought, above all philosophical schools and views, would be labeled a bourgeois or civic philosophy and fascism [Недељковић 1948]. After the war and the revolution, Dušan Nedeljković became a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, the Faculty’s dean and vice-chancellor, a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and the University of Belgrade’s Court of Honor, and the president of the State (Yugoslav) Commission for Establishing the Crimes Committed by Occupiers and their Accomplices ([Цветковић 2004: 82, fn. 1, 86] and [Зечевић & Поповић 1996–2000]). As a fighter from the uprising’s early days, the so-called “*prvoborac*”, a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia since 1941 and the only Marxist among postwar professors, a connoisseur of Marxism and the foremost authority on it, Nedeljković had an enormous impact on the development of sciences after 1945. He laid out completely new methodological fundamentals (a spectrum of Marxist views) for all social sciences and humanities, affecting natural sciences, too [Milanov 1952: 66]. Nedeljković

passed an exam required to be promoted into the rank of reserve second lieutenants (the Infantry), at the Reserve Officer School (from the Office of the Infantry Inspection of the Ministry of Army and Navy, September 18, 1933, Belgrade); СВЈ 53/49 (December 11, 1934), 1851, Order to promote a cadet sergeant to the rank of reserve second lieutenant, АјБр. 29855, December 8, 1934, Belgrade; СВЈ 59/34 (September 6, 1940), 2181, Order to promote reserve second lieutenants (with a rank as of December 31, 1938), АјБр. 20838, September 6, 1940, Brdo; *The Age* (October 30, 1956), 3, 14.

¹⁹ The University of Belgrade, Милош Н. Ђурић, personal fund, No. 4283, Драгиша М. Ђурић, to the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, March 14, 1941.

²⁰ See more [Милосављевић 2012: 314–331] and [Марић 2017].

may be long forgotten, but his strong influence has remained very much alive, as it created a heavy yet subconscious methodological burden researchers have been carrying since.

Mihailo Marković said in his memoirs that when Dušan Nedeljković met Kajica Milanov in Belgrade, he screamed at Milanov at the top of his voice: “What! Still alive?! [Марковић 2008: 205]. At the pinnacle of a class struggle, when Slobodan Jovanović was declared a war criminal [Цветковић 2004: 86], and a prewar dean and academician, Miloš Trivunac, executed by firing squad without trial ([Цветковић 2006: 81–102], [Политичка репресија... 2008: 272–315] and [Трешњић 2007: 315–324]), while Dušan Nedeljković was using the media to criticize a lack of enthusiasm in reporting “enemies of the people,” [Неделјковић 1945], Milanov must have taken his words very seriously ([Марковић 2008: 2005], [Božičković and Pavković 1987: 154] and [Станишић 1969: 20]). After he was removed from the University, for the next 12 months he was a private tutor to Mihailo Đurić, a student of the Faculty of Law at the time: “That was a decisive encounter for me [...] My only true teacher of philosophy was Dr Kajica Milanov“. [Đurić 1981] and [Марић 2012: 183]

In 1947, together with his future (second) wife, Jelena, that is, Sara (Kreutzmann), who had a Jewish background, Milanov managed to emigrate from the country to Austria via Hungary, which was not under Soviet rule yet²¹. After two years in a refugee camp for emigrants from the East, they were offered to travel to Australia (1949) [Марковић 2008: 205].

At the beginning he would take up different jobs. He published an article about “new Australians”, that is, the position of displaced persons (DPs) after the war. Given the interest refugees and migrants attract today, it’s safe to say that the theme is more of a research focus today than it was at the time the article was released (1951) [Milanov 1951]. Milanov found a job as a psychologist (he was Keler’s student) at the educational administration department of Hobart (1952). Hobart is the capital of Tasmania, an island state of Australia (Van Diemen’s Land until 1856) ([Božičković and Pavković 1987: 153–154] and [Eddy 1961: 73]).

Having competed against six candidates, Kajica Milanov was elected a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy of the University of Tasmania (UTAS) in Hobart, the news Serbian-language magazines shared with their readers²². He was granted Australian citizenship in March 1955²³. Shortly after, however, the most notorious scandal in the history of Australian philosophy broke out. A very unorthodox chair of philosophy at the University in Hobart, Professor Sydney S. Orr, was dismissed in 1956. A lengthy trial that spanned years and

²¹ A note on a conversation with Professor Vojislav Božičković, June 8, 2021.

²² Documents related to Milanov’s stay in Australia are held in the Tasmanian state archives (Tasmania’s Heritage, Milanov Dr Kajica, AE491/1/130, September 26, 1949 – November 12, 1986). The court trial documents in the Orr case are kept by the University of Melbourne (The University of Melbourne Archives, Orr Case papers, 1955–1967, 41 boxes). See also Избор др К. Миланова, *Порука* 22 (August 1, 1954), 10. The Hobart case was a recurrent theme in the Austrian press. See *People*, 7/21 (December 12, 1956); 46/1 (June 8, 1957); 46/2 (June 15, 1957); 46/3 (June 22, 1957); 46/4 (June 29, 1957); 46/5 (July 6, 1957); 46/6 (July 13, 1957); 46/7 (July 20, 1957).

²³ *Certificates of naturalization*, No. 15–3 st March 1955, 1063, Milanov, Kajica, Milanov, Jelena, 66 Strickland avenue, Hobart, Tasmania.

many controversies that surrounded the Orr case have lost none of their relevance in Australian society ([Franklin 2003] and [Stoljar 2011]). Orr had been the leading figure in a battle between the University teachers (employees) and the University administration (employer), which gave rise to the belief that the dismissal was a punishment ([Martin 1993: 8] and [McSherry 2001]). The Australian Association of Philosophers wanted its members to boycott the Philosophy department in Hobart for what in the eyes of the Association was wrongful dismissal²⁴. It turned out during the trial though that Professor Orr's Irish doctoral degree was fake (he was never awarded the degree), and that the way he treated his peers and students was rather odd ([Pybus 1993: 8], [*The Orr Case Reconsidered* 1993] and [Orr 1956: 3, 14]). Following subsequent critical reviews of the case, the prevailing opinion was that Milanov and other professors and students who had refused to agitate for Orr had very good reasons not to. [Pybus 1994]. In that troubled period Milanov managed to keep alive studies at the Philosophy department (1956–1969), with which he has been credited today [Pybus 1994]. He continued to work at the same department until 1975 (Senior Lecturer)²⁵, and lived with his third wife, Milica Z. Petrović (1922–2001)²⁶. Shortly before he died, Vojislav Božičković²⁷, who was studying for a PhD in Australia at the time, visited him at an aged care home in Sorrento, Victoria on October 7, 1986. Kajica Milanov died on November 1, 1986. He was buried in Melbourne (Frankston Cemetery).

As noted above, Milanov published two books after the war, *Titovština u Jugoslaviji* (1952) и *Обрачун: начела и разлози* (1969). The former was published in the Latin script, as were most of émigré publications in the 1950s, because print shops publishing in Cyrillic were not available to émigré writers. The other book was printed in Cyrillic, with technical flaws typical of publications released under émigré circumstances.²⁸

Milanov used the term “titovština“ (Titoistic practice) to separate a specific conduct in post-war Yugoslavia from official ideology (“theory”) he called “Titoism” [Страјић 1953: 20]. The term is not Milanov's neologism, as it was used before and after his time. Unlike “Titoism”, the term *titovština* has never caught on in the Serbian language. It closely resembles a pejorative yet seman-

²⁴ Prominent figures actively supported Orr (Roy “Pansy“ Wright, Harry Eddy). With Orr's help, a 900-page book, *Orr*, was published, offering a dominant interpretation of the Orr case for the next 30 years. See [Eddy 1961]. For a critical view on allegations about Milanov expressed here, see [Colman 2010: 544–546].

²⁵ Vojislav Božičković (Lecturer) taught at the same department later (from July 1, 1992 to September 31, 1994, and from July to November 1996). Božičković talked with several professors who knew Kajica Milanov. A note on a conversation with Professor Božičković, dated June 8, 2021.

²⁶ Milica Petrović had been married to Jovan Putnik (1914–1983), a director. She knew Svetlana Knjazev-Adamović (1931–2016).

²⁷ Božičković, whose father had studied in Vienna at the same time as Kajica Milanov, wrote to Milica Petrović, who arranged their meeting. During the meeting with Milanov (who had grown a beard), the death of Dušan Nedeljković was mentioned (1899–1984). A note on a conversation with Professor Božičković, dated June 8, 2021.

²⁸ If the book had been published under better circumstances, there would have been more time for more meticulous editing, and there would be fewer printing errors, the most striking one being the wrong number of chapters (the Chapter IX is missing, and the book is left with a total of 10 chapters, instead of 11), and the way subchapters were marked being the other.

tically rich term „partizanština“ (partisanism), accepted and still in use today. Milanov described “Titoism” as “a set of those teachings, arguments and interpretations that make Tito’s communism different from the official, Soviet-type communism” [Milanov 1952: 107]. He defined *titovština* as “a communist reality in today’s Yugoslavia, i.e. a set of all those political measures, social and economic transformations and political methods that make it possible for Tito and his group to stay in power,” concluding that “accordingly, Titoism is a communist theory, as opposed to the communist-run Titoistic practice (*titovština*) in our country” [Milanov 1952: 107]. It is safe to say that Milanov was a very careful and methodical, yet open and sincere researcher of truth. He had never lost sight of specific features of Yugoslavia’s wartime and postwar realities: “Whereas pure, or rather, Soviet communism was a foreign product imported to Yugoslavia, either through the Comintern’s infiltration methods or the Red Army’s troops, Titoism and Titoistic practice are domestic products.” [Milanov 1952: 107]. It would be wrong to think though that Milanov wanted to say that Titoistic practice was the product of “some typical spiritual or political disposition of ours“, or „signature social relations“ [Milanov 1952: 107]. He underlined that Titoism and Titoistic practice, as „our products“ were specific insofar as they had been “produced by our people, calculated to suit our circumstances, and intended for our man” [Milanov 1952: 107]. Milanov was mindful of nuances that the methodological and historiographic canons prescribed after the war disregarded completely [Milanov 1952: 107]. Even though he underlined that Titoism and Titoistic practice are “the products of a minority, ruthless yet determined, firmly resolved to materialize a series of its ideas, defend its interests until the end and travel their own path at any cost – as fanatical revolutionaries do everywhere – regardless of the true will of the people, their interests and desires,” Milanov argued that the “Titoites,” for want of a better word, were part of a larger group of our people, who, truth be told, were at variance with them in many respects, but had been more or less unhappy with the developments at home for quite a while [Milanov 1952: 107]. Having lived a post-war life in Belgrade, Milanov had a more profound insight than most emigrants: “Even though Tito and his associates only used and, in more ways than one, abused the discontent of that segment of the people, it is hard to deny that some of those discontents believed, and might still believe, that only a deep, pervasive change might satisfy their ambitions.” [Milanov 1952: 107]. Milanov painted a picture of an unavoidable interaction (mediation) between political leadership and the people, which needs to be explored and interpreted very carefully: “It had never been the Titoites’ ambition to use their teachings, much less actions, to accommodate or channel those social streams within the people, failing, too, to give to them some political or spiritual conduit for expression, even though they had sought different avenues to communicate politically or articulate a general spiritual expression – yet by distorting and misusing their aspirations, the Titoites did exert a very strong influence upon them.” [Milanov 1952: 107]. The aspect of time, i.e. development, never slipped his mind either: “Communism, in all its forms, was an imported concept at first, but Titoistic practice and Titoism are not purely foreign products, or, as some would put it,

foreign body infections; I'd rather say they are foreign products made completely in our country, out of materials created by our people, following an imported production plan, but, again, carried out by our people, who had mastered the production method abroad, under the influence of foreign masters, but are now manufacturing it in our own social factory [...] In a word, they are not pure imports, as communism was at the beginning, but our own products, or rather an imitation of something foreign." [Milanov 1952: 108]. Needless to say, Milanov couldn't have access to Soviet archives, but the latest archival research into the training of Yugoslav cadres in the Soviet Union substantiates his insights²⁹. He compared communism with some older foreign influences: "Communism, supported by state power, strives to impose itself, but the ideas and the entire party structure behind it reveal an ambition to remain permanently isolated, as a sacrosanct idea detached from our tradition, organizationally independent and separated from the people's community." [Milanov 1952: 109]. Milanov believed that "all earlier foreign influences were much likelier to have a lasting impact on the people and become part of our heritage, and in that context we can consider them a public good, at least to a degree." [Milanov 1952: 109]. On the other hand, "early communism, even Titoism and Titoistic practice, too, foisted upon society from the outside, forcibly and artificially, without any organic bond with our people's traditions, interests and mentality, are bound to become a ubiquitous dark evil to befall the nation." [Milanov 1952: 109].

A foreword to Milanov's study of postwar Yugoslavia was written by Slobodan Jovanović, offering a brief overview of the book. Milanov wrote 10 chapters, divided into numerous subchapters. Milanov used the Introduction, comprising seven chapters, to paint a very general picture of the world against the backdrop of a communist ambition to foment world revolution, laying special emphasis on Yugoslavia's place within. Part I, divided into nine chapters, draws a clear distinction between communists and socialists. Milanov described Yugoslavia's postwar reality in the following chapters: "Difference Between Socialists and Communists", "Legislative and Administrative Power", "Police and Their Methods," "Military Force," "Noncommissioned Officers and Fighters," "Arms and Military Equipment," "The Judiciary," "Trials in Practice," "General Insecurity, Fear and Distrust." In Part II Milanov wrote about social transformations unrolling rapidly in the postwar years, describing economic changes in Part III. Part IV is devoted to the intelligentsia and experts, and the next one to peasants and workers. In Part VI Milanov examined carefully propaganda and education of the people. Part IV, Chapter VI offers a glossary of sorts, listing postwar terms used in Yugoslavia, and comparing them with their old (habitual) meaning. Part VII depicts popular political leanings in 11 chapters and 13 subchapters, beginning with the political allegiances of the peoples recognized in postwar Yugoslavia and then moving to the prevailing feeling among the people and expatriates. As mentioned earlier, in Part VIII Milanov discussed the meaning and history of the terms "Titoism" and "Titoistic practice" across 16 chapters. Milanov also presented and inter-

²⁹ See archive documents in: [Тимофејев 2018].

preted a dispute between Tito and Cominform. In the next part the author focused on “grand promises,” that is, the notions of “freedom” and “democracy.” The title of Part X was “Historical Development: The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia (NDH), Tehran, Tito’s Yugoslavia.” In the Conclusions, Milanov revisits a general view of the world, offering a predictive scenario as well.

A year after the release of *Titovština u Jugoslaviji*, Milanov published in 1953 a new article, “A Dispute over Interpretation of Serbian history”, released in two parts by London-based *Порука* (1950–1959), a newspaper published by the Yugoslav National Committee (1945–1959), launched and chaired by Slobodan Jovanović [Milanov 1953]. The article was a follow-up to the issues discussed in Part VI, Chapter VII of *Titovština u Jugoslaviji* (philosophy and science). Milanov presented one of the most important events in the history of postwar Marxist philosophy in Serbia. He analyzed Dušan Nedeljković’s book *Our Philosophy in the Struggle for Socialism* (1952), and a book review in Milovan Đilas’s article “Professor Nedeljković’s Dual ‘Philosophical’ Role” (1953). Milanov proved that according to Nedeljković’s philosophy of Serbian history, the Serbian people had aspired to socialism in Yugoslavia since its beginnings. He concluded that Đilas’s views were more along the lines of earlier Marxist internationalism, whereas Nedeljković’s rather followed newer Soviet theories, promoting the existence of a leading nation in the development of communism. It is important to say that Đilas pointed the finger at traditional (prewar) nationalists in universities and research institutions across Yugoslavia, “whose attitude has changed over the past 15 years only insofar as they realized that this government, too, shouldn’t be argued with, at least not openly, because it’s powerful.” [Đilas 1953: 40, fn. 1]. Đilas believed that Nedeljković’s “Marxist” and “socialist” chauvinism was worse than the traditional one [Đilas 1953: 40].

Nedeljković’s influence, mentioned above, hasn’t been properly explored to date. Along with his postwar restructuring of the methodological fundamentals of sciences, Nedeljković’s lasting impact on the experience of Serbian nation by prominent postwar intellectuals and authors hasn’t been given the research focus it deserves. Establishing the true relevance and influence of Dušan Nedeljković will reveal how farsighted Milanov’s critique was.

Kajica Milanov’s works are not the writings of a discontent individual, a defeated political émigré, as greatest Serbian intellectuals who lived and died in exile are often portrayed, Slobodan Jovanović, for instance. It is important to note that most of the views Milanov shared, as well as the emotional reactions he had psychoanalyzed, coincided with those maintained by the nation’s foremost researchers who had never emigrated, but had “adjusted” to an extent, waiting in vain for the communist era to end. Milanov’s views, remarks and humor, so foreign to the postwar reality, mirror the feelings and views largely shared by prewar Belgraders³⁰. In his studies Milanov explicated political and social history, the history of mentality (with deep psychological insights), the history of philosophy, state and law. His work is not just a forgotten writing

³⁰ Prewar elite and their descendants largely shared the same opinion on postwar times [Миловасављевић 2020].

from the past that needs to be stored away and classified, but rather, together with the works of Slobodan Jovanović and Jovan (John) Plamenac, used as a must-read, necessary for a critical interpretation of the past, unburdened by the generic canons fettering national research endeavors for much too long. To begin with, a critical comparison should be made between the methodology employed by prewar scientists and that used after the war. It's precisely a critical methodological approach that creates the most valuable legacy Kajica Milanov's historiographic work can offer³¹.



Kajica Milanov

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³¹ The text is the result of work at the Balkanological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological development of the Republic of Serbia, based on the Contract on realization and funding of research by research organizations in 2021, No. 451-03-9/2021-14/200170, dated February 5, 2021.

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WHY DID MIROSLAV MARKOVIĆ HAVE TO LEAVE?

Miroslav S. Marković's letters to Professor Miloš N. Đurić
from Venezuela (1955)

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I served the Lord, I loved my wife,
And taught my students light and flame,
I raised some Greeks from dust to life,
And never cared for praise or fame.

Ἦρεσκόν τε θεῷ καὶ σύζυγι πίστιν ἔσφζον,
φοιτηταῖς παραδοῦς δᾶδα πυρός τε φλόγα.
Ἐλλησιν κονίαισι βίου μετέδωκα ταφεῖσιν,
δόξης οὔτε κλέους οὔποτ' ἐφίεμενος.

[Translated by J. K. Newman]

Excolui Dominum; te, coniunx, fidus amavi,
Discipulis lumen tradideramque facem.
Graecis restitui coopertis pulvere vitam,
Nec mihi laus curae nec mihi fama fuit.

[Translated by J. K. Newman]

Богу сам служио, супругу волео,
студенте учио вагри и пламену,
неке од Грка у живот сам вратио,
без икакве бриге за славу и хвалу.

[Translated by Д. Марковић]

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΗ ΟΝ ΜΙΡΟΣΛΑΒ ΜΑΡΚΟΒΙĆ'Σ ΓΡΑΒΗ

[In Memoriam: Miroslav Marcovich 2002–2003: v, vii]

SUMMARY: In Prof. Miloš N. Đurić's archive the author discovered a letter from Caracas and a postcard from Merida sent to him by his student, the internationally acclaimed classical philologist Miroslav S. Marković, both of which are of special importance to understanding his decision in the mid 1950s to leave Yugoslavia and move to Venezuela. In the letter to his teacher, friend and mentor Marković briefly explains the reasons for leaving his motherland, mostly due to being unable to realize his scientific and research projects in Yugoslavia. The postcard discreetly indicates that the decision to move to Venezuela was appropriate. These messages are a first-class source not only for Marković's intellectual biography but also for the history of academic life in Yugoslavia of the time. To make the content of the correspondence more understandable, in the introductory part of this paper the author gives a short overview of the most important moments in Marković's life, focusing particularly on his early years, then paying special attention to the critiques of his works from the early 1950s, and finally presenting an important testimony on why Marković decided to move to Venezuela. Part II contains the texts and photographs of the Letter from Caracas and the Postcard from Merida.

KEY WORDS: Miroslav S. Marković, Miloš N. Đurić, messages (Letter and Postcard) from Venezuela (1955)

INTRODUCTION

Professor Miloš N. Đurić (1892–1967) is a person well known to both – Serbian scholars and wider public. Much has been written about his life and work, which, of course, is deserving of praise. Little, however, has been said about the person and the grand oeuvre of his famous student Miroslav S. Marković (1919–2001) which is deplorable, as he was a world famous and acknowledged classical philologist. His critical publications of ancient manuscripts became the most credible in the field as soon as they appeared, while all serious researchers in the area of classical philology and kindred sciences considered his essays mandatory literature. Thus, despite being respected throughout the world during his lifetime and after it, as one of the world's foremost classicists and an authority on antiquity in general, Prof. Marković was mostly ignored or underrated at home, and quickly forgotten after he passed away. Unfortunately, many people in Serbia have no idea who he was or have never heard of him. Internationally, though – from India to Latin and North America – his name is mentioned with great respect. What Miroslav Marković did for the world in the field of classical sciences is almost akin to what Mihajlo Pupin, for example, did in the field of natural sciences; the civilized world, unlike their native country, knew how to appreciate these two figures.

In the archive of Academician Miloš Đurić we discovered one letter and eight postcards sent to him by his student and friend, Prof. Miroslav Marković. Given that these messages are of particular significance not only to Marković's biography, but also to the history of our country's academic life, *ergo* for understanding the causes of the condition that our intellectual and cultural elite has found itself in today, we have decided to publicize a part of the correspondence (more precisely, one extensive letter from Caracas, dating September 1, 1955, and a postcard from Merida, dating October 20, 1955). We chose these two

messages because they have to do with Marković's decision to leave Yugoslavia and accept the position of head of the Department of Classical Philology at the University of the Andes in Merida, Venezuela. In other words, these messages (the only two he sent to Đurić from Venezuela) are thematically and chronologically connected. The letter lists certain specific reasons that prompted him to leave Belgrade, while the postcard discreetly indicates the *appropriateness* of the decision, i.e. that he had no regrets deciding to travel from India to Venezuela and not to return to Yugoslavia. To make the content of the letter more comprehensible and its meaning clearer, we have chosen a rather extensive introduction, focused on the initial period of his work and the attacks that he was exposed to from various sides, along with some rather lengthy comments¹.

AN OUTLINE OF MIROSLAV MARKOVIĆ'S INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY

Miroslav Marković was born in Belgrade on March 18, 1919. His father, Svetozar, was a merchant, and his mother, Obrenija, a writer. His paternal grandfather, Nikola Marković, was "a journalist and public worker", whereas his maternal grandfather was a merchant and his maternal grandmother a teacher. Marković graduated from the Belgrade famous Second Gymnasium for Boys in 1937, and obtained his university degree from the Department of Classical Philology at the Belgrade University's Faculty of Philosophy in 1942. During the German occupation he was forced to work in the "National Service," and then spent some time in the "Directorate for Trams" as an administrative worker, after which he began working at the Faculty of Philosophy of the "re-organized" Belgrade University² in September 1943³. He began his academic career as an assistant to the world known expert on Byzantium Georgiy Aleksandrovich Ostrogorskiy at the Chair for Balkan Studies (course: The Balkan Peoples and Byzantium). He was mobilized by the Tito's Partisans on December 31, 1944 and initially placed in the Supreme Headquarters' propaganda division as a translator, after which he was transferred to the General Staff's Military Publishing Bureau, where he did editing and proofreading. He was demobilized on August 1, 1945 and sent to work in the Kultura publishing house, where he also worked as a translator and proofreader. Finally, on December 31, 1946 he returned to the Faculty of Philosophy.

Due to having worked as an assistant to Professor Ostrogorskiy for two months during the German occupation (from September 1 to November 1,

¹ In gathering the material for this work we have been greatly assisted by Prof. Zdravko Kućinar, Dr. Vera Mujbegović, Prof. Slobodan Žunjić, Prof. Bogoljub Šjaković, along with others on the staff of the National Library of Serbia (particularly Nenad Idrizović), the Svetozar Marković University Library, the library of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Belgrade (UoB) and the Archives of the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, UoB. Risto Topaloski helped us to prepare the visual material for publication. We use this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to all of them.

² Some biographers erroneously state that Miroslav Marković began working at the Belgrade University's Faculty of Philosophy in 1946. See, for example [Душанић 2001: 76].

³ This basic data on Marković's family and life prior to his employment at the Faculty of Philosophy are taken from his personal file in the Faculty's archive.

1943), after the liberation of the country and his return to the Faculty of Philosophy he was mockingly called “the occupation assistant” and was even briefly fired. Due to a lack of staff, however, and probably through the influence of Professor Miloš Đurić and Professor Franja Barišić, he was soon reinstated⁴. This time he was hired as an “assistant trainee” at the Chair of Classical Philology for the Greek language and literature. He also taught Ancient Greek and literature to philosophy students and strived to provide an education that was rooted in actual sources. Hence, Marković prepared a major chrestomathy of Greek philosophical texts (*Florilegium Philosophum Graecum* [Marković 1951]). This chrestomathy had two objectives: 1. To make accessible Greek philosophical texts and 2. Facilitate the study of Ancient Greek. Professor Slobodan Žunjić hailed the appearance of the manual “as an important date for teaching Greek philosophy in Serbia... The introduction of this *flower garden* into classes at the School of Philosophy” – Žunjić went on to say – “promised the fast reorientation of Greek philosophical studies to the very sources along with the parallel study of the original language that they were written in...” [Жуњић 2010] More will be said about Marković’s book later on when we take up the subject of a critique of this work.

The initial period of his very fruitful career, right after WW2 until the mid-1950s, saw him actively writing, translating and editing. He translated works by Heraclitus [Heraklit 1954], Aristotle [Aristotel 1954], Horace [Хорације 1956], edited Marko Marulić’s [Maruli 1957/2006] *Davidiad*, Frano Božičević Natalis’ [Marković 1958] poems, Byzantine charters from the Dubrovnik Archive [Марковић 1952: 205–262], translations of interpretations of antiquity, especially, the works of Soviet authors Alexandrov [Aleksandrov 1947; Aleksandrov 1948 and 1949], Mashkin [Машкин 1951], Tronsky [Тронски 1952], Avdiyev [Avdijev 1952], Udalytzov [Udaljcov et al. 1950, 1952]. He also translated articles by Engels [Енгелс 1947], Plekhanov [Плеханов 1947], Rosenthal [Rozental 1948] as well as Dobrolyubov [Доброљубов 1948], Belinsky [Bjelinski 1948] and others.

Based on the register of authors and the works that he translated in the second half of the 1940s and first half of the 1950s, one might conclude that Marković was pro-Marxist, or more precisely a “diamatist”⁵. However, if one bears in mind that during this time the new government was doing its best to arrange academic life to correspond to its official ideology and that no university teacher or associate of state institutes had the freedom to chose which works he would translate and use in his lessons, concluding that Marković was a “diamatist” – cannot be readily drawn⁶. To the contrary, judging by the cor-

⁴ We thank Dr Vera Mujbegović on providing this information via Professor Zdravko Kučinar. (A letter to this author dating September 22, 2014.) Otherwise, the documents in Marković’s file at the Faculty of Philosophy’s archive do not confirm Mrs. Mujbegović’s information. We have noted, however, that some documents from the file are missing, and also that the memory of Mrs. Mujbegović proved in other instances as quite reliable, convincing us that this unpleasant occurrence had indeed taken place.

⁵ An adherent of Dialectical Materialism as defined by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (Translator’s note).

⁶ We made this erroneous assumption in our essay Neophyte Miroslav: Prof. Miroslav Marković and *the Return to the Fathers* [Пантелић 2011: 30]. Petar H. Ilevski makes a similar mistake in [Ilevski 2002: 10].

respondence that is available to us and the testimonies of the people with whom he communicated, it is clear that he never espoused the official ideological convictions of the day. Marković was preoccupied with his scientific work and did not become politically involved during this period nor at any point later in his career.

Marković worked at the Belgrade University until July 1, 1954, when he took professor Đurić's advice and visited India⁷ as a visiting researcher at the University of Visva–Baharati. The most important result of his stay was his translation of *Bhagavad Gita*; his Spanish translation appeared in 1958 [Bhagavadgītā 1958], while his Serbian [Bhagavad–Gītā 1981] translation appeared over two decades later (in 1981)⁸ after numerous problems. We will return once more to Marković's stay in India later on.

After the year that he spent in India, Marković left for Venezuela, where he worked at the prestigious University of the Andes (Merida) from 1955 to 1962. In 1962 he accepted Hans Herter's offer from Germany and transferred to the University of Bonn, followed by Cambridge, where he was active from 1963 to 1968. The famous Hellenist, paleographer and codicologist Alexander Turin retired in 1969 and at the recommendation of Chadwick, Guthrie and other important scientists of the era⁹ Marković took up teaching at the Department for Classical Sciences at the University of Illinois (Urbana, U.S.). From 1973 to 1977 he headed the department¹⁰. There he founded the *Illinois Classical Studies* magazine (1976), which he was the editor of from 1976 to 1982 and from 1988 to 1992. Soon after its inception, the magazine became one of the more respectable publications in the area of classical studies. He remained at the University of Illinois until his retirement in 1989. In 1994, the same university awarded him an honorary PhD. In this period, he was also a visiting professor at the University of Michigan and the University of North Carolina, Trinity College in Dublin, and others.

Marković has been a guest professor at numerous international universities (in addition to the aforementioned universities, he also taught in Greece, Israel, Canada, etc.); most of his lectures were delivered in the language of the host. He spoke German, English, French, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Bulgarian and modern Greek, while also having a perfect knowledge of ancient Greek, Latin and Sanskrit. He was also a leading expert on Greek and Latin manuscripts.

In addition to paleography, he was, among other, also a top notch expert on ancient philology, history, archaeography, textology, folklore, philosophy,

⁷ A postcard (dated September 14, 1954, Santiniketan) Marković sent to Đurić from India reads: "To my dear unkle Miša, who gave me the idea of arriving here. It is a turning point in my life. With gratitude and respect: Miroslav." The postcard is in the Professor Đurić's Fund (Inv. No. 4391), housed in the Svetozar Marković University Library in Belgrade.

⁸ About complications related to the publication of this book in Serbian, see in the text that follows, in the Letter from Karakas.

⁹ A recommendation for Marković was signed by Henry Chadwick, Harold Cherniss, W. K. C. Guthrie, Hans Herter, Geoffrey Kirk, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Rodolfo Mondolfo, F. H. Sandbach, Friedrich Solmsen, Gregory Vlastos and Leonard Woodbury. See [Sansone 2001: 746].

¹⁰ This is how one of Marković's colleagues describes his successful work as a pedagogue: „His energetic leadership as Head brought about an increase in the size of the Department and stunning improvements in enrollments in Classics courses, such that the Department became the object of suspicious envy on the part of other departments in the College.“ [Sansone 2001: 745].

and religion. His edition of Heraclitus' fragments (so far several editions in several languages have appeared) has for decades been regarded as the most relevant in the field, as well as his publications of the scripts of Diogenes Laertius [*Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosophorum* 1999], Justin Philosopher [*Iustini Martyris Apologiae pro Christianis* 1997], Athenagoras [*Athenagoras: Legatio pro Christianis* 2000], Theophilus of Antioch [*Theophili Antiocheni ad Autolyicum* 1995], Tatian [*Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos* 1995], Clement of Alexandria [*Clementis Alexandrini Protrepticus* 2002], Origen [*Origenis Contra Celsum libri VIII* 2001], Hippolytus of Rome [*Hippolytus Refutatio omnium haeresium* 1986], and other. He also wrote much, publishing over 250 expert papers. An expert in short form, he dealt exclusively with matters of true importance, eliminating everything that wasn't, and avoiding unnecessary breadth (given that he wrote on subjects that he had an excellent knowledge and understanding of, he did not have to deceive the reader by piling up text, which today, unfortunately, is what numerous experts do). He, of course, also published more extensive monographs, but they were always in accordance with the highest scientific standards¹¹.

Miroslav Marković passed away in Illinois on June 14, 2001. A memorial service was held in the church of the Three Holy Hierarchs on June 24.

DENIALS

Already by the end of the 1950s, after the publication of Frano Božičević Natalis' book, despite the quality and number of the projects that he realized, Marković's works failed to attract any real interest on the part of the Yugoslav expert public¹², with the exception of several scientists, who were acclaimed experts in their fields. Although many of his works were highly esteemed around the world and are gaining even more acclaim (the citation of his books and articles has been continuously increasing every year), Marković's achievements, unfortunately have received almost no attention from domestic authors. Like half a century ago, today, his books and studies are not being ignored by only a small body of Serbian researchers of antiquity, yet, again, the scientists that have acknowledged them are top notch experts in their fields. Today, however, the situation is much worse in many ways than several decades ago. Namely, at the start of the 1950s, Marković's scientific endeavors were subjected to critical reviews, which also attests to the fact that his work is worthy of attention, because even its opponents, renowned members of Yugoslav academia and generally the intellectual community, felt that they needed to react to his proposals, insights, conclusions and the methods that he used for some of his research. Nowadays, unfortunately, the results of decades of Marković's work are simply not taken into account by the majority of domestic scholars.

¹¹ See [Marcovich: List of Publications 1993: 1–17; Marcovich: Addenda to List of Publications 1994: 1; Marcovich: List of Publications Addenda et Corrigenda, 2002–2003: xi–xii] and [Шијаковић. Библиографија радова Мирослава Марковића 2002: 21–36]. It should be added that Prof. Šijaković's Bibliography is more complete and precise.

¹² One biography of Marković rightly states that after Natalis' book he became "somewhat known to a Yugoslav reader." See [Marković 1983: 233].

For us the events that led Marković to leave Yugoslavia in the 1950s are of particular importance, and for that reason we will devote a little more space to attempts to belittle his work publicly. First will we direct our attention to a biased critical piece examining Marković's *Florilegium Philosophum Graecim* (1951) which was written by Milivoje Sironić, followed by a widely known pamphlet by Branislav Đurđev in which he called him a politically "unsuitable" historian, and, lastly, an attack by Academician Isidora Sekulić, who was enraged by the fact he had dared ask the Prosveta publishing company to include a serious („scientific“) translation of Homer's *Odyssey* by him in its publishing plan.

Discreditation

In the second volume of his book *Živa antika (Living Antiquity)*¹³, Croatian classicist Milivoje Sironić¹⁴ publicized a rather pretentious review of Marković's *Florilegium* [Sironić 1951: 318–325], Sironić did not try to hide his intention to, so to speak, teach his colleague a lesson: "The main purpose of my review is less to emphasize the good sides but the bad sides of Marković's textbook to warn the author of certain mistakes..." [Sironić 1951: 319] The critic, therefore, which Marković himself also noticed [Marković 1952: 111–118], did not care about being either principled or just, but seized the review as an opportunity to teach the author how textbooks should be written [Marković 1952: 111].

In evaluating Marković's book Sironić was totally out of line; among other things, he also criticized how the book was designed, printing mistakes, etc. This, it turned out, was ultimately a strength and spoke of just how much effort the author placed into facilitating the study of ancient Greek for his philosophy students; for example, since the Greek text could not be quickly and easily printed in WW2 Belgrade as many printing companies had suffered serious damages, Marković probably wrote the book on the only Greek typewriter that was available then in Belgrade, which was then lithographically copied.

Milivoje Sironić's arrogance takes on a slightly comical quality when one sees Marković address it in his response – not only were the majority of his objections out of place, but the reviewer, while criticizing parts of the book,

¹³ It should be mentioned that Sironić and Marković were among the founders of this today (internationally) known magazine for classical sciences as well as its contributors of long standing. Marković attended the founding gathering held in August 1950. His collaboration with the magazine never stopped, not even after he left Yugoslavia. To the contrary, Marković was in touch with the magazine until the end of his life.

¹⁴ Milivoje Sironić (1915–2006) is a well known Croatian hellenist. He studied classical philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, where he graduated in 1939 and obtained his PhD in 1954 (with a thesis titled "Critical and Exegetical Addenda to Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*"). In 1942 he became assistant teacher at the Department of Classical Philology of the same Faculty; after Professor Nikola Majnarić retired in 1960, Sironić became head of the Department for Greek Language and Literature. From 1974 until 1978 he was the dean of the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy. He was mostly engaged in studying Greek tragedies, Athenian comedies, archaic and classical period lyric poetry. He also translated works by Aesop, Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle et al.

often committed some not exactly minor blunders. To illustrate we will provide one example: In the review Sironić commands the author: “correct the wrong form of ἔχον into εἶχον.” [Sironić 1951: 324]. To which Marković replies: it should have sufficed for the reviewer (if he already cannot remember the form ἔχον from Homer!) to have first checked the quote and his claim, by looking at the original (Die Frg. d. Vorsokratiker 21 B 15, vol. I p. 132; 4. izd. 11 B 15, vol I p. 60), where he would have precisely found this ‘incorrect form of ἔχον!’ [Marković 1952: 112] in Xenophanes’ *hexameter*.

Also, it turned out that out of 13 separate objections that apply to the Lexicon at the end of the textbook, only three were barely justified, while the dictionary contains around 2400 words. It is not possible, due to the number and the extent of Sironić’s objections to show all of them along with Marković’s replies; what is certain is that the author very successfully “defended” himself from this aggressive critique.

Lastly we should note that one of our most important researchers of Greek philosophy and historians of Serbian philosophy, Professor Slobodan Žunjić, has said that Marković’s *Florilegium* is still the best publication of its kind at home.¹⁵ The fact that this “lithographic provisional textbook” has “survived” to this day, ergo, for full 65 years, speaks volumes about our academic environment, but also the textbook as well.

Denunciation

The second attack on Marković was not on his scientific credibility, but was very important in a political sense (which at the time meant existentially). More exactly it was very dangerous. In the first part of his well-known pamphlet – “The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Historiography” [Đurđev 1953], which was published as separate pieces in *Nova Misao*, Branislav Đurđev¹⁶ also attacked Marković. We recall that *Nova Misao* was founded by Milovan Đilas at a time when he one of Yugoslavia’s four top leaders (Tito, Kardelj, Ranković, Đilas) and was the most prominent ideologist in the country. At the time, Đilas led the party’s Agitprop (the Department for Propaganda). Đurđev was his close friend at the time and his “right hand man” for historical science¹⁷. As we know,

¹⁵ A letter to the author dated June 2, 2011.

¹⁶ Branislav Đurđev (1908–1993) was a well-known Yugoslav historian, Orientalist, and a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He finished his university studies in history and Oriental philology in Belgrade in 1934, obtaining his PhD there in 1952 with a thesis titled *What Was the Government in Montenegro in the 16th and 17th Century Like*. He had taught at the Department of History of the Sarajevo-based Faculty of Philosophy, since its founding in 1950, serving as the Faculty’s dean in 1964–1965. After retiring in 1973, he continued teaching at the same Faculty for several years. He was also at the helm of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo since 1964. Đurđev was a member of the Scientific Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina since its founding, serving as its president from 1955 until 1959. In 1966, the Scientific Society became the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in that first year, Đurđev was the institution’s vice-president, becoming its president in 1967–1971. He was also a member of all Yugoslav academies. Most of his research was in the area of Ottoman studies, with rather prominent results. He was also active in political life.

¹⁷ Gliša Elezović testified to that by stating the following: “Many knew that B. Đurđev had a friend and protector in Milovan Đilas. How did they come to know that I do not know, but no one

in the late 1940s and early 1950s Đilas was systematically engaged in destroying the so-called “Serbian bourgeoisie culture.” For example, he was personally involved in the discreditation of Isidora Sekulić. He entrusted Oskar Davičo with dealing with “Serbian nationalism” in the area of culture, Academician Mihailo Marković was picked to fight “unsuitable” philosophers (above all Branislav Petronijević) but refused¹⁸, while Đurđev hunted down “bourgeoisie” historians. Đilas’s criticism in *Nova Misao*, in other words, could be understood at the time as a license to kill.

It is unclear why Đurđev chose also to attack Miroslav Marković who was known not to be politically active and who did not participate in ideological debates, etc. Whatever the case, Đurđev wrote the following in the aforementioned article:

“Certain historians are trying to consciously or insufficiently consciously resist what our socialist reality demands of our historiography by wanting to prove to us that establishing historical facts is the alpha and the omega of work in historical science and historical inquiry. This tendency provides the undertone for a vast majority of pieces in *Istorijski časopis*. In addition to an undertone of scientific legacy, there is an undertone of concealed speculation, however, as this makes it easy to pretend to be a scientist, a position that comes with privileges and status. Sometimes the titles of articles and pieces in *Istorijski časopis* speak for themselves. Here are these titles „Was Xenophanes of the Eleatic School ever in Hvar?“ (9 pages) [Марковић 1949–1950a: 19–28] and „What does Theophylact Simocatta’s nickname Poitis mean?“ (9 pages) [Марковић 1949–1950b: 29–38]. [...] These are old scholarly debates of a philosophical direction. Only while Du Cange was preparing large dictionaries of Latin and medieval Greek through this work, Miroslav Marković, Nikola Radojčić and others with large scientific apparatuses have been producing strings of sizeable articles on the meaning of certain words and tiny facts, all of which could fit into two to three concise sentences in the tiny pieces section. This is the difference between the old erudites, who advanced historiography and its method in their day, and the neoerudites, who are pulling historiography backward...” [Đurđev 1953].

In his “Response“ [Marković 1953: 802–804] Marković was far more moderate and concise than in his debate with Sironić, for two reasons: 1. Đurđev’s assessment was undeserving of the attention of a serious scientific worker, because it was clear that it was a politically motivated attack and not the usual academic criticism; 2. Any negative characterization of the persona of Đilas’ protégé could come at a price that was too high to pay. Marković was well aware of this and replied very cautiously. After specifying the place in Đurđev’s critical text that applied to him, he wrote: “Thus [B. Đurđev] said

can deny that under Đilas’s protection Đurđev advanced his career substantially. When at the end of last year a meeting was held to debate the matters concerning the composition of the history of the Yugoslav peoples, Đurđev was a member of the council in charge. On that occasion, M. Đilas took an active part, stating, I don’t know precisely why, that B. Đ. is his good friend. He also mentioned his complicated style, but added that when read carefully, he is quite understandable.” [Елезовић 1954: 280–281].

¹⁸ See [Марковић Vol. I, 2008: 208].

something untrue about me and said it in a way that poses as an insult to every scientist in a socialist country.” [Marković 1953 p. 803]. He then offered evidence of his claim. First in several steps he directed attention to the scientific contribution of his two works mentioned by Đurđev (in his first piece he refuted the theses by Diels, Franz and Capella on Xenophanes’ visit to Hvar, while in the other he revealed the true nature of the “Greek Renaissance” in the East during Heraclius), with a passing remark that the importance of the first article was recognized by the two greatest living experts on Byzantium, Georgiy Ostrogorskiy in Belgrade and Franz Dölger in Munich. Finally, Marković wraps it up very elegantly:

“Therefore:

1. The importance of a scientific work is not apparent from the title alone; the content of the debate is *wider* than one can see from the title (“the titles... they speak for themselves”); hence, it is intolerable to deduce such far reaching and deeply insulting conclusions on “resistance to that which our socialist reality demands,” on “undertones of hidden speculation,” “pretending to be a scientist,” etc. (At the same time the titles were not correctly written: not *Xenophon* but *Xenophanes*; not *Poitis* but *Poietes* or *Piitis*).

2. I absolutely cannot agree that it is “but wasting words” (page 641) to refute the misconceptions of three great German scholars on the chronology of the Greek colonization of the Adriatic coast nor to shed light on the character of the “great Greek Renaissance” under Heraclius and the forces that produced this Renaissance; I do not believe that “all of this could have fit in two to three concise sentences in the tiny pieces section.”

3. Finally, I am not of the opinion that these works “drag historiography backward.” To the contrary, this “method” (page 640) – the voicing of such far-reaching conclusions from titles alone, which “speak for themselves” – can drag our historiography backward.

This much on the mentioning of my name and in such a way.” [Marković 1953: 803–804].

Belittling

The third attack on Miroslav Marković came from the renowned author and academician, Isidora Sekulić. Her criticism came from the “other side,” i.e. from the opposition to Đurđev or rather Đilas. It was triggered by Marković’s proposal to the Prosveta publishing company’s literary council to place a translation of Homer’s *Odyssey*, which he intended to do, in its publishing plan along with a note to the publisher in which he included a number of sample verses. This stirred up a storm and drew a completely unbecoming reaction from Isidora Sekulić, who was a member of Prosveta’s literary council.

Right at the very beginning of her “Report” [Секулић 1954: 241–254] the well-known author clearly showed that it was her intention to ridicule and completely discredit Marković. With unbearable cynicism she spoke of his proposal to Prosveta to consider supporting a major and very complex project such as translating Homer’s *Odyssey*. The way that she comments on his “little letter” to Prosveta’s literary council is malicious to the extreme. Despite being

a young and ambitious researcher, at the time Marković already had ten years of university teaching experience, a number of acclaimed papers and thousands (!) of pages translated from several languages and in no way deserved to have this respected author and academician treat him like that.

Isidora Sekulić's criticism abounds with unnecessary digressions crafted to demonstrate her supposed intellectual superiority over Marković, a young scholar. The fact that she published her review, which was actually intended for the Prosveta publishing company only, and was not of public importance, reveals that its sole purpose was, for some strange reason that we don't understand, to publicly belittle Marković. The publication of documents of this kind is very unbecoming, first of all, because the public has no idea of what the subject of the dispute is. The editor of *Književnost* and author of the article did not include the entire version of Marković's "little letter" or sample excerpts from Homer's *Odyssey* so that one could independently decide whether her criticism was justified or not. Moreover, she refused to publish Miroslav Marković's reply. As we see from Marković's letter to Đurić, Isidora Sekulić even went so far as to falsify his translation and then subject it to criticism. Given this fact, it is obvious why the acclaimed author refused to run Marković's reply.

Isidora Sekulić denied Marković the right to defend himself, and thereby discredited her own criticism; therefore, there is no further reason to analyze the content of her review in detail. The important thing is that, unfortunately, she succeeded in preventing Marković from preparing a translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, which he had planned to perform according to the highest scientific standards. She did, though, help personally contribute to getting Marković, a serious researcher, to emigrate from Serbia (i.e. Yugoslavia) – and build an international career. Marković's results then and later demonstrated that he was more than capable of successfully performing such a demanding translating job. His masterpiece, which he succeeded in realizing abroad, without the obstruction of various authorities, was, in fact, the best response to Academician Isidora Sekulić's attack.

Miroslav Marković wrote to his teacher, true friend and mentor, Professor Miloš Đurić, about this case and the other reasons that forced him to leave his homeland and this letter is published in the next section. Before that, we will examine a very important testimony by his colleague and friend, which reveals why he chose Venezuela.

WHY VENEZUELA OF ALL PLACES?

Owing to Professor Zdravko Kučinar's kindness we were given a very important account that sheds more light on the situation that young Miroslav Marković found himself in during the first post-war years. Namely, Dr Vera Mujbegović, who as a contemporary of Marković and an accomplice in several events that had a decisive impact on Marković's decision to quit the Faculty of Philosophy, i.e. leave Yugoslavia, has a fresh memory of the period and will facilitate our efforts to understand the reason why Marković chose Venezuela over other destinations, and how he, so to speak, "escaped" Yugoslavia.

Professor Kučinar interviewed Dr Vera Mujbegović and gave us the content of the discussion in an e-mail dated September 22, 2014. Herein is a portion of his letter that is pertinent to our subject:

“As for Marković’s leaving the Faculty [of Philosophy in Belgrade], Vera [Mujbegović] says that things went as follows: There was a contest for foreign government scholarships, including the one granted by the government of India, for specializing in the study of Sanskrit. Several candidates applied. Vera Mujbegović was picked for India (as a philosopher) along with Miroslav Marković (as a philologist). Vera was at the Faculty [of Philosophy] and Dušan Nedeljković¹⁹ was planning for her to devote herself to Indian philosophy. She claims that all of the candidates that were picked were members of the CP [The Communist Party, i.e. the Alliance of Communists of Yugoslavia]. The fact that he was not in the party, did not stop Marković from receiving a scholarship, which was coveted by many. According to Vera, that shows that Marković was not treated as a suspicious staffer and that he was not subjected to any political mistrust²⁰. They left for India in August 1954. Vera and Miroslav were inseparable and studied together. He was a polyglot. He spoke almost every European language. Vera mentioned that she watched Marković study Sanskrit and was acquainted with his method of work. Marković was incredibly successful – he learned the language perfectly in a year. Vera was forced to return to the country after she got sick. She can’t remember when Marković’s scholarship expired or whether he stayed there for one or two years²¹. It is important that she was close to Marković and that he confided in her why he competed for the Indian scholarship – which puts an end to the enigma of why Marković left the country.

Namely, Marković’s wife²² was Jewish and with the help of family ties she found refuge in Venezuela²³ along with their son. Miroslav confided in Vera that his wife and he continuously sent letters to each other, and that, therefore, he too planned to move to Venezuela. His scholarship had given him

¹⁹ Dušan Nedeljković (1899–1984), a Yugoslav philosopher, university professor and academician. He finished secondary school in Nice, France, graduating in philosophy studies in 1919, with a paper on Ruder Bošković (*La philosophie naturelle de R. J. Boscovich*). In the same country he earned his PhD three years later, with a thesis on a similar topic (*La philosophie naturelle et relativist de R. J. Boskovich*). That same year (1922) he began teaching at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, transferring to the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade after the Second World War. At one point, he taught all courses at the Department of Philosophy. He retired early in 1953. In 1946 he became a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, being also a member of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Nedeljković was one of the most prominent Yugoslav Marxist philosophers. In addition to philosophy, he was also interested in ethnological topics.

²⁰ We have already mentioned, and that was also confirmed by Dr Vera Mujbegović, that Marković had certain problems because of teaching for a while at the Faculty of Philosophy during German occupation. The attitude of the new government toward him, however, which was quite fair, makes it clear that he had never collaborated with the occupiers. Unfortunately, the intellectual elite of the time failed to treat him the same way.

²¹ Since he wrote to Miloš Đurić (as well as to Milan Budimir and to the Faculty of Philosophy) as early as September 1, 1955 that he was leaving Yugoslavia, we can conclude that Marković spent only a year in India.

²² Vera Marković, who became Marković’s wife on May 30, 1948.

²³ To avoid any misunderstandings, we are noting that she left Yugoslavia after WWII.

the ability to learn yet another language, and raised the chances of him finding a job as a philologist, but also to travel where he wanted to and reunite with his wife and son. Ergo, he received the scholarship as someone with a job, as someone whose specialization was being invested in and someone that the Faculty was counting on. There was no persecution; he wasn't fired or anything similar.

Vera said that ten years later after returning from India, she met Marković in Belgrade and that he told her that he was doing well and successfully working in his field."²⁴

Therefore, it was family reasons that decisively influenced Miroslav Marković to choose Venezuela. Another important reason were the far better conditions for realizing serious projects in the field of classical philology in Venezuela, which he was denied in Yugoslavia. We will discuss this subject more extensively in his letter to Đurić, which will be examined in the second part of this paper.

Professor Miroslav Marković's scientific work, as we can see, was obstructed practically before it began and he was marginalized to such a degree that he was forced to leave the country. His letters to Professor Đurić are a testimony to the end of a difficult episode in the life of this young, gifted and meticulous university teacher and researcher of antiquity, but also the start of a career that placed him among the world's top classical philologists. We hope that Serbian academia will not be as immature as to wipe such an important figure from its memory.

MARKOVIĆ'S LETTERS FROM VENEZUELA
(1955)
TO ACADEMICIAN PROFESSOR MILOŠ N. ĐURIĆ

Letter from Caracas²⁵

Caracas, September 1. 1955

Dear Teacher!

I have enclosed a copy of the request that I am sending today to the Faculty's council²⁶. There are two reasons why I have decided to accept the offer to take

²⁴ After presenting me with the memories of Dr Vera Mujbegović, Professor Kučinar added an important note: "This is what I have learned from my conversation with Vera Mujbegović. I trust her testimony – she was quite close to Marković, and, what is even more important, she remembers everything well. I became convinced of that after checking some other matters related to the Faculty [of Philosophy] in the first post-WWII years."

²⁵ Miroslav Marković's letter sent from Caracas on September 1, 1955, is kept in Professor Miloš Đurić's Fund in the Svetozar Marković University Library in Belgrade, under Inv. No. 4393. It is typewritten, in the Latin script, while the signature and regards are added by hand.

²⁶ We couldn't find the request either in Prof. Đurić's Fund or in Marković's personal file at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. What happened to it? It is possible that the request fell out of the file accidentally, but it is also possible that it was removed from it or wasn't deposited in the right place. For the time being, we cannot say with certainty how it disappeared. What is beyond doubt is that the request reached the Faculty's council, because it is mentioned in the decision accepting Marković's "resignation": "With his matter dated September 1, 1955,

over the Department of Classical Philology at the Los Andes University in Venezuela. The main reason is the very favorable conditions for scientific and research work; chiefly the abundance of expert literature and means, U.S. libraries close by, etc. Conversely, the lack of foreign currency for purchasing modern expert literature back at home was a serious obstacle to my further development. Only now do I see how many times open doors were charged, how many times a person – through no fault of their own – was exposed to the risk of being proclaimed a plagiarist! And that simply for being unable to get their hands on foreign literature...

Instead of the other reasons I will name three or four illustrations from different levels of study.

1. Medieval Latin – At the same time as Zagreb academician Josip Badalić²⁷ (1953) I took it upon myself to publish Marulić's²⁸ magnificent Latin poem the *Davidiad* (14 books, with almost 7,000 hexameters) – on the basis of the sole remaining copy of the manuscript in Turin [G–VI–40]. I immediately offered my cooperation to the JAZIU²⁹, which was in charge, but was coldly rejected: a slavist, Badalić, was apparently more competent for the job than a classical philologist...

Even at this very moment his edition sits on the table in front of me (“Old Croatian Writers,” book 31, June 1954) The foreword informs us that the Latin script was read to him by two assistants (“The Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb’s Institute of Historiography’s assistants J. Stipčević³⁰ and M. Šamša-

Marković addressed the Faculty’s council informing it that he had accepted an offer from the Government of Venezuela to take a position of associate professor at the University of the Andes for a period of two years, asking that his resignation from his post at this Faculty be accepted. The Faculty’s administration decided on its session on October 7, 1955, to accept his request. The document was registered on October 15, 1955 under № 4792.

²⁷ Josip Badalić (1888–1985) was a renowned Croatian slavist, literary historian, university professor and member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU). He studied classical philology and Slavonic studies in Zagreb (1909–1911) and Berlin (1911–1912). He obtained his PhD after the First World War in 1919, with a thesis titled *Temperament and Character as Literary and Ethical Categories*. After finishing his doctoral studies he spent some time in Paris, where he continued with Slavonic studies. After WWII, he founded the Department of Russian Literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, where he taught until retirement (that is, from 1945 until 1959). He remained active even after retirement, teaching as a visiting professor at many foreign universities (Frankfurt, Uppsala, Marburg, Heidelberg, Moscow, and others). He was an active member and head of many Croatian associations (Matica Hrvatska, Association of Croatian Writers, Association of Croatian Librarians). He was also vice president of the International Committee of Slavists (1958–1968). He became a corresponding member of JAZU in 1949, and a full member in 1955. His areas of research included philology, textology, Slavonic studies, while he also wrote extensively about Russian authors, etc.

²⁸ Marko Marulić, from Split (Lat. Marcus Marulus Spalatensis) (1450–1524) was a Croatian writer and Christian humanist. He finished his elementary education in his native Split. It is not known for certain where he studied, but it is believed that he probably continued his education in Padua. Marulić is considered a central figure of the Split humanist circle and the father of Croatian literature.

²⁹ JAZIU or JAZU is the abbreviation for the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb.

³⁰ Jakov Stipišić (1920–2010) was a Croatian historian. He completed his studies of Italian, Latin and Yugoslav literature in 1950 at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy. He also completed a course in auxiliary historical sciences at the Institute of History of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU). He worked at the Institute from 1951 until retirement in 1984. From 1959 until 1977 he taught auxiliary historical sciences at the School of Philosophy’s Department of History.

lović³¹, page 12, helped me with the reading of microfilm recordings of the manuscript³²).

I carefully compared their edition with my microfilm of the *Davidiad* (read on a U.S. Flofilm 1955 type Reader). The result was catastrophic for the publishers; a mass of omitted verses, funny nonsense, a complete lack of understanding of the Latin text, while with the number of wrongfully read words and places would produce an entire brochure! After three random samples it was clear that we were dealing with amateurs. An example truly unknown to me in classical philology!

After being rejected by JAZIU I prepared my edition of the *Davidiad* for publication by the Los Andes University, in Spanish and English. The printing of the first book (Introduction; Text; Critical Apparatus, etc.) will begin on Sept. 1 and be finished on Oct. 1, 1955. The second book will include the most comprehensive philological commentary (my edition of Božičević's³² Latin lyrics [Marković 1958] can only serve as a rough example of the methodology that will be used) due to which I need to consult a massive number of works in the U.S. I would like to believe that our Marulić will get what he deserves. This job can only be performed by a classical philologist...

2. Medieval Greek. – Way back in 1952, at the request of SAN³³ I examined the Academy's stores of facsimiles of Greek documents from our Hilandar and handed in an extensive report to the Institute of Byzantine Studies. The condition of these stores is, from the viewpoint of modern-day science, extremely poor. Half of the Hilandar documents are unpublished, the other half was published in a way that cannot withstand the criticism of contemporary diplomatics and paleography (Petit³⁴, a little Mošin³⁵, Anasta-

³¹ Miljen Šamšalović (1923–1987) was a Croatian historian. He graduated in law from the University of Zagreb in 1951, and the very next year began working at the Institute for History of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. From 1955 until 1957 he studied Latin paleography in Vienna, Poitiers, and Spoleto. He mostly engaged in medieval studies.

³² Frano Božičević (Lat. Franciscus Natalis) (1469–1542) was a renowned Croatian author, who wrote his works in Latin. He was Marulić's friend and biographer, and in addition to him was one of the most prominent members of the Split humanist circle.

³³ SAN is the Serbian abbreviation for the Serbian Academy of Sciences, which later became SANU – the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA).

³⁴ Louis Petit (1868–1927) was a renowned French historian and archbishop. In 1895 he left for Turkey to take charge of the church community in the Asian part of Istanbul. There, he founded the *Les Echos d'Orient* magazine, dedicated to the history of the Eastern Church, and especially to Byzantine history (the magazine will later be renamed *Études byzantines*, i.e. *Revue des études byzantines*), working intensely on the Byzantine written tradition. Petit mostly dealt in editing ancient canonic texts and documents; he also authored several volumes of the famous Mansi collection (from Vol. 37 to Vol. 46).

³⁵ Vladimir Alekseyevich Moshin (1894–1987), was a renowned Russian paleographer, Slavist and Byzantinist. He studied history in Saint Petersburg, Tiflis and Kiev. He emigrated from Russia to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia) in 1920. Eight years later, he obtained his PhD from the University of Zagreb with a thesis titled *Norman Colonization of Eastern Europe*. He taught Byzantine studies at the universities in Belgrade and Skopje. He was director of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts' Archive and the founder of the Archaeography Department of the National Library of Serbia. He may be considered the founder of the Serbian school of archaeography. He mostly engaged in the analysis of Slavic manuscripts, achieving special results in the area of codicology.

sijević³⁶, etc.) The number of Greek charters, documents and acts in Hilandar (including a massive amount related to the Nemanjićes') is in the hundreds. This material, precious for history, is rotting there (unless foreign tourists get their hands on it). At the same time, there is a need for a monograph on Hilandar's development.

Despite the comprehensive devotion of professors Ostrogorskiy³⁷ and Belić³⁸ I was unable to reach neighboring Hilandar, although I offered the leaders of the expedition to join them at my own cost. This happened three times. Professors

³⁶ Dragutin Anastasijević (1877–1950) was a well-known Serbian classical philologist and Byzantine scholar, a professor at the University of Belgrade and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He studied classical philology in Belgrade (1896–1900), and continued his modern Greek and Byzantine studies in Munich, under the famous professor Karl Krumbacher (1902–1905). He obtained his PhD in Germany in 1905 with a thesis titled *Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur*. In 1906, he began teaching Greek, paleography, Byzantine philology and history at the Department of Byzantine Studies at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, which was the third such department in the world. From 1921 until 1941 he taught ancient Greek and cultural history of Byzantium at the School of Theology in Belgrade. Except in Germany, he also studied in Milan's Ambrosian Library, the Russian Archaeological Archive in Istanbul, as well as in libraries in Russia, Austria, and Greece. He became a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on February 2, 1946, becoming a full member only twenty days later. Professor Anastasijević is considered the founder of the Serbian Byzantology school.

³⁷ Georgiy Aleksandrovich Ostrogorskiy (1902–1976) was a famous Byzantine scholar, professor of the University of Belgrade and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1921, he began studying philosophy and sociology at the University of Heidelberg, attending lectures of Heinrich Rickert, Karl Jaspers, et al. In Germany, he decided to study Byzantine history, i.e. to write a doctorate from this field. For a while he lived in Paris (1924), where he attended lectures given by well known Byzantinists Gabriel Millet and Charles Diehl. He defended his doctorate titled *Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert* in July 1925 at Heidelberg. Three years later he began working at the University of Wrocław, where he remained until 1933, leaving Poland for Belgrade. This is where he spent most of his career. He taught at the Department of Byzantine Studies of the School of Philosophy until retirement in 1973. In 1948, he founded the Institute for Byzantine Studies at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, remaining at its helm until his death in 1976. He became a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1946, being at the same time a member of several foreign academies (of the United Kingdom, Greece, Austria, Belgium, and others). His work encompassed almost all periods of the millennium-long Byzantine history. His book *The History of Byzantium* (1940) is still considered the best survey of Byzantine history, and he himself one of the most important Byzantinists of the 20th century.

³⁸ Aleksandar Belić (1876–1960) was a Serbian philologist, university professor and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He began his philology studies in his native Belgrade and continued them in Moscow and Odessa. He returned from Russia in 1899 and became assistant professor at the Belgrade High School, from which the University of Belgrade developed. He spent a year in Leipzig, where he defended his doctoral thesis. In 1906, he was elected full professor of the University of Belgrade, where he taught Slavic Philology and General Linguistics. He was the Belgrade University rector from 1932 until 1934. He became a corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy (later the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – SASA) in 1905, and the next year a full member. He headed the institution under its different names from 1937 until 1960. He was also a member of various Yugoslav and foreign academies. He mostly engaged in comparative grammar of Slavic languages and the general linguistics issues. He is one of the founders of the Serbo-Croatian scientific syntax and is considered the founder of the modern Serbo-Croatian dialectology.

Djordje Sp. Radojčić³⁹, Svetozar Radojčić⁴⁰ and A. Deroko⁴¹ (kudos to them by the way) studied other things in Hilandar, possibly of greater importance to Serbian history, but they did not publish the Greek documents... (Note: If someone were to think that I am not qualified for the job, let them take a look at BZ⁴² and see what Professor Franz Dölger⁴³, the number one paleographer and expert in Byzantine diplomatics, says about the way that I published the Byzantine charters from the Dubrovnik Archive,⁴⁴ in SAN, while Professor Paul Lemerle wrote on the matter: „Avec mes excuses pour cette ‘invasion’ dans votre domaine...” etc.).

3. Greek literature – The Serbo-Croatian language still lacks an authentic *Odyssey*. I translated the first book as a translating exercise. I strived to be more

³⁹ Đorđe Sp. Radojčić (1905–1970) was a Serbian historian and historian of literature. He completed his studies in history in 1929 at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. He began his research work while still a student, participating, among other, in ordering archive documents of the period between 1910 and 1918. Immediately after graduation, he began working as an assistant teacher at the University of Belgrade (until 1933), transferring then to the National Library of Serbia, where he remained until the end of WWII. From 1948 until 1951 he was a scientific researcher at the SASA Institute for Literary Studies. He also taught at the University of Novi Sad's Faculty of Philosophy, at the departments of history and the history of Yugoslav literature. He mostly dealt in Serbian medieval history, i.e. Serbian medieval literature.

⁴⁰ Svetozar Radojčić (1909–1978) was a distinguished Serbian art historian, University of Belgrade professor and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He studied archeology in Ljubljana (1928–1932), spending one year at the University of Zagreb and in Vienna's Archeological Institute. He pursued his further studies in Prague, Grado, Venice, and Aquileia. He obtained his PhD in 1934 in Ljubljana. He taught at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy's Department of Art History, specializing in Serbian medieval painting.

⁴¹ Aleksandar Deroko (1894–1988) was a well-known Serbian architect, painter, one of the 1300 corporals, Belgrade University professor and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He interrupted his studies at the Faculty of Technology when the Great War broke out. After the end of war he studied architecture and art in Rome, Prague, Brno and finally in Belgrade, where he graduated in 1926. He continued his studies in Paris on a scholarship from the French government. During the year in which he graduated, he worked with Bogdan Nestorović on the project for the St. Sava Temple in Belgrade, winning in the competition. He taught at the Faculty of Architecture and the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade until retirement in 1974. He became SASA's corresponding member in 1955, and a full member in 1961.

⁴² BZ is the usual abbreviation, in addition to ByzZ, for the oldest and most significant Byzantology journal *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift*, founded by the Byzantology father, Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) in 1892, which is still published.

⁴³ Franz Dölger (1891–1968), one of the most distinguished German Byzantinists and a member of several European academies of sciences (Bavarian, Austrian, Athenian, British etc.) He has been the editor of the famous journal *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift* for over thirty years (1931–1963). He mostly engaged in Byzantine diplomatics, achieving extraordinary results in the field; he, in fact, established it as a separate Byzantinological discipline.

⁴⁴ Reviewing Marković's critical edition of six Byzantine charters from the Dubrovnik Archive, Dölger, among other things, noted: “All charters, with the addition of complete facsimiles, are explained thoroughly – from the point of view of philology and diplomatics, and are published in a very careful manner; there is also a number of corrections pertaining to previous publications [...]. This work is a significant contribution to Byzantine diplomatics, especially when it comes to diplomatics of despots' charters.” *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift*, Band 46, (1953), p. 210. (Let us use the occasion to correct a mistake appearing in „Miroslav Marcovich: List of Publications“, *Illinois Classical Studies*, Vol. 18 (1993), p. 4; namely Dölger's review was not published in *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift*, Band 45 (1952), S. 209, but in Band 46 (1953), SS. 209–210.)

exact and smoother than good old Maretić⁴⁵. I had not even published the translation yet, when a fierce critique, full of insults and lies penned by Academician Isidora Sekulić [Секулић1954], who went so far as to countefeit my verses, appeared in the introduction of *Književnost*⁴⁶. The critique was written in an unusual tone, as if it were written by an elementary school child and not an expert... I reacted immediately and sent a correction/answer. It never saw the light of day! Are these equal and fair relations?

4. Roman literature – I chose the essence of Horace’s lyric and recrafted it in a way that I believe gives us the true Horace and his environment. The booklet was prepared for printing in Nopok (now gone) back in 1952, but it has not seen the light of day as yet⁴⁷. In the meantime Nopok produced a mass of trivialities...

5. Hindu philosophy – I translated *Bhagavad Gita* from Sanskrit and gave it a new interpretation. Around 70 books have been writtent so far on *Gita*, in every world language. I corrected some of the thoughts of two of the best interpreters – Franklin Edgerton⁴⁸ and the Indian Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan⁴⁹. I wrote about this in both English and Spanish, etc.

Even though the Belgrade “Kultura” asked for the translation, it lay around unpublished for half a year with no sign that it will be published anytime soon. Why? The dashes above the letters a, i, u (ā, ī, ū; ñ doesn’t appear) along with the dots above or below r, m, s, h, n, t, th, d, dh (ṛ, ṡ, ś, ḥ, ṇ, ñ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh) cannot be printed – in several dozens transcribed words in the Nagari script. An unsolvable problem indeed.

⁴⁵ Tomislav Maretić (1854–1938), was a well-known Croatian philologist, translator and lexicographer. He studied Slavistics and Classical Philology at the University of Zagreb. He obtained his PhD in Slavistics and Philosophy in 1883 with a thesis titled *On Certain Manifestations of Quantity and Accents in the Croatian or Serbian Language*. He also studied in Prague and Leipzig. He began his teaching career in 1885 at the Royal University of Franz Joseph I in Zagreb, where he taught old Slavic grammar and the development of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic scripts. He became a member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU), being at its helm from 1915 until 1918. He was the editor of the JAZU dictionary from 1907 until his death. He actively translated from ancient Greek and Latin (Ovid, Virgil, Homer), but also from Polish (Adam Mickiewicz).

⁴⁶ Isidora Sekulić (1877–1958), a Serbian writer, translator, literary critic and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. She studied in Novi Sad and Budapest. She taught in schools in Šabac, Pančevo and Belgrade. She was considered one of the most learned women of her time, was well versed in cultural history, especially in the history and theory of literature, and was a polyglot. She worked as a teacher until 1931, becoming a corresponding member of SASA in 1939, and a full member in 1950. She is the first Serbian woman to become a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

⁴⁷ Marković’s selection of Horace’s poetry was published four years later by the Nolit publishing house [Хорације 1956].

⁴⁸ Franklin Edgerton (1885–1963) was a distinguished American philologist. He taught Sanskrit and comparative philology on Yale and the University of Pennsylvania, and was a visiting professor at the Banaras Hindi University in Varanasi, India. He prepared the English translation of *Bhagavad Gita* (*The Bhagavad Gītā*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 38–39, Harvard University Press, 1944, 180 pp.), which is still widely used.

⁴⁹ Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975) was a prominent Indian politician and philosopher. He was the president of the UNESCO General Conference and the president of the Republic of India. He taught philosophy at several Indian universities, as well as in Oxford. He translated and annotated the works of classical Indian philosophy, among others *Bhagavad Gita* as well (*The Bhagavadgītā. With an Introductory Essay, Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Notes*, London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1948, 388 pp).

Hence these efforts too have been for nothing. An effort made under indescribably harsh conditions in India!

SAPIENTI SATI!⁵⁰

Dear Teacher!

I implore you to believe that I will never betray the principles of scientific endeavour that you instilled in me! I am only interested in original scientific study, nothing more! Before you might condemn my decision, I ask you to remember the great Tesla, Pupin, Paja Radosavljević⁵¹ and others (*si licet parva componere magnis!*). We are talking about more funding for scientific creation, and favorable conditions for publication.

Accept my deepest gratitude as a student and my most cordial greetings and wishes for a long life, good health, fruitful creative work and lasting peace!

I congratulate you on your election to SAN⁵², while I wish Mrs. Zora⁵³ health, happiness, and serenity!

If it is of no trouble to you, I ask you to please convey my most cordial regards to your neighbor, Professor Boža Kovačević⁵⁴ and furthermore Professor Miodrag Ibrovac⁵⁵ as well as my dear “homeroom teacher” Professor Radosav Bošković⁵⁶.

⁵⁰ “A word to the wise is enough”, a famous dictum by Publius Terentius Afer, a well known Roman comedy writer, from the 2nd century BC.

⁵¹ Biographies of our scientists Mihajlo Pupin and Nikola Tesla, who emigrated to the USA and became famous for their magnificent inventions, are well known and there is no reason to repeat them here. The life and work of Pavle Paja Radosavljević (1879–1958), however, is less known, and we will present it in brief. Radosavljević was the first Serbian doctor of psychology and a distinguished professor of the University of New York. He studied in Vienna, Jena, Zurich, at Stanford, and in New York. He obtained his first doctorate in Zurich in 1904 (*The Experimental Basis of the Psychology of Memory*), earning his second PhD in New York in 1908, with a thesis titled *The Influence of Word Content on Primary (Direct) Memory*. The next year he was accepted as an assistant teacher at the Stanford University’s Department of Psychology, and shortly afterwards transferred to New York. He mostly dealt in psychology, that is, in experimental pedagogy. By the way, Miroslav Marković’s life is very similar to Paja Radosavljević’s, primarily because both had managed to make impressive careers and were greatly respected abroad, while remaining almost forgotten at home.

⁵² Professor Miloš Đurić was admitted to the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Department of Literature and Language) on June 14, 1955, becoming a full member on December 20, 1961.

⁵³ Zora Đurić, the wife of Professor Miloš Đurić.

⁵⁴ Božidar Kovačević (1902–1990) was a Serbian writer and literary critic. He studied Yugoslav and world literature at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, spending one year at the Sorbonne, where he attended courses in French and Russian literature, Russian history and sociology. He worked at the Ministry of Education, the Institute for Literature, was in charge of the SASA Archive etc. He is also known as a tutor to Crown Prince Petar II Karađorđević. At one point he was a teacher at the Second Gymnasium for Boys in Belgrade from which Miroslav Marković graduated. From the manner in which he refers to him (addressing him as “professor”) in the letter to Đurić, we can assume that Kovačević was Marković’s teacher.

⁵⁵ Miodrag Ibrovac (1885–1973), was a Serbian literary historian, Belgrade University professor and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He headed the Society for Cultural Cooperation between Yugoslavia and France and was one of the founders of the Serbian PEN Center. He obtained his PhD in France before the Second World War, and taught for over twenty years at the Faculty of Philology’s Chair for French Language and Literature. For a while he also taught at the Faculty of Philosophy and was its dean in 1954–1955. At the time Marković wrote his letter, Ibrovac was probably still holding this position.

⁵⁶ Radoslav Bošković (1907–1983) was a Serbian philologist and professor at the Belgrade University’s Faculty of Philosophy. He completed his undergraduate studies in 1930 at the Faculty

I wish you all the best and lots of greetings to Ljubinka, our cleaning lady and her family!

I am writing to Professor Budimir⁵⁷ at the same time⁵⁸.

Adresa: Caracas. Esquina Ferrenquin. Edificio Lemmo.
Apartamiento 3 (Vasiliya Tosich).

Your loyal

*Miroslav
Vera and Dragoslav Marković send their most cordial regards to
Mrs. Zora and you*

Postcard from Merida⁵⁹

Dear Teacher!

At the beginning of a new school year accept my warm greetings and best wishes for a long life and fruitful work both at the college and at SAN. I think very very often of you, a lover of nature, in this place of natural beauty and permanent spring. I do not have a lot of work at the University (8 hours a week). I am, however, writing a lot. As soon as it is out, I will send it to you. Regards

of Philosophy in Belgrade, obtaining his doctoral degree three years later at the same school with a thesis titled *The Development of Suffixes in the South Slavic Community*. He also studied in Krakow and Prague. He taught at the Second High School for Boys in Belgrade, and Marković, who graduated from this school in 1937, was among his students. In 1939, Bošković transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy, where he taught Old Church Slavonic and comparative grammar of the Slavic languages.

⁵⁷ Milan Budimir (1891–1975) was a distinguished Serbian classical philologist, professor at the Belgrade University and a full member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He studied classical philology in Vienna, obtaining his doctorate there in 1920 with a thesis titled *On Storm Demons in Indo-European Peoples*. The same year he began working at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy's Department of Classical Philology, remaining there until retirement in 1962. At one point, he also headed the department. Only weeks before Marković sent his letter, Milan Budimir, as one of our most important researchers of antiquity and one of the most respected university professors, became a full member of SASA.

We should add that speaking about his students – a number of them, of whom the majority became Serbian most distinguished historians, archeologists, classical philologists and philosophers (F. Barišić, M. Garašanin, S. Dušanić, F. Papazoglu, V. Đurić, D. Srejšević, M. Flašar, B. Gavela, I. Gadanski, K. Maricki-Gadanski, M. Mirković, N. Radošević, B. Šijački-Manević, Lj. Crepajac, et al.) – always stressed that Miroslav Marković was the best of them. In a 1969 interview, asked to say who was his best student, Professor Budimir responded: “There were many of them, but I am singling out Ljiljana Crepajac and Miroslav Marković. Yes, that Marković, who until recently worked at Cambridge, was my best student...” [Димитријевић 2001: 12].

⁵⁸ According to what colleagues from the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts told us, there are no letters from Miroslav Marković in Professor Budimir's Fund.

⁵⁹ The postcard Miroslav Marković sent from Merida (Venezuela) on October 20, 1955 is also preserved in Professor Miloš Đurić's Fund. It is registered under Inv. No. 4392. It was typewritten, in Latin letters, while the signature was added by hand.

to Mrs. Zora⁶⁰, Cveta⁶¹ and Milan⁶², Professor Marić⁶³ and Miron⁶⁴. Always yours:

Miroslav
Go see my family!!

M.M. Profesor de la
Universidad de los
Mérida. Relojeria “El Tiempo”. Av. Bolivar, 24–69.
Venezuela.

⁶⁰ Of course, this is Professor Đurić’s wife.

⁶¹ Cvijeta Budimir (1886–1970), née Cihler, was a holder of a PhD in biology and a prominent political activist. She studied at the Faculty of Natural Sciences in Zagreb, where she also defended her doctoral thesis. She was one of the founders and the first secretary of RADENA, the Radical-Democratic Progressive Youth organization, founded on Professor Budimir’s initiative. She taught in Sarajevo at the Teachers College. After marrying Professor Budimir and arriving in Belgrade, she taught in the Serbian–German Citizens School. She retired early, in 1931, so that she could help her husband who, because of the loss of vision, could no longer read.

⁶² Of course, this is Professor Milan Budimir.

⁶³ Rastislav Marić (1905–1961) was a Serbian archeologist, university professor and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He studied classical philology at the Belgrade School of Philosophy, obtaining his doctoral degree at the same school in 1933, with a thesis titled *On Antiquity Cults in Our Country*. He became an assistant teacher at the same school’s Department of the Ancient World History in 1931, becoming assistant professor in 1937. He also taught at the Novi Sad Faculty of Philosophy (1954), being also a fellow at the Institute of Archeology and the Institute of History. Shortly after the end of WWII he became a curator in the National Museum in Belgrade, also working for years as the head of the Museum’s Numismatics and Epigraphy Department. He mostly dealt in numismatics. Among his significant works are his comparative studies of the Serbian national customs and beliefs of the peoples of Antiquity.

⁶⁴ Miron Flašar (1929–1997) was a Serbian classical philologist, professor of the University of Belgrade, and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and Matica Srpska. He graduated in classical philology in 1953, obtaining his doctoral degree in 1959 with a thesis titled *The Legacy of Antiquity in Njegoš’s Poems*. He began working on the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy’s Department of Classical Philology, later the department for Classical Studies, in 1950, which he headed as of 1977. From 1953 until 1955 he taught in a high school. At the time Marković wrote to Đurić, Flašar was already working as an assistant teacher and was preparing his doctoral thesis.

FACSIMILES

Dragi Učitelju!

4393 Caracas, 1 septembra 1955

U prilogu naći ćete kopiju moje molbe koju danas upućujem Fakultetskom savetu.

Dva su razloga zbog kojih sam se rešio da primim ponudjenu mi Katedru klasične filologije na Univerzitetu "Los Andes" u Venezueli. Glavni se sastoji u veoma povoljnim uslovima za naučno-istraživački rad: u prvom redu obilje stručne literature i sredstava, biblioteke USA na domaku itd. Naprotiv, nedostatak strane valute za nabavku savremene stručne literature pretstavljao je u naboju samoljubičastu kočnicu mome daljem razviku. Sada tek vidim koliko se puta jurisalo na otvorena vrata, koliko je puta čovek - ni kriv ni dužan - bio izložen riziku da ga proglaše za plagijatora! Prosto zato što mu nije pristupačna strana literatura...

Umesto sporednog razloga navešću tri-četiri ilustracije iz raznih oblasti ispitivanja.

1.- Srednjovekovni latinski. - Istovremeno kada zagrebački akademik Josip Badalić (1953 g.), pristupio sam izdavanju Marulićeva majestetičnoga latinskog speva Davidijada (u 14 pevanja, sa skoro 7.000 heksametara) i ja - na osnovu unikata MS, turinskog G-VI-40. Odmah sam ponudio saradnju nadležnoj JAZU, ali sam bio hladno odbijen: slavista Badalić bio je za taj posao kompetentniji od klasičnog filologa...

I sada je njegovo izdanje na stolu preda mnom ("Stari pisci hrvatski", knj. 31, juna 1954, str. 230). Iz predgovora domajemo da su mu latinski tekst čitala dva asistenta ("Pri čitanju mikrofilmske snimke rukopisa bili su mi od stručne pomoći asistenti Historijskoga instituta Jugoslavenske akademije u Za. rebu, J. Stipčević i M. Šamsalović", str. 12).

Sravnio sam pažljivo njihovo izdanje sa svojim mikrofilmom Davidijade (čitano na američkom Readeru tipa Flofilm 1955). Rezultat je bio katastrofalan po izdavača: masa propuštenih stihova, smešnih besmislica, potpunog nerazumevanja latinskog teksta, a broj pogrešno pročitanih reči i mesta izneo bi čitavu jednu zasebnu brošuru! Dovoljne su bile tri "Stichprobe" pa da se utvrdi da imamo posla sa laicima. Primer meni zaista nepoznat u klasičnoj filologiji!

Pošto sam bio odbijen od JAZU, to sam ja spremio svoje izdanje Davidijade za publikacije Univerziteta "Los Andes", na španjolskom i engleskom. Prvi tom (Uvod; Tekst; Kritički aparat i sl.) ulazi u štampu 1 septembra i biće gotov 1 oktobra 1955 g. Drugi tom obuhvataće naj iscrpniji filološki komentar (moje izdanje Božičevićeve latinske lirike može da posluži samo kao bleđi primer metodologije koja će se primeniti), radi kojeg moram još konsultovati masu dela u USA. Hoću da verujem da će našem Maruliću biti dato po zaslugi. Taj posao može sa uspehom obaviti samo klasični filolog...

2.- Srednjovekovni grčki. - Još 1952 g., po nalogu SAN, pregledao sam Akademijine salne faksimile grčkih isprava našeg Hilandara, i o tome podneo Vizantološkom institutu iscrpan izveštaj. Starije tih zalih je, s gledišta današnje nauke, vrlo bedno. Polovina hilendarskih isprava još je neizdata, druga polovina izdata je na način koji ne može izdržati kritiku savremene diplomatike i paleografije (Petit; nešto Mosin, Anastasijević...). Broj grčkih povelja, isprava i akata Hilandara (među njima masa nemanjićkih) iznosi nekoliko stotina. Taj dragoceni materijal za istoriju tamo trune (ukoliko ne dospjeva u ruke stranih turista). Isto tako, još nam neostaje jedna potpuna monografija o razviku Hilandara.

Uprkos svestranom zalaganju profesora Ostrogorškog i Belića, nisam uspeo da stignem do susednog Hilandara, iako sam se vodjama ekspedicije nudio da im se o svom trošku priključim. Tako se to ponovilo tri puta. Profesori Djordje Sp. Radojčić, Svetozar Radojčić i Al. Deroko (kojima inače svaka čast) proučavali su u Hilandaru druge stvari, možda od većeg značaja za srpsku istoriju, ali grčke isprave nisu izdali... (Napomena: Ako bi možda neko pomislio da ja nisam bio kompetentan za taj posao, neka pogleda u BZ šta vizantiski diplomatičar i paleograf broj I, prof. Franz Doelger, kaže o načinu na koji sam izdao Vizantiske povelje Dubrovačkog arhiva, u SAN, dok mi je prof. Paul Lemerle tom prilikom napisao: "Avec mes excuses pour cette "invasion" dans votre domaine..." itd.).

Image 1. A letter to Miloš Đurić from Caracas dated September 1, 1955

3.- Grčka književnost. - Srpskohrvatski jezik još nema jedne autentične Odiseje. Preveo sam, probe radi, prvo pevanje. Nastojao da prevodim tačnije i tečnije od dobrog starog Marentica. Nisam taj prevod još bio ni objavio, a već se u uvodniku jedne "Književnosti" (iz pera akademika Isidore Sekulić) pojavila suona kritika, puna uvreda i laži, sve do krivotvorenja mojih stihova... Kritika pisana jednim neobičajenim tonom, na način kao da je reč ne o stručnjaku već o osnovcu... Odmah sam reagovao i poslao ispravku-odgovor. Ova nikad nije ugledala sveta! Jesu li to ravnopravni i posteni odnosi?

4.- Rimska književnost. - Odabrao sam srz Horacijeve lirike i prepjevao je na jedan način sa koji verujem da nam daje vernog Horacija i njegovu sredinu. Knjižica je primljena za štampu u "Nopoku" (sada već pokojnom) još 1952 g., ali ni do danas nije ugledala sveta. Naprotiv, "Nopok" je u međuvremenu izdao masu trivijalnosti...

5.- Hindij filozofija. - Preveo sam sa sanskrita Bhagavadgitu i dao jednu novu interpretaciju. O Giti je dosad napisano oko 70 knjiga, na svim jezicima sveta. Ispravio sam neka mišljenja dvojice najboljih interpreta - Amerikanca Franklina Edgertona i Indusa Sarvasallija Radhakrishnana. Pisao o tome i na engleskom i španskom. Itd.

Iako je beogradska "Kultura" taj prevod tražila, on već pola godine leži neizdat, i nema izgleda da ce to skoro biti. Zašto? Ne može da se slože crtice iznad slova a, i, u, (ovako: a, i, u, ñ se ne javlja), ni tačke iznad ili ispod slova r, m, s, h, n, t, th, d, dh (ovako: r, m, s, h, n, t, th, d, dh) - u nekoliko desetina transkribovanih nagari reči. Zaista nerešiv problem!

Tako je i taj trud bio uzalud. Trud učinjen pod neopisivo teškim uslovima Indije! SAPIENTI SAT!

Dragi Uitelju!

Molim Vas da verujete da nikada neću izneveriti principe onoga naučnog pregalaštva koje ste mi Vi ulili! Mene interesuje samo originalno naučno istraživanje, ništa više! Pre ne sto biste osudili moj korak, molim Vas da se setite imena velikog Tesle, Pupina, Paje Radosavljevića i dr. (si licet parva componere magnis!). Reč je o većim srećstvima za naučno stvaranje, o povoljnijim uslovima za publikovanje.

Primitite moju najdublju učenicku zahvalnost i najtoplije pozarave i želje za dug život, povoljno zdravlje, plodan stvaralacki rad i trajni mir!

Vama lično čestitam izbor u SAN (~~.....~~), a Gospodji Zori želim zdravlje, sreću i duševni mir!

Ako Vam to ne bi bilo teško, najlepše Vas molim da isporučite moje najtoplije pozdrave Vašem nasedu, profesoru Boži Kovačeviću; dalje, profesoru Đidragu Ibrovcu; mome dragom "razrednom starišini" prof. Radosavu Boškoviću.

Svako dobro i puno pozdrava našoj Ljubinki služiteljki i njenima!
Prof. Buimiru pišem istovremeno.

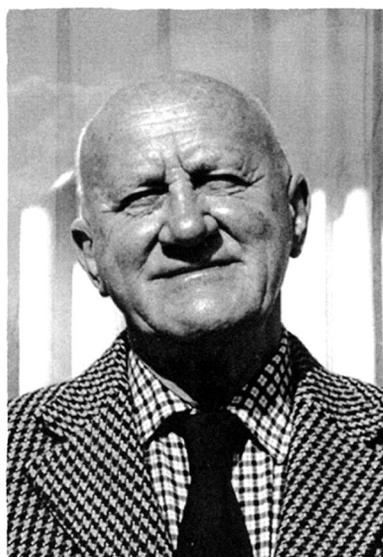
Vaš dovek odani:

Adress: Caracas. Esquina Ferrenquin. Edificio Lemmo.
Apartamiento 33 (Vasiliya Tosich).

Miroslav
Čdji Zori i Vama najsrdačnije pozdrave želju
Vera i Dragoslav Marković.



Image 2. A postcard to Miloš Đurić from Merida dated October 20, 1955



Мирслав Марковић

Miroslav Marković

Image 3. Two photographs, the first from the 1940s, and the other from the late 1990s, with Miroslav Marković's signature in Latin and Cyrillic letters



Image 4. Miloš Đurić

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ETHNIC ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES, 1948–2011

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SUMMARY: The true number of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia has been a subject of manipulation for quite some time.

Efforts have been made to magnify their numbers and to claim that their population is rapidly increasing, while at the same time claiming that the share of the Serbian population is already negligible and bound to get even smaller.¹ These claims are being used as a key argument to the effect that Kosovo has been “lost” and that it is a “myth” and a “burden,” which is why the current Serbian authorities must “save” us by amputating a part of Serbia (whose territorial integrity is guaranteed by UN SC Resolution 1244) and gifting it to a Greater Albania, which is currently *in statu nascendi*.

KEYWORDS: Kosovo and Metohia, Serbia, Greater Albania, ethnic Albanians in Serbia, demographic changes, 1948–2011

A BRIEF HISTORY

The first reliable data in the 20th century on the number of ethnic Albanians (Arbanasi/Kosovars/Sh[q=ch]iptars) in Kosovo and Metohia dates back to the population census conducted in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1921. According to the census, the population living in the territory of present-day Kosovo and Metohia at the time was 439,010. In terms of native language, the number of Albanian speakers was 288,907 (65.6%) and Serbian 114,095 (26%).

The 1931 census conducted in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia showed that 552,064 people lived in Kosovo and Metohia. According to the mother tongue: 331,549 (60.06%) spoke Albanian and 180,170 (32.6%) spoke Serbian. We see that over a 10-year period the population increased by 113,000 (25%). The number of Kosovo/ethnic Albanians (“Shchiptars”) rose by 43,000 (14%), but their share of the total population decreased from 65% to 60%. The number of Serbs increased by 66,000 (58%). Therefore, ahead of World War II the Shchiptar/Shiptar–Serb population ratio was 2:1.

All the population censuses in Kosovo and Metohia after World War II in communist Yugoslavia served the purpose of implementing the set policy

of increasing the number of ethnic Albanians as the foundation of a secession that would happen when the time was right.

The first post-war census was carried out in 1953. According to that population count, the number of residents of Kosovo and Metohia was 808,141 – of whom 524,559 were ethnic Albanians and 221,312 were Serbs. We see that the number of ethnic Albanians had grown¹ by 193,010 (58%) relative to the 1931 count, while the number of Serbs had increased by 41,142 (22%).

According to the 1961 population census, Kosovo and Metohia had a total population of 963,988 – with 646,605 ethnic Albanians and 227,016 Serbs.

The censuses conducted in 1971 and 1981, organized by the Kosovo and Metohia provincial administration which was absolutely dominated by ethnic Albanians, show an alleged explosion in the number of ethnic Albanians. In that period, Serbia had no authority in Kosovo and Metohia whatsoever and there was unlimited data manipulation.

The ethnic Albanians boycotted the 1991 population census, as they were no longer the ones organizing it. The Serbian authorities publicized the data on population size based on an estimate (taking the results of the previous two censuses as credible).

After the occupation of Kosovo and Metohia and the arrival of Bernard Kouchner as UNMIK chief, the population count procedure was initiated for the sake of holding elections.

Information appeared then that the occupying authorities were surprised by the fact that there were not as many people there as it had been said. Over the course of four months they managed to list “just” 800,000 people (which was the actual number). Afterwards, a statement was released saying that the enumerators had been untrained, and so after “training” 2.2 million ethnic Albanians were listed (without Serbs), and the circus moved on. Here is an article from the July 15, 2000 edition of Belgrade weekly *Vreme* which deals with these facts:

Politics

The Vreme Dossier: Kosovo

Bernard Kouchner

The civil administrator has in the last few months had his working method and the work and results of the mission he leads strongly disputed. His report to the UN Security Council suffered the same fate, while UN Special Envoy for Human Rights Jiri Dinstbier subjected it to the harshest criticism. Announcing himself the possibility of stepping down soon from the office he is performing in Kosovo, Kouchner is desperately trying to do something “spectacular”, something that would silence all his critics. Of the many promises he has made, he has kept very few and is now fervently trying to achieve what he thinks will annul his failures so far in carrying out the first elections in Kosovo since the arrival of the KFOR troops.

¹ By immigration from Albania, among other things; v. [Živančević 1989], [Вилотић 2003 and 2009] and [Ocić 2006].

However, the problem he is facing is the impossibility of conducting a population census and thereby registering voters in Kosovo – because none of the local Albanians are keen to do the job, and the Kosovo Serbs, neither those who have fled nor those who have stayed, want to take part in the census. The civil administration is only partially satisfied with the fact that since April 27, when the census began, some 800,000 people have been listed in Kosovo.

Vreme, № 497, July 15, 2000

According to the last population census organized by the ethnic Albanians in 2011, the Kosovo and Metohia population numbered 1,739,825 residents, of whom 1,616,869 were ethnic Albanians. I have conducted an analysis of this census and presented it at the end of this paper. The official number currently stated on the number of people living in Kosovo and Metohia, presented by the ethnic Albanians and the CIA World Factbook (hereinafter the CIA/SH “coalition”), is 1,889,000, with 95% being ethnic Albanians, meaning that there are around 1,800,000 ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia. The United Nations uses these data, too.

Analyzing the data on vital events in Kosovo and Metohia, parameters related to the workforce, reports on various other censuses, I found data that undoubtedly show that the (*pre-*)given number of ethnic Albanians do not live in Kosovo and Metohia.

The sources of data on the Kosovo and Metohia population that were available to me are the following:

1. CIA World Factbook – data distributed by the CIA. I considered them unreliable because they are an instrument of manipulation and the achievement of set goals, rather than of accurately assessing the situation.
2. KAS – Kosovo Agency of Statistics, a body of the Kosovo* interim administration, their statistical agency.
3. The data from sources 1 and 2 are congruent and are marked further in the paper as CIA/SH data.
4. The UN – Department of Economic and Social Affairs. This UN agency’s data can be found on the website countrymeters.info. The website contains data on vital events for each individual state. In the data pertaining to Serbia, Kosovo and Metohia is treated as a part of Serbia, although there are separate data just for Kosovo and Metohia, under the name Kosovo. I considered these data more reliable, although I am aware that they, too, operate within a predefined framework.
5. Other international organizations: World Bank, the IMF.
6. Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia – its reports and publications.

When stating particular data in the paper, I immediately cited the source as well, so that the reader can follow the text more easily; for example, the designation KAS, Kosovan migration, 2014.

In that way, anyone can easily go to the source of the information, conduct a check and potentially supplement these findings.

THE NUMBER OF LIVEBORN CHILDREN (BIRTH RATE) IN
KOSOVO AND METOHIA IS CONSIDERABLY SMALLER THAN
THE OFFICIALLY PRESENTED DATA

According to UN sources (website countrymeters.info), about 13,000 births are registered annually in Kosovo and Metohia, while according to CIA/SH that number is around 30,000. Where does the difference come from?

Table 1

NUMBER OF LIVEBORN CHILDREN IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA, 2014–2017

	source: UN	source: CIA/SH
2014	–	32.067
2015	–	29.290
2016	13.003	29.428
2017	13.011	–

The ethnic Albanians list all the children as liveborn in Kosovo and Metohia, regardless of their place of birth, therefore also abroad, if they are of Shiptar descent. Thus children born across Western Europe, America, in Macedonia, Montenegro and central Serbia are listed twice: in their respective place of birth and in Kosovo and Metohia.

The UN Department of Social and Economic Affairs, which tracks the statistics of population and vital events for all countries of the world, according to a revision from 2014 lists all children according to the mother's last place of residence.

Therefore, according to those clearly defined criteria that are common to the entire world, and according to data from an impartial source (UN), some 13,000 births were registered in Kosovo and Metohia in 2016 and 2017.

The ethnic Albanians reach the false number of 30,000 births by adding children born outside of Kosovo and Metohia, who are of Shiptar origin, to the number of those actually born in Kosovo and Metohia. For example: a Shiptar child born in Zurich, Switzerland, with Zurich being the place of residence of the mother and the father, will be presented in the CIA/SH data as part of the birth rate in Kosovo and Metohia. Parents fill out the so-called DEM 1 form for reporting births (the form is filled out in Kosovo and Metohia, it is the obligation of all ethnic Albanians living abroad and they ardently fulfill it), and the Shiptar bodies immediately present it as a birth in Kosovo and Metohia. In that way they reach the figure of 30,000 births in Kosovo and Metohia per year.

The UN statistics will not register the aforementioned case as a birth in Kosovo and Metohia, but rather in Switzerland.

The aim of this manipulation is a false increase in the birth rate and a false inflation of the number of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia, which is their main argument in the struggle for territory.

I wish to point out that roughly 15,000 marriages are formed in Kosovo and Metohia per year, which correlates with the 13,000 newborns (since a marriage formed this year is the basis for the birth of a child next year).

Conclusion: The number of liveborn children in Kosovo and Metohia (source: UN agency) is approximately 13,000 per year.

THE NUMBER OF LIVEBORN CHILDREN DOES NOT FIT THE PROCLAIMED POPULATION SIZE

As stated in the previous part, there were around 13,000 live births in Kosovo and Metohia itself in 2016 and 2017 (according to UN data). The alleged number of ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo and Metohia is 1,800,000.

The aforementioned piece of information, that 13,000 children are born annually in a territory inhabited by a highly productive young population of 1.8 million is unexpected.

For that reason, I have compared the data on the number of births in other countries (entities or states) with similar population size. I have also analyzed the data for Albania as the ethnic Albanians' home country, as well as Turkey, seeing as it is the demographic model of a rapidly growing Muslim nation.

Table 2

MACEDONIA, SLOVENIA, LATVIA, TURKEY, ALBANIA AND KOSOVO
AND METOHIA: NUMBER OF LIVEBORN CHILDREN

	Macedonia	Slovenia	Latvia	Turkey	Albania	Kosovo and Metohia
Population	2.083.482	2.072.837	1.933.400	82.106.972	2.891.095	1.807.111
No. of births	23.445	21.671	194.671	394.504	38.003	13.003
	11	10,4	10,1	17	13	7

Latvia has approximately the same population as the one stated for Kosovo and Metohia. Its population is "old" (16.9% of the population is over the age of 65, whereas the share of the under 15 population is 13.5%). Kosovo and Metohia has a younger population (6.7% over 65 and 27.2% under 15). Latvia is a country with extreme depopulation, thus the number of residents decreased from 2.7 million in 1991 to 1.9 million in 2017. Such a population "gives birth" to 19,467 children, i.e. 50% more than Kosovo and Metohia. Latvia has 10.1 births per 1,000 residents.

One gets the same picture when comparing data from Slovenia, which has a population that is 10% bigger but also significantly older (16.8% over 65 and 13.4% under 15) than Kosovo and Metohia's, and has 70% more newborn children, with an average of 10.4 births per 1,000 residents.

Macedonia, with a population 10% bigger and with a slightly older age structure (11.6% over 65 and 18% under 15) than the one in Kosovo and Metohia

has 80% more newborn children than Kosovo and Metohia, and an average of 11 births per 1,000 residents.

The ethnic Albanians' home country, Albania, has a population of 2.89 million. Its population is shrinking and over a 10-year period (from 2001 to 2011) it lost about 573,000 people². The percentage of the under 15 population is 21%, while 10% is over 65, which makes Albania's population slightly older than that of Kosovo and Metohia. The number of children born in 2016 was 38,003, which equals 13 births per 1,000 residents.

Here I have also stated the indicators for Turkey, because it is the same type of society as the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia, i.e. a Muslim population, which is registering constant rapid growth at a rate of 1.6%. The average number of births per 1,000 residents in Turkey is 17.

If 1.8 million ethnic Albanians lived in Kosovo and Metohia and the annual number of births was 13,000, then that produces an average of 7 births per 1,000 residents, 50% less than Latvia, Slovenia and Macedonia and 90% less than Albania.

That, of course, is unrealistic. If we assume that the birth rate of the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia is about the same as in Albania and Macedonia, we find that 13,000 births are produced by a population of 1 million, rather than 1.8 million.

Conclusion: The "official" data on the birth rate in Kosovo and Metohia fit the population of a million people.

THE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER YEAR (DEATH RATE) DOES NOT FIT THE PROCLAIMED POPULATION SIZE

It is much more difficult to lie about the dead than it is to register the newborn, that is why the data on the death rate in Kosovo and Metohia are such convincing proof that the pre-given number of residents do not really live in that territory. If one lives, one must also die. However, it seems that this rule does not apply to Kosovo and Metohia.

Table 3, taken from the Serbian Statistical Office, is presented here in its integral form, given that the data contained therein have often been used and will be used in the future.

² *Post-communist migration in Albania*. Albania currently has the highest rate of migration, relative to its population, in Central and Eastern Europe. ... During the period from 1989 to 2001, approximately 710,000 people, or 20 per cent of the total population, were living outside the country.

As the 2011 Census captured (net) immigration information of the resident population, an estimate of the number of emigrants can be made, assuming that the population loss is due to net migration and not to under-enumeration. Thus, compensating for the net immigration of 57 thousand males and 39 thousand females in the period between the latest two censuses, the net number of emigrants over these years has been 573 thousand persons, 288 thousand males and 285 thousand females, that is, an annual average of about 54.5 thousand persons, and an average annual emigration rate of 2 percent. (<https://www.albania.iom.int/en/albania>)

Table 3

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA BY NATIONALITY FROM 1948 TO 1999

YEAR	BORN			DIED		
	TOTAL	ETHNIC ALBANIANS	SERBS	TOTAL	ETHNIC ALBANIANS	SERBS
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1948.	27.792	18.899	6.698	10.324	7.020	2.488
1949.	31.643	21.517	7.626	12.927	8.790	3.115
1950.	35.222	23.951	8.489	12.991	8.834	3.131
1951.	29.299	19.923	7.061	14.833	10.086	3.575
1952.	35.619	24.221	8.584	13.867	9.430	3.342
1953.	34.595	23.525	8.337	16.726	11.374	4.031
1954.	38.595	26.245	9.301	13.201	8.977	3.181
1955.	36.736	24.980	8.853	15.292	10.399	3.685
1956.	37.819	27.950	5.230	13.692	10.349	2.399
1957.	34.159	23.997	7.114	15.300	11.996	2.365
1958.	39.285	28.452	7.513	11.598	8.885	1.901
1959.	37.364	26.707	7.339	12.878	9.860	2.188
1960.	41.631	30.545	7.509	13.365	10.426	2.114
1961.	40.561	29.931	7.115	11.759	9.139	1.931
1962.	41.366	26.710	6.156	15.024	11.776	2.368
1963.	41.525	31.706	6.463	12.423	9.803	1.845
1964.	42.557	32.748	6.473	12.731	10.219	1.774

YEAR	BORN			DIED		
	TOTAL	ETHNIC ALBANIANS	SERBS	TOTAL	ETHNIC ALBANIANS	SERBS
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1967.	44.001	34.937	5.984	11.308	9.070	1.636
1968.	44.627	35.434	6.069	10.781	8.557	1.709
1969.	46.480	36.905	6.321	10.892	8.539	1.714
1970.	44.496	36.409	5.030	10.829	8.246	1.792
1971.	47.060	38.923	5.111	10.312	7.979	1.558
1972.	47.943	39.936	4.990	10.270	7.845	1.702
1973.	47.714	39.647	4.984	10.358	7.963	1.527
1974.	49.847	41.733	4.944	10.075	7.906	1.473
1975.	49.310	41.334	4.870	10.018	7.792	1.528
1976.	51.355	43.379	4.819	10.149	7.945	1.530
1977.	49.849	42.244	4.549	9.811	7.646	1.460
1978.	49.027	41.663	4.368	9.776	7.642	1.459
1979.	48.125	41.255	4.012	9.575	7.368	1.507
1980.	53.147	45.584	4.256	8.909	6.846	1.368
1981.	48.111	41.263	3.675	9.677	7.457	1.445
1982.	52.865	45.288	4.140	10.479	7.925	1.687

1983.	49.645	42.400	3.778	11.040	8.501	1.445
1984.	55.243	47.172	4.065	10.573	8.017	1.551
1985.	53.925	46.309	3.714	11.826	8.905	1.801
1986.	54.519	47.087	3.636	10.446	7.819	1.585
1987.	56.221	48.830	3.645	10.307	7.864	1.576
1988.	56.283	49.063	3.454	10.257	7.770	1.608
1989.	53.656	46.809	3.242	10.181	7.637	1.654
1990.	55.175	47.865	3.458	8.214	5.840	1.437
1991.	52.263	45.313	3.368	8.526	6.432	1.324
1992.	44.418	38.511	2.862	8.004	6.038	1.242
1993.	44.132	38.263	2.844	7.804	5.888	1.211
1994.	43.450	37.672	2.800	7.667	5.784	1.190
1995.	44.776	38.822	2.885	8.671	5.749	2.030
1996.	46.041	39.918	2.967	8.392	5.482	2.008
1997.	42.920	37.212	2.766	8.624	6.506	1.339
1998.	41.752	36.324	2.463	8.123	6.450	1.295
1999.	data missing					

YEAR	BORN		DIED	
	TOTAL	ETHNIC ALBANIANS	TOTAL	ETHNIC ALBANIANS
2000.	38.687	36.658	7.115	6.720
2001.	37.412	35.548	6.672	6.071
2002.	36.136	35.174	5.654	5.357
2003.	31.994	30.917	6.417	5.987
2004.	35.063	33.812	6.399	6.137
2005.	37.218	35.982	7.207	6.825
2006.	34.187	32.977	7.479	7.072

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

A) Number of deaths relative to population size does not add up:

YEAR	source UN	source CIA/SH
2016.	8.669	8.495
2017.	8.647	8.721

We can, therefore, see that there is not much difference between the UN data and the CIA/SH source in terms of the number of deaths. That shows us that the data from the UN source are reliable for both the death rate and for the birth rate, which we looked at previously. However, in this case it is not in the ethnic Albanians’ interest to increase the number of deaths and so there is no additional manipulation and the data match.

If Kosovo and Metohia had a population of 1.8 million, with 8,669 deaths that would produce a death rate of 4.6 per mil.

That would be an area with the lowest death rate in the world. That society should be a young population with an explosive growth rate, a large and young immigrant population, swift economic growth, the highest economic status, with excellently equipped and organized health care (for example, Dubai and Abu Dhabi have such death rates).

Conversely, the socio-economic conditions in Kosovo and Metohia are disastrous. According to the EU's *Indicative Strategy Paper for Kosovo (2014–2020)* from 2014, 34.5% of the population lives on less than EUR1.55/day. Estimates also say that 48.6% of children under the age of 18 live in poverty. Kosovo and Metohia's health care sector employs 14,046 people. Out of that number 3,626 are medical doctors and pharmacists (with very little education), 8,950 are medical technicians and 1,472 comprise non-medical staff. It is known what results such a system can produce without money, organization and knowledge.

Kosovo and Metohia has the shortest life expectancy in Europe, averaging 69 years for both genders, which is lower even than the global average of 71.

Macedonia has a population of 2.1 million, a similar age structure, but the average life expectancy is 75 years. In 2016 the country registered 19,254 deaths, which means the death rate was 9.1 per mil. Albania has a death rate of 7.5‰.

As an example, I will use a table I took from a KAS report titled *Kosovo Population Projection 2011–2061*. The death rate is one of the four factors (the others being fertility, migration and life expectancy) based on which population trends in the coming period are predicted. We see that five different sources present three different death rates in Kosovo and Metohia. They all used the same basic data on the number of deaths (8,000) and population size (1.8 million).

Table 4

CRUDE DEATH RATE EXPRESSED IN PER MIL

Source of data	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
KAS Vital Statistics	2.8	3.2	3.1	3.5	3.6	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.4	
USA Censuses	7.1	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7.1	7	7
World Bank	7.08	6.98	6.95	7.02	7.01	6.99	7.02	7.03	7.05	7	
Population Reference Bureau (USA)							7	7	7	73	73
Eurostat	3.2	3.5	3.5	3.1	3.2	3.2	N/A	4.0	4.0		

KAS shows an (unbelievable) death rate of 3 per mil. Eurostat accepts that and presents the same data. USA Censuses, the World Bank and the Population Reference Bureau (USA) consider those results impossible and use different calculations to make the results as regular as possible. USA Censuses states that there would have to be at least 12,000 to 13,000 deaths per year in Kosovo and Metohia and makes that estimate based on the population's

life expectancy. It explains the difference of 7,000 missing deaths by the likelihood of their not being registered by the competent service. The World Bank assumes the population size is overestimated, but does not say how it came to a 7 per mil death rate if the result of division is 3 per mil. If the result of division is higher, than the number being divided by is lower by a half:

Number of dead x 1000 / number of residents (1.8 million) = 3.5 per mil.

Number of dead x 1000 / half of the number of residents (0.9 million) = 7.1 per mil.

If we assume that mortality in Kosovo and Metohia is similar to the one in Macedonia or Albania, i.e. 8, and the population age structure is also similar, then 8,660 deaths correspond with a population of 0.9 million people.

B) The number of deaths should approximately correspond with the number of births prior to the number of years that equal an average life expectancy. According to UN statistics, the average life expectancy in Kosovo and Metohia is 69 years.

Thus the number of deaths in 2017 ought to correspond with the number of births in 1948. Given that 18,899 ethnic Albanians were allegedly born that year, there should be approximately the same number of deaths in 2017. However, the number of deaths registered was 8,647 – 10,000 are missing. Of course, the congruence cannot be absolute and the number must vary 10% or 20%, but it cannot be half of the expected number either.

If we observe the death rate among ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia from the period we have data from (1948) until present day, we see that over a period of 70 years (1948–2017) the number of deaths ranged around 8,000 per year. That means that was the average number of liveborn children during that period (from early to mid-20th century) and that population size was mostly the same during that period.

Aware of the fraud regarding false population size, the ethnic Albanians use two “explanations”:

They present data with a falsely extended average life expectancy, and so while the UN and the World Bank calculate the average life expectancy in Kosovo and Metohia at around 69 years, the ethnic Albanians extend it to 77 years. What is interesting, however, is that their 2011 population census also lists just 116,000 residents aged 65+.

The second “explanation” is that there is a considerable number of deceased citizens who are not registered, especially women. The assumption that 8,000 deaths are registered and 10,000 are not, i.e. more than a half, is unrealistic.

To refute the argument that the deaths of women in Kosovo and Metohia are not reported, I will state a fact from the KAS report *Kosovo in Figures 2016* which shows that women are paid 79,226 basic pensions from the budget (the money is received on the grounds of age, all persons over the age of 65 get it regardless of whether they ever had a job), along with 5,394 pensions on

the grounds of employment. Seeing as all women are paid on these grounds, I am sure that life records are kept adequately, too, otherwise without death registration someone could continue to receive a pension indefinitely.

Table 5

PENSIONERS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA

	2015.			2016.		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Basic pensions	46.053	85.947	132.000	40.791	79.226	120.017
Pensions from contributions	35.421	4.944	40.365	35.921	5.394	41.315

Source: Kosovo in Figures 2016, KAS

C) Another incredible oddity can be detected if the data on the death rate in Kosovo and Metohia are analyzed: that the absolute number of the dead drops by half when the population increases twofold. In 1960, according to official data, 947,000 people lived in Kosovo and Metohia, while the number of deaths was 13,365, and today there are allegedly 1.8 million residents and 8,600 deaths. A 50% larger population has 50% less deaths, that is impossible even if reduced infant mortality, development of the health care system and economic development are taken into account. Even in Kosovo.

Conclusion: The death rate in Kosovo and Metohia fits a population of no more than 1 million.

THE NUMBER OF ETHNIC ALBANINS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA IS DECREASING DRAMATICALLY

Monitoring population trends requires the determining of the birth and death rates and migration (departure from and arrival in a territory, depending on the balance of these two factors, the result is added to or subtracted from population growth).

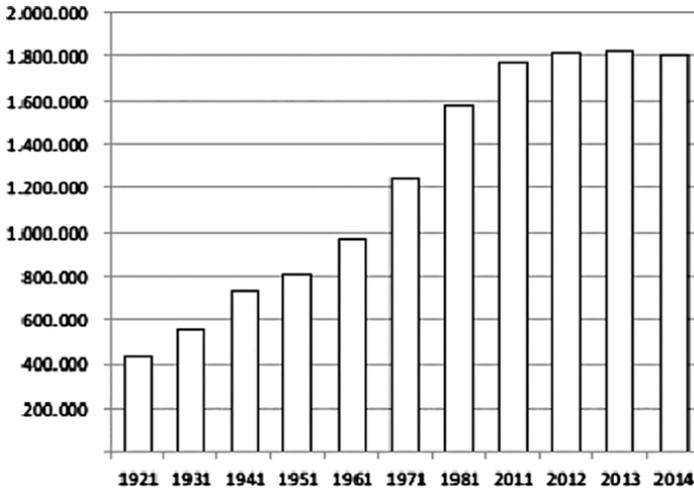
$$\text{Birth rate} - \text{Death rate} = \text{Population growth}$$

$$+/- \text{Migration} = \text{Population change}$$

According to a table from *The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2017*, KAS, the population of Kosovo and Metohia has not been growing since 2011. (see also [Шаровић 2018])

Figure 1

KOSOVO AND METOHIA POPULATION GROWTH, BY CENSUSES 1921–2011



According to the UN source (website countrymeters.info), population trends in Kosovo and Metohia in 2016 look like this:

- 13,003 liveborn children in Kosovo and Metohia in 2016:
- 8,669 deaths
- 4,334 population growth
- 3251 migration
- + 1,038 (0.06%) persons is the increase for 2016.

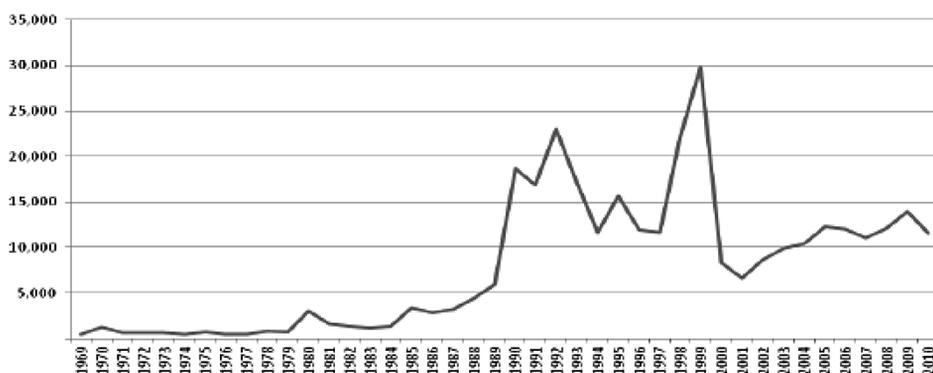
We can see from the data above, according to UN statistics, that if we subtract the 8,669 deaths from the 13,000 births, we get population growth in Kosovo and Metohia of 4,334 in 2016. The net amount of migration (in this case it is negative, because the number of people who moved out of Kosovo and Metohia was higher than the number of those who moved in) of 3,521 persons is subtracted from that number, and the result is that the population of Kosovo and Metohia increased by 1,038 people or 0.06%.

However, the data on migration provided here are neither accurate nor complete. What is the real result of migration in Kosovo and Metohia? How many ethnic Albanians leave Kosovo and Metohia per year?

According to Table 2.6 (here: Figure 2) from the *Kosovan Migration 2014*, KAS, from 2000 and 2010 between 8,000 and 13,000 people annually left Kosovo and Metohia. The arrival of between 2,000 and 3,000 people per year was also registered (predominantly returns from abroad). As a result, the annual loss of population is between 5,000 and 11,000 people and in any case exceeds population growth.

Figure 2

EMIGRATION BY YEARS EXPRESSED IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS 1969–2010



The analysis titled *Population Projection 2011–2061*, carried out under the patronage of the World Bank, envisaged an annual loss of population in Kosovo and Metohia of 8,000 per year stemming from migration. However, in the period from August 2014 to February 2015 alone, an estimated 100,000 people left Kosovo and Metohia in a veritable stampede.

In its *Estimation of Kosovo Population 2015* report, KAS states that 74,434 people left the country in 2015 and that the migration balance was negative, specifically by $-55,572$ persons³.

The *Population Projection 2017–2061* lists data on emigration in the period from 2011 to 2016:

Year	2011.	2012.	2013.	2014.	2015.	2016.
Harmonization	-6.076	-5.725	-16.382	-39.609	-55.572	-8.940

These data show that over the observed five-year period 132,304 ethnic Albanians (13% of the population actually living in Kosovo and Metohia) left Kosovo, whereas in reality that number is probably even bigger.

KAS' *Kosovan Migration 2014* report included data on the actual number of people living outside Kosovo and Metohia. The report states that there is no municipality in Kosovo and Metohia with less than 20% of the population living

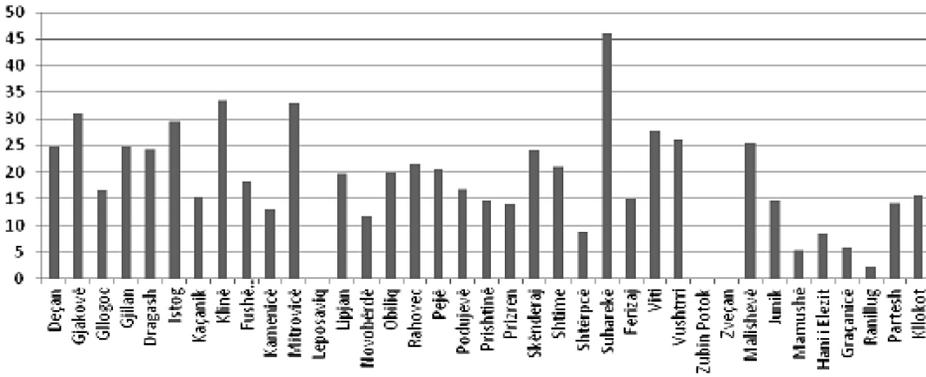
³ "The extreme poverty, deadlock of political and legal system and corruption has brought darkness into Kosovo's population and the normal function of the state."

A recent and sudden wave of migration from Kosovo has likely been caused by this chaotic situation. Kosovans are the second largest group after Syrians to have migrated lately. It is estimated that 100,000 Kosovans left the country from August, 2014 to February, 2015.

Albania migration trends change, 52 percent mull leaving. Oct 19, 2018 – (Reuters) – More than half of Albania's population would like to move to richer countries with better schooling, a study showed on Friday. (<https://www.reuters.com/...albania-migration-.../albania-migration-trends-change-52-pe...>)

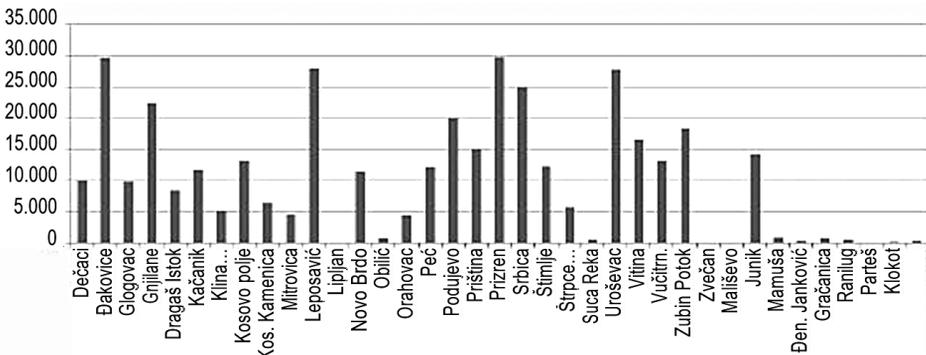
abroad, except a few small newly formed ones, such as Ranilug, Parteš (two small Serb municipalities) and Mušutište (Turkish minority) (Figure 3).

Figure 3
MUNICIPALITIES IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS IN TOTAL POPULATION



The record holder is the municipality of Suva Reka, where 45% of the population lives abroad, i.e. around 30,000 people. Prishtina, Djakovica and Kosovska Mitrovica have the same number of people living abroad, Prizren has 25,000 and so on. Figure 4 presents the number of migrants by municipalities.

Figure 4
NUMBER OF MIGRANTS FROM KOSOVO AND METOHIA MUNICIPALITIES



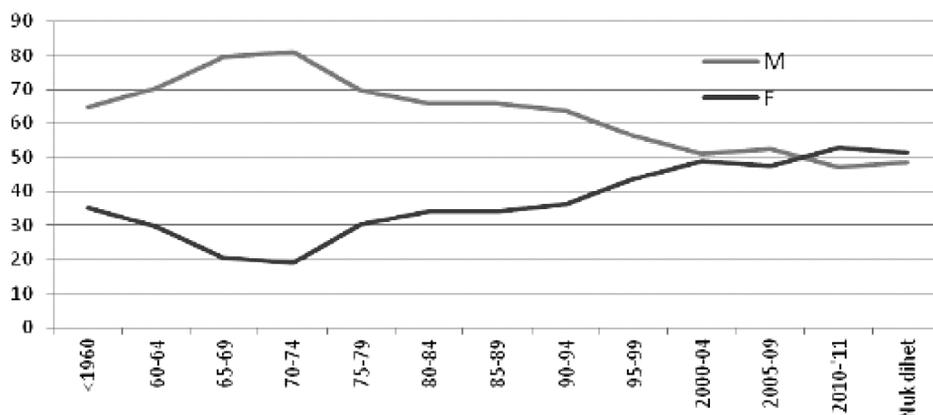
The same report estimates that roughly 550,000 ethnic Albanians emigrated from Kosovo and Metohia, and if their children who were born abroad

are included, the number reaches around 703,978 by April 2011⁴. And the real “tsunami” was yet to come, in 2014, 2015 and 2016.

Here I would like to highlight another important change in the structure of emigrants from Kosovo and Metohia, which is underlined in the aforementioned report, too. While initially mostly men emigrated, the situation has now changed and an increasing number of women are leaving. Thus already in 2011 the emigrant population ratio was 56% of men to 43% of women.

Figure 5

EMIGRANTS BY GENDER (M = MALE, F = FEMALE) AND AGE



Practically entire families are leaving Kosovo and Metohia, which makes their potential return highly unlikely. The emigrants are mainly young people of working and reproductive age⁵.

Bearing in mind the non-existent prospect of a normal life in Kosovo and Metohia, which is ruled by organized (and globally connected) criminal gangs, petty criminals and various Western intelligence communities, one should expect that an increasing number of people will flee Kosovo and Metohia and will not have a desire to return once they have started a normal life abroad.

⁴ According to KAS’ estimates (based on vital statistics, natural growth, fertility, the KAS’ surveys in previous years, 2011 Population Census, population projections 2011–2061) starting from 1969, the representative number of the Kosovan population who had emigrated from Kosovo (from all communities) until April 2011 was estimated to be around 550,000 residents.

KAS will use, for its needs as a representative value, the medium variant of natural growth which is 153,978 children born outside of Kosovo. Thus, the emigrated population of Kosovo and the population with Kosovan origin (1969–2011) was estimated to be around 703,978 residents.

⁵ In 2011, the sex ratio of Kosovan migrant population was: 56.67% male and 43.33% female. Early migration was dominated by males, due to the fact that in the past migration was more of a result of the export of labor force. More recent years have been characterized by a more female dominated emigration. This trend is shown by the fact that the migration gender ratio was roughly equal in 2000–2004, while in recent years females dominate emigration: 52.94% female and 47.06% male (marriages also had an impact on the latter).

I mentioned earlier KAS' *Kosovo Population Projection 2011–2061*. That analysis was conducted under the assumption that Kosovo and Metohia has a population of 1.8 million, and three models were projected. According to the medium model (fertility 2.4, death rate 7, loss in emigration of up to 8,000 people per year and an extension of life expectancy to 77 years), 1.7 million people would live in Kosovo and Metohia in 2061, therefore the number would stay the same. According to the pessimistic model, population size would be halved, to 1 million, whereas according to the optimistic model it would rise to 2.3 million.

Given that already in these first seven years (since the study was done) all the parameters have proved to be dramatically worse, a new analysis, titled *Kosovo Population Projection 2017–2061*, was carried out. It revised downwards the estimated fertility rates and raised the estimated losses through migration. According to those estimates, in the coming period Kosovo and Metohia will annually lose 10,000 residents through migration, with a 30% decline in fertility.

In line with these trends, a new population projection was made, where according to the medium variant the population will decrease from 1.8 million to 1.4 million. According to the lower estimate, that number will decrease to 0.68 million.

Table 6

KOSOVO AND METOHIA POPULATION BY AGE AND BY YEAR,
PROJECTION FOR 2017–2061

Medium variant								
Year	Population by age group				Population by age in %			
	Total	0–14	15–64	65+	Total	0–14	15–64	65+
2017.	1.783.531	446.633	1.192.181	144.718	100	25	67	8
2021.	1.809.458	431.526	1.211.592	166.341	100	24	67	9
2031.	1.818.674	364.294	1.217.592	236.787	100	20	67	13
2041.	1.759.492	290.436	1.150.779	318.277	100	17	65	18
2051.	1.652.090	247.855	1.034.147	370.088	100	15	63	22
2061.	1.492.192	199.518	892.803	399.871	100	13	60	27
Low variant								
2061.	688.847	58.041	349.086	281.721	100	8	51	41
High variant								
2061.	2.697.455	447.847	1.675.620	573.988	100	17	62	21

Conclusion: The number of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia is decreasing and that process is accelerating.

**DATA ON MARRIAGES SHOW THAT
SPOUSES' AVERAGE AGE WHEN GETTING MARRIED
HAS INCREASED CONSPICUOUSLY**

According to the data presented in the *Kosovo Marriage Statistics in 2016*, published by KAS, in the course of 2016 14,976 marriages between people living in Kosovo and Metohia were registered, along with another 1,090 marriages between people from the Kosovar (Kosovo Albanians) diaspora, who organized weddings in Kosovo and Metohia.

Table 7

SPOUSES' AGE BY AGE GROUP

Age	16–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45+
M %	1,1	17,9	30,4	21,4	13,1	7,9	8,2
F %	8,1	32,6	26,8	13,2	9,0	5,5	4,7

The average age of spouses is 29.8 years, with the groom's average age being 31.6 and the bride's 28.1.

If we compare these data with the data on marriages from 1955, when 6,815 marriages were registered in Kosovo and Metohia, the average age of the newlyweds at the time was 23.4, with 25.7 being the average age of the groom and 21.1 of the bride. (The data were taken from the table on page 47 of the *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2016*, KAS).

We see that there has been a dramatic change as regards the age of entering into marriage. The spouses' average age has gone up 6.4 years.

The groom is 5.9 years older on average and they are now a person in the fourth decade of their life, but the most prominent and most important change from the standpoint of fertility is that the bride's average age has gone up from 21.1 to 28.1 years. In the process, 7 years of peak female fertility are lost.

That change is irreversible.

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia get married at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth decade of life, which indicates a complete social and economic change in the position of women and the perception of marriage and family.

**THE INTERVAL IN WHICH WOMEN GIVE BIRTH HAS BEEN
SHORTENED, WHILE THE NUMBER OF MULTIPLE BIRTHS
HAS DROPPED TO THE AVERAGE EUROPEAN LEVEL**

According to the *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2017*, the average age of a mother at the time of giving birth in 2016 was 28.

Table 8

MOTHER'S AGE AT TIME OF GIVING BIRTH, 2014–2016

Mother's age	15–19yrs	20–24yrs	25–29yrs	30–39yrs	40+yrs
2014 to 2016	3%	22%	36%	37%	2%

Source: KAS *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2017*

We see from the data listed above that a total of 73% of births took place within 15 years (mothers' age 25–39). Women giving birth at a younger age (under 20) and at an older age (over 40) are rare. That is a significant change relative to the period of demographic expansion (for example, in 1966 the percentage of births with the mother's age being up to 24 was 37%, while the over 40 group accounted for 9%).

Table 9

ORDER OF BIRTHS FOR THE PERIOD 2014–2016

Childbirth	First	Second	Third	Fourth and upwards
	38%	31%	19%	9%

Source: KAS *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2017*

These data correlate with the data from the next table, where we see that in the observed period, i.e. from 2014 to 2016, in 69% of cases the childbirth in question was the first or second. The third childbirth was registered in 19% of cases, while the fourth and upwards in 9%. This shows that the families of Kosovo ethnic Albanians are taking on the form of a modern European family with an average of two children.

THERE IS 50% LESS WORKFORCE IN
KOSOVO AND METOHIA THAN IN COUNTRIES
WITH SIMILAR POPULATION SIZE

A) The data on the workforce in Kosovo and Metohia and in countries of similar size were obtained from the website tradingeconomics.com, according to the World Bank data for the fourth quarter of 2017. The data are based on reports issued by KAS, which has been registering the workforce since 2014 via a survey on a representative sample of 4,800 households.

Table 10

KOSOVO AND METOHIA, MACEDONIA, SLOVENIA, LATVIA:
POPULATION SIZE, EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED, OCTOBER–DECEMBER
2017

	Kosovo and Metohia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Latvia
Population size	1.807.111	2.083.482	2.072.837	1.933.400
Age	1.192.181	1.460.000	1.448.000	1.328.000
Employed	305.849	743.451	861.009	903.000
Unemployed	102.623	211.361	82.379	63.122
Total	408.472	954.812	943.388	966.122

There are around 300,000 employed people in Kosovo and Metohia, which accounts for 27.5% of the working age population (people aged 15–65, of whom there are allegedly 1,192,181 in Kosovo and Metohia).

One would expect hundreds of thousands of unemployed citizens, however, according to the workforce survey there are just 102,623 of them. Where are the others?

We see from the data listed above that with this number of residents about 1 million people make up the active workforce (like in the case of Macedonia, Slovenia and Latvia). The World Bank data presented above say that population numbers just 430,000.

Kosovo and Metohia lacks 500,000 working age residents?!

B) The usual answer to the question of where the others are is – in rural areas.

According to the *Agriculture Census 2014 in the Republic of Kosovo*, carried out by the Shiptar authorities and publicized by KAS, there are 130,436 registered individual farmstead owners and 159,000 working age household members in Kosovo and Metohia.

Table 11

AGE STRUCTURE OF FARMSTEAD OWNERS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA
AND WORKING AGE MEMBERS OF THEIR HOUSEHOLDS

Farmstead owners				Household members
130.436				159.000
3.110	2.4%	Under the age of 25	20,3%	
10.434	8.0%	Aged 25–35	6,6%	
27.130	20.8%	Aged 35–45	22,8%	
36.913	28.3%	Aged 45–55	19,4%	
28.826	22.1%	Aged 55–65	11,1%	
23.870	18.3%	65+	6,6%	10.494

Most reports state that the rural population accounts for 60% of the total population of Kosovo and Metohia. If there are 1.8 million residents living in

Kosovo and Metohia, then the rural population should be 1,080,000. However, there are 130,436 registered farmstead owners and 159,000 household members over the age of 15 – 289,436 in total.

The data shown above tell us that 77,587 farmstead owners are aged 55 or under and if we assume that they all have two children of preschool and elementary school age (elementary education lasts 9 years, i.e. until the age of 15), that produces the number of 155,174 children.

If we add the adults and the children: $289,436 + 155,174 = 444,610$ people.

Therefore, the number of people living in rural areas is not 1.1 million. The Kosovo and Metohia countryside is missing 600,000 people?!

This census encompasses the territory of Kosovo and Metohia, except four municipalities in the north (Leposavić, Zubin Potok, Zvečan, North Mitrovica). Seeing as these data also include Serb-owned farmsteads and Serbs living south of the Ibar River, we will assume that they account for 10% of farmstead owners and 5% of the population, i.e. roughly 40,000.

In that way we reach the estimate that some 400,000 ethnic Albanians live in rural parts of Kosovo and Metohia.

It is interesting to point out that the census did not register farmstead owners by nationality or how much surface area they take up by nationality, even though the statistical authority routinely provides data on national structure for all statistics. The results probably do not suit them.

C) Kosovo and Metohia is run by the same structures as the other enslaved countries (former Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe), and so the local quisling structures are formed in the same way and following the same pattern. That is why the size of the public sector is also an indirect indicator of population size.

There are 80,000 people employed in Kosovo and Metohia's public sector, which is half the number in Slovenia or Macedonia, which have similar population size, and 7 times less than in Serbia (Serbia has a population of 7 million).

Table 12

NUMBER OF BUDGET SECTOR EMPLOYEES 2012–2016

Sectors	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
General services	13.030	13,824	13.813	14.111	14.287
Public order and peace	14.610	14,646	15.028	15.262	15.169
Education	34.205	34,405	34.596	34.074	33.720
Health care	13.519	14,095	14.351	14.292	14.295
Economy	1.289	1.324	1.343	1.361	1.491
Recreation and culture	1.026	1,034	1.015	1.195	1.214
Housing issues	1.124	1,125	1.105	1.102	1.049
Environment	378	363	367	380	404
Total	79.181	80,816	81.618	81.777	81.629

Source: KAS, Kosovo in Figures 2016

2011 POPULATION CENSUS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA

In 2011, a population census was carried out in Kosovo and METOHIA; it was carried out by the ethnic Albanians under the patronage of Western mentors. The Serbs in the south largely boycotted it, whereas in the four northern municipalities it was not conducted at all.

The number of listed residents was 1,739,825.

The first question that is raised is whether this number pertains to the resident population (actually living in Kosovo and Metohia for the last 12 months) or if it also includes non-residents (who live in Western Europe and spend a portion of their vacation in Kosovo and Metohia)?

We get the answer to this question if we compare data on the population listed in a particular municipality and data from KAS' *Kosovan Migration 2014* report.

We see in the data on the population census (table below) that, for example, the municipality of Suva Reka is said to have 59,722 residents, whereas the table on emigration (pages 15 and 16) shows us that 30,000 of them live abroad and that accounts for 45% of the total population of the municipality. That means both the resident and non-resident population was listed and the 1.7 million pertains to both those actually living in Kosovo and Metohia and those living outside it, who are of Shiptar descent. Priština is said to have 198,897 listed residents, while the emigration report says that 30,000 residents of Priština live abroad, and that is 15% of the population. The same goes for other municipalities.

As I have already said, according to KAS' *Kosovan Migration 2014* report, the ethnic Albanians themselves estimate that some 700,000 ethnic Albanians originally from Kosovo and Metohia live as immigrants (predominantly in Western Europe), and they were also listed as residents of Kosovo and Metohia.

If we subtract the 700,000 emigrants from the 1,700,000 listed residents, we get about 1 million ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo and Metohia.

Table 13

KOSOVO AND METOHIA MUNICIPALITIES – 2011 POPULATION CENSUS, POPULATION AGE

Municipality	Total	0–4	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	50–54
Total	1.739.825	149.735	160.916	176.926	174.932	161.467	141.268	130.542	124.912	108.142	94.988	80.625
Dečani	40.019	3.363	3.293	3.815	4.181	3.876	3.397	3.122	2.917	2.614	2.161	1.709
Đakovica	94.556	7.133	8.293	9.874	10.453	8.946	7.133	6.450	6.490	5.935	5.353	4.627
Glogovac	58.531	5.613	5.613	6.069	5.886	6.230	5.302	4.625	4.059	3.271	2.842	2.364
Gnjilane	90.178	6.409	7.789	9.266	9.824	8.322	6.653	6.106	6.541	6.509	5.615	4.444
Dragaš	33.997	2.779	2.855	3.024	3.047	2.807	2.514	2.401	2.544	2.303	2.128	1.796
Istok	39.289	3.202	3.453	4.154	4.151	3.538	3.051	2.872	2.798	2.361	2.100	1.831
Kaçanik	33.409	2.992	3.189	3.400	3.395	3.161	2.661	2.576	2.545	2.139	1.863	1.512
Klina	38.496	3.465	3.760	4.173	4.265	3.788	3.144	2.725	2.543	2.085	1.853	1.654
Kosovo Polje	34.827	3.321	3.297	3.378	3.207	3.133	2.954	2.720	2.533	2.147	1.914	1.704

Kosovska Kamenica	36.085	2.517	2.872	3.511	3.752	3.295	2.779	2.618	2.664	2.420	2.224	1.835
Kosovska Mitrovica	71.909	6.454	6.702	7.195	6.741	6.430	5.894	5.558	4.978	4.169	3.806	3.535
Leposavić												
Lipljan	57.605	5.253	5.889	6.053	5.704	5.468	4.277	4.101	3.519	3.006	2.499	
Novo Brdo	6.729	537	541	565	595	593	523	460	449	428	404	353
Obilić	21.549	2.088	2.144	2.187	1.998	1.999	1.855	1.617	1.526	1.236	1.213	992
Orahovac	56.208	4.597	5.162	6.322	6.253	5.380	4.425	4.330	4.371	3.572	2.886	2.305
Peć	96.450	7.724	8.150	9.119	9.395	8.697	7.754	6.972	6.947	6.203	5.666	4.992
Podujevo	88.499	8.473	9.287	9.048	8.499	8.277	7.535	7.009	6.323	5.086	4.352	3.810
Priština	198.897	16.754	16.781	17.868	17.427	17.708	17.749	16.436	14.765	12.601	11.411	10.350
Prizren	177.781	15.252	16.065	17.882	17.946	16.553	14.363	13.407	13.055	11.712	10.069	8.383
Srbica	50.858	4.503	4.947	5.581	5.243	5.088	4.316	3.805	3.542	2.706	2.347	2.108
Štimlje	27.324	2.487	2.941	3.153	2.971	2.490	1.953	2.060	1.910	1.670	1.346	1.158
Štrpce	6.949	541	641	589	540	582	536	541	510	457	393	361
Suva Reka	59.722	5.198	5.612	6.599	6.466	5.784	4.550	4.128	4.260	3.687	3.163	2.499
Uroševac	108.610	9.531	10.599	11.436	10.985	9.850	8.656	8.155	7.923	6.827	5.995	4.827
Vitina	46.987	4.097	4.773	5.298	5.130	4.124	3.500	3.323	3.491	3.018	2.479	1.860
Vučitrn	69.870	6.051	6.473	7.110	7.085	6.607	5.947	5.374	4.829	4.116	3.715	3.212
Zubin Potok												
Zvečan												
Mališevo	54.613	5.795	6.306	6.739	6.121	5.231	4.162	3.889	3.563	2.828	2.434	1.920
Junik	6.084	566	551	564	572	552	537	557	475	389	302	252
Mamuša	5.507	623	586	617	522	510	490	441	427	300	254	168
Đeneral Janković	9.403	955	890	933	900	831	754	741	663	662	550	448
Gračanica	10.675	956	929	778	863	873	960	814	687	584	546	642
Ranilug	3.866	215	200	240	306	328	272	211	192	261	308	254
Parteš	1.787	99	126	115	197	172	113	88	114	140	130	114
Klokot	2.556	192	207	271	310	244	163	134	177	187	160	107

This population census also uncovered the fraud regarding the number of ethnic Albanians born in Kosovo and Metohia during communist rule. The fraud totals 509,000 people aged 25–65 at the time of the 2011 census.

The next two tables present the number of listed residents by age groups (groups of 5 years each) and I compared that data with the data on the number of liveborn ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia in those years (data from Table 13). Thus, for the group that was aged 25–29 in 2011 I added the data on the number of liveborn ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia between 1982 and 1986. From that number I subtracted the expected natural loss according to the death rate by age from the table on page 60 of *The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2017*.

According to these data, in the period from 1982 and 1986 228,256 were allegedly born in the period 1982–1986 in Kosovo and Metohia. According to

the population census the ethnic Albanians carried out in 2011, in this age group (25–29) 141,268 were listed.

I calculated the death rate according to the data on persons who died in the period 2008–2016, from the table on page 60 of *The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Kosovo 2017*. According to that, in the generation aged 29 or under 530 people on average die, which over a span of five generations produces the result of 2,700 deaths. If we subtract 2,700 from 228,256 we get 225,556 people from this age group listed, whereas in reality 141,268 were listed. So, this age group is missing 84,288.

In the period from 1977 to 1981, 212,009 ethnic Albanians were registered as born (age group 30–34 at the time of the 2011 census) and 130,542 were listed in the 2011 census. The natural loss is 3,000. There are 78,467 people missing.

In the period between 1972 and 1976, 206,029 ethnic Albanians were registered as born (age group 35–39), while 124,912 were listed at the time of the 2011 census. The natural loss is 3,600. There are 77,517 people missing.

In the period 1967–1971, 182,608 were registered as born and 108,142 were listed, and so the natural loss equals 4,500 people. There are 69,966 people missing.

In the period from 1962 to 1966 (age group 45–49) 159,447 people were registered as born and 94,988 were listed in the census, which means a natural loss of 5,800 people. There are 58,659 people missing.

In the period from 1957 to 1961 (age group 50–54) 139,632 ethnic Albanians were registered as born, 80,625 were listed in the census, with a natural loss of 7,600.

There are 51,407 people missing.

In the period between 1952 and 1956 (age group 55–59) 126,930 ethnic Albanians were born, 65,539 were listed in the census, and the natural loss equals 9,900. There are 51,491 people missing.

In the period from 1947 to 1951 (I did not find any data for 1947, so I counted 1948 twice), 103,391 were born (during the 2011 population census they were in the 60–64 age group), 53,048 were listed, with a natural loss of 12,800. There are 37,543 people missing.

Summing up these data, we see that in the 25–65 age group there are 509,000 fewer people listed than allegedly born (when the expected natural loss is subtracted). Those non-existent people (“dead souls”) are the fruit of the ethnic Albanians’ and communist “Serbian” authorities’ deceit, they lived only on paper and served the secessionist purpose.

We also see from the table that 116,785 people were listed in the 65+ age group, and since I did not have the data on births for that period I did not process that group at all.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The statistics of vital events in Kosovo and Metohia indicate that the number of people living in that territory is not 1.8 million.

2. The number of liveborn children in Kosovo and Metohia is falsely augmented.
3. The number of liveborn children from an unbiased source fits a population of 1 million.
4. The death rate fits a population of 1 million.
5. Relative to the alleged population size, the active workforce is missing (500,000 people).
6. Relative to the alleged population size, the rural population is missing (600,000 people).
7. The indicators related to marriage and family (spouses' average age 29.8 years, average age of the mother 28 years, 70% of mothers give birth to their first or second child, fertility is decreasing and has entered the rate of less than 2.14 when population growth is zero), reveal a society that is in the process of depopulation.
8. The number of people leaving Kosovo and Metohia is rising, women are leaving, too (43% of the emigrating population), as well as entire families.
9. Over a five-year period, 113,000 people left Kosovo and Metohia.
10. The level of poverty is high in Kosovo and Metohia (35% of people live on 1.55 euros/day).
11. The number of residents is dropping drastically.
12. A 60% population decline is expected by 2061.

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MATICA SRPSKA CHRONICLE SUBSCRIBERS
FROM EASTERN SLAVONIA AND WESTERN SREM,
1824–1829

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SUMMARY: The paper provides the structure of subscribers (with relevant characteristics) of the *Matica Srpska Chronicle* magazine (founded in Budapest in 1824, subsequently transferred to Novi Sad) in the areas of Eastern Slavonia and Western Srem in the period from 1824 to 1829.

KEYWORDS: Eastern Slavonia, Western Srem, Central Danube Valley, *Matica Srpska Chronicle* subscribers, 1824–1829.

A FEW OPENING NOTES

1. The selection of the title included several working versions which primarily differed in determining geographic coverage. The following territorial determinants were in consideration: eastern Slavonia (Baranja) and western Srem, the Osek–Baranja and Vukovar–Srem counties, the eastern part of the Republic of Croatia, the Eparchy of Osečko Polje and Baranja, and a few other variations of the aforementioned. Eventually, the option “eastern Slavonia and western Srem” (hereinafter abbreviated as ESWS) was chosen, seeing as the other terms are used from the aspect of the current administrative, political or church organization, while the regional term suited the given subject the best. It is obvious that Baranja was left out of the title even though it fits into one whole with ESWS in terms of space and culture. The reason for that is quite prosaic – there were no subscribers from Baranja (at least not from the southern part of this region, which is today a part of the Republic of Croatia) in the researched analytical framework.

2. The *Matica Srpska Chronicle* (or the *Serbska Chronicle*), as a literary and cultural magazine in broader terms, was chosen because it represents a substantive and relevant source of data suitable for this type of research. The publishing tradition (from 1824 to the present day) and the reputation the *Matica Srpska Chronicle* enjoy among the people were built over time, but even at the

beginning of Matica's activities, the magazine sparked interest by having a circle of devoted admirers and thereby subscribers. As the lists of subscribers were usually regularly published, diverse data can be read in them, including those that are interesting from the local perspective of ESWS.

3. In addition to the geographic one, it was important to establish a time frame of the research. In the title it is the period between 1824 and 1829. The period from 1824, when the censorship approved the printing of the first book of the magazine, to 1829 almost completely coincides with the era when the magazine was edited by Georgije Magarašević (until 1830). The number of subscribers was still unstable at the time, in some years there were no lists of subscribers, and so the analyzed five-year period is in fact a good indicator of the audience the magazine relied on in the years important for its survival. The choice of time span was, of course, arbitrary, but under the assumption that sufficiently illustrative data could be obtained within a five-year period.

4. As for the use of language in the article, for the sake of a balanced and serious approach it was necessary to opt for one version of writing the names of cities, regions and related terms, as well as their derivatives. The forms Vukovar–Srem and Osijek–Baranja county are often mentioned together. That choice is legitimate, in fact, the vast majority of speakers use the terms Srem and Osijek in parallel. However, in the composition of the article both local practice (Osek) and the original forms of writing listed on the subscription lists were crucial. Admittedly, the ekavian element is even more pronounced on them – as increasingly rare Osek is in use, that term does not sound “jarring,” while, for example, it is impossible to hear the version Belovar nowadays, and that is how this city is named on the lists. Therefore, it was necessary to choose one standard in the article and it is the ekavian one, with the occasional stating of terms in the ijekavian version in brackets.

5. In the end, the goal of the paper should be pointed out – the intention was to outline an image of Serb society from the east of present-day Republic of Croatia through the gathering of data and their analysis: the primary idea was to use it to enable a better understanding of the rich life of the Serb community in ESWS.

APPROACH TO RESEARCH

It is probably much easier for a researcher of 19th century culture than for a researcher looking to take on the task of getting a picture of the reading habits of the 21st century population, at a time when words are predominantly consumed through screens and when the time of books seems to be at an end. Conversely, 19th century culture was a culture of the printed letter. To own a certain book, subscribe to a magazine or read a newspaper in the city did not mean only to have access to information, knowledge or entertainment at one's fingertips. Nor did it, consequently, mean that the people were more committed to reading at the time. Getting printed publications was often nothing more than – getting them, the act made it clear that a person belonged to the desired cultural circle, owning a book/magazine was a matter of status and prestige.

It is known that Prince Mihailo Obrenović was illiterate, yet we nevertheless often find his name on book subscription lists from the mid-19th century. It is precisely those subscription lists that are an excellent source for reading subtext. They reveal a mixed group – various names and places of residence, their titles, professions and some other things. The lists allow one to judge the identity, size, influence, or power of a certain community, and that is the case with the Serb community in the territory of ESWS. Settlements from that area are also mentioned in a different context through the analyzed editions of magazines – the first edition lists the members of the secular clergy of the vicarages of Dalj, Šid and Vukovar¹, while a subsequent edition explains how the patriarch came into possession of the Dalj property², but nonetheless the researcher's attention is focused solely on the lists of subscribers as sources of information.

Research related to book culture through subscription lists are well known and widespread³. The *Matica Srpska Chronicle* provides a good foundation for this type of work within 19th century Serbian culture. The magazine, published to the present day with brief breaks, in its early years had an uneven model of publication of subscribers, but basically the list was presented once a year. The principle was to win over commissioners as collectors of subscriptions and so they, as respectable people in their native environment, would gather money and advertise the magazine more widely⁴. After the commissioners submitted the lists of those who had taken subscriptions, usually the names thereof would be written at the end of one of the editions, along with the place where they came from. Aside from the name and place, professions were also stated, and at times other qualifications as well. In the early years, subscribers were almost exclusively from the territory of the Austrian Empire, while later those from the territories of the Ottoman Empire and its vassal states would become increasingly frequent.

¹ *Serbske Chronicles*, I 1824, edition 1/1, pp. 14–16.

² *Serbske Chronicles*, V 1829, edition 17/2, pp. 51–65.

³ There is a lot of research dealing with the subject of the history of reading, a paper by Branka Prpa–Jovanović titled *Srpsko–dalmatinski magazin 1836–1848: Preporodne ideje Srba u Dalmaciji (Serbian–Dalmatian Magazine 1836–1848: Ideas of National Renaissance among Serbs in Dalmatia)* can be mentioned as an example. The famous historian through an analysis of *The Serbian–Dalmatian Magazine* presented a stratum of its readers, with conclusions about their profile and importance for the national integration of Serbs in Dalmatia. Subscription lists tied to the area of ESWS were the subject of Staniša Vojnović's paper *Pretplatnici iz Osijeka i Dalja na srpske knjige od 1794–1850 (Subscribers from Osijek and Dalj to Serbian Books from 1794–1850)*, published in two volumes of the *Collection on Serbs in Croatia* (1999 and 2016) by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. This work provides transcriptions of subscription lists, but does not go into a deeper analysis.

⁴ The first edition for 1826 lists 50 places with subscription commissioners, four of them from ESWS (Vinkovci – prof. Veseli, Vukovar – Jovan Gavrilović, Dalj – Milanković, manager (in another edition signed as Teodor Milanković, community treasurer, Osek – Pavle Sekulić). By the end of 1829, where places in ESWS are concerned, a commissioner for Ilok appears – Andrija Lukić; however, there were no subscribers there. Vinkovci appears once more (Konstantin Urica), as does Trpinja (Jovan Milovuk), while Osek, Vukovar and Dalj appear multiple times with different commissioners.

From the viewpoint of this article, 19 editions were included in consideration, starting with the first one from the end of 1824 to the last one in 1829⁵. As one edition was published in 1824 which was meant for the following year, 1825, for the purpose of simpler data presentation the given edition was included in the joint column as the year 1824–25, whereas the other years were listed separately. The exception is 1829, when the subscription lists were published twice, and so this year “earned” a double column.

As far as the focus of interest is concerned, it is local, as one may already have concluded. It was required that the list of places the subscribers came from include a settlement located in the territory of ESWS. The subscribers who were originally from this area and were not listed in their native places of residence were not taken into consideration (for example, Josif Milovuk was registered in Budapest). Also, those who came from other places and were listed in ESWS were included as local subscribers. It should be noted that it was not rare for someone to appear as a subscriber in one settlement in one year and to then be listed as a subscriber in another settlement the following year. That was the case with subscribers in Osek and Dalj – a person who was a subscriber from Dalj in the previous year was later on the list of subscribers for Osek, whereas in the statement on the list that person was said to be, for example, the manager of the Dalj Manor. The parish priest of B(ij)elo Brdo or the Borovo scribe also appear on the list of subscribers from Dalj. In short, to be included in the analysis as valid it was sufficient for a person to be in the territory of one of the settlements located in ESWS and if they were listed there as, say, a denizen of Vinkovci, they were treated as a denizen of Vinkovci, even though the text then stated that they were employed in Zagreb.

There were other anomalies, too, that needed to be evened out. For 1826, the first and second edition provide partial lists, and then the third edition offers a comprehensive list that includes subscribers from the first two editions. The subsequent list was taken as relevant, seeing as it was supplemented and more detailed. The double list in 1829 has already been explained, that is when new data appear with other places that are outside the focus of the analysis, however, for Osek – as the only place from ESWS that is mentioned – the one from the first part of the year differs from the other by just one newly added name, but both lists were acknowledged. Also, there were uncertainties in the reading of some data, due to the different methods of writing down and classifying editors on the one hand and due to the poorer quality of the writing on the other, which along with the archaic Cyrillic alphabet predating the script reform conducted by Vuk Karadžić can cause a problem for the modern reader. Personal names again were not listed in the part concerning subscriptions, for example, for the commissioner from Karlovac it only says that he sent the magazine to “the archpriest of Korenica”, “the archpriest of Glina”, etc. That was not the case with places in the east, at least not in this period⁶. There was

⁵ All the editions are available on the website of the Digital Library of Matica Srpska – <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications>

⁶ Later editions, such as the first edition for 1831, stated that copies of the magazine had been sent from Budapest to Baranja priests in Bolman and Jagodnjak, without any mention of their names.

vagueness in particular with professions, in some cases that information was completely omitted and so the accompanying table had the category “unknown” for those whose professions remained unlisted.

Therefore, for the data to be ready for processing and qualification, Occam’s razor had to be unsheathed. Sometimes it cuts off pieces that might carry interesting information, but on the part of the author it is important to use it so as to obtain usable material and readable results, which are presented in the upcoming tables.

DATA ANALYSIS

The next chapter is the central part of the article and provides an elaboration of the data obtained through studying of the sources. Processing did not require the assistance of a statistical program because the research encompassed a proportionately small time period and simple statistical work led to the creation of several tables that provide grounds for interpretations at the end.

Statistical Presentation

Four tables showcase the total numbers and geographic placement of the subscriptions, as well as the number of subscriptions and subscribers within ESWS with a presentation of their professional structure.

Table 1.

NUMBER OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

Year	Editions of the magazine	Total number of subscriptions	Number of subscriptions from the territory of present-day Republic of Croatia	Number of subscriptions from settlements in ESWS
1824–25	1–3	382	98	4
1826	4–7	459	86	32
1827	8–11	250	4	–
1828	12–15	None	None	None
1829 – first half	16–17	110	11	11
1829 – second half	18–19	207	17	14

The first table indicates subscription trends in the period from the start of publishing of the magazine to the end of 1829. The number of subscriptions varied, the subscription list for 1828 was non-existent. Interest among subscribers from the area of present-day Republic of Croatia in this period was higher in the beginning – in the first year a quarter of the subscriptions came from there, whereas in the last analyzed year that percentage is around 10. On the other

hand, while subscriptions from ESWS in the first year account for a negligibly small portion (or are non-existent like in 1827), later – primarily because of the members from Osek – they account for the majority of subscriptions from the area of the Republic of Croatia and a considerable percentage of the total number.

Table 2.
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

Year	Magazine editions	Total number of settlements	Number of settlements in the territory of present-day Republic of Croatia	Number of settlements in ESWS	Places in ESWS mentioned
1824–25	1–3	32	9	2	Vinkovci, Trpinja
1826	4–7	37	8	3	Vukovar, Dalj, Osek
1827	8–11	20	4	–	–
1828	12–15	None	None	None	None
1829 – first half	16–17	16	1	1	Osek
1829 – second half	18–19	24 ⁷	2	1	Osek

The table above shows how many toponyms appeared on the subscription lists and which of them are in the territory of present-day Republic of Croatia, and how many of them are in the territory of ESWS. Out of the other places in the Republic of Croatia, the lists also include: B(j)elovar, Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Zadar, Zagreb, Karlovac (Karlštat/Karlstadt, Gornji Karlovci), Nova Gradiška, Pakrac, Plaški, Požega. These places, along with those from ESWS, make up a considerable number of toponyms – there is more than a quarter of them in the first edition, and at the end of 1829 around 10 percent. One can easily notice that the toponyms from ESWS represent a fairly big percentage within the Republic of Croatia. Only in 1827 were there no places from ESWS out of the total 20, while four are in the territory of present-day Republic of Croatia. While in the first half of 1829 Osek is the only one from the entire Republic of Croatia, in the second half of 1829 it was joined by Karlovac. In total, from the ESWS area only Osek is mentioned three times – in 1826 and on two lists in 1829. Vinkovci and Trpinja appear in the first year, whereas Dalj and Vukovar appear in 1826.

⁷ In this year, aside from the standard “main” settlements, in the section Novi Sad places to which the magazine was shipped from this city were written in a smaller font. However, it was pointed out earlier that there had already been cases where a copy from a nearby urban center was sent to certain rural areas without those areas being singled out, and so in this case smaller settlements in Bačka and Srem were not shown separately, rather all the subscribers from there were “counted” as denizens of Novi Sad.

Table 3.

NUMBER OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SUBSCRIBERS ACCORDING TO ESWS SETTLEMENTS

Year	Total number of subscribers	Number of subscribers
Osek	33	19
Vukovar	6	6
Dalj	18	18
Vinkovci	2	2
Trpinja	2	2
TOTAL	61	47

The table above details the results of the second table by stating the number of subscriptions and subscribers per individual place. Here an additional explanation of distinguishing between “subscription” and “subscribers” is needed – from an analyst’s standpoint, subscriptions state how many editions went to particular places, but at the same time do not show to which individuals exactly. More so since a subscription was tied to one name throughout a year, there are persons who were subscribers for multiple years and their names repeat. Thus, the number of subscribers is not the same as the number of subscriptions, an example of which is Osek – 36 subscriptions by 19 different people were registered in this city in the analyzed period.

Here follows the year, place and name of each subscriber:

1824–25:

Vinkovci: Aron Stanisavljević, Josif Mihailović
Trpinja: Vasilije Milovuk, Jovan Milovuk

1826:

Vukovar: Pavle Adamović, Jovan Gavrilović, Ignjat Ignjatović, Vasilije Lazarević, Justin Marković, Jovan Popović

Dalj: Stefan Varmeda, Grigorije Gerčić, Ekatarina Danilović, Nikolaj Živković, Dimitrije Janković, Lazar Knežević, Dimitrije Marinković, Kosma Milanković, Teodor Milanković, Damjan Milanković, Georgije Paunović, Jelisej Popović, Simeon Popović, Andrej Popović, Georgije Radotić, Petar Stefanović, Teodor Stratimirović, Mladen Stratimirović

Osek: Atanasije Spaić, Vasilije Milić, Georgije Georgijević, Georgije Šević, Stefan Krestonošić, Pavo Sekulić, Mihail Tadić, Stefan Sandić

1829 – first half

Osek: Lazar Bojić, Atanasije Spaić, Jovan Jovanović, Petar Jovanović, Stefan Bulat, Vasilije Atanasijević, Petar Virovac, Stefan Nedeljkić, Antonije Tajčević, Georgije Ilić, Jovan Janković

1829 – second half

Osek: Lazar Bojić, Spiridon Senić, Atanasije Spaić, Jovan Jovanović, Petar Jovanović, Stefan Bulat, Vasilije Atanasijević, Petar Virovac, Stefan Nedeljkić,

Antonije Tajčević, Jovan Janković, *Mladen Stratimirović*, *Teodor Milanković*, *Nikolaj Živković*⁸

Table 4.

PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF SUBSCRIBERS

Settlement	Orthodox priests	High-ranking officials and civil servants	Jurists	Education workers	Medical doctors	Army officers	Clerks	Merchants	Craftsmen	Students	Unknown	TOTAL
Osek	3	1	5	1	1			4	2	1	1	19
Vukovar								4	2			6
Dalj	5	3		2			2	3	1		2	18
Vinkovci						2						2
Trpinja											2	2
TOTAL	8	4	5	3	1	2	2	11	5	1	5	47

Reading through and sorting professions was a particularly delicate matter. Inconsistency of criteria in registering professions was reflected in various ways, for example, in one edition, in the space where for the others the titles of their jobs were written, for Jovan Gavrilović it only says that he is “a lover of sciences,” but later on it was written that he was a merchant. For some, no information was initially written and then appeared later, while for others the names of their professions were listed in different forms, and the like.

Eventually following categories were defined: Orthodox priests (parish priest, protopresbyter, deacon), senior officials and civil servants (senator, inspector, community treasurer, property manager), jurists (notary, lawyer, auditor), education workers (teacher, professor), medical doctors, army officers (lieutenant field marshal, major), clerks (cashier, scribe), merchants, craftsmen (soap maker, cookie maker), students, while the category “unknown” was for those whose profession could not be unambiguously determined. For two members of the Milovuk family from Trpinja no information is stated, they can be assumed to have belonged to the merchant trade, but without a direct citation of written information on that their placement in that specific category would be an arbitrary act. Merchants were otherwise the most numerous subscribers to the magazine and, together with craftsmen, they accounted for a third of all subscribers (in Vukovar, all the subscribers are in this group). Priests are the second largest group, especially in Dalj as a church center.

⁸ The names of earlier subscribers from Dalj who were this time registered in Osek were listed in cursive script.

BRIEF DEBATE

Based on the tables, the final count is as follows: 61 subscriptions, 47 subscribers from 5 different places in ESWS (Vinkovci, Trpinja, Dalj, Vukovar, Osek).

The population of subscribers from ESWS constitutes a significant group, if viewed from the perspective of present-day Republic of Croatia. Apart from Osek, which appears three times, the record holders of the analyzed period are Karlovac and Plaški, that is, places with a strong influence of Orthodox priests. That is also clearly reflected in the structure of subscribers – it is precisely Karlovac and Plaški, along with Pakrac, that have a dominant Orthodox clergy. On the other hand, in ESWS merchants and craftsmen are a reliable subscription link. Merchants are the main element of formation of the civic class of the population in ESWS and fairly even in terms of social status, only three with aristocratic titles (the Stratimirovićs and baron Stanisavljević) appear among the local subscribers. Given that the ESWS area was predominantly outside the regime of the Military Frontier, there is an obvious absence of subscribers from the officers' rank (with the exception of Vinkovci). Among the 47 subscribers there is also a balanced national composition. Only on the list of commissioners does the Czech last name Veseli appear, and in 1827 a Konstantin Urica, probably a Tsintsar, appears as the commissioner in Vinkovci. A more thorough delving into the history of the families would reveal more subscribers of Tsintsar origin who had Serbified their last names by then. That, again, shows that in the 1890s the process of homogenizing the Serb community in ESWS was already well under way. Women rarely appeared on the lists of subscribers, usually wealthier merchants gave their daughters literature to read which they believed could be useful to them. Only one appears here – Ekatarina Danilović from Dalj, on whom there is no other information.

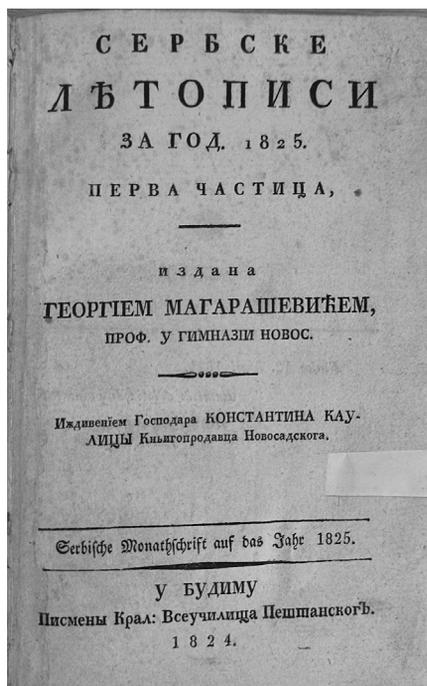
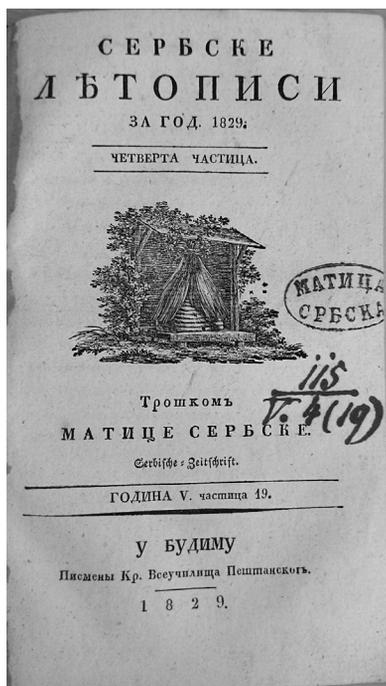


Image 1. Matica Srpska Chronicle, 1824 Image 2. Matica Srpska Chronicle, 1829

FINAL NOTE

All of the above leads to the conclusion that, simply put, in the western parts of the Republic of Croatia the predominant reader of the *Matica Srpska Chronicle* was a priest, whereas in ESWS it was a rich city merchant. Of course, there are many possibilities for more extensive research, this paper being merely an additional small piece in the complex mosaic of Serbian culture in the territory of ESWS.

BOOK REVIEW

MILANKOVIĆ – A RENESSAINCE MAN

(*Стваралаштво Милутина Миланковића*, зборник радова с међународног симпозијума истог наслова, одржаног у Даљу, 23–24. мај, 2008; Ур. Часлав Оцић, Српска академија наука и уметности, Београд, 2009 / *Milutin Milanković's Opus*, proceedings of the international conference sharing the same name, held in Dalj, on May 23 to 24, 2008; Editor Časlav Očić, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade 2009)



Milutin Milanković's Opus is a Collection of Papers presented at the international conference with the same title, held in Milanković's restored paternal home in Dalj, on May 23 to 24, 2008, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of this great man of science. A year after the conference, in 2009, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) published the Collection in Belgrade. The late academician Stevan Koički had initiated the event, while it was Professor Časlav Očić, a corresponding member of the Academy and the editor of the Collection, who was tasked with developing the initial idea,

asking for contributions from different authors and organizing the conference.



Image 1. Map of Dalj

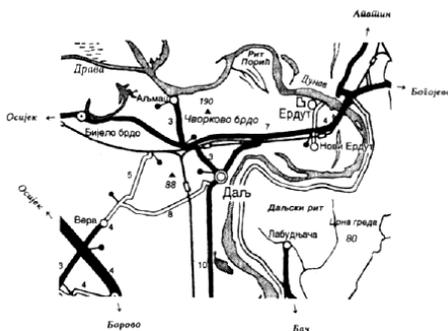


Image 2. Panorama of Dalj

In the wake of an international conference, “Paleoclimate and the Earth Climate System,” which the SASA, with support of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) organized in Belgrade in 2004 to mark the 125th anniversary of the birth of Milutin Milanković, a need arose, as the editor Očić put it, “to organize a special academic conference dedicated to Milanković’s complete, diversified opus, worthy of a renaissance man he truly was. His contributions to historical study, efforts to popularize science and literary pursuits should be presented and analyzed in an adequate social, historical, cultural and civilizational context.” (page 11) The idea resulted in the conference “Milutin Milanković’s Opus,” following a decision late in 2007 that the SASA should organize the event in collaboration with the municipal authorities in Milanković’s birthplace, and the Serbian Cultural Society „Prosvjeta“ from Zagreb. The Collection was published in 2009 as part of the SASA Series „Academic Conferences” № CXXIV and Sub-Series “Presidency”, Volume 9 (512+62 pages, ISBN 978–86–7025–491–6). The publication contains the conference contributions, with a wide array of research profiles involved, presenting different views, approaches and styles used to portray Milanković as a person, and providing comprehensive insight into his opus. The fascinating personality and talent, never limited to a single profession or discipline, required precisely the multifaceted, interdisciplinary approach the conference provided for the purpose. Despite this diversity, however, not only the articles never clash with each other, but their contents complement each other, cross-referencing over what the editor described as a coherent mosaic. At no point did the multitude of professions, different themes, angles and aspects of Milanković’s life and work discussed at the conference and published in the Collection detrimentally affect the consonance of the publication. Instead, they contributed to its abundance, diversity and comprehensiveness, painting a vivid, complete picture of Milanković. He is portrayed as a civil engineer, professor, scientist, astronomer, the originator of a new physical and mathematical approach to studying Earth’s climate; a *scientific paradigm* (Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*), the reformer of the Julian Calendar; a man who played various important roles in the Astronomical Observatory in Belgrade, promoting its work and fighting

for it; a historian and a popularizer of science; the author of literary works about homes and cities he lived in; as an inspiration to other writers and painters and for a new font based on his handwriting, a personality increasingly present on the Internet...



Image 3. Alt & Kunike, Dalj, 1824

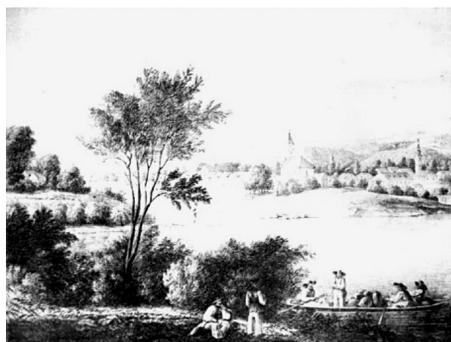


Image 4. Husband and wife from Dalj, mid-19th century, aquarelle Nikola Arsenović (1823–1885)

Even though the title of the Collection is *Milutin Milanković’s Opus*, the same as the conference held in Dalj, the contributions and its overall contents have extended beyond Milanković’s productive and complex work, speaking of his personality, life, work with fellow researchers and scientists, as well as artists, revealing not only his personal history, but also the life and work of his ancestors, the Milanković family, and its prominent members. The publication also gives us a glimpse into the life of the Serbs who lived

across the Sava and Danube rivers, in the Habsburg Empire, describing the emergence of the Serb intellectual elite north of the two rivers, where Milanković's birthplace lies, and the role of the Serbs outside Serbia proper in building political, cultural and educational institutions in the restored Serbian state in the 19th century. The reader is also given a chance to learn more about Dalj, the history of the place, its schools, cultural heritage, population, prominent figures who were born and lived in Dalj, as well as Milanković's home, its history and reconstruction. The Collection includes a document illustrating the restoration process. The place where Milanković's roots lie, and his paternal home, have been an inspiration to painters and writers, but the Collection also presents them as the two mythical places famous scientist would often revisit in his work. The publication did focus on the past and history, but it also offers a modern take on Milanković's work, acquainting the reader with the upholders and continuators of his achievements, reaffirmations and confirmations of his theories in modern science.



Image 5. Svetislav Vuković, Group portrait of first members of Society of Serbian Letters, Gallery SASA

The conference proceedings are not only a record of speeches and contributions – educational and diverse in their own right – but they offer much more to the reader interested in the roots, creative pursuits and personality of the great scientist. Following *A Word from the Editor* are five sections, namely, *Welcome Speeches*, *Renaissance Works*, *Memories*, *Contributions*, and *Album*. The first two, *Welcome Speeches* and

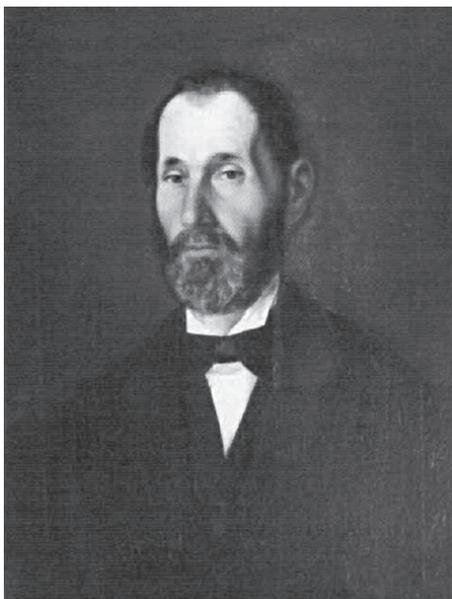
Renaissance Works, cover the already mentioned international academic conference dedicated to Milanković.

What makes the Collection particularly evocative is the *Memories* section, sharing personal testimonials and reminiscences by the people who knew Milanković, or were in contact with him, including his contemporaries, acquaintances, coworkers, associates and students, bringing the great mind closer as a personality, and as a man.

The *Contributions* introduce to the reader André L. Berger, the most prominent continuator of Milanković's work, the establishing and the recipients of the Milutin Milanković Medal, awarded by the European Geophysical Society for groundbreaking research and achievements in the field of long-term climate change and modeling, Uroš Milanković, the brother of Milutin Milanković's grandfather and a forgotten Serbian philosopher, also offering details about the reconstruction and remodeling of the Milanković family home. The section also provides a brief outline of the history of Dalj, opening to view Milanković's works in the Digital Library of Serbia as well.



Image 6. Todor Milanković (1769–1841)
Great grandfather of Milutin Milanković,
Jovan Isailović Junior



*Image 7. Antonije Milanković (1806–1879)
Grandfather of Milutin Milanković,
Jovan Isailović Junior*



*Image 8. Ana, wife of Antonije Milanković
(?–1903), Jovan Isailović Junior*

The *Album* contains the photographs of Milutin Milanković, his ancestors and parents, paintings by Ljubomir Vujaklija featuring the Milanković home, the Danube and Dalj, the photographs of participants in the international conference, photographs from the exhibition in Milanković's home and those of the Danube River at Dalj and the Erdut Fortress. Individual photographs of all the participants are in the *Album* as well.

The Collection ends with a report and photographs from the exhibition "The Canon of Milutin Milanković" that was opened to visitors from January 25 to April 25, 2009 in the SASA Gallery on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of Milanković's birth. The photographs bring back the exceptional visual impression the exhibition created, presenting vividly the world famous researcher lived and worked in. This profoundly educational multimedia show uncovered through diverse materials "The Cycles of Milanković's Life," the issues that had occupied this great mind, the problems he resolved and his achievements in various fields. The visitors were given an opportunity to understand Milanković's discoveries in an accessible way, and get a grasp of Milanković's theory thanks to mechanical models and education software. Milanković's cycles, mirroring a harmony of celestial mechanics and the dynamics of climate change, were made simple and understandable visually, using the mechanical models of glacial dynamics and orbital cycles, created by the author of the exhibition, Academician Đorđe Zloković. The exhibition, which crowned a comprehensive and exhaustive effort to shed light on Milanković's personality and multifaceted work, has lent the fascinating closing lines to the Collection.

Striking visual moments are the hallmark of the Collection, not only in the final chapters – the *Album* and the exhibition review – but the entire publication is peppered with amazing illustrations, images and photographs, making it possible for the reader to meet the scientist, his family, home and birthplace, see his handwriting and illustrations for his books. The covers of the Collection display drawings made by Grigory Samoilov, a Russian architect, painter and superb artist who was Milanković's associate and friend. Samoilov portrayed Milanković, and designed the covers of the 4th edition of Milanković's book *Through Space and Centuries*, which he illustrated as well. The front cover of this Collection displays Milanković's office in

Captain Miša's Mansion in Belgrade (housing the University of Belgrade's Rectorate), the same drawing opening the chapter of the book "The Workshop. Preparations for a Flight through the Past."

Back to the Collection, the *Welcome Speeches* section contains the words of welcome that opened the *Milutin Milanković's Opus* conference, i.e. speeches by Jovan Jelić, the mayor of Erdut, Academician Nikola Hajdin, the SASA president, Čedomir Višnjić, president of the Zagreb-based Serbian Cultural Society "Prosvjeta" and an assistant to the Croatian Minister of Culture, Branko Grisogono, Ph.D., who spoke on behalf of the Geophysical Institute "Andrija Mohorovičić" and the Faculty of Science of the Zagreb University, Ivan Čačić, representing the National Hydrometeorological Service of the Republic of Croatia, a permanent representative of Croatia with the World Meteorological Organization, Snježana Barabaš Seršić, a professor of applied mathematics and informatics and the principal of the Third High School in Osijek, which Milanković attended as a general-program secondary school, Professor Helmut Pichler of the Institut für Meteorologie und Geophysik, Universität Innsbruck, a professor emeritus and a permanent member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and Ljuba Vujović, Ph.D., secretary-general of the Tesla Memorial Society of New York.

The *Renaissance Works* is a section putting forth contributions by the conference participants. Given the diversity of themes and styles, they were grouped based on the similarity in approach. The chapter begins with a historical insight into Milanković's life, family and time.

Academician Svetozar Koljević's "Milutin Milanković: an Early European or the Last of the Mohicans" shares with the reader the history of the Milanković family, mirroring varied facets of the history of Serbia, the Balkans and Central Europe between the late 17th century and the Second World War. Over a period of 240 years, the family gave prominent tradesmen, landowners, lawyers, judges and senior officers in the Austrian army. The Milankovićs were a close-knit family, and were acknowledged members of an international community in Slavonia under Austrian rule, fostering eagerly their Orthodox faith, national identity and cultural heritage. The article portrayed members of the Milanković family, our scientist's ancestors and relatives, and his grandfather's brother,

Uroš Milanković, who earned a degree in philosophy in Szeged and another degree in Austrian law in Vienna, as well as Milanković's parents. Koljević wrote about his childhood, his school life and student days, private life and thoughts, love for music and poetry, his personality, work, career and profession, the situation during the wars and his wartime thoughts and actions. Against the backdrop of a rise in nationalism in the 20th century and at the doorstep of globalization of our multicultural world, the author, dwelling also on Milanković's patriotism and internationalism, wondered if he was an early European or one of the last Mohicans. The contribution was written in accessible language, telling amusing stories from Milanković's life, and sharing his thoughts and conversations with coworkers and family.

In his article, "The Historical Time of Milutin Milanković," Professor Đorđe Đurić from the University of Novi Sad, wrote along the lines of Milanković's theories, using a cyclical method while exploring Serbian history and historical events coinciding with Milanković's era. Đurić depicted some phenomena typical of the Serbian history in Milanković's time, which Milanković had shared in his three-volume autobiography *Memories, Experiences and Insights*, as well as the position of Serbs under the House of Habsburg, their life outside Serbia proper, north of the Sava and the Danube, with a special emphasis on the life in Dalj, and the Milanković family, a genuine representative of the Serbian middle class in the Habsburg Monarchy. The family held an important place in the Serbian community, gaining its wealth and high education credentials over several generations, investing its energy and knowledge in building and developing education, science and culture in Serbia, along with many other Serbs in the region, often referred to as *Prečani*, meaning those who live across the Sava and the Danube, the border rivers between Serbia and the Empire. Đurić wrote about the birth of Serbian intellectual elite north of the two rivers, and the role the *Prečani* played in building and modernizing the Serbian state, politics, science, culture and education in the 19th century. The reader can also learn more about the society of the Kingdom of Serbia and Belgrade, where Milanković moved to from Vienna in 1909, and the role of scholars and intellectual elite of the time in social, historical, political (internal and external), economic and cultural conditions and circumstances in Serbia.

The author also described Milanković's work and fate in wartime, from the 1912 Balkan Wars to World War II, when in the spring of 1941, ahead of Germany's attack against Yugoslavia, Milanković was finishing his major work, the *Canon of Insolation*. Thanks to Đurić, the reader will find out that the Europe of Milanković's time recognized patriotism as one of the essential qualities of the citizen, and national belonging as an indispensable segment of human identity. Educated people would give up material possessions and a quiet life to contribute to the advancement of their nation. That was why our scientist arrived in Serbia in 1909, accepting a position of a senior lecturer and teaching applied mathematics for a lower salary and in worse conditions than he would have had as a civil engineer in Vienna. He believed it was his duty to live, work and die with his people, as he wrote in his *Memoirs, Experiences and Insights*.

Several contributors addressed the scientific aspects of Milanković's opus, linking present-day results and testimonies to his work. They describe Milanković as a scientist and expert.

Even though using technical jargon, Academician Fedor Mesinger's "Milutin Milanković, the Originator of Mathematical-Physical Approach to Climate Science – Can Paleoclimate Help us Look into the Future?" can reach broader audience as well. Mesinger described Milanković's search for the core area of his work, after he had left a successful engineering career in Vienna for a senior lectureship at the University of Belgrade, filling an unexpected vacancy at the Department of Applied Mathematics. The department offered courses in rational mechanics, theoretical physics and celestial mechanics, precisely the areas that attracted the scientist the most. Trusting in the power of mathematics, and his own ability to engage in it, Milanković was looking for a field not yet conquered by mathematics, so that those who come first could enjoy working a free, uncultivated land. What he wanted was an unexploited, barely touched field to develop his research potentials. He initially thought that weather forecasting could be such a domain, but decided it was too early to use mathematics for that purpose, choosing climate instead, as it seemed to be offering better prospects.

Milanković thus focused on climate change and glacial cycles, which at the time still required a proper explanation, embarking on a search for

the root causes behind ice ages. According to one of his most ardent followers and continuators, André Berger, the result was that the fundamentals of all sciences of relevance to any theory of paleoclimate lay in Milanković's book, which became the cornerstone of the scientific study of climate. Mesinger also shared recent results by James Hansen et al. who were trying to define prospects for future climate change based on a wealth of information on climate of the past.

Academician Nikola Hajdin's "Construction Mechanics, Milanković's First Scientific Experience" communicates in an accessible way the value of Milanković's work in construction mechanics, structures, mechanics and construction, i.e. his early works, following his graduation in Vienna and until he moved to Belgrade, in 1909. Later on, Milanković would go back to civil engineering only as an expert or a consultant.

While writing the article "Milutin Milanković and the Astronomical Observatory of Belgrade," the author, Milan Radovanac of the Belgrade Observatory, relied on the observatory's rich archives and other sources to interpret Milanković's work, engagement and role in laying the groundwork for the observatory, and his contributions to its work and the development of astronomy in general, spanning a long period of time from his arrival in Belgrade up to a few years before his death in 1958, placing a special emphasis on the scientist's engagement in astronomy as a science. It was a long line of roles that tied this great scientific mind to the Belgrade Observatory – he chaired committees on the construction of the new observatory in Serbia's capital city, the reception and placement of instruments, and professional exams, being also the director of the Observatory and chairing its Research Council. Although a civil engineer by trade, Milanković's knowledge, interests and results made him a multidisciplinary researcher – geophysicist, physicist, climatologist, mathematician and astronomer. His official engagement in astronomy began in 1909, when he joined the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade as an associate professor of applied mathematics. He believed that astronomy and mathematics could not be separated. Milanković played an active role in the selection of a new location for Belgrade's observatory, and the procurement of astronomical instruments, cared about the work of the observatory and looked after its interests. The author carefully listed Milanković's roles and functions in this institution, substantiating the list with documents and

sources. As he put it in the closing remarks, Radovanac wished to contribute to giving Milanković the place he deserves in Serbian science and culture for his scientific and literary work, his patriotism and other qualities that the developed scientific and cultural West had also recognized.

Zoran Knežević, director of the Astronomical Observatory of Belgrade and a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, accepted a difficult task to write an overview of Milanković's work and achievements in astronomy. What made "Milanković – an Astronomer" so difficult to write was not only the breadth of his accomplishments in astronomy – each requiring a considerable space just to enumerate, describe and explain in brief – but also the lack of a clear separation line, formal at least, between his work in astronomy and other related disciplines. Knežević has offered a series of facts and biographical notes necessary to understand Milanković's place and role in global and local astronomy science, his results and different ways of engagement, contributing to astronomy. His most significant contribution, but certainly not the only one, was the Astronomic Theory of Climatic Change. Milanković suggested a new intercalary rule to reform the Julian calendar, also exploring specific problems in astronomy, i.e. celestial mechanics, which particularly marked his university career. He also authored research articles, textbooks, literary, popular and autobiographical writings, and wrote about the history of science. A tireless researcher, he was a great popularizer of astronomy, the driving force behind many initiatives to develop astronomy at home, he supported the science, alongside celestial mechanics, and performed important functions with the Belgrade Observatory. The author also put a heavy emphasis on Milanković's theory of climate change and the development of its astronomical segment, before and after him, touching upon Milanković's forerunners, whose ideas, methods and results he had used, put together, completed and complemented. Knežević also gave an overview of significant new results that might be used to develop Milanković's ideas, but also unveiled restrictions inherent to his approach, arising from the very nature of the movements of the Earth and a series of factors affecting them, which there is no precise knowledge of as yet. The author also discussed the post-Milanković development of the theory of Earth's motion, and the accomplishments of modern celestial mechanics and

astronomy stemming from his concepts, or in pursuit of those, rarely written about in Serbian. Knežević also described the current status of theoretical astronomy and work done within paleoclimate research, writing about the progress that has been made and important new results in the field that affirmed Milanković's ideas, improving and confirming his results.

There is a contribution to the conference proceedings that will be extremely interesting for specialists to read, but perhaps not so much for those who are not, as it is not about Milanković himself, but rather the result of a modern climate experiment. Two professors of Belgrade's Faculty of Physics, Borivoje Rajković and Vladimir Đurđević, authored "Results from the SINTA Project: Climate Change under IPCC Scenario and A1B Climate Change Scenario – Dynamical Downscaling for the Mediterranean Region". Using the EBU-POM coupled regional climate model and results from the SINTEX-G global model for the formation of borderline conditions, two 30-year integrations were completed, simulating the 20th-century climate for a period between 1961 and 1990, and a 2071–2100 period. The article presents a verification of the results of the 20th-century climate simulation model, predicting basic meteorological values for the late 21st century. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) concluded that the observed increase in global average temperatures had been probably caused by increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases as a consequence of their anthropogenic emissions. In their article the two authors presented the results of their research of climate change as a consequence of the increased concentration levels, using the EBU-POM regional climate model. Roughly speaking, the A1B scenario suggested that the concentration of carbon dioxide might double from 2071 to 2100 compared to the 1961–1990 period. The model produced results for the latter within acceptable limits. The 2071–2100 results illustrated the type of climate change we might expect in the future if the concentrations of greenhouse gases rose far above the present-day levels. The model showed that rising concentration levels in the future, following the values set under the scenario A1B, would increase surface temperatures across the area covered by the model in all seasons, and reduce precipitation in the largest part of it. Variations in the mean seasonal temperature, average temperatures in the territory of Serbia in all four seasons and the mean seasonal

precipitation for the given periods were presented in figures.

Ljerka Opra's "A Testimony in Support of the Astronomical Theory of Climatic Change" does not tell a story directly related to Milanković either, but rather describes the traces of prehistoric human activity found along the Danube river basin around the 45th parallel north, testifying in favor of Milanković's astronomical theory. Consistently abstract, it becomes understandable when viewed through the prism of the *Canon of Insolation*. The assumption is that the last major climate change in the region contributed to the cult of the Sun, based on the empirical canon of insolation. The prehistoric empirical canon of insolation was presented in its entirety on a baked clay disc, decorated on both sides, which was found on the locality Najeva Ciglana, near Pančevo, in northern Serbia. The disc dates from the Middle Bronze Age, the Pančevo–Omoljica phase of the Vatin culture. It was Milanković who gave us the opportunity to understand the inscriptions on this artifact thanks to his theory, which also makes it possible for us to understand cultural heritage and the fundamentals of a tradition in general, opening an entirely new area in which his theory can be applied. The article also includes the images and a detailed description of the find, along with the interpretation of the inscriptions.

The article "Paradigm 'Milanković'" by Aleksandar Petrović placed Milanković's work in the general historic context of the evolution of scientific ideas. Together with the works of a German climatologist, Wladimir Köppen and his compatriot, geophysicist Alfred Wegener, Milanković's started a metamorphosis of Earth science in 1912, changing the picture of the world. Milanković's contribution might be interpreted against the dynamics of scientific revolutions, delineated by Thomas Kuhn, a philosopher of science, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, even though at the time Kuhn had yet to write the book, arguing that paradigms change, and that from time to time science might require a fresh start. Kuhn maintained that it is the governing paradigm that effectively defines research. According to the U.S. philosopher, normal science might reach a point at which its potentials are exhausted, and from there on it could no longer explain new facts, making it increasingly difficult to fit results into a certain picture. Consequently, scientific paradigms change, and with them the existing world view. The Copernican

Revolution is the most common example of a paradigm shift. What the author wants to say is that fruitful cooperation between Köppen, Wegener and Milanković, whose works should not be considered separately as they were part of the same attempt at abandoning a misconception in science, resulted in a bold step forward, discarding an old paradigm and changing the world view that ruled sciences at the time. Such a feat was bound to be met with resistance and incomprehension among scientists, which the author went on to describe. With astronomical climate theories having a bad reputation, Milanković focused on removing their flaws. He was the first to use numerical modelling in climatology and geophysics, introducing higher mathematics in Earth sciences. The initial momentum he had given the effort spread over time, gaining confirmation, and his work unfurled before the eyes of the world. Milanković's cycles became a paradigmatic term, and his theory a paradigm in conformity with the principles of the philosophy of science.

In "The Problem of Church Calendar in the Light of Milutin Milanković's Work", Protobpysbyter Radomir Milošević described Milanković's contribution to a reform of the Julian calendar and his efforts to give the Julian calendar and Orthodox paschalia a scientific, astronomical foundation. The author attached special importance to Milanković's achievement, laying out the reasons why the Church benefited from it. Milošević recapitulated the theological and scientific aspects of the Julian calendar issue and Milutin Milanković's epic contribution to resolving it. Milanković inaugurated his reform at the Pan-Orthodox Congress in Constantinople, in 1923, without altering the essence and structure of the Julian calendar while securing unprecedented accuracy. Milanković's reformed calendar is superior to both the Julian and Gregorian calendars. The Church may accept any calendar whose year is better harmonized with the tropical year. The structure of the Julian calendar must remain intact, the number and sequence of months, the number of days in a week, the flow of week days and paschalia, but everything else the Church may leave to science, the author explained. Milanković's calendar met all the demands. He eliminated the flaws of the Julian calendar, while preserving its structure. The Julian calendar is not a dogma – it is open to corrections. The church canons refer to paschalia only. The Julian calendar was inherited from

the Roman Empire, and cannot be identified with the Church. The author offered arguments in support of Milanković's reform of the Julian calendar, which the Serbian Orthodox Church can only benefit from.

In his contribution to the Collection, Vlado Miličević, a geologist, explained to us Milanković's "end of the world," representing the final stage of a geological cycle in the development of the planet, its geodynamical, mechanical and climatological preservation that brings it in a sterile (over-ripe) phase that Mars is known to have entered. Yet it is not an end to the Earth's cosmic phase. Milanković's "end of the world" means the completion of activities in the asthenosphere, an end to plate tectonics, a final temperature drop in the asthenosphere, a final phase of seismicity and seafloor spreading, etc. Milanković did not suggest it would mark the end of the Earth's atmosphere and bodies of water, cyclic movements or life on the planet, but only its geodynamical, mechanical and climatological climax. It is a process in which a pole of rotation reaches a "final" position. Based on these inputs, and depending on the speed at which the tectonic plates of Earth's lithosphere spread, it is possible to outline some future climate zones by latitudes, or regions under eternal ice, and, by extension, the most vulnerable continental areas as well. The article also provided an insight into the ice age of the mathematical "end of the world." Milanković's mathematical and mechanical model of "the end of the world," meaning continental areas under eternal ice, refers to Europe, Asia, most of Greenland, North America and parts of North Africa in the Northern Hemisphere. As for the Southern Hemisphere, the Antarctica will keep all the features of a polar continent, while South America and Australia will remain outside the influence of global cooling, except for the highest mountain peaks.

Following are the articles describing Milanković's forays into literature, history and science popularization, discussing also his writings about homes and cities.

Slavica Garonja-Radovanac, a Serbian literature professor, authored the article "Milutin Milanković's Literary Works" with special reference to folk literature. She analyzed Milanković's cross-genre literary pursuits, both his memoirs (*Memories, Experiences and Insights* published in 1979) and fiction (*Through Space and Centuries* and *Through the Realm of Sciences*, released in 1928 and 1950, respectively). The two fiction

books, which Milanković himself described as popular science, would go beyond the description in a modern interpretation of it, as the literary process Milanković had employed fast forwarded his work to postmodernism, according to the author. Garonja-Radovanac also focused on Milanković's unknown and unpublished manuscript about Serbian folk literature, and his analysis of Serbian epic poetry. The author showed that Milanković had an exceptional knowledge of literature, and that aside from achievements in exact sciences, he also left behind a significant body of literary works.

Milica Indić's "Milanković as a Historian and Science Popularizer" unveils Milanković's works in the history of science, astronomy, natural science and engineering, as well as popular science. The author acquainted the reader with Milanković's interest in history and efforts to make natural and applied sciences more popular. The article revealed when Milanković's interest first emerged, which works illustrated it best, and what had inspired the famous scientist to embrace those endeavors. Milanković believed that in order to understand science as an organic whole one had to understand its complete historical development, its sources and the roads it had travelled. He noted that little attention had been paid in history classes to the development of science, art and engineering, and that political history and the life of great statesmen and military leaders had been neglected as well, and so he took on a task to fill the gaps himself. Milanković discovered that the most astounding leaps forward in science had been made possible by a few brilliant people, who could be considered the fathers of science, and whose lives and works he then began to study, trying to feel the spirit of their time and surroundings. As a result, *Through Space and Centuries*, subtitled *An Astronomy for Everyone*, was released in 1938. It was a book about astronomy, captivating, imaginative and easy to read, offering a wealth of information about the history of astronomy and most difficult astronomical problems. His other, very extensive book *Through the Realm of Science*, which he translated into Serbian between 1944 and 1946, reflected an ambition to clearly and vividly present the most complex scientific problems and the time in which they emerged. It is not only this, well-known contribution to the history and popularization of science and engineering the article covered, but also Milanković's other efforts, serving the same purpose.

Relying on Milanković's *Memories, Experiences and Insights*, Ljiljana Blagojević, an architect, presented in her text "Milutin Milanković's Writings about Homes and Cities," the scientist's notes about apartments, houses and cities that he had lived in, which she edited and provided comments for. The purpose of her contribution was to use his insights into these places to reconstruct his private geography, shedding more light on our great scientist's private life. She began with Milanković's home in Dalj, where he was born and spent his childhood and teenage years, always a very special place for him. He depicted the warm home atmosphere and the life of his family, but also revealed the landscapes of Dalj to the reader. The article also tells us where Milanković lived while he studied and worked in Vienna. The map of his memories included not only different private rooms, but also Viennese public spaces, the architecture, the atmosphere and spirit of the capital, and in particular the spaces in which his social and cultural life unfolded, like the Vienna State Opera. Descriptions of his Belgrade days followed, including wartime circumstances and his days in a Belgrade neighborhood of Profesorska Kolonija, where he stayed longest, and where his research career gained true momentum. Blagojević added photographs, pictures and quotations to her paper, sharing with us the language and style Milanković used to convey the spirit of the cities and places, and the time and circumstances he lived in.

Several articles portray Milanković as an inspiration to artists, writers and painters. Đorđe Nešić, a writer, described Milanković as a rich source of inspiration for men and women of letters. In his article, "Milutin Milanković as a Character in Veljko Petrović and Đorđe Očić's Literary Works," Nešić explains that Milanković's life and work had inspired Veljko Petrović's short story, *Moloh*, as well as Očić's novel *Smrt u Erdabovu* (*Death in Erdabovo*), one of his stories, *Jato* (*The Flock*), and a Neo-Renaissance theatrical piece, *Milanković, ili Lako je geniju* (*Milanković, or It's Easy for a Genius*). Having compared facts from Milanković's engineering career and information used by Veljko Petrović, Nešić tried to prove in his paper that *Moloh* was about Milanković, and not Pupin. The author is arguing that while creating the lead character in his *Moloh*, Miloš Oka, Veljko Petrović exploited segments from Milanković's life and work, even though each literary character is fictional, be-

cause a writer would always take from real life only what fiction needs to rise to the illusion of truth. Intertwining their biographies, the author created a link between Milanković and Petrović, and drew a parallel between scientists and the lead character in the short story.

Đorđe Očić and Milanković share the same birthplace – Dalj. Očić studied the life and work of Dalj's famous inhabitants, choosing one of the world's most famous scientists, Milutin Milanković, to be the main protagonist in his *Death in Erdabovo*, and dedicating the book to him. Milanković's *Memories, Experiences and Insights* is a vertical along which Očić's mythical world comes to life in his prose. The mythical landscapes of *Erdabovo* are identical to the vistas of Dalj and the surrounding areas (*Erdut, Dalj, Borovo, Vukovar*). Milanković's birth home is a very important place in the novel, in which Očić incorporated Milanković's descriptions of Erdut, Dalj and its vicinity, the history of Serbian migrations to the region, and the history of the Milanković family. In *The Flock* Očić did not name his characters explicitly, but it is clear the two were Milanković and Milan Kašanić, who had read Milanković's literary works and was fascinated by his style and language. Aside from this superb blend of facts and fiction, Očić combined authentic documents, premonitions and prose imagination not to recreate Milanković, but rather bring him back to life, letting the cosmic laws of the Mind speak through him.

To present Milanković as an inspiration to visual artists, Professor Irina Subotić, teaching the history of modern art, displayed in her article "Milanković in Visual Arts" a series of painted, drawn or sculpted portraits of the scientist. The author provided the reader with detailed descriptions and analysis of all the portraits, but she also described relationships and friendly ties between Milanković and the artists he worked with. Milanković posed for two painters, Paja Jovanović, in the summer of 1944, and Grigory Ivanovich Samoilov, in 1955, as well as for sculptor Sreten Stojanović, in 1944. Professor Subotić also analyzed illustrations by Samoilov for the 4th edition of *Through Space and Centuries* in Serbian, mentioning Predrag Gol's landscape with Milanković's home in Dalj as well. The article offered a multitude of reproductions of the analyzed artworks.

In "The Historical Time of Milutin Milanković", Đorđe Đurić, the author, wrote: "Fortunately for science, Milanković's personality spared him from actively dealing in politics," but that

doesn't mean he escaped politics altogether (see articles by Milan Radovanac, Sreto Batranović and Đorđe Đurić). Yet at a dramatic time in 1944, in a letter to his friend, Paja Jovanović, an internationally renowned painter, his tone confessional and pensive, somewhat bitter but not defeatist, Milanković wrote: "I remember when we first met in Skopje, mere days after the Battle of Kumanovo (in October 1912 – the author's note). Those were the times of Serbian glory, and we were fortunate enough to see its dawn. We looked into the future thrilled and so very trustful. But now, after 32 years that have flown by since, we ask ourselves whether our parental home might be razed, our name and face extinguished. We have now come to the sad realization that we are just a small people, a tribe rather, surrounded and threatened by all its neighbors. Will we be able to survive as an independent people in an independent state? Will we be able to survive as a national individual, politically, economically and culturally?"

Thinking about that I have clearly realized that in this complete chaos, after our politicians have destroyed everything we have been building for centuries, our foremost need is to protect our cultural assets, created by our greatest sons. They showed to us the heights to which the abilities of our race (an archaism, a synonym for the word 'nation' at the time, the author's note) had risen, to encourage and provide a role model for the generations to come."

Milanković's handwriting inspired a font. For Olivera Stojadinović, a professor at the Applied Graphics Department of the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Applied Arts, who has also authored a contribution to the conference proceedings titled "Milanković's Handwriting and Font", the creation of a typographic script based on Milanković's handwriting was a professional challenge, but also, in her own words, an honor and a privilege. Creating a typographic script mimicking a handwriting is a complex task that needs to reconcile a number of contradictions. Writing by hand makes it possible for each letter to appear in myriad variations, while letters may be joined together and juxtaposed in various ways, too, while in a typeface a letter always has the same form and appearance. That is why it was necessary to choose from all variations a typical form for each letter, and adjust the settings so as to create a string, if possible. Rastko Ćirić, a professor at the Faculty of Applied Arts in Belgrade, suggested that new fonts be created

as an interpretation of the handwriting of greatest Serbs, and also as a tribute to them. Based on manuscripts kept at the Nikola Tesla Museum, a Tesla font was created to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Tesla's birth. The next font made to honor another great Serbian scientist was the Milanković font, based on Milanković's manuscripts kept together with other documents in the SASA Archives. The manuscripts used to recreate Milanković's handwriting were his research papers in German and Serbian. The article presented the Milanković font, describing the process in which it was created and its results.

Tin Lukić and Slobodan B. Marković of the Faculty of Natural and Mathematical Sciences in Novi Sad contributed an article, "Milutin Milanković on the Internet", presenting the results of a study designed to determine Milanković's online presence. While exploring the presence of online information about the great Serbian scientist, the authors relied on most popular search engines, including Google, Yahoo and MSN, as well as two national ones, Krstarica and Srpko. Lukić and Marković found that international Internet pages offered more about Milanković than local. The NASA Earth Observatory, an online outlet for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), paid homage to Milanković's contribution to climatology and astronomy, describing him as one of the greatest scientists of the 20th century. There are only two official websites about the life and work of Milutin Milanković. The authors have concluded that, sadly, Milanković's work was more studied and respected internationally than at home, hoping that in time more information will become available in Serbian.

The Collection also recounted Milutin Milanković's cooperation and relationships with artists and scientists. Milan Prosen, an art historian, wrote in his article "Science and Art: Collaboration Between Milutin Milanković and Grigory Samoilov" about how the celebrated scientist and well known architect met and worked together. The famed architect, interior designer, painter and superb, imaginative artist signed Milanković's portrait and illustrated the 4th edition of his book *Through Space and Centuries*. Milanković had been looking for a good artist capable of creating closer visual ties between the reader and the distant spaces and times Milanković depicted in his book. Samoilov made 36 pen-and-ink drawings for the book, presented in this paper in a functional manner. Samoilov's visual reproduction of the text was adjusted to

the contents. Prosen's article can also help the reader learn more about the artist. Aside from an analysis of the illustrations, Prosen provided an overview of the illustrations categorized by chapters, excerpts from Milanković's text illustrated by Samoilov and their reproductions.

The next article described Milanković's appreciation of another great scientist.

In his paper "Milutin Milanković and Nikola Tesla," the editor of the conference proceedings, Časlav Očić, tells the reader how Milanković felt about Nikola Tesla, another great Serbian scientific mind. Milanković encountered Tesla's ideas as a 13-year-old "little experimenter," popularized them later, respecting and admiring Tesla's work and promoting his achievements. Očić also gave an account of Milanković's efforts to promote Tesla's scientific pursuits, referring the reader to literature providing more information not only about Tesla's works, accomplishments and life, but also about Milanković. It is also a recollection of Tesla's work, achievements and significance. Milanković praised Tesla for his merits, fearing he might be forgotten "on the other side, across the deep sea", arguing that Tesla's inventions were underused back home, hoping that the seed he had planted would bear fruit for us, too. Očić also included a biography of Đorđe Stanojević, a physicist who deserved credit for the electrification of Belgrade and Serbia.

The Collection of Articles also tells us more about the accomplishments of other members of the Milanković family.

In his contribution, "The Life and Work of Milan, Milutin Milanković's Father (1845–1886)," Drago Njegovan, recounted the life of the great scientist's father Milan, placing in a historical context the Milankovićs of Dalj, living the life of a middle class family for generations. Njegovan described 10 generations of the Milankovićs, their way of life and accomplishments, as well as the family home in Dalj and the scientist's father, a public figure playing an important role in politics, education, culture and economy. The author quoted some of his speeches, too. Milan Milanković was a strong advocate of the Serbian people and of the need to improve education and culture of his native region.

Ivana Perковиć, a professor at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, wrote "About Vera Milanković's *Serbian Spiritual Calendar*", to promote Vera Milanković's eponymous vocal and instrumental cycle. Vera Milanković is a descendant of the Milanković family, a composer, pianist, pedagogue and a full professor at the Faculty of Music, at Belgrade's University of Arts. The *Serbian Spiritual Calendar* is a specific creation, unique in the history of Serbian music, based on the melody and lyrics of church music – troparia – devoted to some of the most important festivities of the Orthodox Church. The author intended to bring the Serbian Orthodox chant closer to those who are not familiar with it, but in a form that differs somewhat from the canonized church practice.



Image 9. Left: Milan Milanković (1846–1886), father of Milutin Milanković; center: Jelisaveta Milanković (born: Muačević) (1857–1915) mother of Milutin Milanković; right: Vasa Muačević (1815–1926), uncle of Milutin Milanković



Image 10. In garden, in Dalj: Bogdan (younger brother of Milutin), Jovan (uncle of Milutin) and Milutin. Sitting: Milena (twin sister of Milutin), Vida (younger sister of Milutin), and Časlav (son of Jovan)



Image 11. In garden, in Belgrade, spring of 1946. Vasko, Hristina, Vera and Milutin



Image 12. Milutin Milanković (1879–1958)

Other Milankovićs who pursued careers in music or performing arts were also mentioned in the Collection.

In the *Memories* section, Professor Milanković's coworkers, acquaintances and students shared their recollections and memories with the reader. Three academicians, Petar Miljanić ("About Milutin Milanković, Engineer, Professor and Scientist"), Miodrag Tomić ("Memories of Milanković"), and Mileva Prvanović ("Some Recollections of Professor Milutin Milanković"), as well as Professor Aleksandar Trifoni ("Personal Recollections of Professor Milanković") wrote about how they remember the scientist from their student days. Petar Miljanić defended his Ph.D. thesis before a committee chaired by Milanković, who supported and encouraged him throughout the presentation of his work. Miljanić remembers him as wise, well-read, hard-working, tactful and creative, but above all else, as a nice and pleasant man, exuding warmth, modesty and kindness.

Miodrag Tomić knew Milanković as a high school and university student, but during their collaboration at the SASA and the Mathematical Institute after the World War II he got to know him better. Tomić described him as an elegant gentleman, light-footed and always smiling, remembering his joviality and vivacity. He was a generous and witty young man, and did not change his kind disposition in old age either. Milanković would collect new knowledge, cherishing old experience. Tomić remembers him as not competitive nor inclined toward producing too many papers with superficial results only to come up with something. Instead, his *Canon of Insolation* gave his work true meaning. The author also quoted Milanković as saying that once a man embraces science, he remains its prisoner forever, living and fighting for it to the very end.

Mileva Prvanović was a mathematics student with the last generation Milanković taught the History of Astronomy before retirement. His lessons exceeded the textbook he had written himself, which was a superb reading in its own right, and Prvanović remembers them as outstanding, lively and inspired. Reading Professor Milanković's works was not only enjoying, but it also provided lessons on life.

Aleksandar Trifoni was Milutin Milanković's student at the Faculty of Natural and Mathematical Sciences, where the professor taught the History of Astronomy. The professor's lectures

were memorable. Trifoni believes that only a pure soul, a moral and firm person with a clear stance and enchanted with science, could engage and captivate his audience in such a way, communicating to it what others can rarely achieve. Professor Milanković made it possible with his appearance, dignified posture, behavior, tone of voice and inexhaustible knowledge he selflessly shared with his students, always respecting them.

Geologist Zoran Stevanović wrote "The Roman Memories of Milutin Milanković" to convey recollections of his parents, Academician Petar Stevanović and his mother, Zorka Petrović Stevanović, a lawyer and an author, who attended an International Union for Quaternary Research (INQUA) conference in Rome in 1953 together with Milanković. It was during the conference that the acquaintances became good friends. The author quoted his father, who shared his thoughts of one of the greatest Serbian minds in *A Memory of Milutin Milanković – a Scientist and a Man* (1979). The couple remembered him for respecting any person he talked with, and for appreciating the creative peace of his research more than debates and arguments with others. Milanković believed that a positive mood was essential for him to perform well as a scientist and a writer. He was a witty man, who liked a good joke or a good-humored repartee, and his refined personality remained unaltered until the very end.

Aleksandar A. Miljković had the opportunity to meet Milanković in the home of his good friend, Slavko Bokšan, an engineer well versed in Tesla's work, who lived nearby. Milanković's friends used to meet in Bokšan's home. Miljković shares his recollections of Milanković and his close friends in "The Memory of Milutin Milanković and His Friends shortly before World War II."

In his article, "Milutin Milanković's Family as Remembered by Dušan Milanković," Budimir Potočan wrote that Dušan Milanković's recollections had provided for a detailed overview of more than three centuries of the Milankovićs of Dalj, who represented the Serbian well-off middle class. From the third generation onwards, the Milankovićs chose university education, which they gained at Europe's best universities. The family gave prominent lawyers, philosophers, church dignitaries, military officers, diplomats, artists and scientists. The story about the Milankovićs of Dalj is valuable not only as a family history, but also because it reveals how historical circumstances affected the life of a wealthy,

respectable family. The article speaks of Dalj, a village with a middle class, the Milanković family and its progenitor, Milanko, a Serbian middle-class family spirit reigning in the Milanković home, of significant and successful ancestors, Milanković himself and the family's descendants.

"A Note About an Astronomer (The Discovery of Milanković)", devoted to Georgije Borocki, was the title of Đorđe Očić's speech at the presentation of Milutin Milanković's book *Through Space and Centuries* (published by Dereta, Belgrade, in 2002), hosted by the Petar Kočić library in Belgrade, on February 6, 2003. Očić remembered the Milanković parental home, the oldest building in Dalj and its surroundings, and its destiny in different periods. Očić said that it was another astronomer, Georgije Borocki, little known outside Dalj, from whom he first heard about Milanković, a man of the world who had achieved international fame, but remained a typical dweller of Dalj—upon—Danube, who liked to work and walk, but also to rest on his oars, and daydream by the Danube. It was precisely there that the initial idea behind his theories was born, while he was watching a village gander trying to cross the river against the current. The letters Borocki and Milanković exchanged are included in the article.

Sreto Batranović's "A Happy Future" describes how the Communists of Dalj reacted to Milanković.

The section *Contributions* opens with Academician Fedor Mesinger's article on André Berger, the most ardent continuator of Milanković's work, who not only chose to provide a more detailed, longer-term analysis of the effects of astronomical parameters on the insolation of Earth, but has also expanded it to an interdisciplinary study of Earth's complete climate system. According to Mesinger, Berger had raised the discipline of paleoclimatology to a universal level, which is a *sine qua non* for results that would provide a plausible confirmation of why the climate on Earth changed in the past the way it did, which, by extension, leads to a more reliable prediction as to what will happen in the future. On his initiative, the European Geophysical Society (EGS), today the European Geosciences Union (EGU), introduced the Milutin Milankovitch Medal, awarded at the EGU's annual conferences to eminent scientists for "outstanding research in the field of long-term climate change and modelling." The Collection of articles offered a list of the Milutin Milanković award-winners.

This section contains an article by Miloš Radojičić, a former professor at the Faculty of Natural and Mathematical Sciences, "The Philosophy of Uroš Milanković". Radojičić has tried to preserve from oblivion the memory of Uroš Milanković, a brother of the scientist's grandfather Dimitrije, whom the author considers a very interesting personality in the field of philosophy. Radojičić presented his philosophical ideas, published in Milanković's *The Organism of the World and the Universal System of Life*, his main work containing his understanding of nature, universe, humans and freedom, and in two educational booklets, *The Education of Man and his Being* and *Our Time*. It might be safe to say that Uroš Milanković's philosophy was an attempt at the philosophy of nature, the closest to the idealism of his time, but these thoughts were born from the depths of his being. He wrote about primary power, the unity of the world, omnipresent polarity in nature, about soul, life and death. His *Education* was written in the name of freedom. Uroš Milanković believed that life is movement, and that people need to be educated, because that is movement, too. In his own words, without education the world would turn into a stagnant, stinking swamp, in which everything would eventually rot and dissolve. Education is one of the laws of universal development, he claimed. Uroš Milanković thought we had to fight the darkness, wake up from a spiritual slumber and seek light. He also believed that it was everyone's duty to support that movement, the education of the people in general and of their nation, according to their abilities. *Our Time* was a call for such an endeavor. He described his times as those of great progress, encouraging everyone



Image 13. Milutin Milanković reading the lecture about Ruder Bošković on Belgrade Radio, 2nd November 1956.



Image 14. Dalj, 24th May 2008. Participants of the International Symposium: Milutin Milanković's Opus

to work. Uroš Milanković used to say that “your job, your work, are your assets”, condemning monopolies and the power of money dividing people into the rich and the poor.

Anđelka Krejačić, a civil engineer and conservator, wrote about the reconstruction and remodeling of the Milankovičs' family home in her article “Academician Milutin Milanković's Birth Home in Dalj, a Cultural Heritage Asset”. One of the decisions made by a committee established to celebrate the 110th anniversary of Milanković's birth was that the Milanković home be restored. The house was registered as a cultural heritage asset of memorial nature with the Conservation Department of the Croatian Ministry of Culture in Osijek. Conservation documentation for the reconstruction, remodeling and decoration of the house was requested, defining the terms under which the existing structure could be adjusted to the new purpose. Krejačić was directly involved in the process, together with other experts. The idea behind the reconstruction, restoration, conservation and protection works was realized some twenty years later. Krejačić included the photographs, drawings and designs in her article.

The editor of the Collection, Časlav Ocić, provided yet another contribution to the publi-

cation, namely, “Dalj – A Brief Historical Note”, thus finalizing the portrait of Milutin Milanković as a person and a scientist. Ocić's article described the location of Dalj, explaining what made famous the birthplace of the great scientist, the birthplace of the Collection's editor as well. Ocić presented the history of Dalj, describing archeological finds, its cultural heritage, churches, monastery, schools, local art, educational and cultural pursuits. Dalj was a significant national church and cultural center in the 18th century. It was home to famous painters, whose artworks are exhibited in many churches. We have also learned more about the size and structure of the Dalj population, and how it changed over time. In addition, Ocić gave a brief account of publishing activity in the area, listing the periodicals issued in the village. The author also presented the “outstanding people of Dalj,” as through the centuries it yielded prominent figures in different professions – artists, scientists, physicians, politicians, business-people, of a variety of characters and life philosophies, each leaving a different mark, and with Milutin Milanković, a scientist of worldwide fame and significance, being among them. The paper also mentioned prominent people who visited Dalj and what the visitors thought



Image 15. The window through which the Danube flows



Image 16. My whole life has passed by the great river

and wrote about the place. The accompanying photographs show various Dalj landscapes. The closing section, *The Album*, follows, containing pictures and photographs and, at the very end, the Collection features the presentation of a large, well-received and well-visited exhibition “The Canon of Milutin Milanković”.

The Collection *Milutin Milanković’s Opus* responded well to a daunting task of presenting, in a comprehensive manner, extremely broad-ranging and versatile creative pursuits by our famous scientist. The Collection offers even more than the title suggests. In order to fulfil the task it was necessary to bring together and coordinate a great number of specialists, who shed light

on Milanković’s personality and work from very different angles, using different methods, styles and language, ranging from very accessible and anecdotal to strictly scientific. The Collection is a mosaic of diverse contributions, sporadically blurring the bright lines between disciplines, painting a rich, full portrait of our scientist. The publication is extremely informative, educational and, more importantly, illustrative of Serbian science and culture in the past, as well as of their potential. The Collection protects from oblivion and keeps alive the memory of outstanding people, their work, discoveries and ideas we should never forget, but rather follow them as a trail blazed for us by them.

Jovana Ćirić

SOUTH SLAVS IN THE WORK OF GERHARD GESEMANN SINCE THEIR ARRIVAL UNTIL THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY

(Gerhard Gezeman, *Kultura Južnih Slovena: Kulturno-antropološke studije i eseji* / *The Culture of South Slavs: Cultural-Anthropological Studies and Essays* / translated from German by Tomislav Bekić; edited by Vlastimir Đokić; Akademska knjiga, Novi Sad 2019, 395 pages)



Gerhard Friedrich Franz Gezemann (1888–1948) was born in Lichtenberg (Germany) to a family of teachers. He attended school in Wolfenbüttel, and then devoted himself to German studies, Classical Philology, Indology and Slavic studies in Munich, Berlin and Kiel, where he obtained his PhD in 1913 (*Regenzauber in Deutschland*). Although at that time he had already chosen Slavistics as his focus of interest and was offered an opportunity to continue his research in the field in Leipzig under Professor August Leskien, he declined the offer and left for

Belgrade, where he worked as a teacher in the Serbian capital's First Gimnasium for Boys. He quickly became immersed in Belgrade's cultural and scientific life, with his friendship and cooperation with Jovan Cvijić playing an important role. On many occasions Gezemann would express his gratitude to Cvijić for encouraging his scientific work and writing about the ethnological, characterological and culturological traits of South Slavs.

This work contains several studies, papers, reports and essays selected from Gezemann's extensive opus and translated by the prominent Germanist, translator and editor Tomislav Bekić (1935–2008). It offers a survey of the author's research, notes and studies of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, their history and migrations, with a special emphasis on South Slavs, viewed from the standpoint of the time. Gezemann, however, does not categorize and define the Balkans and its Slavic inhabitants based on existing works, historiographic sources, available literature or Cvijić's works, but supplements these, skillfully presenting people from his personal experience and research, often comically, while rendering, for the ordinary reader, vivid and interesting scenes from the lives of Balkan inhabitants.

There are four parts to this book. The first and most extensive was inspired by the characterological, special, systematic study of people's specific individual and psychological characteristics in

the sense that it was practiced by Jovan Cvijić, who expanded the discipline by elevating it above the level of the individual. This part deals with the typology of “Serbo-Croats.” Before classifying them into types (Dinaric, Central, Pannonian, and Eastern Balkan) and elaborating on their specific characteristics, Gesemann acquaints the reader with historiographic facts, presenting the Balkans’ cultural zones in historical terms, and dividing the latter into Balkan-Byzantine, Patriarchal, Italo-Roman, Middle European and Turkish zones. Since the author wrote in his native German, he addresses primarily the German reader, acquainting him with migrations within the Balkans, using Cvijić’s expression *mouvements métanastatiques*, which occurred under Turkish rule and lasted some five hundred years and became the most important factor in describing the psycho-physical features of the Serbo-Croats. In accordance with the views of his time, Gesemann considered the Serbs and Croats members of the same people but of different religious denominations. He presents in great detail the directions and flow of migrations and the areas where people moved to, along with maps showing the Balkans’ cultural and civilizational zones, the South Slavs’ psychological types and varieties, and the origin of the inhabitants of northern Serbia.

Relying on Cvijić’s categorization into the aforementioned types – Dinaric, Central, Pannonian and Eastern Balkan – and the fact that the Dinaric type inhabited the broadest area – from the Adriatic coast and the Dinaric Alps, to the Sava, Danube and Timok rivers, i.e. Dalmatia, southern Croatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Montenegro, Raška and the Kingdom of Serbia, within its pre-1912 borders – the author dedicates most of his attention to this type, describing it in detail in terms of way of life, customs and traditions. He subcategorizes the Dinaric type into five psychological groups – Šumadinian, Erean, Muslim, Bosnian and Adriatic. Each subtype is thoroughly described, while a special segment is dedicated to the Erean tribes, their origin, tribal organization, groups, tribal territory, mingling and merging. While describing the character of each type and subtype, Gesemann also writes about their lore, myths, beliefs, but also about the character of popular heroes, warriors and leaders, specifying their moral, intellectual, demagogic and negotiating traits. In addition to describing the Balkans peoples’ characters, tribes and the region that they inhabit, the author, who is not

only a linguist, but also a researcher of the Slavic people’s literature and culture, also tackles the rich cultural and literary tradition of the South Slavs. Thus, his pieces on Slavic characterology are titled: “The Problematic Bulgarian”, “The Parasitic Balkan Man”, “Yugoslav Mohammedans,” “The Culture of South Slavs: Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians” and “Balkan Deliberations”. They reveal his ethnological and characterological insight and a genuine interest in the description of popular culture in both Serbian and German sources. While presenting the reader with the culture of the South Slavs, Gesemann also gives a survey of geographical and political conditions within the context of the Balkan-Byzantine and old Balkan culture and against a historical background. In the aforementioned studies on the problematic Bulgarian and the parasitic Balkan man, the author cites the works of Alek Konstantinov and Stevan Sremac, and their literary characters Baja Ganja and Vukadin, respectively. These antiheroes, as described by Konstantinov and Sremac, are an object of ridicule and condemnation due to their historical and cultural legacy. These two small-minded individuals, who are incapable of coming to grips with the times and a new cultural and historical environment, are, consequently, not true representatives of their respective peoples, but literary personalities worthy of satire comparable to Schweik and Chichikov.

In the second segment of his work, Gesemann also deals with Serbo-Croat literature, demonstrating an exceptional knowledge of both the contemporary and older literature of the region which is the object of his studies. He presents the reader with a full and clear picture and acquaints him with the development of literacy and literary works, with a special emphasis on the cultural-historical and literary ties among the Balkan peoples and with their neighbors. The author pays special attention to the people’s oral and written literatures and the important role that Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić played in the development of language and culture. What also needs to be mentioned is the personal contribution of the author in this regard, as he toured certain parts of Yugoslavia and composed a list of the performers of folk songs and pointed out their importance to the national culture of the Yugoslav peoples.

The third part of the book, “A Look at the History of Macedonia”, offers a survey of Macedonia’s development from the times of King Philip

and Alexander of Macedon until the forming of Yugoslavia. It encompasses the settling of the Slavs, the wars between the Bulgarian and Byzantine emperors, Serbian rule and the Turkish occupation, up until the Balkan wars and the Great War, when the territory was part of the Kingdom of Serbia and was called South Serbia. Gesemann rightly perceives the importance of the Balkans as a strategic, geopolitical region and that Macedonia's tumultuous history from the Migration Period until his time was a fight for control of the Morava–Vardar Valley.

In addition to dealing with the literature, literacy and culture of the South Slavs, the author also gives an extensive overview of the history of state-building in the region, offering a detailed portrait of the Nemanjić dynasty and the development of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Gesemann informs the German reader of the struggle of the Balkan peoples against Turkish rule, stressing the importance of *haiduks* and *uskoks*, and referring, in this context, to folk literature and the migrations which unavoidably accompanied the numerous clashes and wars in the Balkans.

The last segment of the work comprises Gesemann's bibliography based on one prepared by

his son, Wolfgang Gesemann. The bibliography is supplemented with numerous data, including a list of his works published in Serbo-Croatian.

This book is a significant source for further studies of the historical, cultural, and literary characteristics of the Balkan peoples, both in terms of scholars from various fields – ethnology, collective psychology, history of literature – and non-academic readers. As a Slavist, Gesemann did not demonstrate his interest in studying the South Slavs by offering only facts and conclusions; he shows that he is truly familiar with the subject owing to the two decades that he spent living among the Balkan peoples. In addition to working in Belgrade as a teacher and his scholarly work, Gesemann also experienced the 1915 Albanian Golgotha and withdrew with the Serbian army, thus becoming a true witness to the development of the state, language, culture and history. Although the book was written in the middle of the first half of the 20th century, it still represents a significant contribution and an incentive to researchers of the Balkans' cultural history, but also of Serbian-German cultural ties.

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THE LIFE OF A GERMAN OFFICER–SCIENTIST
OR
THE BENEFITS OF TRANSLATING
THIS NEWLY PRINTED BOOK

(Johann Albrecht von Reisswitz (1899–1962): *Vom unbequemen Südosteuropaexperten zum Kunstschützer*, Ares, Graz 2020
/ Andreas Roth, *Johan Albrecht von Reisswitz. From a Wayward expert on Southeast Europe to Protector of the Arts*, Ares, Graz 2020)



Andreas Roth's book devoted to Johan Albrecht von Reisswitz actually was the fruit of his research and was supposed to be this German history teacher and expert on Southeast Europe's doctoral thesis at the Munich University. However, at the beginning of this work the author says something that the reader might find interesting – that his mentor had asked him to make certain changes which, according to Roth, would have completely skewed the results of his research.

The result was that Roth withdrew his dissertation. The manuscript, however, was published by Ares from Graz, which publishes large-scale editions devoted to WW2 history, the Wehrmacht and other related subjects. Even though the aforementioned Austrian publisher is known as a publisher of somewhat alternative histories, which try to slightly improve the negative image of the German Wehrmacht in WW2, this cannot be said about this book since it does not deviate from the standards of scientific historiography practiced today in Europe and around the world.

Given that there are plans to possibly publish this book in Serbian, the writer of this article was asked to read the book and state his opinion. After reading the book, the author of this review thinks that it would be exceptionally useful to publish it in Serbian, although as an abridged version. Given that the book is kind of a biography of Albrecht von Reisswitz in which the author devotes much space to Reisswitz's private life prior to WW2, especially the problems that he encountered as a scientist and professor, it should be stressed that these parts are likely to be uninteresting to Serbian readers and could therefore be abridged so that the average reader may acquire an insight into the basics of Reisswitz's life. Be as it may, Roth's book offers an extremely valuable view of how a young Prussian became inter-

ested in the Balkans and its history, and how his liking of Serbia increased with time.

Despite the fact that the average Serbian reader is likely to be less interested in studying the “German” component of Reiszwitz’s life, the author thoroughly sheds light on the thinking of a German conservative of aristocratic origins, who had an extremely ambivalent attitude toward Hitler and the Nazis. Roth sheds light on the different phases of Reiszwitz’s attitude toward the Nazi authorities and, particularly, the Jews, especially from the 1930s onward. Namely, Reiszwitz did not have a consistent and coherent stance on the Jews given that his opinion varied from being overjoyed with the introduction of anti-Jewish economic laws, which practically made it impossible for this community to do business, to not being able to understand why these laws were applied to German Jewish natives, many of whom were patriotic and loyal citizens. Despite this nuanced view of Reiszwitz’s attitude toward Jews, Roth stresses that the protagonist of his work was not a philo-Semite given that he insisted that these discriminatory laws be applied to Jews who settled Germany from Eastern Europe after 1918. Roth’s analysis of Reiszwitz’s correspondences with friends and his wife reveals to the readers that neither Reiszwitz nor obviously a large portion of German society, were unaware of the terrifying consequences of Nazi racial laws above all due to widespread antisemitism in Western Europe. But, the consequences of “Aryan policies” would become clear to Reiszwitz only after his close Jewish friends were forced to leave Germany. In spite of this, with time Reiszwitz showed less and less empathy for Jews and their plight which Roth convincingly proves. Even though the author displays an entire range of Reiszwitz’s antisemitic remarks before and during WW2, he could not conclude, based on the reviewed material, that this Prussian participated in the genocide against the Jews and the plunder of Jewish property, both in Germany and occupied Serbia (with the exception of the purchasing of Jewish belongings in Belgrade). It is certain, his biographer stresses, that Reiszwitz knew about the persecution and murders but he passively kept on the sidelines and supported the regime, but did not, as far as anyone knows, participate in this.

After this brief excursion we will take a look at the central question of this review of Roth’s work. For Serbian readers Reiszwitz’s contacts with representatives of the Serbian elite of the era

will be of particular interest. As an archeologist and intellectual, the main protagonist of Roth’s book established acquaintances with leading Serbian intellectuals in the pre-war period, notably Vladimir Ćorović, Jovan Cvijić, Milutin Garašanin, Slobodan Jovanović and others. Also interesting is an episode in which Reiszwitz clashes with bishop Nikolaj Velimirović. Namely, along with another German archeologist, Reiszwitz conducted archeological digs in the vicinity of Ohrd in 1931 and 1932, which saw him clash with bishop Nikolaj, whom he accused of not only not caring enough about antiquities, but also for motivating local peasants to use the remains of ancient buildings to build houses and other accompanying structures. Roth stresses that Reiszwitz’s attitude toward churches and clergy was definitely critical and had a strong anticlerical undertone. The author especially notes this with regard to Reiszwitz’s condemnation of the entire undertaking of Claus von Stauffenberg, whom, after the failed assassination attempt on Hitler, he called a “black catholic dog.” However, in his criticism of the Stauffenberg conspiracy, Roth does not only see Reiszwitz’s anticlericalism but the existential concerns of a nobleman who is scared of Hitler’s possible retaliation against members of the aristocracy serving the Wehrmacht. In addition, Serbian readers might find interesting Reiszwitz’s exceptionally friendly relationship with Carl Schmitt and his Serb wife Duška Todorović.

The part of the book which describes Von Reiszwitz’s stay and work in Serbia between 1941 and 1944 is of central importance to Serbian readers, given that it offers a good insight into his work on the ground, and the functioning of the German occupation authorities. This part of the book quite realistically renders the diversity of interests of German occupation groups and their in-fighting in Serbia. In describing Reiszwitz’s surroundings during this period, Roth dismantles the stereotype of a unified German administration and the alleged firm discipline of the occupation forces.

During the 1940s Reiszwitz is depicted as a pragmatist which is reflected in the fact that he cooperated with the Ahnenerbe (Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler’s think tank) despite not succumbing to the Nazi’s attempts to prove the racial superiority of the Aryan race from the north (the Ex-septentrione-lux thesis). Still, Roth believes that Reiszwitz saw an opportunity to protect cultural goods and antiquities in this organization given that the Ahnenerbe provided political protection during these years and the required funding.

Like his attitude toward the Jews, Roth presents Reiszwitz's relationship with the Serbs in a studious and nuanced way. Roth stresses that Reiszwitz loved Belgrade, Serbs and his associates in the country. Roth recalls that Reiszwitz was awarded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's Medal of Saint Sava in the 1930s. From the position of a pronounced Serbo-phile in the German system, let us note that he unsuccessfully advocated a policy of "gentle pressure on the Serbs" and abandoning the German occupier's measures of mass reprisals. On the other hand, as part of his concept of Serbian-German cooperation Reiszwitz was a consistent advocate of German interests which were reflected in his belief of the need to reeducate Serbs and impose a foreign (German) tutelage over them. In that sense, Reiszwitz believed that the only consistent German policy should consist in giving small jurisdictions to the Serbian occupation authorities under Nedić because "Serbs are children that need to be educated."

Since Roth's book consists of several wholes, certain chapters should be presented as wholes to Serbian readers. Above all, in an eventual translation the emphasis should be on the foreword (pages 7–9), given that the author explains his motives for writing the book there. Then, it would be useful to present the chapter "The Making of a Scientist" (pages 25–57), since in this part he describes the development of the young Reiszwitz from a Social Democrat to a Prussian conservative, as well as his first experience with Serbs (a love affair with a Serb woman) and the Yugoslav space during his travels in 1924. After that, the readers will find it useful to read in their language a big part of the chapter, "On the Road to Studying Southeast Europe," (pages 58–86), which talks about his scientific beginnings because in this chapter Roth describes Reiszwitz's second trip to Yugoslavia in 1928, his network of contacts with leading Serbian intellectual but also his Bohemian life in Berlin while he was separated from his wife and child. In the chapter, "The Protection of Memorials and Digs in Ohrid" (pages 87–131) Roth gives a detailed description of Reiszwitz's role in establishing contacts between the Serbian and German scientific communities, as well as Reiszwitz's dispute with the bishop Nikolaj in this city. For the Serbian audience it would also be useful to translate as much as possible of the chapter called, "Attempts to Influence Germany's Policy on Yugoslavia" (pages 186–210) in which Roth scrupulously describes Reiszwitz's concept of Germany's

future policy on southeast Europe which he tried to send to Röhm, Hess and other leading Nazi party figures. Unlike the aforementioned chapters, Serbian readers would find less interesting the introductory chapter on Reiszwitz's research methods (pages 9–24) as well as the chapter, "Reiszwitz's Attempts to Establish Himself as a Scientist" in which Roth analyzes Reiszwitz's unsuccessful attempts to climb the social ladder of Hitler's Germany in the 1930s. Maybe an abridged version of these chapters could be included in a Serbian translation. Without any doubt the future Serbian edition should include a translation of a large chapter in the book called, "Protector of Art" (pages 211–361) due to Roth's studious descriptions of Reiszwitz's stay and activities in occupied Serbia from 1941 to 1944.

In the final and largest chapter of the book, Roth stresses that after many years in 1941 Reiszwitz stopped being passive and set off for Serbia as a protector of art and cultural goods. This job was quite difficult and demanded that Reiszwitz rekindle old acquaintances, above all with Sava Kličković (a student of Carl Schmitt), Predrag Milojević (editor-in-chief of the *Novo Vreme* (A New Era) up until August 1941, whom Reiszwitz would personally save from being arrested by the Gestapo as a suspected British spy), Pavle Grgić (a worker at the National Museum who was also saved by Reiszwitz from being arrested), Vladislav Ribnikar (who, according to Milojević, he pulled out of the Banjica concentration camp), Miodrag Grbić (a renowned Serbian archeologist) and Milan Nedeljković (a Serbian painter, sculptor and founder of the School of Applied Arts in Belgrade). After reviving these ties Reiszwitz went on to create a team which he would cooperate with over the next several years. Roth stresses that this endeavor, too, would not go as planned. On the one hand Reiszwitz had exceptional cooperation with Grbić and Nedeljković, but on the other, he did not succeed in motivating former director of the National Museum Vladimir Petković to join his team. One of Reiszwitz's exceptional achievements was to save historian Nikola Vulić from the Banjica concentration camp. Roth stresses that, during the occupation, Reiszwitz personally helped his acquaintance Milan Jovanović Stojimirović get promoted to director of the State Archives. As an observer of events and active participant in the occupation, Reiszwitz was concerned about the widespread denunciation among Serbs one of the best examples of which was attorney Budimir Borisavljević's

son, who, according to Reiszwitz, was unjustly interned based on false accusations.

Reiszwitz played a special role in protecting Serbia's cultural wealth and reactivated the museums and created an inventory of stolen property from Serbian cultural property during the occupation. Together with Milan Kašanin, then manager of the National Museum, he participated in protecting the *Miroslav Gospel* and its safe transfer from the Rača Monastery to the National Bank's treasury. At Reiszwitz's insistence the Museum of Prince Pavle was reopened in September 1941 and Kašanin was reinstated manager. Quoting Kašanin, Roth mentions that Reiszwitz also participated in organizing the transfer of the wartime flags of Serbian units in WWI from Topola to Belgrade where they remain to this day in the Military Museum in Belgrade. Reiszwitz is also credited with opening museums in Serbia and fostering the younger generations of Serbian archeologists who would later play a very important role in Yugoslav archeology. In Banat, in accordance with his German policy, Reiszwitz helped Volksdeutscher's take up the management of newly-opened museums in Bečkerek (Zrenjanin), Bela Crkva and Vršac. Despite favoring Germans, Von Reiszwitz helped the preservation of the considerable material heritage of the Vršac bishopric in Serbia. Despite this, Roth stresses that Reiszwitz was not omnipotent in preserving the cultural heritage of Orthodox Serbs in Banat and so the occupiers took the entire archive of the Vladičanski Dvor in Vršac to Vienna. Furthermore it should be noted that Reiszwitz took care to protect museum artifacts during the bombing in 1944 and battle for Belgrade in October the same year, and ensured that all of the artifacts survived the bombing and war.

After the war it was precisely Von Reiszwitz who was presented as the key figure in saving the relics of Saint Prince Lazar, Saint Prince Stefan Štiljanović and Saint Prince Uroš Nemanjić from destruction by the Ustashe. According to sources, however, Roth concludes that Reiszwitz was given this task by higher German structures which often took the unhappy Reiszwitz from his own work and endeavors. Roth describes how a batalion of Volksdeutschers in the Ustashe army guarded the transfer of relics from the Jazak Monastery, Šišatovac and Bešenovo and how Reiszwitz performed this job dilligently, albeit being unhappy with it. This part of the book stresses an episode in which Ustashe Major Vladimir Rogoz offers Professor Radoslav Grujić to take several

books from the Šišatovac Monastery's library as a souvenir, which Grujić declines and begs Rogoz to see to it that no books were taken from the monastery's library. It is worth noting that during the war the monastery's library burned down entirely. In describing in detail the convoy that was saving saved Serbian cultural heritage in Srem, Roth stresses Reiszwitz's happiness with a job well done and his dissatisfaction with how the Ustashe treated Serbs calling them „an ordinary gang of murderers“ (*„eine gewöhnliche Mörderbande“*). After the Germans successfully completed the transfer of the relics in cooperation with Serbian experts, the cultural treasure was safely stored in occupied Serbia. Roth actually sees Vladimir Velmar Janković who welcomed the remains of Serbs of high standing from Srem as the true initiator of the transfer. Though the Germans saw the operation as a way to boost their image in occupied Serbia, they were unhappy with an event at a prayer service <moleban> in honor of the relics when a woman cried, “Long live Tzar Petar, the first tzar of the Balkans!” referring to King Petar II who at the time was in exile.

Reiszwitz himself took certain archive materials with him from occupied Serbia to his estate in Bavaria. This mostly consisted of his manuscripts, lists of cultural goods and other items. He handed over a part of this to the Americans in 1945, and kept the rest. His collection is located today in the archives of the Munich University and the Bavarian state library. For Serbian scientists, archive and museum workers, Roth's book brings useful guidelines which offer a detailed insight into the Serbian cultural heritage that was transferred to Vienna or Germany. Based on Roth's reconstruction and insight into the inventories of cultural institutions, Serbian cultural workers and scientists could create an overview of what was returned to Serbia and that which still needs to be returned.

According to the aforementioned, our opinion is that the exceptionally useful monograph of Andreas Roth on Albrecht von Reiszwitz should be translated into Serbian in the form of an abridged and adjusted edition which would acquaint the Serbian public with not only the complex role of Germany in preserving, destroying and seizing Serbian cultural treasure, but also provide an impetus in the quest for locating disappeared heritage.

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“SON OF A DOCTOR, GRANDSON OF A PRIEST”

(Zoran Mišković, *Srpska kulturna, sportska i zanatlijska društva u Osijeku*, KNC „Milutin Milanković“, Dalj – Osijek 2020, str. 334 / Zoran Mišković, *Serbian Cultural, Sports and Craft Societies in Osijek*, The Milutin Milanković Cultural and Scientific Center, Dalj – Osijek 2020, pages 334)



Serbian Cultural, Sports and Craft Societies in Osijek, a book written by Zoran Mišković, a medical doctor, which was published by the Milutin Milanović Cultural and Scientific Center in Dalj in 2020, found itself in the public focus as soon as it came out. Despite epidemiological measures, none of the guests invited to the presentation missed it, and afterward the author and publisher realized that they will have to somehow muster the money for a second edition.

Zoran Mišković’s monograph raises neither controversies nor disputes, be it political or scientific. And it won’t, because the author wrote a methodologically brilliant historiographical

work which sheds light on the activities of Osijek’s Serbian cultural, sports and economic societies in the first half of the 19th century up until the middle of the 20th century. To put it simply, the author, educated as a biomedical scientist, wrote a voluminous and serious historiographical work which not only caught the attention of the Osijek academic community; this is a work that will leave an indelible mark on Croatian historiography. He will also serve as a model for other authors researching the activities of national communities in cities regardless of what community is in question. In a single sentence, the author solved the enigma of how communities come about, how and why how they have advanced. Or disappeared.

The author came across a Serbian *Gusle* choir badge which provided an impetus for his research just like, according to what Aristotle wrote, curiosity motivates a person to research and think. For a good historiological analysis and presentation of one’s research this is not enough. Zoran Mišković may not have a historiological education, but he grew up in a family that cultivated the heritage of Osijek’s Serb community and was woven into Osijek’s civic development, in times that were not kind to either civic values or Serbhood. That, however, did not stop his grandfather Lazar, a Osijek lower city priest and his father Milorad, MSc and a physician, to systematically collect material and publish their research. It was as if singer Đorđe Balašević heralded Zoran Mišković when he penned the verses: “Son of a doctor, grandson of a priest.”

Zoran Mišković is exclusively interested in facts: unhindered, free and freedom-loving, he has critically read many literary works, combed through sources on Serbian societies in Osijek and guided by a subtle (biomedical) logic has come up with an historical fact: Serbs did not come to Osijek from other places, but were formed in Osijek. This happened precisely as a result of the activities of numerous Serbian cultural, sports and economic societies. This is the key thought of Zoran Mišković's monography and it will become an *episteme* for all future historiographical study on the nations of the middle Danube region.

Zoran Mišković structures the material starting with how a society is created, and in these chapters he emphasizes the inception and founders of a society, its insignia and statutes, followed by its most important activities. This is precisely the best way to make something easily understandable for the average reader. Each chapter is enriched with the symbols, photographs, invitations and posters that were used by these societies to advertise their activities. These posters and programs reveal the civic-oriented nature of each of the societies: Croatian and other choirs participated in academies and concerts, there were recitals and acting bits by then modern authors performed regardless of nationality, and the members (and choirmasters) of Serbian choirs

were not only Serbs. Mišković proves that the contribution of Serbs to Osijek's civic development is enormous.

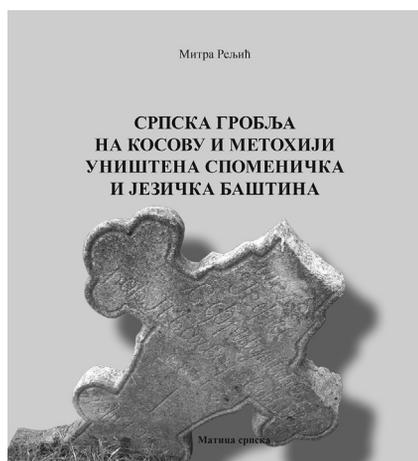
There is little to criticize in the book. The unbalanced space that the author awards certain societies is not out of animosity or a desire to glorify his family's contribution, but has to do with the loss of historical sources. Most of all in the time of the Independent State of Croatia; but other periods (along with the actors of events not being ready to preserve every scrap of paper) were not too kind to archives. This led the author to look for more remote archives to find more information on Serb societies in Osijek.

After this research experience, the author faces two subjects: Serbs in Osijek in the 18th century, and Serbs in the vicinity of Osijek during the Habsburg Empire and in both Yugoslavias. The question is: can a single author accomplish this? I have no doubt that Zoran Mišković can achieve anything that he sets his mind on, as he has skipped the period of being a young researcher and has published an extensive book before he turned 30. Just how much material Zoran Mišković gathered can be surmised from the book's final chapter: A Biographical Guide. In it, he provides the biographies of basically all of the most important Osijek Serbs whose activities are mentioned in the book, listed in alphabetical order.

Željko Samaržija

THE LAST TESTAMENTS

(Митра Релјић, Српска гробља на Косову и Метохији: уништена споменичка и језичка баштина, Матица српска, Нови Сад 2020, 343 стр.
Mitra Reljić, *Serbian Cemeteries in Kosovo and Metohia: Destroyed Monumental and Linguistic Heritage*, Matica Srpska, Novi Sad 2019, 343 pages)



It is often the case – by far more so than not – that a project warranting the efforts of entire teams of experts along with full institutional support is undertaken by a single individual, one fueled solely by their own enthusiasm and awareness that should he or she shy away from this endeavor things are only bound worsen. This book and its author are prime examples of the above. *Serbian Cemeteries in Kosovo and Metohia: Destroyed Monumental and Linguistic Heritage* was preceded by *The Serbian Language in Today's Kosovo and Metohia: A Sociolinguistic and Linguocultural Perspective*. The latter was Professor Reljić's scientific overview of the cur-

rent, endangered status of both the Serbian language and its speakers in Kosovo and Metohia, which was issued by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, without any further support from this institution, a few years after its official 2013 publication date. The product of nearly two decades of research, *Serbian Cemeteries* is another scientific overview, this time of the razed Serbian graveyards in Kosovo and Metohia, which were the region's last testaments to the cultural and linguistic heritage of local Serbs. Following the war and NATO bombing of 1999, and the establishment of the international KFOR and UNMIK administration in Kosovo and Metohia, Albanian extremists began targeting not only living Serbs but Serbian cultural and religious heritage as well – the goal being to permanently erase every trace of Serbian life in the region. Lives were lost, as were monasteries and churches, cemeteries, and even orchards, wells, and livestock – anything that could evidence the centuries of Serbian presence and culture in Kosovo and Metohia. As the final testaments and memorials to past Serbs, graveyards were destroyed systematically: headstones were defaced and broken, the graves themselves plowed over, blown asunder and filled, and even the remains of the dead were scattered. As Reljić testifies on page 23:

The plowed-over cemetery in Rečani, the once-cemeteries now – sanitary landfills in Kojlovica and Matičane near Priština, along

with cemetery in Đakovica that was the paved-over and flattened by tractors and other machinery, the razed cemetery in the village of Zlatare near Priština, the cemetery in Vučitrn's Velika Reka which was covered with sand – are but a few of the numerous Serbian graveyards that can no longer be found where only yesterday they stood.

The most common approaches to destroying these cemeteries were toppling and breaking the headstones, using explosives, and burning entire graveyard sites. In some places (such as the Metohia villages of Žakovo, Siga, Brestovik, Belo Polje, as well as in Vučitrn and the nearby village of Vrnica, among others) the remains of the deceased were dug up and strewn about.

The desolation wrought upon the “final resting places” of Kosovo and Metohia Serbs was a harrowing constant in Professor Reljić's research and field work. Given that all the mentioned locations, along with many others that the Reljić visited, lie inside an overtly hostile environment, she also rarely passed unseen or undisturbed. Footnotes 144 and 145 in *Serbian Cemeteries* expound on the dangers she faced, providing, of course, merely examples of the scare tactics, searches, verbal abuse as well as the physical assaults by Albanian children which Reljić routinely endured while in the field:

During this work, the author [Mitra Reljić] was subject to ID checks, the confiscation and inspections of her camera and an array of other high-tension situations created by KFOR patrols (such as panic radio calls to the command center requesting instructions on how to deal with the “suspicious” person found at the cemetery). In addition to the fear of being taken who knows where, there was the even greater apprehension that the author's large notebook filled with painstakingly gathered data would be seized. Hence, following one such “scene”, I began going into the field each time with a new notebook.

For example, while logging the destroyed tombstones at the old cemetery in downtown Istok (the list of which was published on November 6, 2006), my helpers – the now late poet Darinka Jevrić and Petar [Ulemek], the then hegumen of the monasteries Saint Cosmas and Damian and Tracts of St. George, who provided me with physical and moral sup-

port – and I were subject to physical attacks by Albanian children, so it is quite possible that, despite our best efforts, some of the toppled headstones (not counting those long buried deep in the earth) remained undetected in the tall, flattened grass and under bush. (68–69)

The author's methodology in both gathering and classifying data clearly indicate a highly responsible and dedicated scientist. Despite the hardships she faced during data collection, as well as the psychological stress of dealing with dug-up graves, destroyed headstones and desecrated human remains – many of them belonging to children – that were often not only disinterred but also subsequently crushed, shot and stabbed in the eyes, Reljić provides an objective and scientifically-based account of her findings and how this data was processed:

To interpret the inscriptions, it was often necessary to gather and piece together bits of crushed marble. In the transcriptions, any chipped or missing letters were replaced with a question mark or the assumed original placed in brackets. Inscriptions were recorded in the exact format found on the stones, i.e. with all orthographic and other errors, while the headstones themselves were also most often sketched or photographed. Surnames written vertically, either in the middle or on the side of family tombstones, were necessarily transcribed horizontally, before first names. (69) If the headstone contained an inscribed cross or five-point star, the author noted this as well and included this information in her book.

Serbian Cemeteries in Kosovo and Metohia: Destroyed Monumental and Linguistic Heritage comprises two parts. The first of these provides the author's introductory notes regarding the book's goals and methodology, and is composed of the following chapters: “The sacral, national and cultural significance of cemeteries, headstones and monumental inscriptions”, “Cemeteries, headstones and monumental inscriptions”, “Serbian cemeteries in an Albanian environment: an undesirable testimony to the area's identity”, “The age and symbolism of the destroyed monumental inscriptions”, “The content and form of monumental inscriptions”, “The anthroponomy of the broken and partial headstones: surnames, first names, hypocorisms and nicknames”, “The

names of professions, titles and status symbols on the destroyed headstones”, “How the monumental inscriptions were collected, identified and recorded”. The second, larger portion of the book provides the data gathered from the destroyed Serbian graveyards in Kosovo and Metohia, along with short introductions on local history and destruction as well as the current situation on the ground. Part two comprises the following chapters: “Northern Kosovo: Kosovska Mitrovica, the Catholic segment of the Kosovska Mitrovica city cemetery, the old cemetery in the church yard of the St. Sava Church”, “Vučitrn and the surrounding area: Viljanice (Vilance), Vrnica, Vučitrn”, “Central Kosovo: Priština, the Priština city Orthodox Cemetery, the segment of the Priština city Orthodox Cemetery containing posthumously desecrated victims, the old cemetery by the Church of St. Nicholas”, “Kosovo-Pomoravlje: Gnjilane, Gornji Livoč, Žegra”, “South Metohia: Đakovica, Orahovica”, “Northern Metohia (the municipality of Istok): the old and new Istok cemetery, Ljubožda, Srbobran, Suvi Lukavac”, “Northern Metohia (the municipality of Peć): Belo Polje, Brestovik, Vragovac, Ljevoša, Siga”, “The monastic cemeteries in Zočište and Devič”. Completing the book are a Foreword, Conclusion, summaries in English, Russian and German, as well as an Index of Names and Index of Locations. The author emphasizes that the subject matter may be discussed in a variety of ways, yet that “the book’s primary goal is to draw attention to the disappearance of monumental inscriptions – particular and precious linguistic data which testifies not only to religion and customs, value judgments and moral principles, but also to social status and culturological habits, in short, to the mentality and identity of a people”(23). Of course, and regrettably so, not all of the destroyed graveyards in Kosovo and Metohia could be included in *Serbian Cemeteries*, yet those that were lend insight into what valuable linguistic, onomastic and other data one could expect to find on, for instance, headstones in Prizren.

Just as Gilgamesh of the ancient epic “carved on a stone all of his toils”¹, so do headstones speak of the lives, deeds and suffering of the deceased; yet instead of ensuring these people’s lasting memory, the stones have become testaments to new anguish and new plights. To take away some-

one’s name, Reljić says, is to take away their biography, to erase any awareness of that person ever having lived. Hence, cemeteries provide an endless multitude of data crucial to onomastic – and specifically anthroponymic – research. Having analyzed her data and consulted *The Dictionary of Serbian Given Names* by Milica Grković (*Речник личних имена код Срба*), Reljić concludes that there exist 45 Serbian first names (namely 24 male and 21 female) which have not been included in the *Dictionary*.

The inscriptions found in *Serbian Cemeteries* convey attitudes toward life, family, work. Below are some of the most poignant, printed to replicate their original (and transcribed) formats:

Dašić
Radovan Milena
1922 – 1977 1930 – 1970
shall remain with us forever
regardless of where we may be This stone was
raised
may you rest in peace by [your] sons and
daughters along with
dear parents our stepmother Ljubica
Your children

††
Slavomir – Slavko Cerović Miomir
Cerović 1961 – 1995
Aug. 11, 1966 – May 1, 1983 o my dear youth
this stone was raised you broke my wings so
soon
by [your] father Golub mother Milena in my
brother Slavko’s arms
and [paternal] uncle Tomo and I left [my]
father mother
[their] families my brother and little sisters
to wash their faces in tears
This stone was raised by [your] father Golub
mother
Milena brother Branko sisters
and [paternal] uncle Tomo and his family

[Here] Rests
Vučica of the Čerkovići
This stone was raised by her broth-
er-in-law’s wife Stan-
ica
[in the] y[ear] 1930

¹ As translated to English by Maureen Gallery Kovacs (translator’s note).

Here lies
 Dragomir
 the only
 son
 of Ljubisav and
 Vasilija
 a 1st grade student
 of elem[entary] school
 born Feb. 30
 1925 and
 returned [to our Lord] 23
 1931 leaving his father
 and mother
 to mourn

here li[es]
 Lazar K. Stošić
 killed in the mountain
 herding sheep murdered by Mila(n)
 P(a)vlović
 on J. 7–11, 1923
 i. oprostimu
 urazvoj
 duše
 his] mother's
 onl
 y son
 [he] liv[ed] on[ly] 14 y[ears]

Catholic cemeteries housing Roman Catholic
 Albanians have also frequently been destroyed

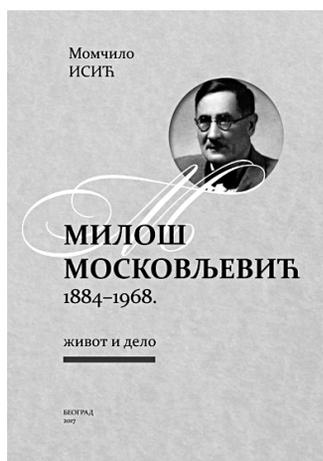
alongside Serbian Orthodox graveyards. Hence, it is not uncommon for Albanians to leave messages in hope of deterring vandals. Reljić cites an example from Priština's Orthodox cemetery, where Catholic Albanians began burying their dead following the exile of Serbs from the city. On a headstone with the inscribed names of Ollga and Dhimitri Gjolek, both passed in 2005, the deceased's family left the following note: "Respected passers-by, these are Albanians from the south. Please do not deface!" The completely destroyed Catholic section of the Kosovska Mitrovica cemetery indicates the Islamist tendencies of the Kosovo Albanian separatists, who are clearly bothered not only by Serbs but also by their own Christian compatriots.

To read the inscriptions from the ruined headstones is a somewhat cathartic experience: it brings back to life all these people whose existence the headstones were supposed to "lastingly" commemorate. Instead, the lasting testament to their lives is *Serbian Cemeteries*. The Serbian verb 'to bury' – *sahraniti* – originally denoted 'to keep, to preserve'; and so does this book preserve the memory of all these misfortunate souls, gifting them and their descendants, and the Serbian people as a whole, lasting peace. *Serbian Cemeteries* represents an indelible memorial to all these individuals, historical fate, life marked by violence and suffering, and the humble, forgiving nature of the people of Kosovo and Metohia.

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MILOŠ MOSKOVLJEVIĆ, AN AMBIVALENT FIGURE IN SERBIAN HISTORY

(Момчило Исић, *Милош Московљевић 1884–1968. Живот и дело*, Институт за новију историју Србије, Службени лист и ИК Византија, Београд 2017. / Momčilo Isić, *Miloš Moskovljević 1884–1968. Life and Work*, The Institute for the Recent History of Serbia, Službeni glasnik, and IK Vizantija, Belgrade 2017)



Momčilo Isić's book on life and the role of Miloš Moskovljević in the development of the states of Serbia and Yugoslavia represent the significant research undertaking in the area of the reconstruction of biobibliographies of important historical figures in Serbia.

The author succeeded in this monograph to achieve the balance between the presentation of the social and political activity of Moskovljević and the elaboration of the historical, ideological, political, and economic circumstances in which he was living and working.

The book is based upon the diary which Moskovljević kept in the period of 1916–1968, until his death. Isić's research also includes the examination of extensive archive materials, literature and interviews. The work of Isić reveals relatively contradictory political role of Moskovljević in the Serbian history.

Moskovljević was the founder of the Farmers Alliance, a political party which was significant actor in Serbia and Yugoslavia after the World War One. As its member, he was elected in his native county of Podrinje for a position of a Member of Parliament of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / Yugoslavia in 1920, 1923 and 1925.

From the prominent critic of the '6th January's Dictatorship' of the King Aleksandar, which was established in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929 and the opponent of the prosecution of trade unions members, their leaders and the communist, Moskovljević became one of the signatory of the anti-communist Jonić's Proclamation / Appeal by which the group of professors of the University of Belgrade supported the Nedić's Quisling administration in Serbia in 1941, after the German occupation and division of Yugoslavia.

However, after the Second World War, he joined the national liberation movement of Yugoslavia and intensively cooperates with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ). During 1945 he was a co-opted representative in the

government authorities of the Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia. He was the Minister of Forests in the government of Blagoje Nešković in the People Republic of Serbia. Till 1953 he served in the diplomatic service of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ).

But, after he protested against the restriction of farmers' land ownership to 10 hectares, although the FNRJ constitution anticipated 30 hectares, and after he advocated the release of political prisoners, the communist authorities designated him as 'reactionary' politician, what lead to the collapse of his political career. Moskovljević wrote in his diary that he was the victim of the communist tactic of the cooperation with non-communists in the beginning of the establishment of their regime and they used him for the purpose of attracting the groups of population those did not support the communists.

After leaving the political life, Moskovljević primary worked on the compilation of the *Dic-*

tionary of Serbian Literary and Vernacular Language in the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SANU). This dictionary was published just before his death.

In his monograph, Isić provides a comprehensive review of live and work of Miloš Moskovljević. He presents his political work in pre- and post-war Yugoslavia and his cultural, educational, research, lexicology and linguistics activities. Besides that, Isić familiarizes reader with the Moskovljević's schooling years, his participation in the Balkans wars and the First World War as well as with his family life.

By producing bibliography of Miloš Moskovljević, Isić gave significant research contribution to the profiling of an ambivalent historical figure in the turbulent political and social development of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the 20th century.

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Press – The Vima – Ellinika Grammata, Athens, 2006, Julian Stallabrass, *Contemporary Art*, Oxford University Press – The Vima – Ellinika Grammata, Athens 2007.

Major works: *The problem of the soul in ancient Greek philosophy*, Christopoulos: Athens 2007; *Logic and ethics. The rational life and Eudaimonia (Happiness) in Plotinus*, Ennoia: Athens 2017; *The Ethics of Aristotle and the Metaphysics of Gregory Palamas*, Grigori: Athens 2008 (2nd edition 2017); *The secret life and the management of fears according to Epikouros*, Art Oistros: Athens 2011; *The philosophical, theological and psychological dimension of self-knowledge according to the Epictetus. The Stoic way of managing relationships and crises*, Art Oistros: Athens 2012; *Anthology of Ancient and Byzantine Texts*, Grigori: Athens 2016; *The concept of God in Byzantine Philosophy*, Kardamitsa: Athens 2017; *The concept of the god (theion) in Ancient Greek Philosophy*, Grigori: Athens 2017; *Ancient Greek and Byzantine Ontology and Metaphysics. Modern and Contemporary Metaphysical Intellect*, Kardamitsa: Athens 2021; *Assimilation and national consciousness of immigrants. Aspects of law and socio-political parameters. Social policy with a philosophical, psychological and pedagogical view*, Papazisi: Athens 2016.

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Major works: *Svet i vreme Slobodana Jovanovića (1869–1958) / Life and Times of Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958)*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade 2021; *Slobodan Jovanović: Teorija / Slobodan Jovanović: Theory*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade 2017; *Beogradski rodoslovi / Belgrade genealogies*, SASA Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade 2020; *Vizantijska filozofija u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji / Byzantine Philosophy in Medieval Serbia*, Stubovi kulture, Belgrade 2002.

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Published several studies in journals such as *Letopis Matice srpske*, *Srpski književni glasnik*, *Philosophia*. Translated from German to Serbian book of Arthur Liebert *Filozofija nastave: opšta didaktika / Philosophy of Education* (1935).

Major works: *Die Gesetzesbildung, das Verstehen und die anschauliche Abstraktion im geschichtlichen Erkennen* (PhD dissertation, 1933), *Osnovni problemi teorije saznanja / Basic problems of cognition theory* (1937). In emigration he published in Serbian *Titovština u Jugoslaviji / Titoistic Practice in Yugoslavia*, Sloga, Perth, Australia (1952) and *Обрачун: начела и разлози / Final Account: Principles and Reasons* (1969). His manuscript of *Regulatorics* is unpublished yet.

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Prepared several collections of works, published dozens of works in Serbian, English and Russian. For one year (2019–2020) was a researcher at the Institute for European Studies. Participated in and organized several conferences, panel discussions, workshops and public forums in Serbia and the region. Actively involved in publishing, and in the past ten years has participated in various ways in the realization of more than two hundred publishing projects.

Research area: Theology, Christian philosophy and intellectual and cultural history of Europe.

Major works: *Vera i (sa)znanje u vreme odumiranja Jugoslavije / Faith and knowledge at the time of the demise of Yugoslavia*, Institute of European Studies, Belgrade 2019, 2021.

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Graduated (1949) and obtained PhD (1956) in history from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. At the same Faculty first became assistant (1950), then full time professor, and was a Head of the Department of General Modern History until retirement. Additional education gained with Fernand Braudel in Paris, researching the history of the Mediterranean; and at the Institute of European History in Mainz. Was the head of various institutions and editor of publications, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, corresponding and full member of SASA, secretary of the Department of Historical Sciences of SASA, director of the Balkan Institute (1978–1989), president of the Serbian Literary Cooperative (SKZ), editor in chief of the *Yugoslav Historical Journal*.

One of the organizers of the collected works of Slobodan Jovanović. Wrote synthetic overview of the history of the Yugoslav peoples until their unification, for the Yugoslav edition of the *General Encyclopedia Larousse*.

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