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VOLUME II
Connecting the Balkans and the Modern World

Edited by

Boris Stojkovski

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Introduction

“Travelling – it leaves you speechless, then turns you into a storyteller.” These eternal words of the famous Muslim-Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta show the full meaning of undertaking voyages and recording them. Throughout centuries, travelling has inspired people to comment on the places they have seen and the experiences they went through. The means of transport also played a prominent role in accomplishing travels. There were numerous types of voyages, such as pilgrimages, for instance, but also conquests, as well as different kinds of travels prompted by spiritual or intellectual thirst.

This two-volume edition is a collection of different aspects of voyages, travelogues and perceptions of travelling in history, literature and culture in the broadest sense. The papers include historical travel information on Central and South-Eastern Europe, the Islamic world, Byzantium, Portugal, but also China, from ancient times until the twentieth century. This complex volume is the result of a scientific project developed by a group of professors and researchers of the Department of History and the Department of Serbian Literature from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Novi Sad, together with the Faculty *Lazar Vrkatić* of the Union University of Novi Sad.

The idea was supported by the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research of the Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The result was a short-term (one year) scientific project, no. 142-451-2347/2019-02, titled *The Development of the Travel Culture and Travel Accounts in Serbian Historiography and Culture*. On behalf of the project team, I would like to express our deepest gratitude to the secretary Prof. Dr. Zoran Milošević and his associates who recognized the scientific potential of this topic and this work and financially supported the project and our research, which resulted in this book.

This second volume is, as well as the first one, the result of a dedicated long-term research done by the members of the project team and numerous colleagues worldwide. Because Serbia and the Serbs, including Serbian lands throughout history, are in the focus of the project research, the results of several project team members and contributors from other institutions are dealing specifically with this main topic. Thus, these contributions deal with the territory of present-day Serbia and adjacent lands in the modern and contemporary period. Furthermore, literary impressions and Serbian literature are largely enriched by this volume. Serbian travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are discussed, while China is also presented through the eyes of Serbian travelogues of the nineteenth century. The civilizational reach of the volume is fascinating, with papers covering the said China, but also England, France, while contextualizing all this information within the frame of the main topic of the project.

When preparing this edited collection, the project team decided to expand its topic beyond Serbia and Serbian historiographical and literary production. Having in mind that the project contributions have already expanded on the micro-historical Serbian topic in the European and even in wider contexts, the logical sequence of events was to invite different scholars from Serbia and abroad to contribute. The response was unexpectedly positive and we received papers on Serbian-Chinese literary relations, papers discussing the modern and contemporary history of Hungary, Slovakia, with particular stress on Serbian, Arabic and English literature.

The contributors of this volume are affiliated to various Serbian scholarly institutions: the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Law, both from the University of Novi Sad, the *Union* University, the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and the Faculty of Philosophy from Kosovska Mitrovica, as well as the the Institute of Political Sciences of Belgrade. The international contributors to the volume belong to prominent scientific institutions such as the Shanghai International Studies University, Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, Loránd Eötvös University of Budapest, "Gabrielle D'Annunzio" University, Chieti-Pescara, University of Debrecen, University of Prešov and the University of Banja Luka. Their papers cover travelogues and voyages in historical, literary, and cultural contexts, examining sources, discovering new information, and generally largely contributing to and revising modern scholarship.

The first part of this volume is dedicated to modern travelogues from the perspectives of both historiography and literature and can be briefly reviewed as the section where different modern permeations are presented with travels as the shared subject. Here, a large geographic area has been scholarly analyzed, spanning from the British Isles, through the Balkan Peninsula, across the Levant and the Holy Land to China. The second smaller part of this volume consists of two smaller-scale contributions which have references in the contemporary world, and in travel studies from 1914 onwards ending in the present times. Both of these topics give an insight into the contemporary world and make an intriguing whole which ends the book.

Having the honour of editing this volume, I am obliged to express my most sincere gratitude to my *Alma mater* Faculty of Philosophy, the institution in which the project on travels was conceived, but also a co-publisher of this volume. I would particularly like to thank the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Prof. Dr. Ivana Živančević-Sekeruš for her continuous institutional help in spreading knowledge and science. The distinguished publishing house in the field of history and medieval studies in particular, Trivent Publishing from Budapest gladly accepted to be the co-publisher of the volume. I sincerely thank them for undertaking this scholarly venture and for providing assistance and support and making this volume accessible worldwide.

Dr. Jagoda Topalov, assistant professor at the Department of English Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad, translated the papers of the project members and invested considerable effort in proof-reading and copyediting. Her hard work is very much appreciated. Since the policy is that reviewers remain anonymous, they will not be named, but I thank them all for their generous help and for the *sine ira et studio* reviews of the papers. I am also grateful to my dear colleague Nebojša Kartalija on technical assistance on the editing of this volume.

The title page of both volumes is taken from a manuscript of the Serbian medieval writer Theodosius and his *Life of Saint Sava,* where Sava's voyage to the Hioly Land is decribed. It is kept in the National Library of Serbia and I thank Dr. Vladan Trijić, the head of the Archeographic Department of the National Library of Serbia and his associate Dr. Ljiljana Puzović for their kind help and for providing us

permission to use this wonderful piece of Serbian medieval hagiography in the travel context.

Finally, I thank all of the authors for their valuable contributions. This volume shows that joint cooperation and the support of state organs, parent institutions, a distinguished publishing house, and international academia can result in a scholarly volume which will be impossible to avoid in the future when treating any topic connected to voyages and travelogues.

Associate Professor Boris Stojkovski, PhD
Faculty of Philosophy University of Novi Sad

Novi Sad, Pentecost 2020

The Importance of the Ottoman-era Travelogues for the Reconstruction of the Roman Road Network in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Gligor Samardžić,[1] Goran Popović[2]

The landscape changes caused by men, firstly, but also by nature, led to many roads built by the Romans be permanently lost or buried. Thus, the majority of researchers are more focused on certain new research methods based primarily on the development of digital technology. Therefore, a Geographical Information System, especially the Least cost-path, is frequently used in determining the probable direction of certain Roman roads, while satellite images and Lidar are used for locating roads covered by the soil.[3] In addition to these methods, travel books written during the Ottoman rule are also highly significant for the research of the Roman roads in the territory of central and western Balkans.

Jovan Ristić, a famous Serbian diplomat and historian, noticed, already in the middle of the nineteenth century, that "no country was visited by foreigners as much as the south-eastern parts of Europe."[4] That refers particularly to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman rule. A large number of travellers from the Habsburg Empire, France, Great Britain, and Italy went through Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1463 and 1878. Their travel descriptions are of the utmost importance for studying social structure, population, migrations,

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[1] Department of Ancient History, University of Priština, located in Kosovska Mitrovica, Republic of Serbia.

[2] Independent researcher, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[3] For more on methods used for the research of the Roman road, see: G. Popović, "The methodology of Roman communication research in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Acta Illyrica* III (2019): 63-78.

[4] "ни едну землю странцы нису толико обилазили колико югоисточне краеве Европе." J. Ristić, "О историчной важности успомена старіи путника неки, кои су крозъ sгбію прошли, а особито Бертрандона де ла Брокіера" [About the historical importance of the memory of some the old travelers, who traveled through Serbia, in particular Bertrandon de la Broquière], *Yearbook of the Serbian Slavic Society* VI (1854): 209.

flora, and fauna. At the same time, they are noteworthy for studies of the Roman road remains in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[5]

Certain travellers mention the remains of the Roman roads while describing the landscape they were passing by, settlements, traditional clothing, and customs, as well as the experiences from the journeys. Unlike the travellers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who, mostly, mention the direction of their journeys, the travellers of the nineteenth century offer much more information regarding the quality of the roads.[6] Some travellers mention only old stone-paved roads, without trying to determine their origin, while others, especially those who travelled through other parts of the Ottoman Empire, call these roads Roman.

Early researchers of the Roman roads in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not use old travel books in their research, or, if they did, like in the case of Ivo Bojanovski, they used them rarely.[7] That is how plenty of highly notable information on the location of certain Roman roads and their condition remained unknown in scientific circles. By using three Roman roads as our examples, we tried to emphasize the importance of travel books and descriptions from the period of Ottoman rule for the research of the Roman road network in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I. The remains of the Roman road on Mount Majevica

The data recorded by the French Chaumette des Fossés and the British James Henry Skene are of the invaluable importance for the research of the Roman roads in north-eastern Bosnia. Chaumette des Fossés was a secretary of the French Consulate, from December 1806 to July 1807, in Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, with headquarters in Travnik. During his short stay, Fossés managed to visit many areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina and wrote a book about it, entitled *Voyage en Bosnie dans les année 1807 et 1808*. The description of an old road that Fossés saw in

[5] G. Popović, "Rimske komunikacije na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine u delima francuskih i engleskih putopisa XIX veka" [Roman Roads in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Works of French and English travelers from the XIX century], *Contributions* 48 (2019): 24.
[6] European travellers rarely travelled through Bosnia and Herzegovina in the eighteenth century and therefore there are not travel books or descriptions from this period. For more information, see: G. Popović, "Rimske komunikacije," 23.
[7] See: G. Popović, "Rimske komunikacije," 39.

north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly significant for the research of the Roman terrestrial communication.

> We have already talked about the spa in Novi Pazar, which is already presented as Trajan's. There is, however, one more important monument that testifies to the power of this emperor. There is a part of a beautiful road he built to transfer the legions that were garrisoned in Illyria to Dacia. This road is located in a large forest which stretches for more than several miles from the Spreča to the vicinity of Bijeljina. The road was built of large flat stones and its width is around fifteen feet.[8]

According to Fossés, the remains of the road built of large flat stones, about 4.9 meters wide, can be found in the forest stretching from the Spreča River to the vicinity of the town of Bijeljina. Allegedly, the road was built by Trajan in order to transport Roman legions from the Illyrian province all the way to Dacia. It can be concluded, based on the material used for the construction, as well as the width of the road, that the remains belong to the road built by the Romans. The identical Roman roads, built of large flat stones, were found in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, on Mount Bišina and the plateau of Mount Romanija.[9]

As for the location of the road, Fossés mentions only that it is in a large forest between the Spreča River and the town of Bijeljina. Mount Majevica, located between the said river and town, is largely covered by forest even today. Based on that, it can be concluded that the remains of the Roman road which Chaumette des Fossés mentions can be found somewhere on Mount Majevica. It is not possible to determine a more

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[8] "Nous avons déja parlé des bains d'Yéni-Bazar, attribués à Trajan: mais il existe un monument plus incontestable de la puissance de cet empereur. Dans l'immense forét qui s'étend depuis la Spretça jusque près de Bellina, on trouve, pendant lespace de plusieurs lieues y des restes d'un, très beau chemin qu'il avait fait construire pour faire passer en Dacie les légions stationnées dans I'lllyrie. Il est formé de grandes pierres plates, et de la largeur 15 pieds environ." Ch. Fossés, *Voyage en Bosnie, dans les année 1807 et 1808* [Travel to Bosnia, in the years 1807 and 1808] (Paris: J. Didot, 1822), 24.

[9] For the Roman road on Mount Bišina: G. Popović, "Rimske komunikacije u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni sa posebnim osvrtom na novootkrivenu dionicu puta na planini Bišini" [Roman terrestrial communication in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina with a focus on a newly discovered road section on Mount Bišina], *Acta Illyrica* II (2018): 193-216; We will discuss the road across Mount Romanija further in the paper.

definite location of the remains of this Roman road using the information provided by the French diplomat.

In our opinion, while travelling through Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fossés visited Tuzla, the largest and most significant town in north-eastern Bosnia in the nineteenth century, and then headed to Bijeljina across Mount Majevica. The description of salt mines in Gornja and Donja Tuzla points to that.[10] Fossés could reach Bijeljina from central Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the French Consulate headquarters was located, using one additional road that led across Mount Romanija and the valley downstream of the Drina river. However, the journey down the valley of the Drina River in 1808 was perilous due to Ottoman military operations against the Serbian rebels located on the right bank of the river. For all these reasons, it is highly unlikely the French diplomat chose this road. The fact that Fossés did not write anything about the remains of the Roman road between the villages of Branjevo and Šepak as well as the road between Kraljevo Polje and Lukavica, which he most certainly would have seen, supports our claim.[11]

The British travel writer James Henry Skene crossed Mount Majevica 43 years after Fossés's journey. In the book entitled *The Danubian Principalities, The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*, Skene gives a detailed description of his journey through Bosnia and Herzegovina, which took place in 1851. After crossing the Drina River near the village of Rača, Skene spent a night in Bijeljina and then headed to Tuzla.[12] Having left Bijeljina, he travelled across low hills overgrown by forest and spent a night in an inn after six hours of riding. The only inhabited place he rode through on the first day was the village of Čađavica.[13] The

[10] Fossés, *Voyage en Bosnie*, 4-5.

[11] The remains of the Roman road between the villages of Branjevo and Šepak were used until the end of the nineteenth century. One part of the Roman network still exists, but it is in a very bad condition. For more information on the remains of the Roman road, see: E. Vorliček, "Римске старине у Брањеву котара Зворничког" [Roman antiquities in Branjevo, county of Zvornik], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 8 (1896): 197-199; G. Popović, "Римска путна станица Gensis" [Roman road station Gensis], *Collection of works from Faculty of Philosophy in Priština* 249:4 (2019): 57; The remains of the Roman road between Kraljevo polje and Lukavica will be discussed further in the paper.

[12] J. H. Skene, *The Danubian Principalities, The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*, vol. 2 (London: R. Bentley, 1854), 197, 199-201.

[13] Skene, *The Danubian Principalities*, 201.

next day, Skene crossed multiple hills, overgrown by forest as well as two valleys before arriving at the remains of an old paved road.

> On proceeding we came to a road paved in the same manner as I had often seen in Greece, and dating probably from the time of the Romans, or at least of the Lower Empire. It is strange that so much labour should have been bestowed on a road so unskilfully planned, for such causeways generally go in as straight a line as possible, without paying any attention to the levels, although I have seen them with ancient wheel-marks, indicating that they were not merely horse or mule tracks.[14]

Further descriptions show that Skene travelled through the thick forest again, meeting a nomadic tribe of Gypsies in the process. After the detailed depiction of this encounter, the travel writer states that he reached Gornja Tuzla in less than an hour of horse riding.[15]

There are reasonable grounds to assume that James Henry Skene used the same roads as Chaumette des Fossés while travelling from Bijeljina to Gornja Tuzla. That would imply that the remains of the Roman road described by Fossés are identical to the ones mentioned by Skene. According to the information given by the British travel writer, it can be concluded that the remains of the Roman road network were between the village of Čađavica in the north and Gornja Tuzla in the south. Even though Skene does not state the exact location, it can be concluded, based on the detailed description of the journey, that the remains of the Roman road were near Gornja Tuzla, at a distance covered in two or three hours of riding.

The information that Chaumette des Fossés and James Henry Skene offer about the remains of the Roman road on Mount Majevica is highly significant. Namely, it is an unknown Roman terrestrial communication route. There is no information on this road in ancient and medieval travel maps. Moreover, it is not mentioned in relevant academic references, either.

[14] Ibidem, 205.
[15] Ibidem, 206-209.

The location of the Roman road on Mount Majevica can be indicated by the toponym *Kaldrma* in the village of Tutnjevac.[16] This term was frequently used in north-eastern Bosnia for old stone-paved roads.[17] Aside from the Kaldrma toponym, where a smaller Roman villa was discovered in 1956, the remains of the Roman fortification were recorded in the village of Tutnjevac.[18] Also, coins dating from the reign of Emperor Licinius were found in the same village.[19] Various remains from the ancient period would indicate that the old, stone-paved road in the village of Tutnjevac is of Roman origins. However, the position of the village itself does not allow us to pinpoint it as the location of the Roman road mentioned by James Henry Skene and Chaumette des Fossés. Namely, Tutnjevac is located near the village of Gornja Čađavica, only around 5 kilometres away. If Skene had recorded the accurate description of his journey, then the remains of the Roman road he mentions would be much closer to Gornja Tuzla than Čađavica.

The exact location of the remains of the Roman road on Mount Majevica, as well as its direction, can only be provided by new research, which would include a thorough study of the terrain in the territory between Gornja Tuzla and the village of Čađavica.

[16] I. Čremošnik, "Kaldrma, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik" [Kaldrma, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik], in *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, vol. II, ed. B. Čović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 92.

[17] The Roman road on Mount Bišina is called "Jerinina Kaldrma" by the locals. See: G. Popović, "Rimske komunikacije u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni,"200-201; "Kaldrma Proklete Jerine" is the name for the remains of the Sarajevo polje - Drinjača Roman road. See: I. Bojanovski, "Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (s posebnim obzirom na područje Bosne i Hercegovine*)*, III – Prilog proučavanju antičkih naselja i komunikacija u istočnoj Bosni" [Contributions to the topography of Roman and pre-Roman communications and settlements in the Roman province of Dalmatia (with particular reference to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina), III - Contribution to the study of ancient settlements and communications in eastern Bosnia], *Godišnjak* 19 (1981): 133-134.

[18] I. Čremošnik, "Kaldrma," 92; C. Patsch, "Мали римски нахођаји и посматрања" [Small Roman Findings and Observations], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 9 (1897): 520; I. Čremošnik, "Veliko Brdo, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik [Veliko Brdo, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik], in *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*, tom II, ed. B. Čović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 98.

[19] G. Kraljević, "Krčevina, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik" [Krčevina, Tutnjevac, Ugljevik], in *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine*, tom II, ed. B. Čović (Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1988), 93.

II. The Roman terrestrial communication: Sarajevsko polje – Drinjača

The fact that certain Roman road communications were also used during the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina is best exemplified by the road leading from Sarajevo Polje to the valley of the Drinjača River and the Drina river. James Henry Skene, while travelling through Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1851, headed from Sarajevo to Zvornik, which is on the banks of the Drina River. According to the descriptions of his journey, he travelled through the village of Mokro, where he spent the first night, and then on the second day, he crossed the Ravna Romanija plateau and continued to follow the road leading him past the villages of Kozlica (*Koslicza*) and Mičivoda (*Micsvoda*).[20] Skene mentions the road he was using on the third day of his journey. "Our road was now paved in the old way, and most abominable it was,"[21] states Skene. After spending the night in an inn, he describes the continuation of his journey this way:

> At daylight we set off again, in a mountain fog, with two foot-soldiers besides our mounted escort, as we had an ugly pass to go through. Still that odious pavement, which seemed to be constructed on the best principles for obstructing the way! It was especially obnoxious in long descent of at least 2, 000 feet; for it effectually prevented our poor horses from keeping on their feet on this occasion.[22]

According to the information from the travel book, it can be concluded that Skene reached the old, stone-paved road near Kraljevo Polje and followed it to the village of Lukavica. The paved road mentioned by the British travel writer is a part of the Roman terrestrial communication which connected central areas of the Roman province called Dalmatia to Sirmium. The Roman road communication was leading from Sarajevo Polje through Hreša, Kadino Selo, Ravna Romanija, Podromanija, and Sokolac. By going around Han Pijesak from the west side, the ancient terrestrial communication continued through

[20] While the villages Mokro and Mičivode still exist today, the location of the village Kozlica is uncertain for now. It is possible that the name Kozlica refers to what is now the village Košutica, which is located south-west of Mičivoda. The location of Košutica in relation to the Ravna Romanija plateau and Mičivoda village speaks in support of it.
[21] Skene, *The Danubian Principalities*, 357.
[22] Ibidem, 357.

Kraljevo Polje and under the peak of the Sikire descending down the serpentines to the village of Lukavica. Following the Jadar River and then the Drinjača River, this Roman road merged with the *Sirmium – Argentaria* terrestrial communication at the mouth of the Drinjača river into the Drina.[23] Thirty Roman milestones, twelve of which are the epigraph ones, were found together with the remains of the Roman road along the Sarajevsko Polje – Drinjača road.[24]

Based on the information recorded by James Henry Skene, it can be seen that one part of the Sarajevsko polje – Drinjača Roman road was still used in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the British traveller did not hide his dissatisfaction with the quality of the road, that does not mean that the upper layer of the road was in bad condition. The smooth stone used to pave the road certainly led to horses slipping while going down the steep mountain. If it is assumed that the road could have been wet, as the travel descriptions mentioned rain on previous days, the difficulties the British travel writer had while going down to the village Lukavica (or rather the difficulties his horse had) can then be understood.

The French Monsieur Quiclet and Poulet travelled using the same Roman road between Kraljevo Polje and the village of Lukavica in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, they do not mention the road condition or anything about the possibility of it being the remaining part of the ancient road. Quiclet, who gives a more detailed description of his journey, states that, after a night spent in the village of Mačkovac, he passed through Kraljeva Gora and Kraljevo Polje, ultimately going down to the valley of the Jadar River and then the Drinjača river.[25] The mentioned toponym indicates that Quiclet travelled using the same road as James Henry Skene, around two centuries later. Poulet does not, however, state in detail which road he used, but it is certain that it was

[23] For more information on the Drinjača-Sarajevo polje Roman road, see: Ph. Ballif, *Römische Strassen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Wien: Bosnisch-Hercegovinischen Lande Smuseum, 1893), 38-40; I. Bojanovski, "Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija," 170-175.

[24] All epigraph milestones are from the third century. For more information, see: G. Popović, "Milestones from the Roman Road Drinjača – Sarajevsko polje," *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini* 49:3 (2019): 201-211.

[25] M. Quiclet, *Les voyages de M. Quiclet a Constantinople par terre* (Paris: Chez Pierre Prome, 1664), 85-86.

identical to the one described by Quiclet.[26] Poulet and Quiclet embarked on a journey to Constantinople together in 1658, but had a dispute in Dubrovnik. After that, they travelled separately, albeit in the same direction.[27] Given the fact that neither of the French complained about the quality of the road, it can be assumed that it was in somewhat better condition than in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Johann Roskiewicz states that the Sarajevo – Zvornik – Rača road was adjusted to the vehicular traffic after 1862.[28] Nevertheless, he does not give an answer to the question if certain road repairs were done on the part of the road which was of ancient origins. The remains of the Roman road between Kraljevo Polje and the village of Lukavica were a part of the main road communication until the end of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under the new Austro-Hungarian rule, the reconstruction of the existing and the construction of new roads started in 1878.[29] As a result of the construction of the new road between Vlasenica and Han Pijesak, which went up Mount Javor, the remains of the Roman terrestrial communication between Kraljevo Polje and Lukavica lost their significance. They were in use for some time more, but only by the nearby locals.[30]

III. The remains of the Roman road near Trebinje

We can see from the foreign travellers' records that not all Roman terrestrial communication routes were used until the end of the Ottoman rule, but were, like the remains of the Roman road near Trebinje,

[26] Poulet, *Nouvelles Relations du Levant* (Paris: Chez Lovys Billaine, 1667); The original manuscript which refers to Bosnia and Herzegovina was published by Vjekoslav Jelavić at the beginning of the twentieth century. See: V. Jelavić, "Доживљаји Француза Poullet-а на путу кроз Дубровник и Босну (године 1658)" [The Adventures of Frenchman Poullet on his way through Dubrovnik and Bosnia (1658)] *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 20 (1908): 23-75.

[27] V. Jelavić, "Доживљаји Француза Poullet-а," 23.

[28] J. Roskiewicz, *Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina* (Leipzig, Wien: F. A. Brockhaus, 1868), 60.

[29] I. Tepić, "Изградња саобраћајница у Босни и Херцеговини од средине XIX вијека до Аустроугарске окупације" [The construction of roads in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the middle of the nineteenth century to the Austro-Hungarian occupation] *Contributions* 18 (1981): 69.

[30] Heinrich Renner crossed the newly built road while travelling through Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 1880s. See: H. Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1897), 248-249.

destroyed by the locals. Alexander Hilferding (*Александр Гильфердинг*), a Russian consul in Sarajevo, writes about that in his travel book entitled *Босния, Герцеговина и Старая Сербія*.

As Hilferding headed from Dubrovnik to Sarajevo in 1857, he went through Trebinje and Stolac instead of using the valley of the Neretva River, which was the main and the nearest road at that time. The Russian consul, according to his descriptions, passed by the Duži monastery, located in the south-east of Trebinje.[31] Later on, the road took him through the village of Dražin Do where Hilferding crossed the Trebišnjica River and reached a stone-paved road.

> We crossed the Trebišnjica River in a primitive wide boat; we were transferred first and then the horses. The road was in poor condition here as well. Unexpectedly and to our great surprise, a fragment of a stone-paved road emerged. Being interested in its origin, I received this simple answer: 'The road was in such a bad condition that a Turk broke his neck there on one occasion. His sons paved this part of the road after that, following a vow.' Still, it was inexplicable to me why heaps of stones were deliberately scattered in several places along this path so that one could stumble and break his neck here just like the Turk from the story. – When it approaches Trebinje, the good road ends.[32]

The small stone-paved part of the road, which was so interesting to the Russian consul, could have been a part of the Roman road which connected Narona (the village of Vid near Metkovići), a significant trade

[31] A. Hilferding, *Собраніе сочиненій А. Гильфердинга: Босния, Герцеговина и Старая Сербія, Томъ 3* [Collected Works by A. Hilferding: Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia, Vol. 3] (Saint Petersburg: D. E. Kožančikova Д. Е. Кожанчикова 1873), 8-10.

[32] "Мы переѣхали рѣку Требишницу на первобытной широкой лодкѣ; сначала перевезли насъ, а потомъ лошадей. Дорога была нестерпимо дурна; но потомъ вдругъ представился, къ крайнему нашему удивленію, кусокъ очень порядочной мостовой. Я спросилъ о происхожденіи этого невиданнаго явленія, и получилъ вотъ какой наивный отвѣтъ: «дорога была тутъ прежде такая, что ѣхалъ Турокъ и сломалъ себѣ шею; тогда сыновья его, по обѣту, вымостили это мѣсто». Но странно, что поперекъ этой дороги въ нѣсколькихъ мѣстахъ положены нарочно грядки камней, такъ что и тутъ какъ разъ споткнешься и сломишь себѣ шею, какъ тотъ Турокъ, о которомъ мнѣ говорили. — Когда подъѣзжаешь къ Требинью, хорошая дорога прекращается." A. Hilferding, *Собраніе сочиненій*, 15-16.

port on the Neretva River, to Trebinje, where the Roman road station called *Asamo* was located in ancient times.[33] The remains of this ancient road were recorded in the terrain from Vid to Cicina, near Hum.[34] According to Pandža and Vukorep, who researched this terrestrial communication route, it crossed the Trebišnjica River at the village of Dražin Do and continued to Trebinje.[35] One Austro-Hungarian topographic map, which they used in determining the direction of the Roman road communication in the field, led them to this conclusion. Nonetheless, the researchers do not reveal which map they used.[36]

As noted previously, the *Asamo* road station was located in the place of what is now Trebinje. Except the Roman road which led from Trebinje to the west, to Narona, there was one additional road which was going to the south, to the Roman settlement called *Epidaurum*.[37] One part of the Roman terrestrial communication led to the north from Trebinje and passed on its way the *Leusinium* road station (the village Panik near Bileća) while continuing to the valley of the Drina river.[38]

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[33] G. Samardžić, "Путна станица Асамо у историјским изворима" [Road station Asamo in historical sources] *Radovi* 16:2, (2014): 85-98.

[34] Ž. Pandža, S. Vukorep, "Rimska cesta od Vida (Narona) u dolini Neretve do sela Cicina – Hum kod Trebinja" [Roman road from Vid (Narona) in the Neretva valley to the village of Cicina - Hum near Trebinje], *Hercegovina* 2 (2016): 25-63.

[35] Ž. Pandža, S. Vukorep, "Rimska cesta," 59.

[36] Taking everything into account, it is most likely that they used Austro-Hungarian maps made at the beginning of the 1880s. On the importance of these maps for the research of the Roman roads, see: G. Popović, "The methodology of Roman communication research," 71.

[37] D. Sergejevski, "Rimska cesta od Epidauruma do Anderbe" [Roman road from Epidaurum to Anderba], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 17 (1962): 75-78.

[38] G. Samardžić, *Источна Херцеговина у римско доба* [East Herzegovina in the Roman period] (Kosovska Mitrovica: Faculty of Philosophy, 2015), 267-273; G. Samardžić, "Биљешке о комуникацији Мокри До-Дилунтум са успутним насељима" [Notes on the communication of Mokri Do - Diluntum with incidental settlements] *Collection of works from Faculty of Philosophy in Priština* 45:4 (2015): 153-164; G. Samardžić, "Биљешке о античкој топографији источне Херцеговине на основу римских итинерара" [Notes on the ancient topography of eastern Herzegovina based on Roman itineraries], in *Society and space, an epistemology of space, social space, cultural and historical meanings*, ed. P. Milenković, S. Stojšin, A Pajvančić-Cizelj (Novi Sad: Faculty of Philosophy, 2015), 324-340; G. Samardžić, "On Beneficiaries' Inscriptions from the South of the Province of Dalmatia (A few examples from the area of eastern Herzegovina)," *Collection of works from Faculty of Philosophy in Priština* 47:3 (2017): 263-271; G. Samardžić, "Подручје Гацка у античким изворима и савременој историографији" [The Gacko area in ancient sources and

Using the information provided in the Alexander Hilferding's travel descriptions, it can be concluded that the remains of the Roman road were on the right bank of the Trebišnjica River, most likely in the place of, or near the Trebinje settlement of Mostaći. While travelling down the Roman road, Hilferding noticed piles of scattered stones, which were most probably removed from the road itself. Consequently, it can be reasonably assumed that the locals took the stones which the road was paved with and used them as secondary construction materials.

The fact that certain parts of the Roman roads were intentionally destroyed and their upper layer used for construction purposes can be exemplified by the remains of the ancient road communication route in the valley of the middle flow of the Drina river. The stones used to pave the Roman road were removed in the village of Zalužje and utilized in the construction of the new Bratunac – Skelani road at the end of the 1880s.[39]

IV. Conclusion

The above-mentioned examples emphasize the importance of the travelogues for the research of the Roman road network in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Owing to the work of the travel writers, new Roman roads can be discovered, their location prior to destruction can be determined, and we can find out how long they were used for traffic.

James Henry Skene and Chaumette des Fossés give accounts of the Roman road remains not previously known to the historical science. According to the information given in the travel descriptions, it can be concluded that the Roman road was located on the slopes of Mount Majevica, i.e., between the village of Čađavica and the town of Gornja Tuzla. Even though the information provided by Skene and Fossés is not enough to discern the exact location of the remains of the Roman road communication, it is, however, a good starting point for further research.

The Roman roads continued to be used for many centuries after the end of the Roman Empire on highly inaccessible, mountainous terrains of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is exemplified by the remains of the

contemporary historiography], in *Writers of Serbian history*, ed. Draga Mastilović (Gacko: Serbian Educational and Cultural Society Prosvjeta, 2017), 71-89.

[39] Ć. Truhelka, "Rimska cesta u kotaru srebreničkom" [Roman road in Srebrenica district], *Journal of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* 3 (1891): 239-240.

Roman road between Kraljevo Polje and the village of Lukavica in eastern Bosnia. Due to the steep ascent, this part of the Roman terrestrial communication was unavoidable for all passengers who were travelling from Sarajevo to the valley of the Drina River and further to Belgrade.

Unlike mountainous areas, where the Roman roads were the only path through dense forests and steep slopes, this was not the case with the valleys. There was no need to build good, stone-paved roads in the valleys during the Ottoman rule because all the transport of goods and people was done by horses. That is the reason why remains of the Roman terrestrial communication were destroyed and the stone was used as a construction material. The travel records show that a similar thing happened to the part of the *Narona – Asamo* Roman road. However, owing to the information mentioned by Alexander Hilferding, we can determine more accurately the location where the remains of the Roman road can be found.

Based on all of the above, we can conclude that the travelogues written during the Ottoman rule of Bosnia and Herzegovina are of great importance for the study of the Roman road network. However, the travel books should not be used alone, but in combination with other methods designed for the research of the Roman terrestrial communication.

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The Spiritual Connections and the Cult of Jerusalem in the Works of Two Monks from the Rača Monastery

Nada N. Savković[1]

Pilgrimage culture developed in the Middle Ages,[2] when travel was also seen as a way of bringing oneself closer to God. The medieval man is essentially a pilgrim: a walking man, i.e. a traveller – *homo viator*. Christians believe that life is a walk into eternity: the transition to a different, better world, whereas the individual, i.e. personal life, is a transient one.[3] Every "departure" on a pilgrimage, as Carlo Mazza believes, also implies a return, but, for the soul of a pilgrim, a true "return" is a return to the heavenly homeland.[4] The central place of pilgrimage to the Holy Land is a tour of Jerusalem, a city of great significance in the life of Christ, in

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[2] Pilgrimages to the Holy Land began in the old age. Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, the Roman emperor who gave freedom of religion to Christians in 313, embarked on her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326. She witnessed the finding of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, which contributed to the increase in pilgrimages. *The Oxford history of the classical world: The Roman world* states that one of the first pilgrimages to the Holy Land took place in 333 AD: "a Christian pilgrim headed from his hometown of Bordeaux to the Holy Land. Measuring the sections of his trip in leagues, a measure used at that time in some parts of western Gaul, he traveled by land across the Alps and through northern Italy, crossed the Balkans and reached Constantinople, from where he set off to Anatolia and Syria and, eventually, after 170 days and 3,300 Roman miles (over 4,000 kilometers) arrived in Jerusalem" (1999, 370). The pilgrim from Bordeaux recorded the details of his trip in a document entitled *Itinerarium Burdigalense* or *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, the oldest written report of a pilgrimage (Catholic Encyclopedia, 1913).

[3] Gavril Stefanovic Venclović, in his poetic record *The Road*, points to the conception of life as a way into eternity: "There are plenty of those / Who take a wide road in their journey across life / But a narrow door and a narrow path / Introduces people to life, / And there are few who take it." (Г. С. Венцловић, *Црни биво у срцу* [*The Black Buffalo in the Heart*]. Београд: Просвета, 1966, 166.

[4] K. Maca, *Poklonička putovanja: verski turizam – istorijsko-kulturološki pristup* [Pilgrimage. Religious tourism-historical-culturological review] (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2009), 34.

which he spent part of his earthly life, in which his tomb is located, and in which he ascended to heaven. The Christianization of the Holy Land began with Emperor Constantine, who announced his plan for the discovery of holy places, primarily in Jerusalem, at the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD. It was with a particular desire to attend the great Easter holiday in Jerusalem that numerous pilgrims set out on a journey. Some of the pilgrims who came to the Holy City, not only from Europe, left written testimonies of a long journey that was primarily meant to "signify one's cleansing of sins."[5] Jacques Le Goff states that two notions were prevalent in the Middle Ages (the notion of the traveller human and the notion of the penitent human), both derived from Christian anthropology. The development of these concepts contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the essence of human personality.[6] Both notions came to life and also crossed over into literature. The first printed travel books on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Jerusalem started to appear in the last decade of the fifteenth century and have been growing in popularity ever since.

Pilgrimage literature also developed in the Orthodox community, especially in the form of a proskinitarian (προσκυνητάριον),[7] a pocket-sized guide to the Holy Land, containing standard contents and illustrations. Medieval literature was based on the principle of genres, so, naturally, the proskinitarian also had its own established structure, with meaningful conventions, largely "based on the idea of spiritual pilgrimage. Its association with travel notes also rested on the fact that for the pilgrims to the Holy Land there was no difference between physical and spiritual pilgrimage. They were inherently interconnected,

[5] T. Jovanović, *Sveta zemlja u srpskoj književnosti od XIII do kraja XVIII veka* [Holy Land in Serbian literature from the 13th to the end of the 18th century] (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2007), 7.

[6] See: J. Le Gof, "Čovek srednjeg veka" [Medieval man, L'uomo medivale], *Čovek srednjeg veka* (Beograd: Clio, 2007), 11-13.

[7] Proskinitaria in Greek are not older than the sixth century, whereas they were known in southern Slavic literatures before the fourteenth century. Tomislav Jovanović states that the first confirmed Proskinitaria in the Church-Slavonic language is found in the abbreviated version in the *Bdin Collection* from 1359/1360 [Bdinski Zbornik, 1972: 234a-241б; Scharpé, Vyncke 1973, 235-242], T. Ž. Jovanović, "Proskinitarioni i srpska putopisna proza posvećena Svetoj zemlji" [Proskinitaria and Serbian Travel Prose Dedicated to the Holy Land], *Srpska slavistika*, tom 2 [*Serbian Slavistic*, volume 2] ed. B. Suvajdžić, P. Bunjak, D. Ivanić (Beograd: Savez slavističkih društava Srbije, 2018), 161.

with prayers in holy locations as their final outcome."[8] The travelogue[9] as a literary genre was preceded by the travelogue as a cultural genre: what developed from the tradition of the proskinitarian was the first Serbian travelogue *The Journey of Jerotej Hieromonk of Rača Monastery to the city of Jerusalem*, written by Jerotej Račanin,[10] a monk from Mount Fruška Gora (the second half of the 18th century – after 1727), representing the most extensive and complete manuscript of its kind in older Serbian literature.[11]

The spiritual connections and the cult of Jerusalem have existed in Serbian literature for eight centuries: from Saint Sava, who twice undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century.[12] The description of the Holy City and the pilgrimages influenced the creation of a special tendency in Serbian literature: the emergence of new motifs and topics.[13] Many books have been published about Jerusalem worldwide on various topics: most of them were religious and historical, with numerous travel books, and especially guides to holy places. They do not, as a rule, mention "the Serbs in Jerusalem, or, when they do, it is seemingly done only casually, and, at times, not with good intentions."[14] It is overlooked that after the "Crusades, no European dynasty in the

[8] M. Timotijević, "Duhovno hodočašće i Opisanije Jerusalima Hristofora Džefarovića" [The Spiritual Pilgrimage and Description of Jerusalem by Hristofor Džefarović], *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* [The National Museum Collection] 19:2 (2010): 215.

[9] Milorad Pavić believes that the *Serbian Baroque travelogue* is among the most significant prose types of Serbian literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, emphasizing that there are at least four types of travelogues: proskinitaria, then travelogues that include a description of the journey to Jerusalem and back, official travel reports, for example, the reports of visits by certain dioceses, and, of course, diplomatic reports, which sometimes turn into travel prose. See: M. Pavić. *Istorija srpske književnosti barokonog doba* [The History of Serbian Literature of the Baroque Age] (Beograd: Nolit, 1970), 305-311.

[10] Račanin – of/from the Rača Monastery (translator's note/TN).

[11] M. Pavić. *Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba*, 305-311.

[12] Hieromonk Domentian, the most gifted disciple of Saint Sava, accompanied his teacher on one of his trips to the Holy Land, with the first trip most probably taking place in 1229 and the second in 1234/35. In the chronicle of Saint Sava's life, he emphasized that Sava wished to go to Jerusalem: "I will not allow sleep to my eyes or rest to my knees until I bow to the places where the pure feet of my Savior stood" (P. Popović, "Sveti Sava: život" [Saint Sava: life], *Iz književnosti* (Novi Sad – Beograd: Matica srpska – Srpska književna zadruga, 1972, 74-112), 106. The above statement confirms the importance of the devotional journey in the life of a religious man.

[13] T. Jovanović, *Sveta zemlja u srpskoj književnosti od XIII do kraja XVIII veka*, 9.

[14] D. Davidov. *Srbi i Jerusalim* [The Serbs and Jerusalem] (Beograd: Politika A. D., 2007) 12.

Middle Ages had as strong a connection with Jerusalem as the Nemanjić ruling house. Even later, in the time of the Turkish rule, Serbian monks and secular people came to Jerusalem en masse...”[15] Grand Prince Stefan Nemanja, the father of Saint Sava and founder of the Serbian medieval state, sent gifts to Jerusalem churches and temples, followed by his successors, who also built their endowments and monasteries.[16]

After the Great Migration of Serbs in 1690, during the last years of the seventeenth century, Jerotej Račanin first lived in Dunaföldvár, a town on the right bank of the Danube in central Hungary, after which he moved to Srem, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. After 1727 all mention of him is lost. He began his literary activity by copying other works.[17] He set out on a pilgrimage trip to the Holy Land on 7 July 1704, arriving in Jerusalem on 8 January 1705, and left it on 17 April 1705.[18] He returned to Belgrade on 23 July 1705.[19] Jerotej Račanin also prepared for this journey by reading the texts of other pilgrims. This is evidenced by Jerotej's transcript of a travelogue from 1698 written by Lavrentije, the abbot of the Hilandar monastery, who travelled to Jerusalem from Mount Athos most likely in the third decade of the seventeenth century.[20]

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Within the walls of Jerusalem, near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Greek Patriarchate, King Milutin erected in 1312/13 the monastery of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, whereas Stefan Dečanski decorated and fortified the temple, and presented it with numerous gifts. Archimandrite Porphyrius Uspensky, the head of the Russian mission to Jerusalem in mid-19th century, who stayed at the Holy Archangels Monastery, stated that it was “the most beautiful monastery of the Holy City”, decorated by numerous icons, of course of Serbian origin, that the monastery had 40 cells and that could accommodate about 200 devotees. The monastery had a dining room, hospital, treasury and a “wonderful library” containing Greek, Latin and Slavic manuscripts and printed books. Unfortunately, it was all destroyed.

[17] In *Minej za mart* [Menologion for March], he accompanied the services and lives of saints, with sermons and a novel *Skazanija o indijskom carstvu* [Narratives about the Indian Empire]. There are three existing verions of this novel (about a mysterious priest John and his miracles in India) among Serbs and Bulgarians. He also incorporated his own work when copying *Čudesa Bogorodice* [Miracles of the Virgin].

[18] All the mentioned dates are listed according to the Julian calendar, and it is necessary to add 11 days to synchronize them with the Gregorian calendar.

[19] Accompanying him on this journey were also hieromonks Visarion and Gregory, who was the most educated and knew the Greek language, together with a married couple from Irig, Jovan and Neda Paranosić, as well as certain Salaćij, Stanoje and Pavle.

[20] It was not uncommon for printed books to be transcribed in the 18th century as well, see: Z. Bojović, “Prepisi štampanih knjiga u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj tradiciji” [Transcripts of Printed Books in the Serbian Medieval Tradition], in *Srednji vek u srpskoj*

It is impossible to form an overall impression of Lavrentije's work, as only excerpts from the transcript are preserved, but it is evident that it had been written according to the model of a proskinitarian. It was only in 1727, in the tranquillity of the monastery of Velika Remeta, that Jerotej Račanin put in written form of a travelogue his impressions of the year-long journey on the basis of travel notes he kept at the time of the trip.[21] As Joseph Brodsky asserts, a writer is a lonely traveller, and no one is his helper.[22] The first pages of Jerotej Račanin's travelogue represent a testimony of traveling in his time: it was a very slow endeavour, especially given today's standards. He measured distances along the route by counting the days, the way that most people in the Middle Ages did: they expressed distances by the number of days needed to travel across a stretch of space, both with respect to land and sea.[23] In the last sentence of his travelogue, Jerotej states the distance in hours: "From Niš to Belgrade, 44 hours by foot, and from Niš to Jagodina 20 hours by foot."[24] He devoted a third of the travelogue to describing the journey to Jerusalem, while only briefly describing his return from the Holy City, devoting only seven percent of the travelogue to this description. For the most part, almost two-thirds of the travelogue was dedicated to the descriptions of the holy sites of the Holy City, with the expected reminiscences regarding the renowned Biblical personalities and events.[25] Dinko Davidov notes Jerotej's great, even extraordinary religiosity,

nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti [The Middle Ages in Serbian Science, History, Literature and Art], ed. Gordana Jovanović, (Despotovac–Beograd: Narodna biblioteka "Resavska škola"–Institut za srpski jezik SANU, 2017), 9-17.

[21] Dinko Davidov believes that the travelogue should be dated 1704-1705, because in 1727 Jerotej only copied the notes from the journey and perhaps "only partially modified them. (D. Davidov, *Srbi i Jerusalim*, 179).

[22] See: J. Brodski, "Pisac je usamljeni putnik…" [A Writer is a Lonely Traveler …], in *Vodeni žig* [Watermark] (Beograd: Russika, 2010), 69.

[23] According to the standards of the Middle Ages, a journey was long if it exceeded 500 km and if it lasted more than ten days or two weeks. M. McCormick, "Byzantium on the move: imagining a communications history" in *Travel in the Byzantine World* ed. Ruth Macrides (Aldershot: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 2002), 4.

[24] J. Račanin, "Putovanje ka gradu Jerusalimu" [A Journey to the city of Jerusalem], in *Sveta zemlja u srpskoj književnosti od XIII do kraja XVIII veka* [Holy Land in Serbian Literature from the 13th to the End of the 18th] ed. Tomislav Jovanović (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2007), 199.

[25] Đ. Trifunović, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova* [An Alphabet of Serbian Medieval Literary Terms], drugo dopunjeno izdanje [second supplemented edition] (Beograd: Nolit, 1990), 297.

which can be felt from every page of the book and which is "sincere and human [...], plain, without any mysticism; and his experience of Jerusalem is venerable."[26]

Jerotej Račanin lived among the Serbs north of the Sava and Danube Rivers, at a time when the memory of the Serbian medieval state had almost disappeared, so efforts were made to bring the era of the Nemanjić dynasty back to memory. The state of the Serbian people in Hungary, especially those living outside the cities, was, to put it mildly, worrying: the people had been forced to live in temporary shelters and on battlefields for decades. For the Serbs in the Metropolitanate of Karlovac, religion and church organization were particularly important: they played an important role not only in everyday life as guardians and support of their national identity. Jovan Skerlić believes that "there are few examples of such a great influence of a religious factor in the life of a nation as in the history and literature of the Hungarian Serbs in the eighteenth century."[27] The great influence of religion was a reflection of the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which was the only legitimate Serbian institution in the Habsburg Monarchy. The representatives of the clergy, or rather, of monasticism, were both spiritual, cultural, intellectual, and political elites of the Serbs, with some of the most educated Serbian people at that time being priests.

The priesthood, along with teachers, intellectuals, writers, scholars, and others, were the bearers of cultural memory,[28] the object of which are "the memories that constitute a community." Jan Assmann believes that cultural memory is a form of collective memory that is shared between certain groups of people and contributes to its establishment into a homogeneous community. It represents a well-defined functional

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[26] D. Davidov, *"Jerusalim i srpska kultura." Opisanije Jeruslailma* ["Jerusalem and Serbian Culture" Description of Jerusalem] (Novi Sad: Galerija Matice srpske, 1973), 20.

[27] J. Skerlić, *Srpska književnost u XVIII veku* [Serbian Literature in the 18th century] (Beograd: Izdavačka knjižarnica „Napredak", 1923) 26.]

[28] The term cultural memory has its cultural, historiographical, political and sociological dimension. Cultural memory, as the most complex form of memory (encompasses mimetic memory, object memory and communicative memory) has been upgraded as a tradition of meaning. "When mimetic routines take on the status of a 'ritual', i.e. when they encompass meaning in addition to their purpose, we transcend the field of mimetic memory of an action. Rituals fall within the field of cultural memory as they are a narrative and a representation of cultural meaning." J. Asman, *Kultura pamćenja* [The Cultural Memory] (Belgrade: Education, 2011), 16 -17.

framework for the creation of tradition, for the creation of relationships towards the past, and for the creation of political identity.[29] Due to the preservation and nurturing of memory and recollections, a cultural identity is also established.

Jerotein Račanin's journey, in its essence primarily a pilgrimage, was both part of the Serbian tradition of pilgrimage, as it was part of the European tradition. At the same time, it had an additional dimension: the affirmation of the religious, i.e. Christian identity and, in connection with it, national identity. Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy, being non-Catholics, were perceived as schismatics and exposed to religious persecution. Pilgrimage is primarily a spiritual experience, but it is also understood as a special ritual act, whereas its third aspect must also not be overlooked: its conception as a social event. The Austrian Empire was a land of religious intolerance, ruled by the rule: one's region corresponds to one's religion (*cujus regio - illius religio*); the Serbs lived in conditions of political dependence and cultural backwardness, they were only an instrument in political interests, intrigues, power plays of those whose subjects they were. After almost a hundred years of struggle for basic civil rights and religious equality, they finally welcomed the proclamation of the Patent on Religious Tolerance (*Toleranz Patent*) in 1781.[30] Jerotej's travelogue, as a testimony of religious-Christian affiliation, can also be seen as contributing to the efforts of eighteenth-century Serbian writers to awaken in Europe the awareness of the condition of Christians in the Turkish empire and the need for a joint action by Christian countries to liberate enslaved peoples in the Balkans.[31] Gavril Stefanović Venclović, his younger contemporary, further writes in his works about the

[29] J. Asman, *Kultura pamćenja*, 51-53.

[30] The newly acquired religious rights were attained gradually: it was not until 1790 that the rights of Orthodox clergy were equated with Catholic, and a ban was issued that Serbs could no longer be referred as "Ratzs" and "schismatics."

[31] As a rule, the works of Serbian historiography from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were written as memorial acts to European rulers with proposals for liberation from Turkish occupation. Milorad Pavić notes two important features of these writings: "first, they speak not only of Serbian history, but also of the history of other Balkan peoples and the peoples of Central Europe – all those affected by the Turkish conquests, and second, they are reminiscent in their function and composition of some works of old Serbian literature that had a similar purpose." M. Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti barokonog doba* [The History of Serbian Literature of the Baroque Age] (Beograd: Nolit, 1970), 334.

circumstances in which he lives with his compatriots: one of his thematic circles is *A Prayer for the Serbian Country*, as referred to by Milorad Pavić.

There is almost no information about the lives of Serbs under the Turks in the travelogue, but an encounter with a hundred-and-twenty-year-old man testifies that the Serbs had peace from the Turks only when they were far from them, away from the roads – in the mountains. The severity of their lack of rights is best illustrated by Jerotej's remark: "And the Turk nearly stroke down Grigorije (hieromonk, companion; author's remark) with an axe, because he was reading from the morning service on the chardak (a typical old Balkan house of Turkish design; TN)."[32] At the time of his journey, Jerusalem was likewise in Turkish hands. The travelogue also points to the memory of the former state; it is stated that south of Vranje, in the town of Koštuna, near Četrdeset Crkava, there was formerly "a great town during the time of the Serbian lordship";[33] he also mentions three hills that are referred to as the Tabernacles of Marko Kraljević, and Miloš Kobilić, and Rela Omuđević and Novak Debelić. Jerotej noted fourteen large churches in Gorobinci at Ovče Polje where: "only white stone remains. The Serbs once built, and now everything is desolate."[34] These sections of the travelogue confirm that he had knowledge of history, folk literature, as well as the traditions of his people.

Jerotej's route ran from Belgrade by land via the Morava and South Morava valleys through Niš, Vranje, Veles, the Vardar valley, through Tikveš, Grčište, and Avret Hisar to Thessaloniki. From Thessaloniki he travelled by sea to Platamon and south to Zagora, next to Cassandra (where he experienced storms), the islands of Lemnos, Samothraki, Tenedos, through Izmir Bay, Mytilene (Lesbos), Chios, the bays of the islands of Samos, Kos, Rhodes, following which he experienced several days of storms in the Aegean Sea, after which he sailed to the Egyptian port of Rasheed and reached Cairo by land via the Valley of the Nile, and then continued to Suez by way of Agrod, south through Ras Sudr, Wadi Gharandel and through the Sinai Desert to Saint Sinai, i.e. Mount Horeb.[35] He stayed at St. Catherine's Monastery, from where the road

[32] Jerotej Račanin "Putovanje ka gradu Jerusalimu," 171.
[33] Ibidem, 172.
[34] Ibidem.
[35] Today, Mount Hashem El-Tarif, near Eilat, is considered to be the biblical Mount Sinai.

took him to Gaza, then along the Lod-Ramla-Emmaus route to Jerusalem. He also toured the shrines around the city, visited Bethlehem, descended to the banks of the Jordan River, as well as the Cedar Stream, to the Dead Sea and the river below Jericho, climbed Zion and the Mount of Olives. The return from Jaffa was by sea: having passed Cyprus, pirates attacked, after which he sailed along the Finika-Rhodes-Gallipoli-Constantinople route from where he travelled by land across Bulgaria along the valley of the Maritsa River in the direction of Plovdiv-Pazardzhik-Sofia to Serbia, and then along the route of Jagodina-Batočina-Smederevo-Grocka-Belgrade.[36] The sea route was near the coast, as there were dangers in the open sea, represented by both pirates and the weather.

Jerotej Račanin's narrative gift is especially noticeable in his description of the storm in the Aegean Sea: "... neither did we see the sun, nor the moon, nor the sky, nor the earth, nor the birds flying, except for the storm and the clouds. And the waves varied: they were white, and green, and black, and blue, some stirred as stews, others were as lightning [...] And, then, at sunset the bow of the ship dived, and the mightiest of waves rose, tall as mountains, with mighty, teeming clouds and lightning. And we all fell down as if dead, there was nothing we could have done. We just looked at each other with sad eyes ..."[37] Another striking description is his account of the pirate attack on the ship with the pilgrims: "And on Friday, at the small hours of the night, on 11 May, we saw the enemy boat. And we turned in the opposite direction. And we saw before us a Maltese ship, which filled us with fear, and so we all cried out to God […] And they stripped us to the bone, taking even the shirts of our backs, and cast us, naked, on the shore."[38] Jerotej was the first to

[36] In his travelogue, Jerotej gives the names of the localities that were in his time part of the Ottoman Empire as they were renamed by the Turks; in the same manner he referred to most of the Greek islands: Bocca (Bozcaada/Tenedos), Sakiz is Chios, the bay of the island of Samos/Sisam is referred to as the Bay of Susam, the name Histanđos is derived from the Ottoman name Istanöy, which is the island of Kos. He wrote them down the way he heard their names being said, so the port of Raashid is referred to as Reshit, Wadi Gharandel as Karandul, Revanj (Remlja) as the city of Ramla, and the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv as Filipe, the former Greek name being Philippoupolis, and Turkish Filibe. He refers to the Dead Sea as the Sodom Sea, after the former city of Sodom that was located on the site of today's Dead Sea.

[37] J. Račanin, "Putovanje ka gradu Jerusalimu," 176.

[38] Ibidem, 198.

introduce the topic of the sea in Serbian literature. In his writing, on the one hand, he is close to medieval tradition and, on the other, to contemporaries, because he writes in a language that is familiar to the people.

Jerotej Račanin's route[39]

The central part of the travelogue is dedicated to visiting and describing Jerusalem and its shrines: Jerotej establishes connections

[39] The author of the map is Miroslav Šilić, associate professor at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad.

between unique places, the fateful events that took place at that particular location, with his experience and the rituals in which he participated. A visit would not be entirely meaningful for him had he not prayed and read suitable texts in authentic places. Many pilgrims were convinced that prayers in the temples of Jerusalem or the Holy Land were more fruitful than prayers in other holy places. Jerotej's experience of Jerusalem confirms that he is a *homo religiosus* – a man of faith: a man whose religious identity stands out as primary in his life orientation, a man who has developed a sincere relationship with God in his own pursuit of the divine.[40] On almost every page of the travelogue, it is possible to observe his sincere religiosity. Jerotej was not a writer, nor did he have literary aspirations, and, even though he was a monk, he wrote down his impressions of his pilgrimage in the language of the people, in order to share them not only with his brothers, the other monks, but also with his contemporaries. Thus, he more clearly affirmed that pilgrimage contributes to the connection of the religious man with history and the community.

He was warmly received in Jerusalem. He immediately gave the parishioner of the monastery a *parousia*, i.e. the money from commissioned prayers. He was housed in Saint Sava Monastery, he prayed daily in the temple of Saint Archangel, as well as in other churches, and twice-daily he walked to the Golden Gate, through which Christ had entered Jerusalem. It was not before 3 February that he visited the central sacral topos of Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He spent the night in the temple and thanked God for hearing their prayers to "see what we desired." With great care he described the intricate sacral topography of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which contains the holiest site in Christianity – the tomb of Christ. As a monk, it was very important for him, in addition to the appearance of the Temple of the Resurrection of Christ, to present as closely and beautifully as possible the rituals organized for the celebration of Easter, as well as the appearance of the Holy fire. Worship services in the Holy City during the Holy Week, in fact, lasted around the clock. A tour of Jerusalem also implied that the ritual – *ordo peregrinationis* – was to be followed, which was standardized after 1342 when the Catholic Church declared the Franciscan Order as the official guardians of the tomb of

[40] See: K. Maca, *Poklonička putovanja*, 83.

Christ.[41] In the foreground was a tour of the New Testament sites of Jerusalem, and this type of Franciscan pilgrimage was also observed by other churches. The established order required that the pilgrims necessarily pass along *Via captivatis* (Path of Captivity: Christ's Arrest and Trial), *Via Crucis* (Path of the Cross leading from Pretoria to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) and visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: the pilgrim took the path of Christ's suffering – *Via dolorosa*. Of course, Jerotej visited these unavoidable pilgrimage sites, but he had his own schedule.

He presented the journey to and from Jerusalem in chronological order. The same, however, was not true of his stay in the city. After his visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Patriarchate and the depiction of the service on Orthodox Sunday, he described the observance of Easter, followed by the events and tours of the city and its environs, which began on 20 January, with a larger group of pilgrims. With this deviation from chronological order, he also confirmed what was most important to him – both the Easter celebration in Jerusalem, which, that year, took place on 8 April,[42] and a tour of the Holy Sepulchre Church.

The soul of Jerotej was imbued with the joy of learning about the Holy City and its surroundings, which he left nine days after Easter: "with joy and plentiful fear, praising God, who honours us with so much honour and glory of which we are unworthy."[43] This was followed by a remark, as if it was a side note, saying that "to Jaffa, during our two-day journey, there were plenty of bloody heads,"[44] which illustrates that his journey was not only difficult and uncertain, but also dangerous. The journey through the desert on the way to St. Catherine's Monastery was not at all easy, for he almost cried out, "O brethren, of the difficult and painful path, and of a miserable life in that land!"[45] There were many dangers on his tour of the sites surrounding Jerusalem. At the site where

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[41] See: N. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 84.

[42] We have the date from a special table made by Gabriel Tołwiński, printed in Warsaw in 1903 in *O kalendarzu jego znaczeniu oraz reformach, dokonywanych różnemi czasy* [About the Calendar and its Importance and Reforms Carried out at Different Times], Warszawa: Nakladem i drukiem M. Arcta, 1903.

[43] J. Račanin, "Putovanje ka gradu Jerusalimu," 197.

[44] Ibidem.

[45] Ibidem, 179.

John the Forerunner was born, he noted that on two occasions the Arabs wanted to "stone them to death, before they were appeased with money."[46] However, in his travelogue, he never complained that he was tired, because fatigue, as something shallow, corporeal was to be neglected on ones' way of asceticism, so that he often slept on the ground, ate bland food, fasted for long periods of time, all the while experiencing exhausting climatic conditions that were very different from those he was used to back home.[47]

He did not devote more space in his travelogue to his impressions of people's lives and areas; this approach confirmed that the meaning of his journey was a pilgrimage. However, such observations are inevitable, as those about Egypt where people "neither wear pants, nor breeches, nor trousers, […] And there are those who walk around as naked as the day they were born. […] And they all smoke and drink coffee – both men and women, the young and the old. And we saw the flowers of a date tree grow in order to sustain the yield. And we saw a tree that yielded cotton. And four types of fig trees. One fig tree, which Adam was deceived into eating, provides three lessons. And its sweetness cannot be grasped by the human mind. It leads to many delights. The seven of us bought one and we ate for three days. Finally, we left them behind, for they were so sweet we could not eat them."[48] Furthermore, the passage through the desert left a striking impression: "We saw no humans, no trees, no grass, no birds, no water, except for rock and stone."[49] Just how taxing the journey through the desert on foot was, is best illustrated by the repetition of an almost identical line: "We saw no humans, no trees, no grass, except rocks, which stretched out to the horizon."[50] The appearance of snow, during their visit to the monastery of Saint Euthymius, was somewhat unexpected in the Mediterranean climate, despite it being 20 January: "it snowed heavily. For seven days and seven nights it did not stop once."[51] Despite his much more detailed descriptions of temples and church rituals, Jerotej's immediacy, his genuine sensitivity and penchant for detail brought to readers not only a

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[46] Ibidem, 194.

[47] See: D. Davidov. *Srbi i Jerusalim*, 187.

[48] J. Račanin, "Putovanje ka gradu Jerusalimu," 177.

[49] Ibidem, 178.

[50] Ibidem, 179.

[51] Ibidem, 189.

clear but a striking picture of an exciting journey through various, distant regions. Jerotej also cited legends regarding some of the sites, but sometimes did not provide factual information. In his time, the study of history in our country was still not based on scientific facts. During his stay in the Kassandra Peninsula, he mistakenly noted that Saint Theodore Tyron was tortured in the nearby town of Tyron.[52]

In the Eastern tradition of the Christian church, which sought to maintain a strong liturgical heritage, pilgrimage themes were also symbolically maintained through the liturgical service.[53] The greatest orator of the eighteenth-century Serbian literature, Gavrilo Stefanović Venclović (end of the seventeenth century – after 1746),[54] a pupil of Kiprijan Račanin, appears not to have visited Jerusalem, not to have travelled to the Holy City in the flesh, but by heart, and was present spiritually in this ancient city.[55] For a time, Venclović lived in Szentendre, around 1736 he was a chaplain in Győr, and in 1739 in Kormorán. In the Kormorán chronicle there is a brief entry stating: "It was in the summer of 1739 that hieromonk Gavrilo Stefanović, the famous preacher from

[52] Tyron is derived from the Latin word *tiro* meaning recruit. Saint Theodore, also known as Saint Theodore of Amasea, was a soldier in the Roman Legion. He was killed in the town of Amasya in present-day Turkey. There is no town of Tyron in the Kassandra Peninsula. It is possible that Jerotej did not understand the local legend well because he did not speak Greek.

[53] See: N. Polovina, *Topos putovanja u srpskim biografijama XIII* [Topos of Travel in Serbian Biographies of 13th century] (Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2010), 138.

[54] About thirteen longer and shorter Venclović's manuscripts have been preserved, most of which are not original in content, but are mostly monastic entries and translations of the 17th century Russian theological thought. He laid the foundation for the early Serbian Enlightenment by fighting illiteracy, primitivism, exaggerated fasting, shaming the body and unhealthy church customs. Without him, it would be harder to observe the emergence of Serbian Enlightenment and other later literary movements in the eighteenth century, including authors such as Jovan Muškatirović, Dositej Obradović, or Sava Mrkalj.

[55] Miroslav Timotijević states that the idea of spiritual pilgrimage was shaped in medieval Christian culture, and that it was based on the understanding that a bodily journey to the Holy Land could be replaced by a spiritual journey – *peregrinatio in stabilitate*. Spiritual pilgrimage was widespread in monastic circles, both in the East and in the West, because the tendency to *peregrinatio in stabilitate* was in accordance with the rules of the monastic way of life, while bodily pilgrimage was also understood as something that opposed it. That is why, in the late Middle Ages, special manuals appeared for Catholics "for the mental mapping of the sacred space of the Holy Land during pilgrimage" (M. Timotijević, *Duhovno hodočašće*, 213).

Szentendre, arrived."[56] His sermons, written with an aspiration to be penned in an accessible language "for the common people," are an example of the picturesque and eloquent Serbian Baroque church preaching. Venclović wrote, preached, translated and painted for about thirty years, between 1716 and 1747, during the years where the beginnings of contemporary Serbian art are already visible. Serbian culture owes him a debt of gratitude because he understood the importance of the vernacular, because he introduced those elements into the church vocabulary which were more appropriate to the new, baroque feeling that was born in parallel with the old medieval tradition.

Depending on the nature of the journey to the Holy Land, whether it was bodily or spiritual, a certain duality can be observed: a domination either of a personal aspect, which is, of course, variable or, of a more general, constant expression. Spiritual pilgrimage could also have been a form of preparation for the bodily journey, as it could also have been understood as a symbolic attachment to the idea of life as a pilgrimage journey to heavenly Jerusalem. Venclović mentions Jerusalem in several *Bible*-inspired texts; the most striking is the story entitled *The Jerusalem Healing Bath*, of course because the name of the city is present in the title. He did not just write about the public bath and the miracles of healing in it, but also explained the emergence of the idiom "camel through the eye of a needle," which referred to the "very tight and narrow" door of the Jerusalem bath. God later made that door so tight that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.[57] The story, among other things, points to the Holy City as a unique space in which miracles are possible. Jerusalem is also mentioned in the legend of the *Confession of Mary of Egypt*,[58] as well as in the stories *The Dead City*, *The Cemetery of Judas*, *The Army of Heaven* and *The Sowing of Salt*. Mary of Egypt was a harlot who followed the pilgrims; at the doorstep of the Church of Holy Sepulchre she realized her sins, repented, and for decades, in tears, she atoned for her sins. In the story

[56] G. Vitković, *Prošlost, ustanova i spomenici ugarskih kraljevih šajkaša od 1000. do 1872* [History, Institution and Monuments of the Hungarian Royal Šajkaši from 1000 to 1872] (Beograd: Štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1887), 271.

[57] Jesus said to the disciples, "Truly I tell you, it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. For it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matthew, 19: 16-24).

[58] The chapel dedicated to Mary of Egypt is located in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

of *The Dead City*, Venclović points to the fate of Jerusalem in Roman times and its oppression, as well as its inevitable fate: to be restored and to last despite everything. The destruction of Jerusalem is also described in the story *The Sowing of Salt*. He also refers to it in *The Drawing of Ezekiel*: God told Ezekiel to draw Jerusalem, as it was on the outside and on the inside, in order to preserve its memory, because the attack of the Babylonians was imminent. *The Cemetery of Judas* is the story of Judas who "betrayed the pure blood," and of his repentance before the Jewish priests, his hanging; as well as of the purchase of a piece of land from Judas' money for a cemetery intended for foreigners, i.e. the pilgrims who passed away in Jerusalem. *The Army of Heaven* reminds of the apparition of a mighty army in the sky above Jerusalem that soon came to reality: another in a series of invaders, the Persian Emperor Antioch who ravaged Jerusalem. Accurate indication of the distance from Mount Olivet, i.e. the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem: "two thousand four hundred steps," as well as knowledge of customs, illustrate Venclović's remarkable knowledge of biblical culture. After reading *The Saturday Walk*, one is left with the impression as though Venclović truly was in the Holy City, even though he undertook a spiritual journey only, to mentally map and confirm the significance of Jerusalem to his flock. At the same time, he made his own contribution to nurturing and preserving the cult of the Holy City among the Serbs. The aforementioned writings testify not only to the history of the city, but also to the author's concern for its fate due to frequent destruction and conquests. Venclović further expressed his concern in the poem *Zion*: he fears that Zion will be razed to the ground, whereas Jerusalem will be "desolate as an orchard that was picked bare."

Venclović also wrote a biographical piece on Saint Sava, and was aware of his work and his pilgrimage trips to the Holy City. He was also aware of Saint Sava's epistle to Spiridon, abbot of the Studenica Monastery, in which he communicated "succinctly and partly in a poetic way [...] impressions of his stay in the Holy Land."[59] In writing his stories, Venclović used not only biblical sources, but also Serbian, as well as other Slavic literary texts. Biblical motifs are common in literature, with many authors finding inspiration in the *Bible*, paraphrasing motifs about Biblical heroes and stories. The *Bible's* influence in literature begins with

[59] T. Ž. Jovanović, *Prioskinitarioni,* 166.

the emergence of the first translations into Latin and then into the vernacular.[60]

Venclović is not alone in his spiritual journey. The famous Petrarca, who also never travelled to the Holy Land, wrote in late March 1358, over a span of three days, a special guide-letter titled *Itinerarium ad sepulchrum domini nostri Yhesu Christi* to his friend Giovannolo Guido da Mandello, a member of the famous Milanese Visconti family. The work contains detailed and useful information about Petrarca's journey from Genoa to Jerusalem that never took place and was supposed to be useful to Mandello during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Petrarca's spiritual journey, his extraordinary knowledge of biblical culture, an accurate source of historical and geographical information, contributed to the text's popularity both in Latin and in its translation into the vernacular.

The inevitable question is: did Venclović have knowledge of Jerotej's travelogue? It is unlikely that he had the opportunity to read it and thus become acquainted with Jerotej's spiritual experience of the Holy City, but it is not impossible that he heard about his brother's feat, as well as about his literary travelogue. Insights into Venclović's work suggest that the themes of the journey, the road, the traveller were more inspiring to him, as it seems, in a metaphysical sense and as a spiritual act. It is unknown how many copies of Jerotej's manuscript about his journey to Jerusalem were made; only one was brought to light from the darkness of the centuries. Unfortunately, the autograph, once located in Sremski

[60] In his essay *Odysseus" Scar*, Erich Auerbach compared the text of Homer's *Odyssey* and the text of the *Old Testament*, concluding that the *Bible* can also be understood as literature, but that it is necessary to keep in mind the dominant historical function of the biblical text. According to him, the Bible is a literary story that must be believed in entirely (E. Auerbah, *Mimesis* (Beograd: Nolit, 1968, 7-29)) [Odysseus' Scar]. In his book on the relationship between *the Bible* and literature, Northrop Frye emphasizes that no book could have such a particular literary influence without possessing literary qualities; he views *the Bible* as a work that is "more than" literature because of its philosophical, anthropological, historical and ethical aspects, and which, as such, escapes all literary standards. Although it uses poetic language, although it contains an abundance of poetic figures, it is not just literature. The literary aspect of the text is not primary to *the Bible* – what is primary is its indication as to the presence of God. Frye points to the great influence of *the Bible* on many literatures and writers. For Frye, the Bible is a rounded, unique entity that has a unique typological structure. See: N. Frye, *Veliki kod(eks): Biblija i književnost* [The Great Code: The Bible and Literature] (Beograd: Prosveta, 1985).

Karlovci, disappeared in the great flood in mid-nineteenth century.[61] The travelogue was published in 1861 by Osip Bođanski in Moscow, its copy was made before the flood, while some parts were also published by Stojan Novaković in 1871 in Belgrade.

European culture is based on the foundations of two cultural patterns: ancient and Christian, which are permeating many aspects of life. Christianity began to take shape and then spread within the church, which represents a community of believers and promotes a rounded and unique view of the world and life values. This, in turn, contributed to the constitution of the European cultural and civilizational circle. The impact of *the Bible* is evident in many segments of human life. Pilgrimage is a type of journey; it is a journey with *the Bible*, a book at the centre of Christian cultural heritage, the contents of which are a unique guide for pilgrims. From the time of its creation, it was a journey where the travellers were able to know a great deal in advance about the places they were visiting in the Holy Land and Jerusalem, which was an exception, especially in an era when there was no expedited and all-accessible flow of information. However, *the Scripture* was not only a source of information; it was, and is, a source of inspiration and motivation. The pilgrim was always grateful to God, for even when he travelled by himself, he was never alone: he was accompanied by an all-seeing eye. Unlike other journeys in ancient times, the emphasis on traveling to Jerusalem was not so much about discovering the new, as it was about confronting authentic religious places, absorbing their particularly inspiring atmosphere, learning about the origins, the roots of Christian culture. Two Serbian monks and writers contributed to the establishment of the Jerusalem cult as a unique city that has endured for centuries in Serbian culture: Jerotej Račanin did so by presenting his immediate impressions of the Holy City in a travelogue, whereas Venclović did this by means of several writings and legends in the form of a spiritual journey, established in Christianity and *the Bible*.

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[61] During his stay in Sremski Karlovci in 1840, Osip Bođanski noticed in a collection of texts Jerotej's travelogue; he then asked Miloš Popović, who was at the time a student of theology and Đuro Daničić's brother, to transcribe the text for him; Bođanski published it in its entirety twenty years later, at the end of 1861. See: B. Marinković, "Odlomci traganja za Račanima i tradicija o Jeroteju Račaninu" [The Fragments of the Search for Monks of the Rača Monastery and Tradition regarding Jerotej Račanin], *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* [Yearbook of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad] 12:1 (1969): 263-300.

Pilgrimage travelogues, significant and interesting works of literature, are not only part of biblical culture, but also of travel culture. Most succinctly, the travel culture (culture of travel / *reisekultur* / *la culture du voyage*) refers to various processes in the culture associated with travel,[62] including texts typical of a particular social environment and its own social relations. The emphasis is, therefore, placed on the experience of the new environment, on its discovery and exploration: the intention of the traveller is to know, present and be part of that new culture. Travel culture encompasses different disciplines such as cultural history, history, geography, ethnology, anthropology, sociology and, of course, literature. Interdisciplinary relationships are present in travelogues, which, in addition to presenting impressions of travel and describing a certain area, are rich in observations about people, customs, cultural and artistic values, as well as other peculiarities of space and time that the travel writer writes about. The permeation and integration of knowledge from diverse fields contributes to the complexity of the concept of travel in a more comprehensive way.

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[62] The phrase *travel culture* began to be more widely used in the early 1990s in German texts in the humanities; Gary Langer is considered to be the author of the phrase (*Travel to Learn*, 1977).

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Canonical Visitations as Special Travel Sources (Based on the Catholic Visitations of the Uh County in the Eighteenth Century)[1]

Vavrinec Žeňuch[2]

Visitation protocols have a lot in common with travelogues. In Slovak context, one can think about Slovak national revivalists, who traveled along the county and documented their experiences in journals and literary works.[3] However, this is different from the strict summarizing view which can be found in canonical visitations. The canonical visitation is a detailed summary of the visit – the visitor is usually being a bishop who visits a parish or a region. These visits took place in Hungary from the period of the Council of Trent, but because of the difficult geopolitical situation, mainly only the protocols from later times have been preserved (from the seventeenth century onwards).[4]

Complex information on the Uh County has been recorded starting from the eighteenth century. These are the oldest Catholic visitation protocols from the county's region, delimited into Satu Mare's Bishopric after the division of the Eger Bishopric (1804).[5] The visitations were not performed only by Catholic structures but also by Protestants or

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[1] The study is part of the project VEGA 1/0736/18 *Premeny hospodárskeho, spoločenského, konfesionálneho a kultúrneho vývinu zemepanských miest a mestečiek na území východného Slovenska v 17.-19. storočí.*

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[3] P. Markovič, "Cestopisné a memoárové texty Ľudovíta Štúra ako ideologické výpovede [Travelogue and memoir texts of Ľudovít Štúr as ideological statements]," in *19. storočie v zrkadle písomných prameňov* [19th century in the mirror of written sources], ed. Marcela Domenová (Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove, 2016), 36-41. *Cestopisné denníky štúrovcov* [Travel notebooks of Štúr's community], ed. R. Modla (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2014).

[4] A. Kónyová, P. Kónya, *Kalvínska reformácia a reformovaná cirkev na východnom Slovensku v 16. – 18. storočí* [Calvinist Reformation and Reformed Church in Eastern Slovakia in the 16th - 18th centuries] (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity, 2010), 84-88.

[5] Szatmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár [Archives of the Bishops and Chapters of Satu Mare], fund Visitatio Canonica.

Orthodox Christians. The oldest visitation of the Uh county dates from 1618-1619, which was performed by the Reformed Church during the uprising of Gabriel Bethlen.[6] This visitation is not geographically complete because it focuses solely on the Uh presbytery, which did not coincide with the perimeter of the county (which also included Zemplén and Szabolcs counties). Furthermore, later visitations performed on the impulse of insurgents (George I Rákóczi or Francis II Rákóczi) or Kings (Leopold I) did not only follow the territory of the Uh county, but they had a wider range.[7] The visitations of the Orthodox bishops and later bishops who belonged to the Eastern Catholic Churches were stored from the eighteenth century onwards. Their actions in the seventeenth century are mentioned in relation to the issuing of passports for visiting particular territories, including the Uh County.

The visitators' protocols from the seventeenth century are rather reactionary, because they focus on the battles of re-Catholization or, more precisely, confessional tension, rather than documenting information about parishes. Probably the "richest" visitation in information is the first preserved visitation from the years 1618/1619. The summary of this visitation establishes that its writer did not have a clear structure of the information he was examining. The visitation reveals information about the existence of wine yards, local traditions (mostly connected to religious life), mills and their description (how many wheels they had), as well as the existence of schools, and other issues such as the number of glasses of wine which belong to the sexton in the belfry. There is no information about recent history, the parishes' problems, or the administrator.[8]

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[6] Tiszáninneni Református Egyházi Levéltár Sárospatak [Archive of the Reformed Church in Sárospatak], fund Református Egyházlátogatások [Reformed Church Visitations], Uh.

[7] Державний архів Закарпатської області – ДАЗО [The State Archive of the Transcarpathian region – DAZO], fund 4 Наджупан Ужанської жупи, м.Ужгород [Count Uh county, Uzhgorod]/2, inventory number 561, p. 3-4. Державний архів Закарпатської області – ДАЗО [The State Archive of the Transcarpathian region – DAZO], fund 4 Наджупан Ужанської жупи, м.Ужгород [Count Uh county, Uzhgorod]/17, inventory number 34, p. 3. K. Mészáros, *Ungvár története, a legrégibb időktől maig* [The history of Uzhgorod from the oldest times to the present] (Pesten: Ráth Mór könyvkereskedésében s bizottmányában, 1861), 76.

[8] Szatmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár [Archives of the Bishops and Chapters of Satu Mare], fund Visitatio Canonica, Uh 1746.

In the eighteenth century, each visitation is different. We cannot generalize any with regard to a particular region (counties in Hungary), confession, or the person who performed the visitation. The visitation was always comprised of certain questions, called "punktá" [points]. These points were preserved as part of the visitation protocol, as part of the preamble, or they were attached separately as questions. Their character was various, from containing basic historical information on the parishes and chapels of ease, through economical information about the incomes of the priest or the parish itself, to the believers' language, their nationality, as well as the theological verification of the parish administrator.

The summary of the canonical visitation can be divided into various aspects according to content. Based on the nature of the visitation, it includes three fundamental aspects: economic, religious-managerial, and historically general information. Each of these aspects is based on travelogue-like information, particularly the information from Eger's Bishop Francis Barkóczy de Szala, who travelled through the region.

Bishop Francis Barkóczy de Szala travelled through the Uh County twice in a short period of time (1746, 1749).[9] His travels and preserved files include numerous information, especially connected to the way of performing the visitation. He did not delegate the Archdeacons or other persons with visitations, but he travelled through the region himself. He acted as a member of the privileged groups (the nobility, the clergy – Bishop) during his visitations. The bishops of Eger did not visit only Latin parishes, but they were the administrators of the Uniates, as well the Union of Uzhgorod. The territory of the Uh County was confessionally diverse. There were only eight Latin parishes, while the number of Greek rite parishes was multiple times higher (more than fifty parishes).[10] The local wooden rectories were not suitable for the lodging of such a significant church prelate as the bishop. They consisted of one or two rooms where the parish administrator lived with servants. There

[9] Szatmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár [Archives of the Bishops and Chapters of Satu Mare], fund Visitatio Canonica, Uh 1746, Державний архів Закарпатської області – ДАЗО [The State Archive of the Transcarpathian region – DAZO], fund 151 Правління Мукачівської греко-католицької епархії, м. Ужгород [Board of the Mukachevo Greek Catholic Diocese, Uzhgorod]/1 inventory number 1125, p. 1-17.

[10] Szatmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár [Archives of the Bishops and Chapters of Satu Mare], fund Visitatio Canonica, Uh 1746.

was also a place for farm animals. The bishop, with his entourage (a scribe, a priest, a porter, the cooks, and others), could not live in those constrained and thus unsuitable places. This is why Barkóczy usually informed the county's nobility in advance of his upcoming visitation so that he usually stayed with them. The bishop had his own estates in the Uh county (Pavlovce nad Uhom), where he stayed. Furthermore, he also slept in the parishes in Uzhgorod and Vinné.[11] The visitation of each parish (Latin and Greek) resulted from the church regulations. The procedure of the visitation was as following: the bishop first focused on gaining information about the administration, then he performed the Roman rite (he conferred the sacrament of confirmation and granted indulgences).

Barkóczy visited the Uh County twice. The first visitation was a full visitation and it took place in 1746. It followed each confession and settlement thus revealing complex information.[12] The second visitation took place in 1749 but it solely focused on the territories of the Eastern Rite, on the activities and the doctrinal level of the presbyters.[13] Besides Barkóczy visitations, the visitations of Mukachevo's Eastern Rite vicars of the same time period (1741, 1747, 1748, 1752) were also preserved. These protocols map solely the territory of the Eastern Rite.[14] Because of this, this study focuses solely on Barkóczy's visit of 1746, using other protocols to add information (especially the high occurrence of visitation protocols which show a travelogue-like character and development).

The visitation protocol from 1746 includes information on 195 sites visited during the summer. Three of them were sites from the Zemplén

[11] Ibidem.
[12] Ibidem.
[13] Державний архів Закарпатської області – ДАЗО [The State Archive of the Transcarpathian region – DAZO], fund 151 Правління Мукачівської греко-католицької єпархії, м. Ужгород [Board of the Mukachevo Greek Catholic Diocese, Uzhgorod]/1 inventory number 1125, p. 1-17.
[14] T. *Véghseő et al. Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez. Az egri egyházmegye területén szolgálógörögkatolikus papok 1741. évi javadalom-összeírása [*Resources for the history of the Greek Catholic parishes in Hungary. 1741 census of Greek Catholic priests serving in the diocese of Eger] *(Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2014). T. Véghseő et al. Forrásoka magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez Olsavszky Mihály Mánuel munkácsi püspök 1750-1752. évi egyházlátogatásainak iratai [*Resources For the History of the Greek Catholic Parishes in Hungary Mihály Olsavszky Mihály Bishop Munkács 1750-1752. records of his church visits] *(Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2015).*

County which were administratively connected to the church structures in the Uh County.[15] Likewise, one community (Vrbovec) in the Uh County was visited as part of the Zemplén County. The bishop started his journey in the parish of Pavlovce nad Uhom, where he was also the founder of a local rectory. He visited the local administratorof the parish named Nicholas Beregovič (Nicolaus Beregovics), and recorded his age and income. His parish included a stone temple, newly painted in blue. The temple, dedicated to Saint Andrew, had its interior reconstructed by Barkóczy's family. The village also had a school and a midwife.[16] Apart from this information, the bishop recorded details on the branches of the parish: he noted that the Bajany branch included only Calvinists; that in Vysoká nad Uhom, half of the village was Reformed and the other half consisted of Uniates and Roman Catholics; he further stated that another midwife lived in Tegeňa (nowdays, Pavlovce and Uhom); he then also mentioned Liesková, Krišov, and Mokča (nowdays, Krišovská Liesková). The information revealed that there was a deaf midwife in Krišov, a wooden Reformed oratory with a preacher's house in Mokča, and a school where the teacher was funded by the landowner Mokcsai. Furthermore, there was another wooden oratory in Vojany, which the bishop described as "ruins" and a school where a Reformed teacher taught. The local community probably made an impression on the bishop; it was composed of 128 Reformed believers, about 35 Roman Catholics, and 5 Lutherans. The person with whom the bishop communicated, Francis Solanci (Szolanci), interested him especially: he described him as an "apostate" from Catholicism to the Reformed Church. The bishop further noted the local language and the total number of each locality. In each community, except for Vysoká nad Uhom, the dominant language was Slovak, and the second prominent was Hungarian. Tegeňa and Krišov were also inhabited by Rusyns.[17]

Further on, the bishop travelled to the village of Ruská, located to the south-east of Pavlovce. The parish was managed by George Salkaj (Georgius Szalkai) who was 32 years old and had been in the parish for three years. The bishop described the entire temple (it had three altars, the main one consecrated to the Holy Cross and the minor ones

[15] Szatmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár [Archives of the Bishops and Chapters of Satu Mare], fund Visitatio Canonica, Uh 1746.
[16] Ibidem.
[17] Ibidem.

consecrated to Our Lady of Sorrows and Saint Joseph). The building material of the temple was not mentioned; the bishop just wrote that the temple was not consecrated (blessed), so we assume that it was a new building. The locals in Ruská spoke Hungarian and Slovak. There was no school or cantor in the village, only an uneducated midwife. The sponsor of the parish was the Dobo family from Ruská. The bishop, during his travel, also passed the village of Malé Kapušany, the town of Veľké Kapušany and the village Čepeľ, all of which now form one town, Veľké Kapušany. These three settlements influenced each other due to their geographical closeness. Čepeľ was a property of Mokcsai, who belonged to the Reformed Church.[18] There was no sacral building in the town, only a school with a bell which did not have a clapper and could not ring. A reformed priest taught in the local school. The village of Malé Kapušany had a Catholic church in ruins. The landowner's (the Mokcsai family) oratory, a ten-year-old wooden building, was located in Čepeľ. Even though the local reformed parish was in Čepeľ, the Reformed Church considered it part of Kapušany.[19] The inhabitants of these three settlements spoke solely Hungarian. The Ruská parish also included Matovce,[20] where there was an old wooden temple, Palaď (today Palad'-Komarivtsi), and Palaďské Komarovce (Palad'-Komarivtsi), which shared a wooden Reformed temple in Palaď. When the parish of Ruská was visited, the villages of Malé Slemence (Mali Selmentsi), with a Catholic wooden church, and Veľké Semence, with no church as the Reformed met in the house of a landowner, were mapped as well. These five villages were close to each other. It is interesting that the dominant language of this region was Rusyn and Hungarian was secondary.[21]

After mapping these settlements, the bishop's attention focused on the settlements of Čičarovce (with a thirty-year-old wooden Reformed temple and a Reformed school), Beša (with its wooden Reformed oratory and a school), and Ižkovce with its wooden oratory. The language spoken in this region was Hungarian and Rusyn.[22] Kľašany, Ňarád, and Močár

[18] Ibidem.

[19] P. Kónya, "Reformovaný cirkevný zbro vo Veľkých Kapušanoch medzi reformáciou, rekatolizáciou a toleranciou" [Reformed church in Veľké Kapušany between Reformation, Recatholization and Toleration], *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10:1 (2019): 45.

[20] Szatmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár [Archives of the Bishops and Chapters of Satu Mare], fund Visitatio Canonica, Uh 1746.

[21] Ibidem.

[22] Ibidem.

are now centered under one village named Kapušianské Kľačany. In Kľačany, there was no sacral building. Močár and Ňarád were joined at the time. Located in the center of the settlement, Ňarád had a Reformed oratory headed by an administrator named Njaradi. In Močar, there was just a bell house with an unblessed bell.[23] The villages of Veškovce, Ptrukša, and Pallo (Pallo), all of which only had bell houses, also belonged to the Ruská parish. Also, Vajkovce had a ruin of a Roman Catholic church, Budince had a Catholic bell house and a reformed oratory in the landowner's house; Galoč (Haloch) had a wooden Uniate temple in good condition, as well as a wooden reformed oratory. The inhabitants of these villages spoke mainly Hungarian and Slovak.[24]

Later, the visitator moved on to the parish of Malé Ratovce (Mali Rativtsi, today known as Rativtsi), which was administered by Paul Krupnik. The administrator was thirty-six years old and was serving in the parish for the twelfth year. There was also an older parish temple dedicated to Saint Michael and an oratory in the landowner's house. The Catholic church even had an organ with an organist – Joseph Čučka (Csucskoi). In the parish village, people spoke Slovak or Rusyn with a small number speaking Hungarian. Describing this region, the bishop noted that the village of Homok (Kholmok) had a temple of Saint John the Baptist; Ketergeň (now Rozivka (Rozivka) had a bell house; Koritňany (Korytnyany) had a ruin of an old temple and also a Uniate wooden temple. The village of Baraňa (Baranyntsi) was divided into an upper and lower part, the upper one having an Uniate temple. Časlavice (Chaslivtsi) had a wooden temple which was visited by believers from the villages of Koritňany, Chlmec (Kholmets'), Veľké Hejovce (Velyki Heivtsi), Láz (Velyki Lazy), and Baraňa. In Malé Hejovce (Mali Heivtsi), there was a Reformed temple. In the village Sjurte (Sjurte), there was a Catholic temple. The village belonged to the wealthier localities (Sjurte) and the Church had a stronger position in that Sjurte. Settlements such as Čop (Chop), Solomonovce (Solomonovo), Ďuročke (Győrocske), Zahony, and Ašváň (Tisaashvan') were primarily Reformed. Wooden oratories were spotted in Zahony, Solomonovo, and Čop. Those southern parts of the county were predominantly inhabited by Calvinists who spoke Hungarian. Veľké, Malé Ratovce, and Časlovce were

[23] Ibidem.

[24] Ibidem.

primarily settled by Slovak speaking inhabitants, with some of them also speaking Rusyn.[25]

From Ratovce Parish, the bishop travelled to the parish of Jor and Darma (today Storozhnytsja). Jor and Darma were not divided at the time, which is why the bishop did not distinguish the primary name of the parish's residency. The villages had two temples – the Roman Catholic and the Uniate temples. The Reformers gathered privately in their homes. The village had the tradition of making pilgrimages to surrounding temples and parishes. They were done on the feast of Saint John the Baptist to the village Homok and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross to Ruská. The local Roman Catholic temple was dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. The position of parish administrator was vacant. The Uniate parish was administrated by John Bolai, and the reformed preacher was Stefan Pataky. No school was mentioned in the village, only a note about the cantor whose name was Michal Silani (Szilanyi). This parish also included the villages of Bozoš (now a part of Uzhgorod), Koncovo (Koncovo), Minaj (Minaj), Jenkovce, Tašuľa, Zahor, Pinkovce, Lekárovce, Vyšné Nemecké, Nižné Nemecké, Bežovce, Tarnovec (Tarnivtsi), Botfalva (Botfalva), Šišlovec (Shyshlivtsi), Batfa (Batfa), and Tekergeň (extinct village). In Bozoš, there was only a bell house, but the bishop noted that it was situated near the mansion (*Castello dominalis*). In Koncove, there was a brick chapel with a bell house. In Minaj, there was a Roman Catholic bell house and a wooden Reformed oratory which was visited by the inhabitants of Uzhgorods. A wooden reformed temple and a brick Roman Catholic temple with two bells were located in Jenkovce. In Tašula, there was a Catholic bell house, and the preacher from Jenkovce came to the Reformers who held ceremonies at the houses of the local Calvinists. In Záhor, there was a wooden oratory led by a preacher from Bežovce. There was also funding for a teacher and the school; however, the teacher's position was vacant. In Pinkovce, there was no bell or oratory. In nearby Lekárovce, the Reformers had their own bell house and the Uniates had their temple. In Nižné Nemecké, there was a Uniate parish and a wooden temple. Moreover, a brick Reformed oratory was situated there, where the preacher from Jenkovce went to preach. In Tarnovec, the Reformers met in the house of the landowner Horvát. There was also

[25] Ibidem.

a brick sacral building Tarnovec which was used by the Uniates and the Roman Catholics. In Šišlovec, only a bell house was spotted, but it is not clear to which confession it belonged. In Badfa, there was a one-hundred-year-old brick temple, administered by the Reformers, particularly by the preacher Stefan Makrandi. In the now-extinct Tekergeň, there were no sacral buildings, the only information given was that the local Reformees were ministered to by a preacher from Minaj and the Catholics by the parish administrator from Jor. In Bežovce, there was a Uniate temple and a wooden Reformed oratory. In Lekárovce, there was a wooden temple with a tower and two bells. These settlements were mainly inhabited by Slovak-speaking people.[26]

After visiting the parishes near the town of Uzhgorod, the bishop unexpectedly did not travel to the center of the county – Uzhgorod – but he instead went back to the parish of Senné, which was near Pavlovce nad Uhom. In Senné, there was a wooden Roman Catholic temple dedicated to the Virgin Maryadorned with depictions of the Holy Trinity, Saint John the Baptist, and Calvary, which were commissioned by the baron Vecsei. The locals only spoke Slovak. The local parish was administered by John Uhrik, while Martin Hanzik was mentioned as bellman. An unnamed midwife was also mentioned. Nor school or a cantor are mentioned in the village. Its territory included the village of Stretava, where there was a Catholic bell house and a Reformed wooden oratory (which was a former Catholic church). The village had a midwife and a Reformed cantor. Stretavka only had a bell house, as the village was located nearby Stretava. The locals visited Stretava's reformed oratory or the parish temple in Senné. In the village of Palín, the Catholics did not even have a bell. The Reformers had a wooden oratory with a bell house in the village and they were led by a preacher from Stretava. Based on the information about the villages of Rebrín and Krašok (today, Zemplínska Široká), it appears that they were considered as one single settlement. Already at that time (in 1746), the villages were joined. These two joined villages held a wooden temple dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The temple was described as being in good condition and having one bell. In Inačovce, there was a Uniate temple. There was a cantor in the village, but he did not teach. In Jastrabie, near Michalovce, there was no temple, only a well-preserved

[26] Ibidem.

bell house situated in the center of the village. The bell itself was not blessed. The village was visited by a Uniate priest. The inhabitants of this parish spoke mainly Slovak and Hungarian. In the settlements where the Uniate priest ministered, Rusyn language was also used since the priest preached only in the Rusyn.[27]

Afterwards, the bishop continued in his journey through the county to the parish of Vinné. The present-day village of Vinné is composed of two localities, Vinné and Banka, and, as is stated in the protocol, these settlements were united even at that time. In Vinné, there were two temples. The first one was constructed in brick and described as large and beautiful (Magna et Pulchra olim). The second one was wooden and in good condition. Processions were held in Vinné on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary when people journeyed to Michalovce. There is no mention about any iconographical depictions of saints or altar images in the temples. This points to the times when the temples were used primarily by the Reformers. The Reformers did not have a temple in the village therefore they had to meet in the house of Daniel Kurimci (Kurimczi). The reformed preacher commuted from Lúčky. The Latin parish was administered by Matthew Seko (Szeko), who was 35 years old. Vinné was the first parish where he worked. A midwife and a cantor who did not teach also lived in this village. In a village belonging to that parish, Trnava pri Laborci, there was a well-preserved Uniate temple. In Zbudza (a village in Zemplén county), there was a wooden Catholic church dedicated to Saint Lawrence. This church still stands today, but after the renovation in the year 1749, its dedication was changed to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary. In Malé Zalužice (now Zalužice), there was no sacral building. In the village Veľké Zalužice (also now Zalužice), there was a Catholic church in good condition. The Reformers met in a house where the believers from Čečehov and Vrbovec also gathered. They were given spiritual comfort by a preacher from Lúčky. In Hažín, there was an old but well-preserved wooden temple belonging to the Uniates. In Lúčky, there was a wooden temple which had been used for years by the Catholics, but in the year 1746 it started to be used by the Reformers. Hnojné did not have any church or oratory and there was only a bell house with one bell. The priest of Vinne administered *ex currendo* as well as the parish of Sobrance. Among the belongings of

[27] Ibidem.

Sobrance's parish was the village of Závadka with a bell house with one bell and Úbrež with a wooden church which belonged to the Uniates with a cantor. In Fekišovce, there was a brick church. In Blatné Revištia, there was no oratory or temple, only a bell house with one bell. In the vicinity of the settlements of Vyšné Revište (now Veľké Revištia), Bunkovce, Sobranecké Komárovce (now a part of Sobrance), Kristy, Svätuš, Kolibabovce, Porúbka, Čertež (an extinct village), Priekopa, Koňuš, Krčava and Blatné Remety, there was only one bell house. In Nižná Rybnica, Beňatina, Podhoroď, Choňkovce, Hlivištia, Vyšná Rybnica, Klokočov, Vyšné Remety, Poruba pod Vihorlatom, Jovsa, Jasenov, Koromľa, and Porostov, there were rectories and temples belonging to the Uniates. Some villages had a cantor who did not teach in school or a midwife. In Ostrov, Ruskovce, and Kaluža, there was no bell house, only the houses of the inhabitants. In Sobrance, there was a half ruined large temple, which had served until recently as a reformed oratory. The building was a dominant part of the town but the landowners did not have resources for its reconstruction. In Tibava, there was a brick church in process of reconstruction. The reconstruction was paid by Emeric Sztárai, while spiritual comfort was partially provided by the Jesuits from Uzhgorod. In Vojnatina, there was a brick temple which was reconstructed in wood only after the uprising of Francis II Rákoci. Until the uprising, it served as a simple Reformed oratory. After the reconstruction, it was blessed and Catholic masses started to be held there. In Baškovce, there was also a ruined wooden temple of the Uniates. In Kusín, there was a new wooden temple of the Eastern Rite, which was visited by a presbyter from Jovsa. The locals only spoke Slovak, while the presbyter preached in Rusyn. In northern settlements such as Beňatina and Podhoroď, people spoke Rusyn.[28]

After the visitation of the parish of Vinné and the territory of the parish of Sobrance, the bishop travelled on to the village of Onokovce (Onokivtsi). The temple in Onokovce was made of wood and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Inside the temple, there was only a wooden altar with a depiction of the Virgin Mary. The Way of the Cross was also depicted in the church. There were no sacral buildings belonging to other confessions in Onokovce. The administrator of the local parish was Sebastian Augustini, who was 38 years old and had been residing in

[28] Ibidem.

Onokovce for 11 years. The village also had a midwife and a sexton. In Domanice (today Uzhgorod), Orechovica (Orikhovytsya), Jarok (Yarok), and Nevické (Nevyts'ke), there were rectories and churches belonging to the Eastern Rite. In Husák, there was only a bell house. In Kamenica (Kam'yanytsya), Stará Huta, Nová Huta (now joined as one village under the name Huta) there was no bell house – only the houses of the locals. In Petrovce, there was a chapel-like building, where the believers from the wider area (Husák) met in a prayer. The locals spoke Slovak even in localities where the parishes belonged to the Eastern Rite.[29]

From the parish of Onokovce, the bishop travelled to the parish of Uzhgorod. The city was the center of the county. The dominant part in the city was its castle complex. The wide city center was surrounded from both sides by the river Uh. The city had numerous sacral buildings including a collegium which was under the Jesuits' ministry. The complex of the Jesuits was located near the castle and it consisted of a convent with a library, a school, and a large temple. The commissioner of the building was the Druget family. The bishop was not interested in concrete information on the lives of the Jesuits or the inside of their church. The city also held a church dedicated to Saint George, which was built in the Salt Street, over an old Reformed temple. The church consisted of five altars – the main one dedicated to Saint George, a smaller one dedicated to the Holy Cross, and side altars dedicated to Saint Lawrence, Our Lady of Sorrows, and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Uzhgorod also had chapels dedicated to Saint Stephen I of Hungary and Saint John of Nepomuk. The administrator of the parish was John Eniczkei, who was 54 years old and had been living in Uh County for a long period. There was also a new church in the city belonging to the Eastern Rite, which was administered by a local presbyter. The Calvinists in the city did not have a sacral building but they visited oratories in the nearby area. In Radvánka (now part of Uzhgorod), there was a Roman Catholic chapel, a wooden temple belonging to the Eastern Rite as well as a reformed oratory. In Horiany (now part of Uzhgorod), there was a brick temple dedicated to Saint Ann and a temple of the Eastern Rite. In Dravce (now part of Uzhgorod), there was an old temple not used by any confession because it was in bad condition, but which previously served as a Reformed oratory. Temples

[29] Ibidem.

of the Eastern Rite could also be found in: Lazy (Velyki Lazy), Ruské Komárovce (Rus'ki Komarivtsi), Andrašovce (Andriivka), Linec (Lintsi), Ľachovce (Lyakhivtsi), Kibliari (Kyblyary), Antalovce (Antalovtsi), Horľovo (Khudlevo), Orľová (Irlyava), Dubrovka (Dubrivka), Čertiž (Chertezh), Turja Remety (Tur' ji Remety), Poroškovce (Poroshkovo), Turja Polena (Tur' ja Poljana), Turja Bistrá (Tur' ja-Bystra), Turičky (Turychky), Rakovo (Rakovo), Turja Pasika (Tur' ja Pasika), Viľšinky (Vil'shynky), Smreková (Smerekovo), Bukovec (Bukivc'ovo), Turica (Turytsja), Simerky (Simerky), Zaričov (Zarichovo), Malé Berezné (Malyj Bereznyj), Veľké Berezné (Velykyj Bereznyj), Soľ (Sil'), Domašina (Somashyn), Stričava (Strychava), Kňahyňa (Knjahynja), Nová Stružica (today Stuzhycja), Zboj, Nová Sedlica, Stará Stužica (now belonging to Nová Stružica), Kostrina (Kostryna), Vyškovo (Vyshka), Bystrá Verchovina (Verkhovyna-Bystra), Zavosina (Zavosyna), Ruský Hrabovec, Stavné (Stavne), Volosianka (Volosjanka), Užok (Uzhok), Husná (Husnyj), Suchá (Sukhyj), Tichá (Tikhyj), Ľutá (Ljuta), Behendetská Pastiľa (Behendjats'ka Pastil'), Roztocká Pasiľa (Roztots'ka Pastil'), Kosteva Pastiľ (Kosteva Pastil'), Mirča (Myrcha), Simerky (Simerky), Čornoholov (Chornoholova), Dubrič (Dubrynychi), Pastiľky (Pastilky), Perečín (Perechyn), Simer (Simer), Voročovo (Vorochovo), Novoselica (Novoselytsja) and Nižná Slatina (Nyzhnje Solotvyno). In Chlmec (Kholmec'), there was a Reformed temple. In Seredné (Serednje), there was a fortress holding a Catholic chapel prepared for mass. There was also a Reformed oratory in the city. Even though there was no church belonging to the Eastern Rite in the city, their presbyter commissioned a teacher, thus establishing a school where a cantor from Ľachovce taught. A priest in Turičky also commissioned the local cantor as a teacher. There were no churches or bell houses in: Slatinka (Verkhnja Solotvyna), Cigánovce (Tsyhanivtsi), Lipovec (Lypovets'), Ľubňa (Lubnya), Luh (Luh), Ruský Močiar (Rus'kyi Mochar), Mokrá (Mokra). The village Zahorb (Zahorb) had a church belonging to the Eastern Rite which was in a very bad condition, almost a ruin. Midwives and cantors lived in most of these villages. In Uzhgorod, people spoke Slovak, German, Rusyn, and Hungarian. Tradesmen spoke German. In Seredné, people spoke Hungarian, Slovak, and Rusyn. In most of the above-mentioned localities of the Uh County, people spoke Rusyn or Slovak and Hungarian. The local presbyters preached mainly in Rusyn.[30]

The visitation is not complete since the information about the villages of Likicari (Likitsary), Lumšor (Lumshory), Svaľavka (Svalyavka), Čabanivka (Chabanivka), Gajdoš (Haidosh), and Vrbovec is missing. These settlements were situated on the hills or close to borders thus they were visited as a part of another county. Also, this protocol includes the information about certain villages of the Zemplén County (Zboj, Nová Sedlica, Zbudza, Ruský Hrabovec). Buildings such as fortresses are only mentioned in the cities of Seredné and Uzhgorod. The bishop was primarily focused on sacral architecture, predominantly on the Roman Catholic churches. Concerning churches that belonged to the Eastern Rite, the bishop sometimes commented on the building material or the condition of the temple. Villages at that time had a main focus point: the sacral building. If there was no temple in a village or a town, the focus was the bell house. Bells called people to prayer thus the bell house was located in the center of the settlement. The central position of these buildings is mentioned by the bishop. The bell house did not only have a spiritual importance, but also a social importance as the ringing of the bells could announce fires, floods, or the arrival of county officials. Along with the information on villages or the life of priests, the bishop also mentioned nearby forests. These reports were, however, laconic, being mainly a simple statement about wood availability. Any information on rivers is completely missing.

In the bishop's protocols, three other professions are mentioned apart from priests, preachers, and presbyters. These are cantors, teachers, and midwives. The number of Roman Catholic churches which functioned 1746 is low and it does not create a real functioning parish network. The priests from Vinné or Uzhgorod administered over 30 localities. The bishop also provided information on parishes or churches of other confessions. The office of teacher is mentioned sporadically, particularly with regard to towns (Uzhgorod, Seredné) and reformed parishes (Veľké Kapušany, Beša). Based on the visitations of the Eastern Rite churches, various information can be concluded. The testimonies in visitations show personal problems, mainly material ones (a house,

[30] Ibidem.

benefits, estates, adequate payments).[31] If a presbyter did not require that a cantor would also teach, it was easy to occupy this post; however, material/financial problems were still an issue. The problem of midwifes is particularly difficult. It appears that the northern mountainous areas had always had a midwife unlike the southern parts of county where the number of midwifes was limited. Midwifes were mentioned as related to indoctrination and the oath of midwifes who were administered by the Church.[32]

Using probing and analogy as methodology, the high potential of canonical visitations shown in this paper. There is no other model in Slovak historiography similar to the one we presented. The inner nature of the information can easily be considered travelogue information. The character of the data is bound to a certain date, in this case to the year 1746. Apart from architectural information, the bishop also followed an ethnographical aspect of the area: the language of the locals or the language of sermons. He even distinguishes between the dominant and secondary languages. The nature of the data points to the way of acquiring information: in practice, a draft was written first which was later re-written into the final protocol. The drafts were not preserved in this case, except for the one about the parish Jor-Darma (Storozhnytsa), which was glued to the final protocol due to the writer's mistake. The protocol includes the exact numbers of believers in certain settlements or the names of the presbyters, cantors, and landowners, which shows a precision of information acquisition. Furthermore, the property, benefits, or condition of churches were stated for each settlement. This study focused solely on the actual state of the past (of the year 1746), but it is a starting point for future research and possible analogies. The context of the travelogue brings new questions and hides, within the text, new answers for further research in canonical visitations.

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31 T. *Véghseő et al., Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez. Az egri egyházmegye területén szolgálógörögkatolikus papok 1741. évi javadalom-összeírása [*Resources for the history of the Greek Catholic parishes in Hungary. 1741 census of Greek Catholic priests serving in the diocese of Eger] *(Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2014).*

32 *Rituale Agriense, seu Formula agendorum in administratione sacramentorum, et caeteris ecclesiae publicis functionibus, jussu, et auctoritate Excellentissimi, Illustrissimi, ac Reverendissimi Domini Stephani e liberis baronibus Fischer de Nagy-Szalatnya […] novis curis editum, emendatum, et auctum* (Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis Pestanæ, 1815), 587-588.

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Sauveur Lusignan's Epistolary Accounts of His Travels as a Historical Source on the Balkans at the End of the Eighteenth Century

Persida Lazarević Di Giacomo[1]

The Greek merchant Sauveur/Saoveur/Saviour Lusignan published *A Series of Letters addressed to Sir William Fordyce* in 1788, the same year as the second part of *The Life and Adventures* of the Serbian enlightener Dositej Obradović appeared in print. The two authors were friends and shared a passion for travelling. In the Preface to his *Letters*, Lusignan explicitly states how the idea for his epistolary collection originated:

> The following letters, which contain an account of part of my voyages and travels, were at first only written with the intentionof amusing my friend Sir William Fordyce; but as he thought they would afford some information to the curious traveller, as well as amusement to the public in general, he has permitted me to present them to the world, by publishing them.[2]

"My voyages and travels": already in the first sentence, Lusignan indicates these two terms that he will repeat frequently: *voyage*, according to *Oxford Concise Dictionary*,[3] is "a long journey involving travel by sea or in space," while *travel* indicates "the action of travelling. […] journeys,

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[2] *A Series of Letters addressed to Sir William Fordyce, M. D. F. R. S. containing a Voyage and Journey from England to Smyrna, from thence to Constantinople, and from that place over land to England; likewise an Account and Description of counties, cities, towns and villages, through which the author passed; together with the Treaty of Commerce between the Court of Great Britain and the Sublime Porte, translated from the original into English by the author; to which is prefixed, a short answer to Volney's Contradictions on Ali-Bey's History and Revolt; and an appendix* (London: Printed for the author; and sold by Payne and Son; White; Sewell; Walter; Robson and Clarke; and Bateman and Son, 1788), i.

[3] *Oxford Concise Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

especially abroad." Lusignan, in the course of his narration, also makes frequent use of the word *journey*, i.e. the "act of travelling from one place to another." And Lusignan travels uninterruptedly from one place to another; he is an exceptional traveller of whom little is known and who signs his epistolary report only with initials and as "Cosmopolitan."[4] His last name is that of the Lusignan family, as George Rapall Noyes says, "which came from Poitou, reigned in Cyprus from 1192 to 1475."[5] It is not excluded that he may be connected with James Lusignan[6] (who was the private secretary of Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (1766-1827), friend and protector of the Serbian philologist and poet Pavle Solarić (1779-1821). Solarić was a collaborator of Obradović who had the opportunity to meet Sauveur Lusignan in person. In the XI letter of his biography *The Life and Adventures*, Obradović describes how shortly after his arrival in London in December 1784, a mutual friend introduced him to Sauveur Lusignan, whom he describes as follows:

> [...] I met a Greek, a native of Cyprus, of an ancient noble family named Lusignan, which once ruled over that island. This gentleman had lived in London for many years and acquaintance with him proved very useful for me.[7]

This meeting gave Obradović not only the opportunity to continue his stay, but also to meet the leading figures of Scottish culture and society of the late eighteenth-century.[8] Moreover, when Obradović ran out of money, it was Lusignan himself who found a solution with a great impact on Obradović's future:

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[4] In the Sowerby Catalogue Lusignan is described as an English writer. Karl Sabbagh, instead describes Lusignan as a "Portuguese traveller" (!) (K. Sabbagh, *Palestine: History of a Lost Nation* (London: Atlantic Books, 2008), 41).

[5] G. Rapall Noyes, *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović Who as a Monk was Given the Name Dositej Written and Published by Himself* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), 291; see also S. Painter, "The Lords of Lusignan in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Speculum* 32:1 (1957): 27-47.

[6] See A. V. Salamé, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Algiers in the Year 1816: Under the Command* (London: John Murray, 1819), cxl; A. Papadopulo Vreto, *Notizie biografiche storiche su Federico conte di Guilford* (Atene: Dalla Reale Stamperia, 1846), 40, 162.

[7] G. Rapall Noyes, *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović*, 291.

[8] See P. Lazarević Di Giacomo, *U Dositejevom krugu. Dositej Obradović i škotsko prosvetiteljstvo* (Beograd: Zadužbina Dositej Obradović), 2015.

> In the last week of the three months I made a farewall call on Mr. Lusignan and informed him that I planned returning to Calais; I explained that already I had partly acquired the pronunciation of the English language and that for what remained I could find a teacher in some other place.
>
> "A good friend of mine," replied Mr. Lusignan, "to whom I have spoken about you, has asked me to bring you around for dinner at his house tomorrow; he is anxious to meet you. He is a dealer in English porcelain, but is a learned man and a great lover of the ancient language and literature, both he and his wife. I trust that you will not refuse to come and dine with them tomorrow."[9]

In the house of this merchant, named John Livie, Obradović would meet with representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment, including William Fordyce himself, the same William Fordyce with whom Lusignan would begin his epistolary correspondence just one year later. William Fordyce (1724-1792) was a Scottish physician and a native of Aberdeen. His mother was a sister of Thomas Blackwell, 1701-1757, the well-known professor of classical languages at Marischal College. Fordyce also studied at Marischal College and later became Lord Rector there. He was also a military doctor, and in 1787 King George III awarded him the title of knight. In the same year, he became a member of the Royal Society. Here is what Obradović says about Fordyce:

> […] Dr. William Fordyce, a physician and Knight of the Golden Fleece, to whom the king had awarded that distinction owing to his eminence in medical science. This most worthy gentlemen was the intimate friend of my benefactor Mr. Livie; and when though him he met me, he became my special patron, charging his dear friend, so long as I remained in London, to furnish me with whatsoever money I needed for books or for clothes and other small expenses.[10]

Lusignan says that it was thanks to William Fordyce that he began writing these odeporic letters, but actually the person who

[9] G. Rapall Noyes, *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović*, 291-292.
[10] Ibidem, 297.

unintentionally forced him to adopt the perspective of the traveller *par excellence* was Constantin-François de Chassebœuf, Comte de Volney (1757-1820), a French philosopher, historian, orientalist, and politician. Volney embarked on a journey to the East in late 1782 and reached Ottoman Egypt, where he spent nearly seven months. Thereafter, he lived for nearly two years in Greater Syria in what is today Lebanon and Israel in order to learn Arabic. In 1785 he returned to France, where he spent the following two years compiling his notes and writing his *Travels in Syria and Egypt, During the Years 1783, 1784, & 1785*[11] which was published in 1787,[12] and *Considerations on the war with the Turcs*, *written in the year of the breakout of a Russo-Turkish war in 1788*.[13]

In 1789, *The Analitical Review* observed[14] that in the preface of his 1787 book, Lusignan had described in a condensed and concise way his twenty-five years of travel, from 1746 to 1775, when he arrived in England. And indeed, the intensity of his travels in those 25 years is impressive: Lusignan, talking about his trading skills, reports that in June 1746 he went to Egypt, to Damian, and then to Cairo, where he remained until 1749. That same year he reached Alexandria, and stayed there until the end of December, when he boarded a Turkish ship. He arrived in Halikarnas on January 6, 1750. He then went to Jussel-Isar, and remained there for fourteen months, then to Smyrna, and to Constantinople, where he spent six months. He again boarded the merchant ship and visited, among other things, the Holy Mountain, and in mid-October 1751 he arrived in Thessaloniki. Thereafter he sailed back to Constantinople at the end of May 1751 and remained there until September. He then rented a boat in Dubrovnik, took on passengers and goods, and proceeded to visit, among other places, Rhodes, Antalya, Damian, Jaffa, Syria, Tripoli. In each of those places he loaded a variety of goods, such as tobacco and silk, and when he had sold them all, he

[11] Volney, *Travels in Syria and Egypt, During the Years 1783, 1784, & 1785* ([…]. London: Printed for G.G.J. and J. Robinson), 1788.

[12] C-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, Pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785* (Paris: Chez Volland & Desenne, 1787).

[13] C-F. Volney, *Considérations sur la guerre des Turcs et de la Russie* (Londres [Paris]: [s.n.], 1788). Later Volney was accused *by John Adams' administration in the United States of being a French spy, see: J.* Einboden, *Jefferson's Muslim fugitives: The Lost Story of Enslaved Africans, their Arabic Letters, & an American President* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[14] *The Analytical Review, or History of Literature, Domestic and Foreign, on an Enlarged Plan*. Vol. III (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1789), 55.

returned to Constantinople again, to procure new goods. In September 1753 he rented an even larger Ragusean ship and sailed to Damian and Jaffa, and other various places, where he boarded pilgrims and loaded goods, and then went on to sell those goods. In April 1756, he arrived in the Holy Land, then sailed to Smyrna, Mykonos, Arcadia, Cephalonia, Corfu, and Malvasia. He then sailed to Skopelos in the beginning October 1762, bought a cargo of wine there and headed for Constantinople, where after some trouble at sea, he arrived in mid-December, and sold all his cargo. In February, 1763, he loaded a new cargo of goods and headed for Jaffa, sailing again to the Holy Land. When he came back to Constantinople, he took a ship to Nafplio, then crossed Greece by horse, sailed again across the sea and reached Otranto. He hired a felucco boat there to reach Pescara. Along the way he visited Brindisi, Bari, and Barletta. He arrived in Pescara on July 1, 1764 and stayed there for two days, and then made his way to Ancona and Loreto. Lusignan then rented a Dalmatian boat and reached Trieste. He was in Piran in August and then returned to Venice, then on to Ferrara and Bologna, Florence and Pisa and then Messina. He went to Naples in December, where he remained until March, 1766. He then hired a trabaculum or a Sclavonian vessel to take him to Barletta, and then sailed off for Rijeka. He visited Istria, Zadar, Hvar, Korčula, Dubrovnik, and returned to Xiant, and then in January 1767 he set out for England, where he arrived in April and stayed until June when he left for St. Petersburg. From Russia, Lusignan continued his journey – travelling to the Netherlands, England, France, Italy, Egypt, the Holy Land, and again Italy, Portugal, and finally returning to England on February 23, 1775.

Why then does Lusignan attack the notorious Volney? The above-mentioned book that Volney published in 1787, *Travels in Syria and Egypt,* was considered at the time the best possible description of Egypt from Ottoman Syria at the end of the eighteenth century. Volney's *Voyage* gives an account of a journey that lasted four years and it consists of erudite observations, owing everything to the quality of its author who was both a philosopher and an orientalist;[15] the narrative is different from classic travel books since political considerations, comments and reflections are predominant, and the political vision is decisive, even when the author is describing the habits of the inhabitants, telling anecdotes, or

[15] J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 272-293.

summarizing the geographical and commercial situation. Moreover, all of Volney's descriptions served as the basis for the Egyptian expedition and many scientists and Bonaparte himself, who was Volney's student,[16] carried a copy of the work with him.[17] This book was responsible for Volney's fame throughout his lifetime and yet Lusignan attacked the work saying that Volney had included in his work an account of Ali-Bey's life and actions which Lusignan himself had published in a report in 1783 with the title *A history of the revolt of Ali Bey, against the Ottoman Porte*.[18] In this *History* Lusignan tells of how he went to live in the East at the age of ten, and how in 1771 he was presented to Ali Bey in whose service he remained until the defeat of the latter, thereby confirming that he knew Ali Bey very well. Lusignan accused Volney of changing some details of events that he wasn't happy about. According to Lusignan, Volney allegedly made mistakes that he was able to detect since Lusignan had been in Ali Bey's personal service and knew him. In fact, Lusignan goes on the offensive by saying that Volney had never actually travelled outside of England and that "he only composes his laborious and voluminous works, and sends them to France for a better deception. This suffices for an answer to his conjectures and contradictions; and if he is not satisfied, the author will acquaint him that he is well known to him, & c."[19] Lusignan practically attacks Volney for being an impostor even though other scholars such as the Prussian orientalist and biblical scholar Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791), trusted Volney's account.[20] With regards to Lusignan's accusations the 1788 *The Critical Review*[21] says that "in the absence of other evidence, we must wait, therefore, for farther

[16] M. Kete Asante, *Culture and Customs of Egypt*. Westport, Connecticut (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 21.
[17] E. W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1979), 81.
[18] S. Lusignan, *A history of the revolt of Ali Bey, against the Ottoman Porte, including an account of the form of government of Egypt; together with a description of Grand Cairo, and of several places in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria: to which are added, a short account of the present state of the Christians who are subjects to the Turkish government, and the journal of a gentleman who travelled from Aleppo to Bassora* (London: [The Author], 1783).
[19] Ibidem, 56-57.
[20] J. D. Michaelis, *Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* (Göttingen: im Verlag bey Bandenhoef und Ruprecht, 1787), 167; J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 270.
[21] *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*. Volume 66, by A Society of Gentlemen (London: Printend for A. Hamilton, 1788), 404.

elucidation from those who, on the spot, can decide with more certainty."

Volney, then, according to Lusignan, had never travelled or travelled very little. Lusignan instead, had travelled extensively and to emphasize this fact at the end of the dense preface to his work he includes an account of his previous trips and then concludes:

> The candid reader, I hope, will excuse this tedious prolixity in my preface, as I have partly been compelled, (unpleasant as it may be to relate the past transactions of my life) to give this short account of my former travels, by the unjust assertions of Mr. Volney, who, taking advantage of my absence from England, and imagining, I suppose, that I should never return, has undertaken to publish to the world his fictious travels, and to contradict many of the circumstances in the history and revolt of Ali Bey, to which I myself was an eye witness. This account, then, of my former travels, tedious as it may appear, will serve to convince the public, that my relation of Ali Bey's revolt was not the work of Hearsay, but that as being present in the country, I was more likely to derive fuller information, and consequently gave account of circumstances as they really were.[22]

After the "Preface" and a short "Answer to Volney's Contradictions on Ali-Bey's History and Revolt," Lusignan starts his narrative in the form of letters addressed to William Fordyce beginning on the 30th of August, 1785, when he set off on his journey from Falmouth, on his leaving England to endeavour to regain some of the property he had left behind him in the East; and then a letter written on August 29, 1786, at Bruxells, from whence he returned to England. For the critic writing in *The Critical Review*,[23] Lusignan's route is not worth following "for we find the narrative equally dry and uninteresting. There are forests, corn-fields, towns with good or bad walls, bridges with a different number of arches, and cottages generally wretched. If there is what we have not heard of before, it is of the transitory kind, and usually of little importance."

[22] *A Series of Letters addressed to Sir William Fordyce,* xxiii-xxiv.
[23] *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, 405.

Perhaps to the magazine's reviewer, who had taken the part of the much better known Volney and not the almost unknown author of Ali Bey's story, Lusignan's account might have seemed dull and uninviting. However, for those who wish to know more about the Balkans (and not only), and from today's point of view, Lusignan's account is more than precious and more than just "a mere relation of facts and occurrences without any remarks upon men and manners"[24] because it is full of information about the places of the time, their demography, architecture, and culture. Lusignan's travels are actually very much in the style of Grand Tour travel writing although references to Italy are minimal. Just as Richard Lassels in his *Voyage to Italy* (1670) advocated: "Travelling brings a man a world of particular profits. […] It makes a wiseman much the wiser by making him see the good and the bad in others. […] It makes a man think himself at home everywhere, and smile at unjust exile […]. In fine, it is an excellent *Commentary* upon historics […]."[25] Well, Lusignan was a merchant, a merchant par excellence. And yet his descriptions of travels are today of an exceptional value and are much worthier than the reviewer at that time suggested. Particularly regarding those places that previously lacked descriptions and mentions in tourist guides. And it is precisely because of the feature for which he was reproached, that is his detailed accounts of 'uninteresting' details, that makes his narratives such precious sources for the study of the societies and cultures he encountered. This is the case, for example, of his description of Belgrade where he arrived on July 6, 1786. In the narration we find, among other things, an interesting fact, that Lusignan had the honour of dining at the house of the metropolitan. He describes him as "a native of Costantinople, sent here by the patriarch of that place. He is a man learned in several languages, and of an exemplary and pious life." Lusignan was describing Metropolitan Dionysius I (Papazoglu, also known as Papadopoulos or Popović, 1750-1828), a Greek by birth, born in Kozani, near Thessaloniki. He succeeded Metropolitan Jeremiah to the Chair of Belgrade in 1784 or 1785. He was one of the most promising bishops who had arrived at prominence after following along an interesting monastic path, becoming a metropolitan at 34 years of age.

[24] *The Analytical Review, or History of Literature, Domestic and Foreign, on an Enlarged Plan*. Vol. III (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1789), 57.

[25] R. Lassels, *An Italian Voyage, Or, a Compleat Journey Through Italy. In Two Parts,* […] [Volume 1] (London: Printed for Richard Wellington, 1697).

He learned to live well among the Serbs. Prior to the surrender of Belgrade to the Turks, Metropolitan Dionysius, as a supporter of Austria, fled with the Germans to Austria and the Austrian emperor gave him 6000 forints to endure until he received a diocese. Upon confirmation on January 3, 1791, he received a noble title from the Emperor. Metropolitan Stefan (Stratimirović) received the fugitive Dionysius into the clergy of the Metropolitanate of Karlovac, appointing him head of the Diocese of Budapest in 1791.

Lusignan's description of Belgrade as it follows:

> Belgrade or Taurunum, July 6, 1786.
> Dear Sir,
>
> BELGRADE is situated on the banks of the rivers Sava and Danube, extending from west north west, to east south east, rather more than amile, and forms the shape of a pyramid. The western part of the town, which stands on an eminence, contains the castle, on the southern part of which are the Christian quarters. This castle is built on a rock, and is separated from the town by an out wall, and two ditches about fifteen yards distant from each other, which are always filled with water, and contain great quantities of fish; the space between them is formed into gardens, producing all kinds of vegetables, and planted with fruit trees of various sorts.
>
> The walls of the castle, and the sides of the ditches over each of which is a wooden draw bridge, are of stone. On the outside of the wall is a large open place of about twenty-six yards broad, on all sides, except on the northern part, which is encompassed by the above-said rivers, which join on the north-west corner of the castle. In the citadel the Bashaw and his retinue reside; and on the outside of it, in the castle, are houses of several of the chiefmen in the town; in the enclosure of the outer wall, to the north west, is that of the Janilarigas (or general of the Janisaries) together with their barracks or quarters; and on the north is the magazine of arms and ammunition; on the outside of which is a large place, where are heaped up many hundreds of bomb shells of different sizes. On this side there is likewise a gate towards

the river, on the outside of which, along the wall, is a palisade. The ramparts and bastions of this wall, as well as of the citadel, are mounted with brass cannons, from six to twelve pounders each. The gates of the castle are four in number, one to the north, two to the east, and one to the west south west; the whole town, which has several gates, is surrounded by a palisade.

Belgrade contains seventeen Turkish parishes, some of an hundred, and others of an hundred and fifty houses each. The Turks are here divided into two parties, agitated with such jealousies to each other, that they sometimes come to blows. Very little attention is paid to the orders of the Porte, or to the Bashaw, or governor established here, as most of the inhabitants are Janisaries, and armed as I mentioned before, like them in Nisi.

The Christians have their metropolitan, a native of Constantinople, sent here by the patriarch of that place. He is a man learned in several languages, and of an exemplary and pious life; I had yesterday the honour of dining at his house. As his flock are mostly Bulgarians, he in a short time studied the Illyric, in which language he always preaches to them. The Christians, as well as the prelate himself, who is forced to be responsible for his flock, are heavily oppressed by the Turks. They have but one church, and about three or four hundred houses.

I must inform you, that this diocese, as well as that of Nisi, were formerly under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ipekium, who was an independent Prelate, and called the Archbishop of the second Justinana; but was he was unable to support the dignity of the archbishoprick, on account of the heavy taxations imposed by the Porte and the Turks, it was lately, by a Topical Council, submitted to the See of Costantinople; and the patriarch of that place is now obliged to defray all those expences, and send a prelate from his own jurisdiction.

The streets in Belgrade are cleaner and better paved than any of the towns in Turkey. The shops and the markets are to the east of the town, as also the custom house, and the inns for the merchants, which are built of stone, and were formerly, when the city was inhabited by Christians, the seats of noblemen. Trade is carried on here with spirit by the Greek merchants, and some few Turks, who send their merchandize to Hungary, and from thence to Austria, by the river Danube; and import the produce and different manufactures of those countries. The Emperor derives great advantages from this trade; and Semblin is much benefited of late, by the privileges granted by him to the Greeks, and by his taking off the quarantine.

The air of this country is very salubrious, though greatly infested with gnats, which are very troublesome to the inhabitants. Provisions are in great plenty, and very reasonable. Some of the Turkish merchants here are very civil to strangers, and wish to converse with them about politics. This afternoon I intend crossing the water for Semblin, from which place I shall continue my account of my journey. I am,

Dear Sir,
Your humble servant,
L. S.[26]

In Letter XXI, dated July 7, 1786, Lusignan describes his journey to Zemun, a town on the border of the Austrian Empire. Back in the late eighteenth, and also in the early nineteenth centuries, Zemun Park was a quarantine area for people coming from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy. And since those people had to spend up to seven weeks here for hygiene checks and were of different confessions, two different churches were built. And in fact, Lusignan says that there is a citadel and that the most beautiful houses are those of Greek merchants; that there are two very beautiful Orthodox churches, as well as two Catholic. In general, Zemun made a pleasant impression on Lusignan.[27]

The next impressions appear in Letter XXII: having crossed the Danube, Lusignan reached Petrovaradin on 13 July, 1786. Petrovaradin Fortress, positioned on a high solid rock overlooking the city of Novi Sad and the Danube River, was originally the site of a Roman fortress to

[26] *A Series of Letters addressed to Sir William Fordyce,* 238-243.
[27] Ibidem, 244-247.

which various additions were made over the years and which was subsequently modified as the result of 18th-century military and civic planning efforts undertaken within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as a result of which the fortress was enlarged by the Austrians, in order to prevent further Turkish expansion into central Europe. Very curious in this case is Lusignan's mention that in the middle of the town there is a large square and in the centre of it there is "a marble pyramid, curiously engraved on the top with the figures of the Holy Trinity, and the coronation of the Blessed Virgin":

> Dear Sir,
>
> I LEFT Semblin the 12th instant at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, after having hired a cart with three horses for myself and my baggage, for that is the usual method of travelling in these countries. The road on which our journey lay, had on the right hand the river Danube at about a quarter of a mile distant, and on the left, an extensive open country interspersed with some villages, the steeples of whose churches formed a very pleasing appearance. At one we passed through one of those villages called Badonitsa, containing about two hundred houses, with a church and a pretty large steeple, resorted to by those of the Greek persuasion. The roads through this village, which cross each other, are on each side planted with mulberry trees, by the Emperor's order, for the sake of breeding silk worms.
>
> At half after two we passed through another village called B[...], containing about three hundred houses, mostly of one story high, inhabited by Bulgarians of the Greek church, and protestants, of which each nation has its respective church. The roads are broad, and planted with the same kinds of trees as in the former village. At five we passed through another village called Ingia, inhabited by Bulgarians, whose habitations are all huts, except the church, which is built of brick, and has a steeple. The produce of this place is chiefly cattle and hay. At seven we were opposite Pethica, a town of about three hundred houses. At nine we arrived at the town of Carlovitsa, which is situated on the declivity of a hill, on the banks of the river Danube, extending from east to west, about a mile: it contains one principal street, on the entrance

of which are barracks for the garrison, and in the middle of the town is the cathedral and Romish church. In this town is likewise the residence of the Primate of all Hungary, who is of the Greek church. I alighted at an inn in this place to pass the night, and the next morning at about five I departed, and at seven arrived at Peter-Waradin. We passed through, previous to our entering the town, the suburbs which are chiefly inhabited by protestants and Roman catholics.

The mines and fortifications of the castle extend from north to south, almost a mile. The castle itself is surrounded with a triple stone wall, and large ditches which are always full of water. Every stranger who enters tho outer gate, after being examined by the officer on duty, is accompanied by a soldier to the Comander's house, and having delivered his charge to the Chancellor, or one of his secretaries returns. The traveller is obliged to show his passport, and declare of what profession he is, and what business brought him there, or else he will not be permitted to proceed any farther. After I had been thus examined, the General, commander of the garrison, hearing that I was a British subject, desired to see me, and complying with his request, I was received by him with great affability and politeness. Having answered some questions which he proposed to me, I took my leave, and went towards the water side, where I found my baggage in the packet boat ready to cross the water, for the north and north west part of this castle are washed by the Danube, and there is no other way to cross the river, but through this fortified castle, which is partly situated on a rock, and partly on a declivity and the banks of the river. On going towards the river I passed through two gates, and over two draw bridges which were placed over two draw bridges which were placed over two ditches full of water, and containing great quantities of fish. Having crossed the river, and my baggage being examined by a custom-house officer, I proceeded to Peter-Waradin, which is about half a mile distant from the river.

Peter-Waradin contains about sixteen hundred houses, some of which are three stories high, and others two, all built

> of the brick. Those of the Greek persuasion have here five churches, and a bishop suffragan to Calovitsa – the Roman catholics have only one church. In the middle of the town is a large square, in the centre of which is a marble pyramid, curiously engraved on the top with the figures of the Holy Trinity, and the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. This pile is about twelve or fourteen yards in height.
>
> The streets in this town are all paved, though not very well; the shops are neat, and the people very industrious. The inn which affords the best accomodation to travellers is that at the end of the above-mentioned square on the right band. The situation of the town being low, is exposed to great quantities of dust, which is blown into it by the wind from the adjoining hills. As I purpose leaving this place tomorrow, I shall conclude, subscribing myself,
>
> Dear Sir,
> Your humble servant,
> L.S.[28]

Considering the above description, from today's point of view we could hardly agree with *The Critical Review* critic who found M. Lusignan's picture "uninteresting in general," although possibly "faithful." Continuing on in his negative judgement of Lusignan the critic observes that

> a gloomy humour seems to have guided his pen. He saw little to praise, or was unwilling to commend for if he steps beyond facts, it is to blame what he saw, or to condemn the conduct of those whom he met with. We cannot recommend these volumes as generally pleasing or interesting. The author seems to have received some undeserved treatment: we wish him a better fate or more steady equanimity.[29]

And yet this rather obscure friend of Obradović's, who was of exceptional help to our enlightener and consequently to Serbian culture, proves to be valuable in this case as well, and the basic facts and details he noted down are of considerable interest to us now and would seem to

[28] Ibidem, 248-253.
[29] *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, 407.

require further and more in-depth research. As the French lawyer Boucher d'Argis Jaucourt said in the *Encyclopedie* (1751), modern travel throughout Europe no longer involves lengthy and arduous journeys and so, "is at the judgment of enlightened people, [...]. Travel extends the mind, raises it, enriches it with knowledge." And thanks to the writings of Lusignan a valuable record of how the Balkans appeared to such a traveller in the late eighteenth century is available to us today.

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Adventurers, Agents, and Soldiers: British Travel Writers in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1844 – 1856)

Radovan Subić[1]

British travel writers and their observations about the nineteenth-century Bosnia and Herzegovina have been the topic of interest for historians, Anglo-scholars, and writers for a long time.[2] Research has proved that the first travellers from the British Isles came to the territory of modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the sixteenth century. In August 1585, Henry Austell travelled to Foča from Dubrovnik and then went through Novi Pazar and Niš towards Istanbul. Four years later, that same route was crossed by a person only known as Fox. After three years of service in Istanbul, Peter Mundy (1600–1667) returned home in 1620 by travelling through modern-day Bulgaria to Belgarde, after which he chose the route that went through Valjevo, Sarajevo, and Konjic all the way to Split. From Split, he sailed to Venice. Henry Blount (1602–1682) travelled in the opposite direction in 1634. He reached Istanbul following the route that went through Split, Sarajevo, and

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[2] N. Berber, *Unveiling Bosnia-Herzegovina in British travel literature (1844-1912)* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2010). This PhD is the latest example of scientific research on a larger scale. Its focus is the deconstruction of stereotypes on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the reconstruction of discourse which is labelled by the author as "orientalism with a Balkan origin." The focus of the book is the British perception of Muslims, especially Muslim women in these predominantly Christian provinces. The timeframe that overlaps with the topic of this paper is viewed as the "geographical discovery of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and takes a rather small part of the book. Special attention is given to the political context of travelogues and the conclusion is not contradictory to the conclusion of our paper. James Skene, one of the authors analysed in this paper, is not mentioned in the book.

Belgrade. These four travellers left more or less precise observations about the regions they travelled through.[3]

There were no travelogues about Bosnia and Herzegovina in the next two hundred years. In the meantime, the Kingdom of England went through a period of civil wars, the union with Scotland, the conquest of Ireland, and the establishment of the colonial empire. In 1801, it officially became the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Its position as a leading world power was cemented by rapid industrialisation. In 1815, the UK achieved victory over France, its most significant obstacle in establishing a leading role in the world. The Congress of Vienna confirmed this status. The preservation of the established system and the prevention of any changes in this status quo became the British priority. British politicians saw a new potential threat in their former ally – Russia. The expansion of the Russian influence on the Ottoman Empire was regarded as especially dangerous. The Ottomans were in decline at that time but they still controlled Bosporus and Dardanelles, which were essential as a gateway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. After the establishment of independent Greece, Great Britain sought to prevent the further dissolution of the Ottoman Empire whose Orthodox subjects in the Balkans sought Russian support.[4]

Taking advantage of the internal Ottoman weaknesses, Russia forced them to sign the Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi, which obligated Ottomans to close the Dardanelles to any power hostile towards Russia. This degree of Russian domination was not acceptable to the other European powers, especially to Great Britain, where Russophobia started to be felt around the 1830s and was fully formed in the 1840s.[5] Soon, the Treaty of the Dardanelles was signed in London in 13 July 1841. It verified the Ottoman policy of closing the straits for warships when it was not participating in war.[6] At that time, the Ottoman Empire already started

[3] O. Hadžiselimović, *Na vratima istoka. Engleski putnici o Bosni i Hercegovini od 16. to 20. Vijeka* [At the gates of the East. English travellers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from 16th to 20th century] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša. 1989), 27-39.

[4] We will not talk about the actions of Miloš Obrenović (1780–1860) who tried to get autonomy for Serbia in this period since it steps out of our topic.

[5] J. Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain. A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion* (London: Cambridge, 1950), 278-280.

[6] Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), the governor of Egypt, expanded his rule to Crete and Syria and demanded the rule over Damascus from the Ottoman government. The Ottomans found support in the Russian Empire which deployed its fleet and sent an

its period of reforms – Tanzimat – which sought to modernize state institutions and society, as well as to centralize administration.[7] The tensions between Britain and Russia were soon relaxed by a secret but ultimately insignificant treaty from 1844. The Russian tsar visited London in early June 1844 and met with the British Prime Minister and the Minister of foreign affairs. The product of this meeting was an agreement on cooperation in case of Ottoman collapse or in case another great power attacks the UK and Russia. In the meantime, Britain and Russia would strive to preserve the Ottoman Empire and agree upon measures to be taken in case the Ottoman downfall becomes imminent. "The agreement was purely verbal and remarkably vague."[8] They disagreed on the severity of the threat required for them to intervene. The draft of the agreement was made in September, but it became meaningless in the meantime because Britain lost the main cause for the pursuit of this agreement. The French threat to the British naval interests, which was the main motive behind the agreement with Russia, was removed by signing the treaty with France. Simultaneously, Bosnia and Herzegovina were rediscovered by British authors. These provinces encompassed modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi Pazar. They consisted of two eyalets, or pashaliks, each with three sanjaks. According to an estimation from 1840, they were inhabited by 1.100.000 people.[9] After 210 years of lack of interest, they once more

army on the Asian side of the straits. At that moment, Great Britain and France decided to intervene and they influenced Muhammad Ali to sign a treaty with the sultan. Russia used its aid in war as a leverage for signing the Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi. V. Popović, *Istočno pitanje. Istorijski pregled borbe oko opstanka osmanlijske carevine u Levantu i na Balkanu* [The Eastern Question, Historical Review on struggle for survival of the Ottoman Empire in Levant and Balkans] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1965), 143-146.; M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923. A Study in International Relations* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966), 77-87 and 100-106.

[7] Tanzimat originated in Mustafa Resid Pasha's (1800–1858) endeavour to reform the legislation, state and society with a group of Ottoman ministers and bureaucrats. Apart from the administrative centralization, the Tanzimat era (1839–1876) was characterised by a stronger involvement of the state in the society as a whole. S. J. Shaw and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol II, Reform, Revolutions and Republic. The Rise of the Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 55, 61-69.

[8] The Russian Tsar Nicholas I (1825–1855) met the Prime Minister Robert Peel (1788–1850) and Lord Aberdeen (1784–1860) on 4th and 5th of June 1844. M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, 110-112.

[9] The Eyalet or pashalik was the largest territorial unit in the Ottoman Empire. In 1832, Herzegovina became an eyalet as a reward for loyalty during Husein Gradaščević's

became attractive to British travellers, who were themselves quite interesting characters.

The first of them was John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875).[10] This famous Egyptologist travelled through Dalmatia and Montenegro in the fall of 1844 and he also made a short tour of Mostar, the capital of the Herzegovina pashalik. His descriptions of the customs in Montenegro, where he met Bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851), the antiquities in Dalmatia, and the stećak tombstones in Herzegovina are fascinating. He received a visa for Mostar in Dubrovnik from where he boarded a steamship to Korčula; upon reaching the delta of the river Neretva, he took a boat upstream to Mostar. He spent the later part October and the early November in Metković waiting for a letter from the vezir of Herzegovina who eventually welcomed him and gave him permission to observe and study the city. On his journey to Mostar, he was accompanied by a large Turkish caravan. One of the merchants spent a long time in Cairo where he learned Arabic in order to communicate with him without a translator. Through conversation, he discovered that the territorial organisation of Herzegovina and Bosnia was different and that Herzegovina had its own vezir but that the population belonged to the same tribe or kin. This claim was backed by the fact that the merchant's family originated in Travnik. Wilkinson noticed that his interviewee had a completely distorted understanding of the political reality and ratio of

rebellion (1831–1832). The Eyalet of Bosnia was comprised of the sanjaks of Zvornik, Bosnia, and Klis, while the eyalet of Herzegovina consisted of the sanjaks of Foča, Trebinje, and Mostar. V. Stojančević, *Из историје Срба у Босни и Херцеговини* [From the History of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Belgrade: Gutenbergs Galaxy, 2002), 57-71; Đ. Pejanović, *Становништво Босне и Херцеговине* [The Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences, 1955), 29. Taking note of this division, we will clearly state if the travellers are in Herzegovina or Bosnia. The terms eyalet and pashalik, as well as Ottoman and Turkish will be used as synonyms.

[10] Wilkinson dedicated his career to the exploration of Ancient Egypt. He spent almost twelve years (1821–1833) exploring the valley of the Nile river and traveling across Egypt. He published his findings in a three-volume work titled "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," including their private life, government, laws, arts, manufactures, religion, agriculture, and early history, derived from a comparison of still existing paintings, sculptures, and monuments, with the accounts of ancient authors (6 volumes, 1837–41). He was knighted for this work in 1839 and he went on to publish numerous other works. He returned to Egypt in 1842, in 1848–1849, and finally in 1855. Between his second and third expedition, he visited Dalmatia, Montenegro and Herzegovina.

global forces, which is, according to Wilkinson, a feature of a larger part of the Muslim population throughout the Ottoman Empire.[11]

Wilkinson's description of Mostar is the first description of a town in Herzegovina by a British author in the nineteenth century. He noted that Mostar was not fortified and that there were no remnants of larger fortifications. The author estimated that there were 7300 people living in Mostar. Of that number, he believed, 2000 were Turks, 3560 Greeks, 1440 Roman Catholics, including 300 Roma and only 3 Jews. In his description, he stated that the air was good and clean while the climate was healthy. The town itself took up more space than necessary since there was a lot of space between houses and gardens. The centre of the town consisted of two streets with shops. The streets were not paved except for the ones which led to the vezir's palace. The supply of goods was slim since the demand for them was relatively limited. Houses were mostly made of stone or bricks with roofs made of stone plates. Wood was used to a lesser extent compared to the rest of the Ottoman Empire. The main export products of Herzegovina were leather, wool, fruits, wax, livestock, and tallow. Tobacco grown in Herzegovina was highlighted as pretty good and cheap. The author stated that the Austrian currency was widely used throughout Herzegovina. Wilkinson took a different route on the way back to Austria from the capital of Herzegovina, which led him through Čapljina, where he stayed overnight.[12]

During his stay in Mostar, Wilkinson noted that almost everyone in the city spoke Slavonic and that some of the Mostar Turks did not speak any other language. Few of them understood Arabic and he encountered only two Muslims who were foreigners. One of them was from Baghdad and the other from Damascus. He concluded that the dialect spoken in Herzegovina and Bosnia (he reached this conclusion although he did not visit Bosnia – author's note) was almost the same as the dialect spoken in Dalmatia and Montenegro, with the exception that it included numerous Turkish words. Since he had the vezir's permission and was accompanied by his men, Wilkinson did not face any nuisances. However, he noticed that not a single Turk responded to his salutations. He believed that this was a consequence of their disapproval of him

[11] O. Hadžiselimović, *At the gates of the East*, 46-47, 251-253.

[12] J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro: with a journey to Mostar in Herzegovina and Remarks on the Slavonic Nations, the History of Dalmatia and Ragusa, and the Uscocs*, Vol. II, (London: John Murray, 1848), 57, 62, 88, 90.

riding a horse which they considered a Muslim privilege. He concluded that the good behaviour of Turks of Herzegovina was the consequence of the vezir's rule because he heard that, before his arrival, the foreigners used to be insulted and sometimes even attacked. He faced much prejudice towards Christians. He noted that Muslims still treat Christian commoners with disdain despite the sultan's order that forbed the abuse of Christians. A "true believer" could make the life of "infidels" miserable without any fear of justice. Wilkinson wrote that the Turkish landowners were despotic towards Christian peasants and that it was uncertain if the Turks were truly becoming civilised before their rule in Europe was undone. It was visible that their power was declining rapidly and that it affected their behaviour. He predicted that they would lose their position of arrogant overlords and become passive and harmless subjects once they encounter a force they cannot resist. A prerequisite for this scenario would be a peaceful solution since violent actions would lead to the resistance of the Muslim population. Forceful expulsion from Europe would lead to massacres of the Christian population.[13]

During his time in Mostar, Wilkinson met the vezir of Herzegovina, Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović-Stočević (1783–1851).[14] He noticed four or five heads on stakes placed on top of the vezir's tower. Due to gout or another disease, the vezir appeared to be older than 60. He was kind to Wilkinson, who still failed to fulfil the goal of his visit. His wish was to mediate between the vezir of Herzegovina and the bishop of Montenegro in order to sign a treaty that would end their long-standing conflict. He particularly wanted them to abandon the custom of beheading the enemies who died in battle, but he did not receive the approval of the vezir. The vezir pointed out that the previous attempt to achieve such a treaty failed due to the Montenegrin refusal; furthermore, it was them who started this custom in the first place. He pointed out

[13] J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro: with a Journey to Mostar in Herzegovina*, 62-63, 67-68.

[14] The captain of Stolac, who was one of the most respected persons of his time. During the rebellion of Husein Gradaščević (1831–1832), he remained loyal to the central authorities. In the aftermath of the rebellion, he received the title of "vizier of Herzegovina" as a reward for his loyalty. He held this title from 1833 until the merge of the eyalet of Bosnia and the eyelet of Herzegovina in 1851. He collaborated with the enemies of Omer-pasha Latas who decided to make an example of him during his campaign against the local beys who opposed the sultan. The arrested and humiliated vizier of Herzegovina died in "an accident" near Banja Luka.

that he wanted peace but that there was little hope that it would be reached with Montenegro. The vezir added: "Besides, who could trust a Greek? They are all alike." He then stated that he did not refer to the Greeks as a nation but to those who belonged to their "religious sect."[15]

Wilkinson did not believe the vezir's claims, but he avoided further discussion. He backed his attitude by the fact that the stronger side, the Ottoman Empire in this case, should lead by example and that only civilised war can lead to civilised peace. He stated that he had no personal interest in this as he was a foreigner and would be far away in a few months. However, the Turks and Montenegrins would continue to fight, and heads of the fallen would still be displayed in both Mostar and Cetinje.[16]

Upon his return to Dalmatia, he sent the letter to the bishop of Montenegro, dated 17 November 1844, in which he described his talks with the vezir and advised him to continue his correspondence with the vezir. Twelve days later, he received a letter from the bishop who thanked him for his effort and "noble and humane intention," but he also stated that talking to the vezir was pointless since he was "a wolf in lambskin" who not only decapitated people but also impaled them on stakes. Wilkinson himself described the Turks as a rare example of a nation that reached their zenith and declined to become civilised. However, he tried to realize his idea persistently because he believed that there was awareness in the higher spheres of the Ottoman Empire about the benefits of the "consent with the customs of civilisation." He tried to achieve this by contacting the Ottoman Ministry of foreign affairs through the British consul in Istanbul, but they did not see his reasons.[17] His sincere wish for the abolition of this cruel custom was not realised and thirty years later, during the Great Eastern Crisis (1875–1878), Turkish and Montenegrin heads were still mounted on stakes. Since he spent less than two weeks in Herzegovina, Wilkinson could not get a more in-depth insight into the real state of matters in eyalet.

[15] J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro: with a Journey to Mostar in Herzegovina*, 69, 74-77. It is worth mentioning that several months earlier (May-July 1844), while the Austrian diplomat was in Herzegovina, the bishop's emissary was imprisoned in Stolac. That same diplomat noted that Ali-pasha was better towards Christians than the vizier of Bosnia. V. Stojančević, *From the History of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 56, 72.

[16] J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro: with a Journey to Mostar in Herzegovina*, 77-80.

[17] Ibidem, 82-87.

Nevertheless, his contribution to informing British readers about the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was enormous, especially when compared to the next author discussed below.

After Wilkinson, the delta of the Neretva river was visited by the writer, diplomat, and experienced traveller Andrew Archibald Paton (1811–1874).[18] In November 1846, he arrived in Dalmatia to visit the Austrian ports and to write a report about them at the order of the British consul in Vienna. He took a coach from Karlovac to the capital of Dalmatia, Zadar. Afterwards, he visited Kotor, climbed on top of Lovćen, and shortly visited Cetinje. He wrote that Dubrovnik was still the main port of Herzegovina. He visited several places along the border, but he did not cross onto the territory of the eyalet of Herzegovina. In June 1847, he travelled across Lika and reached the borders of the eyalet of Bosnia through Plitvice Lakes and Zavalje. He crossed the border and visited the picturesque town of Bihać in the Una valley.[19]

Paton wrote that Bihać was made of older Hungarian buildings and more recently-built houses in Turkish manner which looked as they were about to fall apart. While he witnessed religious tolerance in the far corners of the Ottoman Empire, he found none at the very border of one of the largest European monarchies. One Christian community, who were Roman-Catholics based on his description, did not have a church. On Sunday morning, the priest set up an altar in the place where a church once stood and covered it with a roof from a carriage. This ceremony was attended by around one hundred and fifty believers who revered this patch of land as consecrated and prayed where their ancestors prayed.

Paton noted that in Tunisia, Syria, and Egypt, Protestants, Catholics, or Greeks (in this case, the members of the Orthodox Christian Church

[18] Paton walked from Napoli to Vienna with nothing but a backpack and a walking cane when he was twenty five years old. From there, he travelled to Fruška Gora in the summer of 1838 and then to Belgrade. Thanks to his acquaintance with the British consul in Serbia he became his secretary in Egypt. He was transferred to a new post in Syria later. He used his job to travel across the Ottoman Empire and publish a series of newspaper articles. He visited Serbia twice, in 1843 and 1844. He described his experiences from Serbia in a book titled *Servia, the youngest member of the European family*. In his later years he became an official member of the British diplomatic core once again. He was a consul in Dubrovnik in 1863 during the crisis and Serbian uprising in Herzegovina. He published books about Syria, Egypt, Bulgaria, and various historical topics in the Balkans and the Middle East.

[19] A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic, Including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Provinces of Austrian Empire*, vol 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849), 153-154.

– author's note) were free to pray in the places they considered holy. In a free interpretation of geography, he wrote that at the foothills of the Julian Alps, one cannot raise a roof over a place of worship in order to protect it from rain. Hinting at the process of Islamisation, he stated that the descendants of Christians had become the fiercest persecutors of their ancestral faith. He met the local pasha, a short, fifty-five-year old man with sharp facial features who wore traditional clothes instead of regular army uniform. However, it seems that he did not learn anything useful from his conversation with the pasha. Paton gave a short historical overview from the fall of medieval Bosnia to his time and mentioned "Turkish Croatia"[20] but gave the reader no explanation of the term and failed to understand the local use of this term.[21]

Paton did not undertake any deeper analysis but noticed that the local population was resisting the army reform and that the people threatened the local pasha for trying to implement orders from the capital. The pasha consequently started to be guarded by "several Arnauts." As a proof of the weak central government, Paton highlighted that the vezir resides in Travnik, the second city by size, and not in Sarajevo, the province's largest city. Due to the intolerance of the "aristocracy," he was allowed to spend only three days a year in Sarajevo.[22] Paton then informed his less-versed readers that the Ottoman Empire paid special attention to this part of the empire after it suppressed numerous rebellions throughout the country. They did it by sending energetic pashas who beheaded almost all influential local Muslims. However, they did not achieve their final goal as the reforms were accepted very slowly. Paton stated that the resistance towards the "European reforms" was strongest among those who later embraced Islam. The Sublime Porte did

[20] A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 162.

[21] By expanding the territorial extent of "Turkish Croatia," the ideologists of Greater Croatia moved its borders all the way to the Drina River. One of the latest paper concerning this topic concluded that the term "Turkish Croatia" from the age of Croatian romanticism became an argument in the expansion of the Croatian territorial aspirations towards the East and that it went from a "historical myth to office euphemism to virtual territorial right." B. Teinović, "Turska Hrvatska" ("Lapsus calami" u istoriji Bosne i Hercegovine XIX vijeka) [Turkish Croatia ("Lapsus calami" in the 19th century history of Bosnia and Herzegovina)], in *Proceedings – Culture and education – Determinants of social progress (achievements, ranges, perspectives)*, book. 11, Banja Luka, 03-04 December 2010, Banja Luka: Faculty of Philosophy, 2010.)

[22] A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 163-164.

not eradicate the local aristocracy but it appeased it. The turbulent character of the local population in these mountainous provinces forced the Porte to govern them by appreciating the local ways that were not known in the other parts of the "Turkish Europe."[23] Paton only resided in Bihać and in the north western part of the eyelet; furthermore, he only stayed for several days, therefore he could not gain any deeper insight into the situation of the eyalets.

A year before Paton's book was published, Europe was shaken by a wave of revolutions that alerted great powers. The integrity of the Habsburg Monarchy, the neighbours of the Ottomans, was endangered by the events on the Apennine peninsula and the political decisions of Hungary which proclaimed itself a republic. The Russian intervention had stopped this process, as well as the endeavour of Valachia and Moldavia to proclaim independent Romania. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was stopped by the swift reaction of the Ottoman and Russian troops. Their alliance was soon dissolved due to the Ottoman refusal to extradite the Hungarian and Polish revolutionaries who took refuge on its territory. The Habsburg Monarchy severed all ties with the Ottoman Empire and the Russo-Ottoman alliance was dissolved. Great Britain gave its support to the Ottoman Empire, but the crisis was evaded through compromise.[24]

Edmund Spencer, who wrote about South Slavs in almost all of his books, arrived in the Balkan Peninsula soon after this situation was defused.[25] He travelled from Belgrade to Vranje where the local pasha was preparing his detachment to Bosnia. With his approval, Spencer joined his detachment and travelled to Sarajevo through Kosovo and Novi Pazar. In Novi Pazar, he discovered that Bosnian Muslims resisted reforms and that they even endangered the life of the local Pasha.

[23] Ibidem, 167-169.

[24] M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923.* 113; S. J. Shaw & E. K. Shaw, *The History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol II, 135-136; R. Mantran, ed., *Историја Османског царства* [The History of the Ottoman Empire], (Belgrade: Clio, 2002), 608-609.

[25] E. Spencer, *Sketches of Germany and Germans, with a glance at Poland, Hungary, Switzerland in 1834, 1835 and 1836*, *by an English resident at Germany* (London 1836); *Travels in Circassia, Krim-Tartary, etc., including a Steam Voyage down the Danube, from Vienna to Constantinople and round the Black Sea in 1836*, 2 Vols. (London, 1837); *Turkey, Russia, the Black Sea, and Circassia* (London, 1854); *Travels in France and Germany in 1865 and 1866: including a Steam voyage down the Danube, and a ride across the mountains of European Turkey from Belgrade to Montenegro*, 2 Vols. (London, 1866); *Germany from the Baltic to the Adriatic* (London, 1867).

According to Spencer, the resistance was created by several local chiefs who instigated a revolt against the sultan's reforms among the local population with the support of fanatical priests.[26]

These chiefs were the most influential Muslim feudal lords, while the fanatical priests were local imams. At the time, Sultan Abdulmejid I (1839–1861) was reigning. The Bosnian agas and beys were adamant in their resistance to the reforms by which the Porte was trying to save the Ottoman Empire from dissolution and transform it into a modern state. Their resistance sometimes turned into armed rebellion against central authorities. The last of those rebellions started with the arrival of Omer-pasha Latas (1808–1871).[27] During Spencer's stay in Bosnia, this Ottoman general undertook military action that finally broke the local Muslim elite will for armed resistance. This, however, did nothing to improve the situation for the Christian population. After three days of riding through inaccessible mountains, Spencer arrived in Sarajevo, "the centre of the always turbulent Bosnia." In "one of the most beautiful cities in Turkey," he noticed a large number of hans. He said that Sarajevo was the "central station" of all caravans that go from one end of the empire to the other. He wrote that developed trade and craftsmanship offer cheap and quality products: wool clothes, weapons, sabres, jewellery, and leather goods. According to him, there were 30000 Muslims in Sarajevo and around 10000 Christians. However, within the total population of the eyelet, the number of Muslims and Christians was roughly equal. He divided the Muslim population of Bosnia on pashas and feudals on one side and city officials, merchants, and craftsmen on the other. He believed that the first group were fanatics and the second group consisted of democratic opponents of feudal lords.

He was particularly interested in religious intolerance. He stated that Islam was strong in Bosnia and that this was cause by the conflicts between the Orthodox and the Roman-Catholic Christians. The religious division was obvious but it was more pronounced in the Christian population. He wrote that Muslim benevolence towards Christians was

[26] E. Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey in 1850, through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania and Epirus, with a visit to Greece and Ionian Isles, and a homeward tour through Hungary and the Slavonian provinces of Austria on the lower Danube*, Vol. II (London: Colburn and Co. Publishers, 1851), 295.

[27] G. Šljivo, *Omer-Paša Latas u Bosni i Hercegovini 1850–1852* [Omer-pasha Latas in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1850–1852] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1977).

more common than inter-Christian benevolence. The population was divided geographically in a way that Orthodox Christians lived between Novi Pazar and Zvornik, while Sarajevo with its surrounding districts was a "stronghold of Islam," whereas Latins lived in "Turkish Croatia." He noted that Roman-Catholics would support the possible Austrian occupation of the Bosnian eyalet. Spencer never referred to Orthodox Christians as Serb but as Greek-Slavs. However, he noted that the population of Bosnia had the same origin as the Serbs and that they were once part of the "Serbian Empire." He estimated that there were around three hundred thousand Roman-Catholics, whom he called Latins and who make up around one third of the population according to his findings. He overestimated their numbers as they did not make up even one-fifth of the population, and most of them lived in the central parts of Bosnia and the western parts of Herzegovina. Muslims made up one-third of the population while the Orthodox Christians made up the relative majority of the population.[28]

In his description of the population, he noticed similarities with the population of Serbia in their manners, customs, and language. He also noted that their clothes were very similar and that they still wore turbans. Peasants were tied to their land and worked in agriculture and animal husbandry. Spencer described Slavs as hardworking and talented people who could easily master several foreign languages, unlike the indigenous Turks. He also wrote that the peasants were more intelligent than the peasants in Western and Eastern Europe and that out of all Muslims, those from Bosnia were the most moral ones. He stated that Muslims were allowed to marry Christian women while Christians were under threat of excommunication if they married Muslim women. The author noted that suicide was extremely rare in the eyalet and then he further described funeral customs. Medical care was very difficult to obtain and lifespan was very short, especially for women. There were many charlatans in the country who cured "all sorts of diseases" but larger settlements and the residencies of pashas always had doctors and pharmacists. They were usually Germans, Italians, or Greeks. Spencer

[28] E. Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey in 1850*, 298-304; Đ. Pejanović, *The Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 30-31. The tables and maps in the appendix confirm our statements.

also wrote that in Bosnia, the barber was also a surgeon because "he has the necessary tools to perform amputation."[29]

In his historical overview, Spencer described events prior and following the Turkish conquests as well as events prior to the arrival of Omer-pasha Latas – although he did not mention him. He then explained how the local population was impoverished by the economic situation in the neighbouring countries. He noted that Austria had monopolised trading and that their currency was more frequently used in Bosnia than the Ottoman currency. Since it surrounded Bosnia from three sides, Austria filled it with its agents "disguised as monks and merchants." This was done in order to prepare the commoners and Mohammedans for the great change – "the transition under the wings of the Austrian eagle." According to Spencer, the local population would benefit from connections with more prosperous and developed areas. The Austrian annexation of these provinces would lead to their economic development.[30]

Pondering upon the idea of an Austrian invasion into the provinces, Spencer concluded that it would be a task difficult to achieve. Bad roads would limit the movements of the army and their supply lines would be hard to maintain. He also noted that only the Roman-Catholic part of the population was friendly towards Austrians. In his description of the Bosnian Muslims' resistance to reforms, Spencer wrote that rebels intended to take over important forts, Mostar in Herzegovina and Jajce and Banja Luka in Bosnia; furthermore, they intended to head to Novi Pazar in order to establish a connection with the Albanians "who were equally hostile towards the Turkish government."[31] He did not state whether that has already happened neither does he further explain the events of the rebellion or the situation in the provinces. The readers are denied any further explanation since the author stopped writing about

[29] In his description of the population, he noted that most of them had black hair. Every Muslim had a moustache while a beard was a signature of Hajjis (a person who visited Mecca and Medina in pilgrimage) and of wise old men. In the description of the towns and villages, he noticed many similarities with those in Serbia. He also noted an abundance of forests that allowed anyone to use wood for heating. The main branches of the economy were nomadic animal husbandry, beekeeping, and agriculture, although agriculture was less developed. E. Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey in 1850,* 343-385.
[30] Ibidem, 310-316.
[31] Ibidem, 329-331.

the Bosnian eyalet. After Bosnia, Spencer went to Montenegro, Albania, and numerous Greek locations.

Through careful examination, we can conclude that Spencer did not travel through the entire eyalet of Bosnia and that he did not set foot in Herzegovina. It seems that he wrote according to the stories he had heard. Although he stayed in Bosnia during the campaign of Omer-pasha Latas against the Bosnian beys, he only wrote about earlier antireform movements. His book is a mixture of correct, semi correct, and incorrect information, as well as his own thoughts about the future of the provinces. He gave correct data about the religious differences among the local population whom he divided into Muslim Slavs, Catholics, and Greek-Slavs – Orthodox Christians. When he wrote about the borders with the Habsburg Monarchy, he mentioned the rivers Una and Sava as borders but he did not mention the north-western land border – although he did mentione Dalmatia later, outside of context. He did not mention sanjaks. On the contrary, he stated that the eyalet of Bosnia was divided into nahijas like the Principality of Serbia and that there was an even smaller territorial unit – the knežina. He argued that the knežina was predominantly or completely inhabited by Christians led by a knez.[32] He stated that the eyalet consisted of Bosnia, Turkish Croatia (Krajina), and Herzegovina, which is incorrect. Discussing Krajina, he falsely stated that the majority of the population there is Roman-Catholic.[33] Spencer considers "Turkish Croatia" which he sometimes calls Krajina, to be the entire north-western part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, all the way to the river Vrbas – when in reality it is the area around the river Una. Since he used the work of earlier authors without criticism, Spencer is counted among the writers who "stretch Turkish Croatia all the way to the banks of Vrbas," as stated by Ivo Franjo Jukić (1817–1857).[34]

Besides the above-mentioned issues, most disputed one is Edmund Spencer, the author himself. His biography is entirely unknown to us. Despite his productivity, the multiple editions of his books, and the fact that his works were translated into other languages, he was a great enigma to his contemporaries. The English magazine for the cooperation and

[32] He insists that this proves continuity of self-government. He concluded that this "perfect patriarchal republic" showed that the Slavic population of the Ottoman Empire wanted a "federal system."

[33] E. Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey in 1850*, 332-336. See note 27.

[34] B. Teinović, "Turkish Croatia," 242. See note 20.

information of researchers of history and literature *Notes & Queries* tried to gather information about him in 1915, but they failed. Since he signed his books as "captain," we could conclude that he spent some time in the military.[35] In his first book, he mentioned that he was English and that he spent part of his life in Prussia. He travelled through Poland, Hungary, and Switzerland. The information that was sitting at one point in the han in Niš while editing his notes and thinking about his publisher who will turn them into "English banknotes" leads us to the conclusion that he was a professional traveller who used public interest in the situation in the East to make his living by writing travelogues. His publisher was Henry Colburn (1785–1855), a skilled businessman who paid his authors abundantly but did not enjoy a good business reputation. He was often described as "disgrace to his profession," "not a publisher but a manufacturer of books," with "no personal taste in literature"; but who could, nonetheless, "feel the moment."[36]

When we combine the non-existing biographical data, his ability to visit several locations within the same year and maintain his productivity, and the fact that none of his alleged famous acquaintances mentions him, it may be concluded that "Captain Edmund Spencer" was a pseudonym. Only thing that is not yet clear is whether this was one person or several people writing under this name.[37] This opens up the question whether the usage of Spencer's book is justified – even if the British Quarterly Review, at the time of its publishing, recommended it to "all people

[35] V. Kostić, *Britanija i Srbija: kontakti, veze i odnosi 1700–1860* [Britain and Serbia, contacts, connections and relations 1700-1860] (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2014), 153-154.

[36] V. Kostić, *Britain and Serbia*, 154-155.

[37] R. Subić, "Едумунд Спенсер о османској Босни и Херцеговини 1850" [Edmund Spencer on Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1850], in *Гласник удружења архивских радника Републике Српске* [Herald of Association of Archivists of Republic of Srpska] 10 (2018): 123-124. In this paper, the author made the assumption that there were several people writing under this name. It is possible that Neval Berber is right when she states that he was "... a Victorian ... who made his career writing about the Balkans although he never set foot there." N. Berber, *Unveiling Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 4. Veselin Kostić calls him the "Baron Munchausen of English travel writers." He pointed out a series of omissions in his books and questions whether he wrote based on personal experience or from his armchair by rephrasing other authors. Kostić stated that "the careful reading of his texts points out that he does not deserve such trust." V. Kostić, *Britain and Serbia*, 152, 158-170.

interested in the advancement of civilization and freedom among European nations."[38]

Unfortunately, we cannot offer an answer since we are not in the position to conduct a research which could prove if "the experienced traveller who was lucky to get permission from the sultan" and the author of "the best book about the East" is in fact a real person or a product of a skilled publisher. We can only hope that future research will solve this riddle. We must emphasize that even at the height of Spencer's popularity, his critics pointed out the superficiality of his work, the fact that he plagiarised other authors, the massive geographical mistakes, and the usage of lesser known books that were supplemented by his extensive dictionary.[39]

James Henry Skene (1812–1886) was for certain a real person, an officer who served in the British forces stationed in Malta.[40] He left military service and settled in Istanbul after he married a girl from a respectable Phanariot family. His connections with the British embassy are unclear, but it seems that he was an "unofficial agent for the British ambassador in Turkey at the beginning."[41] In mid June 1850, Skene arrived in Rijeka. From there, he went to Sisak where he took a boat to Belgrade. After that, he went to Bucharest and visited the lower Danube area, Valachia, and Moldavia. He spent three weeks in Bulgaria before returning to Bucharest. He crossed the Danube near Kladovo and then headed to Belgrade through Donji Milanovac, Majdanpek, Požarevac, and Smederevo. In mid 1851, he travelled by carriage to Bosnia through Šabac.

During his stay in Bijeljina, he noted that the town had between 6000 and 8000 inhabitants. Accompanied by four companions, he headed to Tuzla across the Majevica Mountains. From Tuzla, he went to Žepče

[38] Ibidem, 158.
[39] Ibidem, 155-157.
[40] He was a member of a Scottish noble family who spent several decades in Ottoman provinces where he showed interest in the life customs of the local population. One of his brothers was also an author, as well as his sister who stayed in Serbia and published her notes. We can say that he has an author's pedigree. At the beginning of the Crimean War, he published two books about the Ottoman Empire. One of them is *Anadol: the Last Home of the Faithfull* London 1853 and the other one is the book analysed in this paper. After the war, he became vice-consul in Istanbul and then a consul in Aleppo. He stayed on that post until 1880.
[41] V. Kostić, *Britain and Serbia*, 140.

through the Spreča river valley. He described Žepče as a small town with old houses, a mosque, and an old fortress.[42] On the road between Tuzla and Žepče, he found the remains of the battle between the rebels and sultan's army which took place in 1850. He described this battle based on the knowledge of his companions.[43]

Skene wrote that Upper Tuzla was several miles away from lower Tuzla. It consisted of around five hundred houses scattered on a plateau surrounded by hills. There he saw young women walking unveiled and concluded that Muslim customs in Bosnia are different from Muslim customs in other parts of the world because women kept their Christian customs after they were converted. His later experience proved him wrong since veils were widespread in the eyalet. Upon his arrival in Lower Tuzla, he sent a letter to the kaymakam and received friendly greetings. Lower Tuzla was bigger than Upper Tuzla but he could not determine the precise number of inhabitants. During the visit, he saw large saltworks. Saltworks in Upper Tuzla originated in the time of the Hungarian rule and were wells with saltwater which evaporated. He wrote about the scenery, the people, and even the animals he encountered along the way. He noted that medical care was awful and that the locals do not know much about medicine. Surgeries were performed by barbers whose only tool was a razor used for shaving, bloodletting, cutting, and amputating while healing was reserved for old crones who were considered to be witches. Skene wrote that rebellions against Omer-pasha and the central government were the consequence of the dedication to Islam and the opposition to the abolition of privileges. He concluded that the rebellion was a conflict inside the Muslim community and that Islam and feudalism were inseparable. The local Mohammedans did not thoroughly follow the Quran and they were less tolerant than Ottomans. The chasm between them and the

[42] J. H. Skene, *The Danubian Principalities. The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk, Comprising Travel in the Regions of the Lower Danube in 1850 and 1851*, Vol. II (London: Richard Bentley 1853), 199-200, 272. It is not possible to determine the exact route he took from Tuzla to Žepče. O. Hadžiselimović, *At the gates of the East*, 104.

[43] Around 1200, the sultan's soldiers were encircled by some 6000 rebels whose numbers grew up to 25000 at one point. Omer-pasha Latas took part in this fierce battle when he force marched around 2000 soldiers from Tuzla and defeated the rebels. J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 260-264 This was the battle of Kameni where the rebels had between 10000 and 15000 men, while Omer-pasha had 5000. G. Šljivo, *Omer-pasha Latas in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 84.

Christians was greater here than in any other part of the empire. Skene then gave an extensive review of repressing the rebellion in Krajina and mentioned that Omer-pasha returned to Travnik at the same time that he arrived in Tuzla.[44]

He mentioned the rebel actions once again when he arrived in the valley of the river Bosna, stating that small boats were the only way to cross the river since the ferry was destroyed in an attempt to slow down Omer-pasha's troops. He visited the small town of Vranduk near which two battles between the rebels and the army took place in October 1850. He described it as a small town of around 2000 inhabitants with miserable houses, which is a key to control the long valley that is an important link between the northern and the southern part of the province. He passed by Zenica in which "there is nothing that could catch one's attention."[45]

He arrived in Travnik, where Omer-pasha and his troops were stationed, during night, so his first impression consisted of long, narrow, and dirty streets. After two hours of trying to find beds in a town full of soldiers, they asked the town mayor for help. During his stay in the capital city of the provinces,[46] Skene met numerous officers who arrived with Omer-pasha. He spoke with them in German since they spoke it well, and some of them came from the Habsburg Monarchy. He spent three weeks in Travnik, from the end of May to 12 June 1851. According to him, the town had around 10000 inhabitants, mostly Bosnian Muhammedans. There were around 8000 regular soldiers in town at that time. He praised the army organisation, the accommodation, and health care as very good, and he expressed his doubt that the British army hospitals were better than the Turkish ones.[47]

He spoke with Omer-pasha Latas on several occasions and described him as a middle-aged man, tall and lean with a fair face, with a mild and natural character and a strictly military posture. They spoke in German and Italian, mainly about the events from Omer-pasha's recent

[44] J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 209-210, 221, 223-224, 241-255, 267-268, 278.

[45] J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 234, 269-270, 285-286; G. Šljivo, *Omer-pasha Latas in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 83.

[46] Omer-pasha transferred the capital to Sarajevo, after the rebellion, as part of his reforms.

[47] J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 287-293, 296.

campaign. He also met members of his family and household. He often saw his daughter Emina whom he described as a fair nine-year-old child that seemed dear and smart and spoke German and French quite well. She sometimes dressed in a Turkish style and other times in European style, but she also wore a uniform on several occasions. She usually appeared with a small pouch filled with money by her father used to help invalids. Skene also described Omer-pasha's meeting with the representatives of different religions. He wrote that he spoke with the Christian archbishop, a servile old man with long beard, in "Croatian" but he spoke with two Franciscans in German. According to Skene, the the Franciscans were the "friendliest of them all towards the Porte" and Latas explained them the Turkish intentions towards Bosnia and advised them on how to use their influence on their compatriots in Turkish Croatia. He obviously thought of Roman-Catholics over a territory larger than the actual Turkish Croatia.[48]

Skene frequently met with an Austrian painter, whom he considered to be a spy, since he arrived soon after him. He also heard "from a reliable source" that his task was to report about everything that Skene does. This "spy" sought Skene's company and appeared when he went to visit someone or accompanied those that visited Skene. During his travels, Skene was an object of suspicion, surveillance, and espionage. However, he was wrong. His movements in Travnik were monitored by an interpreter of the Austrian consulate who reported directly to the Austrian consul in Sarajevo.[49]

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[48] Latas also spoke with a rabbi. J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 293, 303-304, 311-316.

[49] He was questioned in Karlovac and a Hungarian officer told him that Englishmen did not come to Croatia and Slavonia for fun. Next time he was accused of being a spy by the Austrian custom officers because he had sketches of forts and castles. Judging by his book, it is no wonder they were suspicious. Not only did he know more about the situation and recent events in the Balkans than the average traveller but he also started political discussions with every opportunity he had. V. Kostić, *Britain and Serbia*, 143-144. The Austrian Minister of foreign affairs received a report from the Austrian consul on the 5th of June 1851 stating that the painter in Travnik was Vjekoslav Karas (1821–1858) who intended to make a portrait of the "Slavic hero" Omer-pasha for the magazine "Ilirska Matica." F. Šišić, *Босна и Херцеговина за време везировања Омер-паше Латаса (1850–1852*), Исправе из Бечког архива [*Bosnia and Herzegovina durign reign of Omer-pasha Latas (1850–1852*), Document from the Wiener Archive] (Subotica: Serbian Royal Academy, 1938), 317, 321, 324-325; O. Hadžiselimović, *At the gates of the East*, 322.

Due to his good relations with Latas and his co-workers, Skene was given a chance to witness the "Turkish justice," in other words, to be present at the trial held against some rebels. He found twelve staff officers and a mufti sitting in two rows under a large tent. This court had the task of finding out if prisoners were guilty and to pardon them if they were not. However, they could not sentence them. That was the duty of Omer-pasha, the vezir, and several advisors.[50]

Skene gave an idealistic description of the Ottoman military units. He wrote that "until now," recruits were exclusively Muslims with an explanation that it "was considered suitable" since the sultan's troops often had to put down Muslim rebellions. If Christians were part of the army, these conflicts would become fanatical and would deepen the chasm between the two religions. He expected that new circumstances would change this practice and optimistically concluded that "former slavery has practically ceased to exist" but that the Christians were wary of closer ties with former oppressors.[51]

His judgement was incorrect since a Serb rebellion broke out in Herzegovina just after his departure; it lasted for the next ten years with occasional breaks. Skene had a special affection for Ottoman authorities but we cannot be certain if this was tied with some agreement between the governments. The authorities in Belgrade believed that he was sent to inform about the situation in Serbia.[52] However, that is the prism through which we should view his attitude towards the relations between the Ottoman authorities and their Christian subjects. After he left Travnik, he visited the picturesque cities of Vitez, Busovača, and Kiseljak which did not impress him much.[53]

After that, he arrived in Sarajevo, which had around 60000 inhabitants and 122 mosques. It was situated at the entrance of the narrow Miljacka river valley crossed by four stone bridges. Many large and beautiful houses surrounded by trees "gave it the look of a fresh garden ... the Damascus of the North." There were many stores in the

[50] J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 326-330.
[51] Ibidem, 330-332.
[52] V. Kostić, *Britain and Serbia*, 142.
[53] Under the influence of his companions, he wrote that hundreds of people build roads in the eyalet voluntarily. He also wrote that the attempts of the Austrian spies to cause discontent among the population were futile. J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 333-341.

city but most of their goods were German made. The only notable domestic products were imaginative bowls, cups, and lanterns, as well as "excellent knives." On the second day of his stay, he visited the only foreign dignitary in the city – the Austrian consul. He described him as a polite man of diplomatic posture who said a few things about important topics trying to gain information but to give none back. He complained about loneliness, but he hoped that other great powers would soon open their consulates in the city.[54] The consul sent the report about Skene, his stay in Sarajevo, and his further intentions to Vienna. Skene did not manage to persuade him that his journey was not motivated by politics. The consul believed that he was sent to establish trade connections with Herzegovina and Bosnia.[55]

Skene travelled eastwards from Sarajevo over the Romanija Mountains and found himself in a landscape different from anything he saw until that point. It was waterless and sparsely populated. Sometimes one could encounter miserable wooden cottage. "Everything there was bigger – endless meadows sometimes disrupted with pine forests and rocky mountaintops that seemed to support this large plateau itself." He came to Zvornik following the flow of the rivers Jadar and Drina. The town, with 5000 or 6000 inhabitants, was build on such a narrow strip of land that it seemed like a tall and steep hill leaning over the town was pushing it into the Drina River. He was cordially welcomed as the first Englishman who visited the town. He described one-tenth of the population as being Christian and their priest as a typical "servile, shifty Greek." He assessed that one day Zvornik could have an important military role because a small number of defenders could hold back a more numerous army trying to cross the Drina, which would force the attackers to make long detours north or south. He left Bosnia, a "medieval country with all feudal customs" on a small boat.[56] He travelled through Valjevo and Obrenovac towards Belgrade after which he took the land route to Istanbul.

[54] During dinner, Skene met the Greek Christian bishop who was, according to Skene, "an intelligent man but servile towards the kaymakam" and "not suitable for such an important position." He also met the Austrian consul who told them that both Christian and Muslim morality in the city is completely twisted. J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 346-347.

[55] The Austrian consul in Sarajevo was Dimitrije Atanasković, the former consul in Serbia. F. Šišić, *Bosnia and Herzegovina during reign of Omer-pasha Latas (1850–1852)*, 332-333.

[56] J. H. Skene, *The Frontier Land of the Christian and the Turk*, 364-370.

During his visit to the Bosnian eyelet, Skene moved through its north-eastern part, crossing the described routes. He gave us second-hand information about other parts of the eyalet. Skene's book should be assessed through a fact that has already been pointed out in the literature. His complex journey across the Balkans points out that he was not only driven by curiosity and a wish to explore distant lands but that he was most likely on an intelligence-gathering mission. This should be taken into consideration because he was mainly interested in panslavic ideas during his stay in Serbia and because he wrote that the Bulgarian metropolitan was surely a Russian spy just like most of the Orthodox priests. His stance towards the Orthodox priests in Bosnia is not much better. On the other hand, his description of the Turks, their administration, and army is very positive and he hinted at a bright future of the eyalet under their rule. The status of the Christians was presented in such a manner that the readers could not find out about the hardships they endured while being treated as second class citizens. This book, which is an "overview of systematically planed journeys across the Balkans," is riddled with Russophobia, political speculations, and suspicion towards anything that could endanger the Ottoman Empire and therefore the British interests.[57] A showdown between Russia and Britain was imminent and the Crimean war broke out soon after. Russia's defeat did not stop their rivalry, but the theatre shifted towards east. The two empires began their fifty-year long great game for geostrategic domination over Central and Eastern Asia.[58]

The contemporary readers of these books could only get fragmented descriptions of the situation in Herzegovina and Bosnia due to several reasons. None of these authors stayed for long enough in the provinces or toured them thoroughly. Wilkinson stayed in parts of the Herzegovina eyelet, while Paton stayed in a single town in the north-western part of Bosnia. Spencer gave the broadest picture of the Bosnian eyalet but he, just like Skene, did not tour it completely. The Bosnian Krajina, which they wrongly call Turkish Croatia, remained completely unknown to them, as well as the implications of the wrong name later used by ideologists of the Greater Croatian ideas. They make a difference between the local and foreign "Turks" whom they sometimes call

[57] V. Kostić, *Britain and Serbia*, 142, 148.
[58] E. Sergeev, *The Great Game 1856–1907: Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

Mohammedans. The Ottoman rule was presented as positive which is the consequence of the connections between these writers and the British government. Wilkinson's activity in Istanbul and the support he received from British diplomats are one example of this. Paton was a professional diplomat, while Spencer wrote that he was a captain. Skene served his country for decades as a soldier and diplomat. All this suggests that their books were in accordance with the political interests of their government and that they cannot be interpreted as neutral observers. These adventurers, whether they were soldiers or agents, announced the forthcoming interest of Britain in the westernmost provinces of the Ottoman Empire that will become institutionalized after the Crimean war through the appointment of the first consul. Since then, the British Foreign minister started to receive official reports about the situation in the provinces. In the coming decades, Bosnia and Herzegovina will be visited by many travel writers, some of them inclined towards the Ottoman rule, others towards the Balkan Christians, but all of them Russophobic. But that is the story for another paper.

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Travelling through the "Forgotten" Past: The Journeys of Pavle Stamatović in their Broader Pan-Slavic Context

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I. Introduction

The relation between the past and present was delicate in all the national movements of the nineteenth century. Although Pan-Slavism was supranational, it acted following similar principles to other national movements. Many Slavists approached the question of the "Slavic antiquity" to provide the answers for some of the contemporary issues with which they were dealing. If they could prove that not only did the Slavs live on the same territory for a long time, but also that they had a glorious past, they would meet their set goals. Ján Kollár and Pavel Jozef Šafárik were the most prominent figures of Pan-Slavism in the first half of the nineteenth century, and both of them had a deeper connection with the Serbian national cultural revival, which they each significantly impacted. Kollár was a Lutheran chaplain in Pest, and he closely cooperated with the Serbian community living there; while Šafárik spent most of his young age working as a professor in the Serbian Gymnasium in Novi Sad.

II. The usage of the past through the myths of national descent

Pavle Stamatović was one of the central figures in the Serbian cultural movement of this period, and he lived and worked in various cities, like Pest, Szeged, Eger, and others. Even though he had a religious background (he was a Serbian Orthodox priest), he actively engaged in the contemporary discussions regarding many national (and supranational) issues, like linguistics, history, and politics. In this paper,

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I will present his travelogues, printed in a series of articles between 1833 and 1838. In order to fully understand the mindset behind these journeys, it is necessary to present an overview of the "ethnic myths" connected with the distant national past, and the notion of the "Slavic antiquity" itself. Also, it is required to present the views of Stamatović himself, regarding the aforementioned issues, which he expressed in many other places. Only then it is possible to understand the meaning of his journeys, now read from their proper perspective.

The "manufacturing" of the past by the "national workers" of the nineteenth century is not an unknown phenomenon amongst researchers. The cases of the famous Czech Manuscripts are one of the best examples of how forging the documents from the past could be used in contemporary times.[2] Naturally, these tendencies to "discover" old manuscripts or any other written and oral records were not limited only to the Czechs or the Slavs in general because this was the case with every aspiring nation in Europe.[3] Miroslav Hroch, who was a well-known theoretician of nationalism, wrote about the quest for "security" that led the Romantics to look into the past. They turned their focus from the contemporary realities to the "idealized picture of ages past" where these scholars tried to build a connection between the present and previous generations. This endeavour, as Hroch noted, often had a "historicizing component" which served as a unifying factor of an emerging nation. All the national movements constructed the "collective memory" for this purpose, mostly through the myths of the past sufferings of a nation, or their earlier "Golden Age."[4]

[2] Václav Hanka (1791–1861), a Czech philologist from the nineteenth century, became famous when he "discovered" two manuscripts from the medieval Bohemian kingdom. These documents, named as the Manuscripts of Grünberg and Königinhof, were proven forgeries due to the efforts of the group of scholars surrounding the Czech sociologist and philosopher Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, in the 1880s. For more information about the Czech Manuscripts see P. Rychterová, "The Manuscripts of Grünberg and Königinhof: Romantic Lies about the Glorious Past of the Czech Nation," in *Manufacturing a Past for the Present. Forgery and Authenticity in Medievalist Texts and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. János M. Bak et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 3-30.

[3] J. M. Bak et al, "The Long Shadow of Ossian," in *Manufacturing a Past for the Present*, x.

[4] M. Hroch, "National Romanticism," in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries,* vol. 2, eds. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), 6, 14.

Anthony Smith, who was another renowned scholar in the field of nationalism theory, analysed the components of the "ethnic descent myths," as he named them. He listed a number of different myths that were invoked by the nationalist movements, since the Late Modern Period. Among them, the ones he labelled as the "myth of origins" and the "myth of descent proper with special emphasis upon the nature of the ancestor" are those that could be applied to the Slavs as perceived by the nineteenth-century Pan-Slavists. The first one refers to "dignity through antiquity," which was a way for the Pan-Slavic scholars to elevate the current state of Slavs through emphasizing their real or imagined deeds since ancient times. The second one deals with the myth of noble ancestors who were the founders of a nation, in this case of the Slavic one.[5] In his work *National Identity*, Smith argued that even though the concept of a nation is a modern one, it was also "deep-rooted" to a certain extent. In a sub-chapter dedicated to the relation between the concepts of modernity and antiquity within a nation, he also emphasized the importance of the territory for a nation. The reason for this was the long association of the specific people with it, which also included emotional and imaginary connections.[6]

Before we start analysing of the Slavic "ancestral myths," this phenomenon should be briefly analysed in its broader European context. Pan-Slavists emulated their German role-models and adversaries. The myth of Germanic antiquity, based on antique sources, was differently understood in different times. The most important work, *Germania* by Tacitus, was used as a foundation on which scholars built the anti-Roman Catholic Church sentiment during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because of the conflation of that institution with the Roman Empire. However, the work itself and the notion of "German antiquity" got entirely new interpretations during the Napoleonic wars. Johann Gottlieb Fichte and his contemporaries sought a German spirit of unity amidst the war chaos that engulfed German territories, so they found it in the past, in the struggles of Arminius (or Hermann) against the Roman Empire.[7]

[5] A. D. Smith, "Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 25:2 (1984): 292.
[6] A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Group, 1991), 68-70.
[7] J. J. K. Reusch, "Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42:1 (2008): 102-103.

German nationalistic myths were similar to those of the French, Swedish, Spanish, or Dutch, as Joep Leerssen observed in his *National Thought in Europe*. All of them attempted to find their "ancestors" in the past, who often fought unjust wars against their mightier oppressors.[8] The French were, at the same time, starting to build the myth of their Celtic descent. Abbot Sieyès saw the Gauls as the true ancestors of the so-called "Third estate," who did not share the same origin with the nobility originated from the Frankish invaders.[9] The Revolutionary France and the French Empire that replaced it nourished this myth of the "Gaulic ancestry" of the French people. The Bourbon Restoration that took place between 1815 and 1830 suppressed the myth, but then reintroduced it again during the Second Republic, and subsequently, the Second French Empire.[10] Similarly to the ancient Germans, the Gauls fought hard against their foreign invaders and were conquered only after long and bloody battles.

III. The notion of "Slavic antiquity"

The Pan-Slavists of the first half of the nineteenth century mostly perceived Slavs as a single nation, divided into different sub-groups.[11] It was no coincidence that the most famous Slavists of this period studied in German universities. Ján Kollár (1793-1852) and Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861) both witnessed the events surrounding the Wartburg festival in Jena in 1817, which was a nationalistic event organized by German students, and they were both inspired in two different ways by it. The emerging German nationalism and the idea of the Pan-Germanic unity represented a model that was emulated by the young Pan-Slavists.[12] However, it also represented a threat to Slavs, especially for those who lived together with Germans, such as Czechs and Poles.[13] In its essence,

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[8] J. Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 49-51.

[9] M. Dietler, "Our Ancestors the Gauls. Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe," *American Anthropologist* 96:1 (1994): 587.

[10] M. Dietler, "Our Ancestors the Gauls," 588.

[11] H. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism. Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), ix.

[12] Ibidem, xiv, 3-4, 6-7; A. Maxwell, "Herder, Kollár, and the Origins of Slavic Ethnography," *Traditiones* 40:2 (2011): 83.

[13] For an overview of the German perception of the East and Slavs, including racial and xenophobic attitudes of the German scholars, see V. G. Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East. 1800 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2009), 51-53, 74-81.

the myth of "Slavic antiquity" tried to prove that Slavs were not some "Asiatic invaders" who came with Huns into Europe in the fourth century. On the contrary, they had been living on the same territory for centuries before that. Their "antiquity" and connection with the land they inhabited proved that they had the right to freely decide their destinies in contemporary times, without the foreign interference of domination.[14]

While Ján Kollár was studying in Jena, he used to meet with the famous German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was interested in Slavic folk poetry. John Connelly, in his *From Peoples into Nations*, wrote how the trips the young Slovakian took on his way to meet the German poet left a long-lasting impression on him. Kollár noticed that many settlements, including Jena, Weimar, and other Thuringian towns, had names of Slavic origin. Connelly asked the simple question that might have crossed the young mind of Kollár – where were Slavs now if the topography and the names of the settlements testify that they once lived here?[15] Indeed, the young Slovak student reminisced these thoughts in his later memoirs, where he stated that "every town, every village, a river, and a hill had Slavic name, and seemed to be a grave or a monument on this great cemetery."[16] All these "hints" steered the imagination of Kollár, as Connelly notes, leading him to conclude that Slavs were a large nation, covering a vast territory.[17] The experiences in Jena considerably influenced his epic poem *Slávy dcera* [The Daughter of Sláva] (1824). This poem, among other things, helped to create a mental geography that would be understood by its readers, especially by those of Slavic origin.

[14] P. J. Šafárik, "Karakter Slavenskog naroda voobšte" [The Character of the Slavic People in General], *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 1:1 (1825): 82-84; Šafárik was more explicit about his goal in his article called *Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowaną w Europě*. There, he wrote: "The purpose of this public observation is following: to prove, that we should seek the origin of Slavs in the surroundings of the European peoples, and not the Asian ones, least in the areas of Scythians or Mongolians, to whom we were kindheartedly added by some of our neighbors." See P. J. Šafárik, "Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowaną w Europě" [An Opinion about the Anciency of Slavs in Europe], *Časopis českého Museum* [The Magazine of the Czech Museum] 1 (1834): 25.

[15] J. Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations. A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 87-88.

[16] The Slavs who lived in this area were Lusatian Sorbs, see J. Kollár, *Cestopis druhý a Paměti z mladších let života* [The Second Travelogue and Memories of the Younger Years of Life] (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1863), 276.

[17] J. Connelly, *From Peoples into* Nations, 89.

Kollár sang about the homeland of the Slavic nation: "From the treacherous Elbe o'er the plain to the Vistula faithless, / From the Danube until Baltic's insatiate foam," parts of which Germans conquered in the Early Medieval Period.[18]

The notion of the "Slavic antiquity" was mostly a focus of the studies of Pavel Jozef Šafárik. In his two works, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen nach Lorenz Surowiecki* [On the Origin of Slavs according to Lorenz Surowiecki] (1828) and *Slovanské starožitnosti* [Slavic Antiquities] (1837) he thoroughly developed the idea, basing his conclusions mostly on the analysis of the historical sources and the linguistic evidence. The latter one was a necessary tool he used to shed light on the "thick darkness" that kept the ancient Slavic history hidden from the researchers. Where the historical sources failed to provide the necessary information, or they were just entirely non-existent, Šafárik used the linguistic analysis of the personal names and topography to prove his point. Thus, he argued that Slavs had more profound connections with the territory they inhabited and that they just had different names in the past, like Vends, Sarmatians, and Serbs, given to them by the foreign authors.[19] In this work, Šafárik dedicated over twenty pages just to the linguistic analysis of the names of the settlements and topography. He covered all the areas inhabited by Slavs, both in the past and the present. Šafárik's linguistic analysis included the usage of various Slavic languages, but also Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hungarian, and German. He used current toponyms and settlements and compared them to those he found in the historical sources, from the Antiquity onwards. By doing that, he tried to show the longevity of the Slavic presence in their contemporary homelands.[20] Šafárik claimed that "the etymology of the names of the Slavic settlements, which were two or three thousand years old, wanted to have its chest free, and its eyes opened." He continued with his account stating that "for example, in my native place there is one steep hill called Magurica, which is pronounced as Magrica in the fast peasant dialect, which was once part of the Carpathians […] Today the word can be sought throughout Slavic languages in vain, but not in Sanskrit, where

[18] For the relevant excerpts of the poem, translated into English, see *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe*, vol 2, 208-210.

[19] P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen nach Lorenz Surowiecki* [On the Origin of Slavs according to Lorenz Surowiecki] (Ofen: Kon. Ung. Universitats-Schriften, 1828), 182-191.

[20] P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen*, 5.

the word "magur" means steep, high, huge."[21] The other examples that Šafárik provided used similar logic to this one. He claimed that this list could be enlarged by threefold or tenfold, but even that would not be enough for some "unbeliever who even if he could hear the ringing of the voices of the inhabitants of these cities from the times of Herodotus, wanted to punish the lies if they did not align with his previously created hypotheses."[22]

Šafárik defended this method of analysis of the "etymology of personal names," as he referred to it, which got its bad reputation because of some irresponsible authors who wrote gibberish in the past. He saw this method as crucial for historians and linguists, because "where the iron and sagas are silent, personal names still intelligibly speak, the majority of which carried thousands of years on their backs."[23] Šafárik found support for this method in the works of the Scottish linguist Alexander Murray, who wrote his *History of the European Languages,* published in two volumes in 1823, after his demise. Murray wrote: "A noble commentary, on the ancient history of Europe and Western Asia, might be written by a prudent and rational philologist, from the materials supplied by geography."[24] This opinion of the Scottish linguist greatly influenced the young aspiring language researcher like Pavel Jozef Šafárik.[25]

In his other works, Šafárik continued this line of thought, notably in his *Slovanské starožitnosti* (1837) and *Slovanský národopis* [Slavic Ethnography] (1842). While the first one delved deeper into the problem of the Slavic antiquities and history, the second one had more of an ethnographical character, in the spirit of Johan Gottfried von Herder's

[21] Ibidem, 179.
[22] Ibidem, 179-180.
[23] Ibidem, 180-181.
[24] Alexander Murray, *History of the European Languages or Researches into Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations,* vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823), 145.
[25] Murray also wrote: "History is searched in vain for the annals of ages, in which letters were unknown or despised," which coincides with Šafárik's line about the "iron and sagas." See A. Murray, *History of the European Languages or Researches into Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations,* vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823), 429.

philosophy.[26] It was also a work of geography, as it described various Slavic lands in contemporary times. The map included in this work sparked more interest among the young Slavic readership than any book ever did.[27] Thus, there was a clear connection between the roles of geography, ethnography, linguistics, and history in the works of Šafárik. These disciplines seemed very important for any aspiring national movement, as they showed a deep connection between the people and the territory they inhabited.

IV. The "Slavic antiquity" in the Serbian context – the case of Pavle Stamatović

In the Serbian context, the cultural society *Matica Srpska* [The Serbian Queen Bee], established in Pest in 1826, was their main cultural center in the first half of the nineteenth century. Jan Kollár, whose works were famous among all Slavs, including Serbs, was a Lutheran chaplain in Pest, where he had close connections with the local Serbian community.[28] Šafárik's impact on the *Matica Srpska* was also evident from the very beginning. He was a colleague of Georgije Magarašević in the Gymnasium of Novi Sad, where Šafárik was a professor and a director from 1819 to 1833. Magarašević was also a founder of the society's annual magazine *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual].[29] One of Šafárik's earliest attempts to systematically discuss the character of the Slavs appeared in the first issue of the *Serbskij Letopis*. Also, his *Über die Abkunft der Slawen* got its first translation in one of the Slavic languages when it was published periodically in the aforementioned Serbian magazine, in

[26] For the importance of Herder's "Slavic prophecy" and its impact on the region of Central Europe see I. Gombocz, "The Reception of Herder in Central Europe: Idealization and Exaggeration," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 33:2 (1997): 107-118.
[27] Stanko Vraž, who was one of the leaders of the Illyrian South-Slavic movement, in one letter he sent from Zagreb to Prague wrote: "When I brought a copy of this map, the local patriots and even the non-patriots tore it out of my hands. All of them cannot get over the fact that [the Slavic] nation is spread so far. The map arouses more patriots here than the whole literature could ever do." Cited per H. Kohn, "Romanticism and Realism among Czechs," *The Review of Politics* 14:1 (1952): 34.
[28] H. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 8-11.
[29] Stanley Kimball, "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63:4 (1973): 13.

all the issues of 1829.[30] His article *Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowaną w Europě* [An Opinion about the Anciency of Slavs in Europe] published in *Časopis českého museum* [Magazine of the Czech Museum] in 1834 also got its translation to Serbian in *Serbskij Letopis* in the same year.[31] Finally, the excerpts from his most famous work, *Slowanske Starožitnosti*, appeared subsequently in several issues of the Serbian magazine.[32] Therefore, Šafárik's work was well-known among the Serbian scholars and readership of the Serbian magazine.

Pavle Stamatović (1805-1864) was a Serbian Orthodox priest, historian, and scholar in general who was most active in the two decades preceding the year of 1848. Born in the village Jakovo in Syrmia, he graduated in philosophy in Pest, and in theology in Sremski Karlovci. Stamatović was briefly an editor of the most prominent Serbian annual *Serbskij Letopis* (1831-1832), printed in Pest since 1826. From Pest, he moved to Eger, where he lived until 1834, because of his duties as one of the clergymen of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Afterward, for the same reason, he moved to Szeged, where he stayed until 1844. He then moved to Sremski Karlovci and lived there for three years before settling in Novi Sad in 1847, where he spent the rest of his life. However, his main preoccupation was publishing his journal called *Serbska Pčela* [Serbian Bee] (1830-1841), an outlet which quickly gained in popularity among the Serbian readership.[33] Stamatović considered himself a historian, and he published a series of articles related to the Serbian history in the Kingdom of Hungary.[34]

The article regarding the notion of "Slavic antiquity" that appeared in his *Serbska Pčela* in 1833 was directly inspired by the writings of Kollár and Šafárik. Titled *Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj* [Serbs, the Ancient Inhabitants of Europe, and the Oldest Dwellers in Hungary], this piece reveals a unique approach to the

[30] *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 16 (1829): 5-34; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 17 (1829): 21-50; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 18 (1829): 33-60; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 19 (1829): 11-32.

[31] *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 38 (1834): 1-50.

[32] *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 46 (1839): 1-15; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 55 (1841): 1-14.

[33] U. Stanković, "Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista" [Pavle Stamatović as a National Publicist], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju* [Proceedings in History] 83 (2011): 25-26.

[34] U. Stanković, "Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista," 31-36.

"ancient history" of Serbs.[35] The purpose of this article was to display the long-lasting presence of the Serbs in the Kingdom of Hungary, which meant to show that they came there before the times of the kings Sigismund I and Matthias I in the fifteenth century. Stamatović accepted the opinion of the renowned Slavist, Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829), that the original name of Slavs was once "Serbs," and that throughout the ages just a small minority of them kept it.[36] The best evidence that Serbs existed longer on the territory of Hungary for Stamatović was geography. More specifically, he referred to names of places across the entire country of Hungary, marked with the "symbols of Serbian anciency." Stamatović then listed the names of ancient places like Serbinum, Serbecium, Servicium, Serba, Serbaja, Sirb, Srbice, Serbešt, and others. He copied them from Šafárik and Kollár, whom he cited, and who both listed in their works the settlements whose names resembled Serbian ones.[37] Therefore, these settlements from the distant past were the proof, or as Stamatović phrased it, "the clearest and most reliable documents," of the Serbian anciency in Hungary.[38]

In the past, the once "enormous Serbian people," noted Pavle Stamatović, were equated by "foreign historians" with various nations, like Vends, Inds, Venets, Slavs, Sarmatians, and others.[39] If readers accepted all the arguments presented by Stamatović, then they would "be easily convinced that Serbs are the oldest inhabitants and that Hungarians are newcomers into the land later named Hungary."[40] He concluded the article with the following sentence: "From everything mentioned so far, an irrevocable historical truth is born […] that Serbs were the oldest inhabitants of Hungary, and that they deserve the basic respect and acknowledgment from all the other newly arrived peoples."[41]

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35 P. Stamatović, "Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj" [Serbs, the Ancient Inhabitants of Europe, and the Oldest Dwellers in Hungary], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 4 (1833): 63-89.

36 P. Stamatović, "Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj," 88-89. For Stamatović's citations, see P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen*, 174-175, and J. Kollár, Rozprawy o gmenách počatkách i starožitnostech národu slawského a geho kmenů [Discussions about the Origin and Anciency of Names of the Slavic Nation and its Tribes] (W Budjné: W Král. Universické Tiskárně, 1830), 163-164.

37 P. Stamatović, "Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj," 78.

38 Ibidem, 89.

39 Ibidem, 86.

40 Ibidem, 87.

41 Ibidem, 89.

In his article from 1835, titled *Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe* [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies], Stamatović wrote the following paragraph:

> A thick darkness is covering the history of the Serbian people; that is also the case with the Serbs of Eger: a sparse beacon of historical light sparkles here and there before our eyes, which can convince us that in the oldest times our ancestors spent their merry lives, over so many centuries, in this or another area, about which, however, there is a deep silence in all the histories. The foreign historians made sure that within the Serbian most magnificent achievements, on the Serbian expense, they build a pillar for their people.[42]

The author here used two different and yet extremely telling expressions. Aside from the "where they spent their merry lives," which was a line paraphrasing the descriptions of Slavs from the work of Herder,[43] the other one about "thick darkness" was a direct copy from Šafárik's first sentence in his *Über die Abkunft der Slawen*.[44]

The editor of the *Serbska Pčela*, however, had his ways of shedding light on this darkness. In his article *Ungar u deržavi* [A Hungarian in a State] issued in 1837, he noted that it was over nine centuries since "one million souls of the north-eastern Asian pack called Magyars, in the world history known under the Slavic name Hungarian," came to the territory that later became Hungary.[45] This land, as evidenced by its "Slavic" name, used to be "the main seat of the most numerous Slavic people," and for Stamatović, this fact could be traced back in time, "as long as the history reaches."[46] Naturally, this long-lasting presence had to translate

[42] P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe" [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] (1835): 58.

[43] Herder wrote how Slavs were liberal, obedient, lovers of "pastoral freedom," which was one of the reasons why Germans conquered them, in the times of Charlemagne. See J. G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man], vol. 4 (Riga-Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1791), 34.

[44] Šafárik used expression "mit unaufhellbarem Dunkel bedeck" [covered with unilluminated darkness] while referring to the ancient history of Slavs. See P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen*, 5; Stamatović used a similar expression later again when he stated that the history of the Serbs of Eger was covered with "a great veil and thick darkness." See P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe," 59.

[45] P. Stamatović, "Ungar u deržavi" [A Hungarian in a State] *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 8 (1837): 121.

[46] Ibidem, 122.

into geography, or more specifically, it had to be evident in the names of toponyms. Stamatović then turned his attention to the present, stating that, "in Hungary, from a large number of places and villages, it could be roughly concluded that there is an enormous plurality of the Slavic inhabitants." This exhibited that various Slavic peoples were living there, such as Slovakians, Ruthenians, Croatians, Serbs, Dalmatians, Slavonians, and Wends (i.e. Slovenians). From all of them, Slovakians were the most fruitful, as Stamatović noted, "because wherever they spread their roots among the Germans and Hungarians of today, there Hungarian and German already disappeared."[47] The current state of affairs most likely influenced Stamatović's perceptions of the past and of various settlements he came across in his journeys. Their Slavic names, real or reconstructed, proved that number of Slavs was even larger in the past, meaning that many settlements were lost already. However, Stamatović was also aware that Slavs gradually became a majority in some of the previously German-dominated settlements in the Kingdom of Hungary. Furthermore, Serbs and Slovaks could have migrated into the settlements previously inhabited by Hungarians, who fled from the Ottoman conquests in the Early Modern era. In this way, Stamatović noted, Slavs just gave these settlements a "new life" with "their old names."[48]

A similar tone was present in Stamatović's poem called *Prazdnik na Avali* [A Festivity on Avala] or *Serbski prazdnik na Avali* [A Serbian Festivity on Avala], published in three successive issues of *Serbska Pčela*. The first part from 1839 was mostly a description of the Serbian and South Slavic lands, as portrayed by the author. The purpose of this section of the poem was to give readers an overview of the territorial spread of the Serbian people in contemporary times.[49] However, the tone of the poem changed abruptly near its end, with Stamatović claiming that the words "Slav," "Serb," "Slovak," and "human" were synonyms and that all of them were interchangeable. He ended this part with a call to the audience: "Let someone point their finger, / Towards some people older than Slavo-Serbs."[50] In the next two issues, the poem is heavily

[47] Ibidem, 126-127.
[48] Ibidem, 127-128
[49] P. Stamatović, "Prazdnik na Avali" [A Festivity on Avala], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 10 (1839): 86-97
[50] Ibidem, 97-98.

imbued with a mixture of Pan-Slavic themes borrowed from the other Slavists. Also, Stamatović included his unique opinions, expressed already in his text from 1833 about the "Serbian antiquity." To this mixture, the author also added religious themes, coming mostly from the Book of Genesis. It would take an entirely separate analysis of this tripartite poem just to examine it properly. Here, we will focus only on the parts related to the mental imagery that the author tried to evoke within the minds of his readers. Stamatović proclaimed to Serbs:

> [God] As His favorites He taught you,
> In whichever land you set your foot,
> You did not steal it from anyone,
> But you received it from God's right hand,
> So, to all the lands, seas and rivers,
> To all the mountains, meadows and fields,
> You would give the Serbian names;
> And so the grandsons of the latest centuries
> Could know, see it with their eyes,
> Without the finger of the stuttering Clio,
> Where was the cradle of their great-great-grandfathers?!!
> And where the graves of their great-grandfathers lay?!![51]

Kollár's thoughts about Slavic cemeteries should come to our minds again. These "cradles" were destroyed over the centuries by the Germanic invaders, like it was the case with Lusatian Sorbs. They were, as Stamatović noted, "expelled from their grandfathers' fireplaces." The same was done by the nations whose ancestors were Turks or Chuds, once a part of the "wild Asiatic tribes", but at his time they were meek as they "spent all their strength" thus singing their "swan song."[52] In the last part of the poem from 1841, Stamatović repeated similar opinions. He called for Serbian readers to search for the "monuments" scattered across their fatherland. They came in the form of old Slavic names, preserved in the manuscripts, and also in the toponyms. He stated, "All the towns, villages, and areas / Across the land of our grandfathers you should observe." These "monuments" of the past were plentiful in all

[51] P. Stamatović, "Serbski prazdnik na Avali" [A Serbian Festivity on Avala], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 11 (1840): 126

[52] We can assume that Stamatović listed here the Baltic Chuds as the ancestors of Magyars. See P. Stamatović, "Serbski prazdnik na Avali," 120.

the Slavic lands, across "old and new centuries." Lastly, Stamatović exclaimed, "Those are the sources above all the sources! / Those are witnesses above all the witnesses!"[53]

Taking everything above into consideration, it is clearer how Stamatović perceived the lands he visited. His journeys' descriptions had a great impact on the Serbian university youth, who was "electrified" by them.[54] Jakov Ignjatović, a well-known Serbian writer, also left a note in his memoirs on how the words of Pavle Stamatović impacted the Serbian students in Szeged and Pest. Stamatović taught them to "use Pan-Slavism as a moral support" and he was extremely popular among them. Ignjatović stated that "according to this doctrine, the Serbian youth considered Magyars as people from Asia that stayed here, without relatives, for whom in all their isolation an impending doom is inevitable, that they have to be drowned in the Slavic sea, and that such destiny is not far away from them."[55] These themes were well received by readership in general, and therefore, the *Serbska Pčela* had around one thousand subscribers in the early 1840s. This fact aroused envy among the editors of other, more cultured, Serbian magazines like it was the case with Dimitrije Jovanović and his *Peštansko-Budimski Skoroteča* [The Pest-Buda Courier].[56] Jovan Subotić, who was a renowned Serbian writer and a politician, also left a memoir note about these times. According to him, Pavle Stamatović was well-known among Serbs and adored by the Serbian youth.[57] Therefore, the impact of his travels read from the perspective of the notion of Slavic or Serb antiquity, should not be underestimated.

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53 P. Stamatović, "Serbski prazdnik na Avali" [A Serbian Festivity on Avala], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 12 (1841): 92.

54 J. Ignjatović, *Memoari* [Memoirs] I, ed. Živojin Boškov (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska 1989), 36.

55 J. Ignjatović, *Memoari* [Memoirs] II, ed. Živojin Boškov (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska 1989), 87

56 V. Đ. Krestić, *Istorija srpske štampe u Ugarskoj 1791-1914* [History of the Serbian Print in Hungary 1791-1914] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1980), 54. For example, in its last year, the Serbska Pčela had around one and a half thousand subscribers, which was almost six times more than the Letopis had in 1841. See *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 54 (1841): 169-176; *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 12 (1841): 115-140.

57 J. Subotić, *Život Dra Jovana Subotića (avtobiografija). Prvi deo: Idila* [Life of Dr. Jovan Subotić (An Autobiography). First Part: Idleness] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1901), 133.

V. Pavle Stamatović and his journeys through space and time

Stamatović published his first "putešestvije" [journey] in the 1833 issue of *Serbska Pčela,* the same one that featured his article about Serbs as the ancient inhabitants of Hungary. Titled as Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon [The Journey from Pest to Esztergom], this travelogue was made by the author who wanted to present to readers his findings "worthy of the Serbian history."[58] He started the journey from Pest, which he saw as "the place of my residence, and the most famous Hungarian town." When he was passing through the outskirts of Buda, heading towards the north, he stumbled across the first Serbian monument of history in his journey. It was a house in which the Serbian Despot Georgije Branković lived in the fifteenth century. This residence, which became a property of the Bishop of Esztergom, laid in ruins. Stamatović lamented on the fate of the monument, whose sight made him feel grief.[59] He continued his journey northwards, following mostly the Danube riverside until he reached a Serbian village called Kalaz [Budakalász].[60] This village was, together with the nearby area, inhabited by the Serbs who fled the Ottoman repercussions in 1690 during the Great Turkish War (1683-1690).[61] Afterward, he continued down the road to the northwest to another Serbian village called Pomaz [Pomáz], which was also settled by the Serbian migrants in the same period as the previous one. Stamatović noted that the first village now had Germans as a minority, while the second one had Hungarians and Slovakians living there, together with Serbs. To the west from Pomaz, there was a Serbo-Bulgarian village Čobanac [Csobánka], whose inhabitants had a noticeable different dialect from the other Serbs from this area. Stamatović did not visit it, and he chose instead to continue his journey from Pomaz to the northeast.[62]

The next Serbian settlement in this area was Sentandreja [Szentendre], which gained its importance after the Great Migration of the Serbs in 1690. At that time, the settlement became the seat of the Serbian

[58] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon" [The Journey from Pest to Esztergom], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 4 (1833): 106.
[59] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon," 106-107.
[60] I will write the name of the settlements in the way Stamatović did it, with their present names in the brackets.
[61] The event is known in the Serbian historiography as the Great Migration of Serbs.
[62] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon," 107-108.

Orthodox Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, who led the people who fled from Serbia to the north. Stamatović was sure that Serbs came here even earlier, in the fifteenth century. He notes that "in the older times there were few other peoples in Sentandreja: but today Slovaks, Germans, and Hungarians together outnumber Serbs."[63] Even though the number of Serbs diminished over the past few decades, this town was still the most important Serbian settlement in the Kingdom of Hungary, according to Stamatović. The commonly used language was still Serbian, and remarkably, such a small settlement had six different Serbian Orthodox churches. In some of them, Stamatović found old manuscripts, the so-called "Srbulje," which were old printed or handwritten liturgical books from the Late Medieval and Early Modern period.[64] With Szentendre, he concluded the part of the journey across the area still inhabited with Serbs.

Continuing his travel alongside the Danube, to the northwest, Stamatović came across a village called Bogdan [Dunabogdány]. He addressed his readers who, due to its name, probably expected of him to find Serbs in the aforementioned settlement as well. However, not one was living there, as the village was inhabited by Roman Catholic and Protestant Germans. Therefore, Stamatović asked: "However, there might be some of the readers of *Serbska Pčela* who would ask themselves: how come this German place has Bogdan for its name? I honestly have no solutions for this at the moment, as I did not have enough time to stay longer in that place and, like it was necessary, to deal with it and study its anciency in all manners possible." Nevertheless, he guessed that "Serbs or Slovaks had to live here someday and named this very place." Stamatović was sure that these guesses were not entirely ungrounded, as "we indeed have plenty of reliable and worthy evidence that in the old times many Serbs lived in this area close to the Danube."[65] However, he did not make a guess when and how this demographic change in the village Bogdan occurred. One could only speculate, and Stamatović left it purposely to the readers to figure it out for themselves. However, it is noteworthy that in the same issue of the magazine where this first journey appeared, there was an article that stated that Serbs were the most ancient inhabitants living in Hungary.

[63] Ibidem, 108-109.
[64] Ibidem, 111.
[65] Ibidem, 112-113.

The journey then took Stamatović to Višegrad [Visegrád], which was an "ancient Slavic place." Again, he did not have the time to report to his readers about all the particularities regarding the Slavic origin of the settlement. He instead cited the Hungarian historians, such as Mathias Bel, who left a note about the Slavic origin of the name of Višegrad.[66] While searching the area, he found ruins of a fortress and some pillars scattered around on the ground. He investigated it further and stumbled upon two vast pits, one of whom had inside it a white marble stone plaque with some inscriptions showing. Destroyed by the passage of time, and maybe by some vandals as well, this monument only had visible some Roman numerals on it (MDXXVII). That had to be, as Stamatović assumed, the last date of the fortress's renewal. Astonishingly, from this scarce information, he concluded:

> This is all that can be said for now about this ancient Slavic monument, where Slavs, who came here from Asia much sooner than Magyars, spent merry times amidst their solemn cheers. In the very present-day Višegrad, which lies alongside the Danube, Roman Catholic Germans live. I am in no doubt that many readers will find themselves wondering alongside me: what intense changes occurred, so that in such a Slavic place there is not a single Slav? This could be even more discussed if only the present circumstances allowed it.[67]

The point that the author tried to make seemed logical – in an area where there are still Serbian villages, one of them had a Slavic name, but no Serbs or Slavs were living there. Four years later, in his poem *Slava Slavenska u Evropi* [Slavic glory in Europe], he questioned how Germans came to live in the areas which were once Slavic, judging by the names of the settlements and toponyms. The destruction experienced by Lusatian Sorbs in the past could have happened to the Serbs living in the Kingdom of Hungary at some point in time as well. That is the reason why one line of the poem questioned whether Germans today lived on

[66] Ibidem, 114-115. For Stamatović's citation see Mathias Bel, *Compendium Hungariae Geographicum: Ad Exemplar Notititiae Hvngariae Novae Historico-Geographicae* (Posonii: Literis Ioannis Michaelis Landerer Typographi, 1767), 60.
[67] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon," 116-117.

their grandfather's or someone else's land.[68] Pavel Jozef Šafárik, in his article *Karakter Slavenskog naroda voobšte*, published in 1825 in the magazine *Serbski Letopis*, expressed the opinion that might have influenced Stamatović almost a decade later. In there, Šafárik wrote that the peaceful Slavs were attacked and destroyed over the centuries by Huns, Goths, Avars, Franks, and Magyars. He specifically named the Hungarian rulers from the Early Medieval era like Álmos, Árpád, and Zoltán as those who participated in this destruction.[69] Finally, Stamatović arrived at Esztergom, which marked the end of this first journey, as he did not describe the town itself.

In his next travel titled *Putešestvije u Paradske "Teplice"* [The Journey to Parád], published in 1834 in his magazine, Stamatović headed to the village famous for its mineral water spring. He started the article stating that "journeys across the fatherland are always nice and pleasant, especially when a soul of a traveller is elevated in some holy excitement by the beauties of the magnificent nature and the immortality of the nationhood and anciency of its monuments."[70] In this area, where a Hungarian ethnic sub-group called Palóc dominated, Stamatović was interested in finding some "Serboslovakian" monuments, as he titled them. He started his journey from Eger, where he lived at that time as a parish priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church, accompanied by two Serbs from that town. The party headed towards the northwest and passed Ajdučko hill [Hajdúhegy], whose sight assured him that there must have been "monuments" nearby that can prove that this entire area was "once called the homeland of the Serbian people."[71] Afterward, they stumbled upon the Serbsko berdo [Ráczhegy], meaning the "Serbian hill," which exalted Stamatović to sing praises to it. For him, this proved that "written monuments survived so they would, even after one

[68] P. Stamatović, "Slava Slavenska u Evropi" [Slavic Glory in Europe], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 8 (1837): 134.
[69] P. J. Šafárik, "Karakter Slavenskog naroda voobšte," 66.
[70] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije u Paradske *Teplice*" [The Journey to Parád], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 5 (1834): 84.
[71] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije u Paradske *Teplice*," 85. The term "Ajduk" or "Hajduk," in the Serbian context, was a member of a group of outlaws who lived under the Ottoman rule and whose deeds were saved mostly through the national epic poetry. For more information see V. Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik. Istumačen njemačkijem i latinskijem riječima* [The Serbian Dictionary. Explained with the German and Latin Words] (Vienna, 1852), 799-800.

thousand years, force the foreign-born and foreign-language mouths to proclaim to the entire world that the Serbian ancestors lived both on them and around them and that this entire area was once the true fatherland of the Serbian sons."[72] These "monuments" were a living memory of the long-forgotten past, and the author addressed them stating that, "you are not burying in that way sanctity of the Serbian people, like many darkly written monuments: nor were you named by the hand of some biased and meticulous Slavic writer. You are the most natural, clear, faithful, and evidential witness of the successful life of the Serbian ancestors, who lived in this area for a very long time."[73]

The group of travellers continued eastward and passed through the Palóc village and town, both called Širok [Sirok], staying there briefly. Stamatović wrote that these settlements were named, according to Hungarians, after the Hungarian word for "weeping." The local legend stated that one Ottoman soldier threw a baby from the walls of the fortress and that the child's mother vowed to cry every day from that day on. Stamatović, however, reassured his readers that it had more sense if it is understood as a derivative of the Slavic word "Širok" [broad] because these settlements were placed in a wide field surrounded by the Matra [Mátra] mountains.[74] Slavs were living there for a long time before Palóc came from their original homeland in the Carpathian Mountains, Stamatović noted. He then cynically added that some "Hungarian scientist thus, I hope, would not find fault in the fact that Slavs could not wait until the first Hungarian mother wept, so they gave to this very place the name *Širok* since ancient times, because of the looks of its surroundings."[75] The travellers then continued with their journey and went through the village Rečka [Recsk], which was named by the diminutive of the word "Reka" (river in the Slavic languages), as Stamatović claimed. Again, he hypothesized what some Hungarian scientists would say about this fact, arguing that the name was unmistakably Slavic in its origin. Afterward, the group passed through the place called Banja [Ércbánya], which Stamatović simply included in his list of the Slavic settlements.[76]

[72] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije u Paradske *Teplice*" 85-86.
[73] Ibidem, 86.
[74] Ibidem, 87-89.
[75] Ibidem, 89.
[76] Ibidem, 90-92.

They finally reached Paradske "Teplice" and enjoyed its spa and mineral spring. There, Stamatović saw a glass-making manufactory, which was exclusively run by Slavs – Czechs, Slovaks, Wends, and Moravians. They warmly welcomed the travellers and offered them special prices, as if they were blood relatives.[77] He concluded the description of this journey with the following sentence: "So, this was my minor journey which I undertook across the lands of the Serboslavic forefathers with the greatest and most soothing joy, while melting in the thoughts how Ajdučko and Serbsko berdo, Širok, Rečka, Banja, Parad, Mountain Matra are pure Serboslavic names of places, where either the Serb or Slovak ancestors spent their merry lives in the most ancient times."[78]

The issue of *Serbska Pčela* from 1835 did not feature a journey of Stamatović. However, it did feature an article *Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe* [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies], in which he described the town of Eger and its surrounding area. In this piece, he decided to present a short overview of the history of the Serbs who lived there, going back in time as much as possible. As we already mentioned, Pavle Stamatović here also expressed his thoughts about the anciency of the Serbs living in this settlement. Much to his disappointment, Stamatović could not prove this with any written monument, stating that, "they had to be the oldest inhabitants of Eger, I am sure; even if until this day I did not have much luck to learn and pick up something about it in the oldest letters, this is still evidenced by the "living monuments" which, although non-literal, completely testify that Serbs are not the new inhabitants, but the oldest dwellers of Eger."[79] These "living monuments" were toponyms and other names that either had Slavic origin, or Stamatović found one for them. He mentioned hills like "Rácz hegy or Serbian hill," about which he already had written, and the one which "entire Hungary today calls Tichamir or Tihamir."[80] Serbs indeed lived in this area, at least since the Ottoman times, when they migrated to the northern parts of the former Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, I would not disagree with the

[77] Ibidem, 94.
[78] Ibidem, 95-96.
[79] P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe," 59.
[80] Stamatović also stated that when Hungarians came, they just incorporated these Slavic words into their "impoverished" language. See P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe," 59-60. Both hills are parts of today's Eger, as Ráchegy and Tihámer.

assessment of Stamatović about the origin of these names. However, we would disagree about the time when these "monuments" got their Serbian names.

Regarding the anciency of these "non-literal" monuments, Pavle Stamatović made an argument that the Serbs that lived there, in the Eger area, were the remnants of those who were going southward from their Carpathian homeland, towards the Byzantine Empire of Heraclius I (610-641). For one reason or another, some of these Serbs decided to stay there, and they lived with Slovaks peacefully, until Hungarians and Páloc came to replace them.[81] Aside from Eger, they settled in the surrounding villages, such as "Slok [Egerszalók], Velika and Mala Dolja [Nagy and Kis Fálya], Širok [Sirok], Rečka [Recsk], Rac-Vid [unidentifiable], Rac-uj-Feirti [unidentifiable], and many others."[82] The text then developed to a brief historical overview, which became a more detailed analysis of the past when the author explains the events from the Eighteenth century onwards. Stamatović here relied on the historical sources and relevant literature, and here his writing style seems more scholarly than in the previous parts.[83]

VI. Two journeys from Szeged to Belgrade

The last two journeys which we will observe here were the two trips Stamatović undertook from Szeged to Belgrade in 1834 and 1836. These journeys he published subsequently in the 1836 and 1838 issues of the *Serbska Pčela.* At that time, Pavle Stamatović already moved to a parish in Szeged, where he lived until 1844.[84] The purpose of these texts was not a reconstruction of the "ancient past" through the "living monuments" preserved through the "linguistic" evidence. They had more of a contemporary meaning for readers, as Stamatović intended. These texts portrayed areas in the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, mostly inhabited by Serbs, which became a separate territory of Serbian Vojvodina in 1848/9. However, in a footnote of the very first page of his *Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine* [The Journey from Szeged

[81] Stamatović made assumptions that they were either wounded or sick people, those who broke laws, or maybe just those who wanted to stay and end their journeys there. See P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe," 61-62.
[82] Ibidem, 62.
[83] Ibidem, 62-76.
[84] U. Stanković, "Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista," 25.

to Belgrade in 1834], he left a comment similar to his earlier writings. Stamatović tried to explain why he used the name "Sojedin" for Szeged. He wrote that, before Magyars came, the land which is today Hungary was inhabited by Slavs "since the most ancient times." Slavs, more specifically Slovaks, also lived in Szeged. When they started using the Latin alphabet, they wrote the name of the place in the form of "Seged," but the letter -g- should read as -ye- so it would sound as "Seyedin" or "Soyedin." After Hungarians arrived, they adopted the Slovakian way of writing the name, and it gradually got its today's form - Szeged. "That is why," Stamatović wrote, "we will from today refer to this important monument of the Slavic anciency like this, to comfort the Slavic Goddess, as the holiness of the Slavic anciency rightfully demands."[85]

Let us return to the description of the first trip abroad of Pavle Stamatović. This "short" but for the author "important journey" lasted for about two weeks, from August 15 to August 29, 1834.[86] Stamatović headed to Belgrade, which was a settlement in the Ottoman Principality of Serbia and its capital from 1841. The importance of this journey for him was twofold. On the one hand, he wanted to visit his home in Syrmia and see his family and friends, whom he did not see for many years. On the other, he stated that "the unquenchable desire of mine for a long time, was to visit Serbia for once in my life, once a great Empire, and now a "Principality" that is progressing with great strides." That was the "old fatherland" but at the same time a "country of relatives" where "our brothers in blood live." Most of all, he wanted to visit Belgrade, the symbol of the former Serbian prosperity, where he wanted to study all the monuments he could find.[87]

Stamatović started his journey from Szeged on August 15, 1834, and he and his companions followed the road alongside the river Tisza southwards. They passed the Serbian village Đala,[88] which was a feudal estate of the Hungarian Chamber, and another Serbian village Krstur,

[85] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine" [The Journey from Szeged to Belgrade in 1834] *Serbska Pčela* 7 (1836): 81-82. Jovan Subotić in his memoirs also wrote that, while studying there, he and his fellow students would listen Pavle Stamatović and his theories about the name of Szeged or the anciency of Slavs. See J. Subotić, *Život Dra Jovana Subotića (avtobiografija)*, 133-134.

[86] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 83, 109.

[87] Stamatović also claimed that he wanted to see fields of the "Serbobanat Tisa area." See P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 102.

[88] In Hungarian its name today is Gyála.

which was a part of the District of Velika Kikinda. Afterward, they passed through "Turkish" Kanjiža,[89] where he visited a Serbian Orthodox church and briefly read through its old manuscripts. Then, the party continued southwards through the places called Sanad and Senta,[90] which he categorizes as "Serbo-Hungarian," meaning that both nationalities resided there. After leaving Senta, they moved out from Banat to the Bačka region, by crossing the Tisza River on a ferry boat.[91] They continued southwards through "Ostrovo" [Ada] and "Moholj" [Mol],[92] both having mixed Serbian and Hungarian populations as well. Moving on, they passed through the Hungarian village Temerin, which was once inhabited by Serbs, as Stamatović noted. After the dissolution of the Tisza Military Border in the mid-eighteenth century, Serbs moved out to Šajkaška district, where they settled in the village Đurđevo. This settlement was the birthplace of Lukijan Mušicki, who was a well-known Serbian poet and an Orthodox bishop of Karlstadt.[93]

Pavle Stamatović and his companions arrived at the free royal town of Novi Sad on August 17, 1834. It was "the foremost settlement of Serbs," which exceeded all the other Serbian settlements in the Habsburg Monarchy. There, the Serbian Orthodox bishop of Bačka Stefan Stanković resided, and he had six different temples under his management. Stamatović rested there with his brethren in God and then continued his journey to the southeast, towards Belgrade. The next stop was the Petrovaradin Fortress (which he calls Petrič) that left a great impression on him. He contrasted it to the Buda, Eger, and Szeged forts, but they could not really compare to it. Stamatović noted that the Petrovaradin was probably one of the most majestic European fortresses.[94]

[89] Today it bears a name Novi Kneževac. Its Hungarian name today is Törökkanizsa.
[90] In Hungarian, these settlements are called Szanád and Zenta.
[91] Our traveller left an unintentionally comical note about his troubles with the drunken ferrymen, whom he barely got out of the tavern after half an hour of begging. Stamatović was disappointed that he was subjugated to the will of "those whose reins of reason are held by the enormous hands of Bacchus." See P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 87-88.
[92] In Hungarian, these settlements are called Ada and Mohol.
[93] Karlovci in today's Croatia. See P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 88-89.
[94] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 89-91.

They continued to the Syrmia region, which excited Stamatović, who called it his "fatherland." He left a pretty description of the area in the slopes of the Fruška Gora Mountain, with its hills, vineyards, and natural beauty in general. They entered Sremski Karlovci, which was a Serbian town and also the residency of the Serbian Orthodox Archbishop Stefan Stratimirović. Stamatović then described Sunday service at the Saint George's Cathedral, with a large crowd of people, led by the Archbishop Stratimirović and other prominent members of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy.[95] Afterward, his journey through the Syrmia region led our Serbian traveller to the place of his birth, which he left when he was just eleven years old. The description of the village Jakovo and the memories which connected Stamatović with that place was, without any doubt, the best part of his writings. Full of emotions, he described the fields where he worked with his father as a child, how his house seemed (it looked like a palace to him), and how his mother, brother, and old friends welcomed him.[96]

Stamatović continued to Zemun, which was a border town between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, where he needed to hand in his travel documents to the Austrian Imperial officers. After crossing the river Danube, they came beneath the Belgrade Fortress, which was controlled by an Ottoman garrison. Stamatović described them as being poor, barefooted, lazy, and dirty to the extent that they "looked more like the poor farmers than like the soldiers of the Empire."[97] One of the interpreters there, a Greek who spoke Serbian, led Stamatović and his companions further into the fortress, into the court of the Vizier, who was not there at the time. The place seemed disordered and tattered, which left a lasting impression on the travellers.[98] They left the fortress and descended into the suburbs, first to the "Turkish and Jewish" quarter, then finally to the Serbian part of the town. There was a long street packed with shops, which exceeded in numbers by threefold those in Pest, in Stamatović's estimation. Also, the party visited the Metropolitan residence, where the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan lived, and the Magistrate of Belgrade, which was in charge of the affairs of the

[95] Ibidem, 92-95.
[96] Ibidem, 98-99.
[97] Ibidem, 103.
[98] Ibidem, 104-105.

Serbian inhabitants.[99] The return journey went again through Zemun, Karlovci, Novi Sad, all the way northwards to Szeged.[100]

The second travel, titled *Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. godine* [The Journey from Szeged to Serbian Belgrade in 1836], was a shorter one, with which Stamatović intended to complement his already known (to his readership) trip from 1834. He also wanted to show what changed in those past two years. Stamatović took a similar itinerary, and he skipped quickly over it, as he already explained it in the previous *Putešestvije*. However, he decided to leave longer and unique observations for three different places – District of Potisje, Petrovaradin Fortress, and Zemun. For the first one, he wanted to explain the reasons for creating the District, which was a special territory mostly inhabited by Serbs who were under the direct control of the Vienna Court. After the dissolution of the Tisza Military Border in Bačka, some Serbs left their homes and settled either in the Banat region or in Russia. Because of the depopulation problem, Empress Maria Theresa instituted in 1751 the administrative unit of the District of Potisje, whose inhabitants gradually received special privileges in the existing feudal system. However, in 1774, the deserted villages, once inhabited by Serbs, were populated mostly by the Hungarian settlers, who got the same rights and privileges "that Serbs earned with their blood," as soldiers of the Habsburg Monarchy.[101]

His second observation started with his travel from Temerin to Novi Sad. After leaving the first settlement, he stated that "they could hear the last sounds of songs of the daughters of Árpád," but in Novi Sad, they were "greeted by the kind Serbian Goddess, who handed us to the arms of her dear little sister Teutonia in Petrić city."[102] Petrovaradin Fortress (or Petrič as Stamatović called it) was one of the points where the travellers would give their travel documents for a regular check done by the Imperial officers. Stamatović found the "unfathomable German docility" as worthy of all the praise in the world, to such extent that he stated that it "could be labelled as the most pleasant time of my journey." This event occurred due to the officers' remarks about the language of

[99] Ibidem, 107-108.
[100] Ibidem, 109.
[101] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. godine" [The Journey from Szeged to Serbian Belgrade in 1836] *Serbska Pčela* 9 (1838): 70-72.
[102] Ibidem, 73.

their documents, issued in Hungarian. That made them start a conversation on "Magyarization" in the Kingdom of Hungary, which was currently ongoing. Stamatović initially just stood there and "only as a silent witness listened to these men's important opinions about the aforementioned Magyarization of the public." The chief officer held a passionate speech about the civility and the national rights, which was backed by the other men's opinions. What Stamatović noted was that this administrative unit was run jointly by the "German and Slavic goddesses, like two sisters."[103] The officers then shifted their conversation to Serbia, and they showed Stamatović a full stack of the *Novine Serbske* [The Serbian Newspapers] from Belgrade.[104] This excited the Serb to that extent that he started to go through them on the spot, taking a stack of ten issues to read. He created such a disturbance in the office that all the other employees came to see what was happening.[105] Stamatović found out that many of the administrative employees were of Slavic origin, being mostly Serbs, Croats, or Slovaks. They read these papers as well, partly "because it was their duty" to do so, but also from their sense of "pure brotherhood." The latter part, a guess of Stamatović, was complemented with his line that "Slavs have to die one for another." The entire event in the administrative office in the Petrovaradin Fortress lasted until the evening of that day when Stamatović finally continued his journey to Belgrade.[106]

When he got to Zemun, he again needed to hand his passport, now to the Imperial office dealing with the crossings over the border. Then, one of the officers with the title of captain in the Imperial army invited them to his room. In there, they saw a plethora of different books, written in various Slavic languages like Serbian, Czech, Slovak, and others. The officer now revealed that he was of Slovak origin and "proud and honored to call himself a Slav," which was something that should serve as an example to all the other Slavs out there, in the writer's humble

[103] Ibidem, 73-74.
[104] *Novine Srbske* was an official government outlet in the Principality of Serbia since 1834, and its editor was Dimitrije Davidović. Over time, they confronted with the Pest-Buda newspapers, specifically with Teodor Pavlovic and his *Serbske Narodne Novine* [The Serbian National Newspapers] and *Serbski Narodni List* [The Serbian National Papers]. See V. Krestić, *Istorija srpske štampe u Ugarskoj*, 36, 48.
[105] P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. godine," 73-74.
[106] Ibidem, 74-75.

opinion.[107] Finally, Stamatović and his travel party reached the Danube, where they waited for transport to the Ottoman side and Belgrade. While there, Stamatović saw two different steamboats, which always looked to him as a marvel to behold. The first one, named "Panonia," was going from Zemun to Orşova, and the second called "Zrínyi" was heading from Zemun to Pest. This sight made him contemplate that, even against the current "spirit of the times," these boats still bore "pure Slavic names." He closed the description of this journey with ironically commenting that due to "the poverty of the Magyar history," all these ships had Slavic generous Goddess as their godmother, whether intentionally or not, which resulted in Slavic names "Panonia," "Nandor," and "Zrínyi." In their pure form, the names were "Panonia" (derived from "Panska"), "Nadvor" and "Zrinović."[108] With this linguistic athleticism, in which not just the names of toponyms, but also various other everyday things, had the name of Slavic origin, Pavle Stamatović brought the description of his journey to an end, remarking that he will continue it in one of the next issues. However, the last three issues of *Serbska Pčela* did not feature a description of the end of his second journey to Belgrade, which makes the *Putešestvije* from 1838 the last one to be analysed here.

VII. Concluding remarks

The "putešestvija" or journeys of Pavle Stamatović are unique historical sources for researchers who are dealing with the issues within the field of nationalism, cultural, and even political history. His travelogues can be roughly divided into two parts. The first one consists of the journeys he took across the central parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, which included his travels from Pest northwards, and from Eger westwards. During these journeys, Stamatović mostly encountered the settlements that were either once Slavic, or they had names that suggested so. This part of his journeys aligns well with his views about the Serbian and Slavic antiquity, which are in themselves a derivative of the main Pan-Slavic ideas of that time. There, he presented to readers the so-called "living monuments," which were several toponyms that testified that Serbs and Slavs once lived there in greater numbers. However, these areas were

[107] Ibidem, 75-76.
[108] Ibidem, 76.

somehow abandoned by Slavs, leaving it to readers to mourn over this fact, together with Stamatović.

The other part of Stamatović's journeys was represented by those he took from Szeged to Belgrade, in 1834 and 1836. The first settlement was, in a way, just outside of the region that was more heavily inhabited by Serbs. By going southwards, along the rivers Tisza and Danube, Stamatović encompassed with his journeys the territory that more than a decade later briefly became Serbian Vojvodina in 1848/9. Also, these journeys included some remarks about contemporary issues, such as the Magyarization of Non-Hungarians, and also on the relations between the Habsburg rule and the Slavs in general. Nevertheless, even in these journeys, Stamatović made sure to insert comments in the spirit of his Pan-Slavic views. This strange relationship between various ideas in his mind, accompanied by the convergence of the notions of "past" and "present," is a good illustration of how Pan-Slavists operated and constructed their worldviews.

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Cruising Between the Past and the Future: Danube Travel Writings and the Self-Representation of the Serbian National Movement in the 1860s

Miklós Tömöry[1]

I. Introduction

In 1860, the Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King Francis Joseph issued his famous October Diploma. This legal act ended an over ten year-long period of (neo)absolutism, introduced after the united Austrian-Russian armies defeated the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49, ending an era of Central European national uprisings. The highly oppressive, bureaucratic, and centralised system of governance introduced after 1849 is commonly known as the Bach Era, deriving its name from the Austrian Minister of Interior, Alexander Bach. In the 1850s, the main goal of the Habsburg authorities was the effective elimination of the danger believed to be posed by national movements to the Monarchy. However, this system could not (did not want to) differentiate between the Hungarian "rebels" and those national elites, which, fighting against a unitary Hungarian state, cooperated with the Emperor's army. The national goals of those elites were (only) formally attained. This happened in the case of the autonomous territory of the Serbian population in the Southern part of the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Hungary. In May 1848, after a heated dispute between Lajos Kossuth, leading Hungarian liberal politician and member of the government, and Serbian delegates about the rights of the Serbian population, Orthodox metropolitan Josif Rajačić convoked a Serbian national assembly in the town of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci, Karlóca). The gathering proclaimed Serbian Vojvodina an autonomous province of the Habsburg Empire. The government in Pest saw this step as a violation of

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Hungarian sovereignty. The conflict resulted in a bloody (civil) war between Serbian forces from Vojvodina, volunteers from Serbia, and the troops of the Hungarian government on the other.[2] After the defeat of the Hungarian revolution in the fall of 1849, the Vienna government completely reorganised the Kingdom of Hungary, dividing it into smaller units and centralising its administration. Serbian Vojvodina was reorganised into a newly established administrative unit divided from the Kingdom of Hungary, the Voivodeship of Serbia, and Banat of Temeschwar with the seat in Timişoara.[3] The territory of this entity contained the Banat region as well as smaller parts of Bačka and Syrmium, giving home to more Romanian than Serbian inhabitants, but excluding important territories with Serbian ethnic majority. Also, its administrative system was completely de-nationalised. German was implemented as the only official language, and the title of the Great Voivode was given to Francis Joseph.[4] In summary, the newly established territorial unit did not meet Serbian demands. As Svetozar Miletić pointed out in his famous article, the *Hofburg* awarded Serbs with the same absolutist "gift" for their loyalty that Hungarians received as a punishment for their rebellion.[5]

In the context of an overall oppressing absolutism, a new generation of liberal national elites emerged. They were looking for new allies to approach their goals, i.e. to secure collective national rights and territorial

[2] B. Kovaček, *Текелијанумске историје XIX. века* [Histories of Tekelijanum in the 19th Century] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1997), 13. S. Nagy, "Forradalom a péterváradi határőrezredben. Cyril Hallavanya alezredes és Dániel Rastich ezredes emlékiratai a délvidéki szerb felkelés kirobbanásáról 1848 május-júliusában" [Revolution in the Border Regiment of Petrovaradin. Memoires of Lieutenant-Colonel Cyril Hallavanya and Colonel Dániel Rastich about the Eruption of the Serbian Uprising in Southern Hungary in May-July 1848], *Fons* 1 (2004): 79-84.

[3] Ljubomirka Krkljuš argues that there is not enough evidence to prove that the Voivodeship of Serbia and Banat of Temeschwar had the status of an Austrian Crownland (*Kronland*). The area was rather integrated into the Empire as a special administrative territory (*oblast*). Lj. Krkljuš, О правном положају Срба у Јужној Угарској - Стварност, жеље и контроверзе. [On the Legal Position of Serbs in Southern Hungary - Reality, Aspirations and Controversies], *Зборник Матице српске за историју* -- please translate this title 98. (2018): 52-61.

[4] D. Mikavica, N. Lemajić, G. Vasin and N. Ninković, *Срби у Хабзбуршкој монархији од 1526. до 1918* [Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy 1526-1918], Vol. 2. (Novi Sad: Prometej-Radio televizija Vojvodine, 2016), 456-460.

[5] S. Miletić, "На туцин дан 1860" [Before the Day of Christmas Eve of 1860], *Srbski dnevnik,* December 25, 1860.

autonomy. In the Serbian-Hungarian case, the rapprochement of prominent intellectuals already started in the 1850s, reaching its peak around 1865. As the writer Jovan Đorđević, the founder of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad (Neusatz, Újvidék) and Belgrade points out, this short period of "friendship" lasted only for a few years. Since 1866, the year of the battle of Königgrätz and the Austrian-Hungarian talks about a possible compromise, the relations between Serbian and Hungarian liberals became more and more hostile.[6] Nevertheless, the decades before the *Ausgleich* – as István Póth underlines it – can be seen as an exceptionally "fruitful period" of Serbian-Hungarian cooperation, with many parallels, institutional and symbolical interconnections, positive (later also negative) gestures between intellectuals.[7]

This paper discusses travel accounts related to two major urban centres of the Serbian national movement in the Kingdom of Hungary. Pest was at the time an important centre of Serbian elite education and culture, home to the college and student dormitory Tekelijanum and the literary and scholarly society *Matica srpska* [Serbian Matica/Queen Bee] until 1864. Novi Sad, a free royal city in the Southern Bačka region developed rapidly into a centre of Serbian press, education (Orthodox Grammar School), and culture (National Theatre, Reading Circle/ Serbian Casino, reorganisation of Matica in Novi Sad).[8] In 1861-1862 Svetozar Miletić served as mayor of the town. During the 1860s, Serbian liberals organised several mass events both in Novi Sad in Pest. Such occasions included the centenary celebration of the birth of the Serbian-Hungarian benefactor Sava Tekelija in 1861, the relocation of Matica in 1864, as well as regular celebrations on the day of Saint Sava; festivities called "*beseda*" and "*sélo*." The target audience of these representative

[6] J. Đorđević, *Српско-маџарско пријатељство. Историјско-политичка студија* [Serbian-Hungarian Friendship. A Historical-Political Study] (Beograd: D. Dimitrijević, 1895), 19-20.

[7] I. Póth, "A magyar-szerb együttműködés gyümölcsöző évei (1850-1867)" [The Fruitful Years of Serbian-Hungarian Cooperation (1850-1867), *Hungarológiai Közlemények* 52 (1982): 303–14.

[8] As Kovaček stresses, Miletić intended to establish a mass movement, a wide-reaching network of social and cultural institutions.

B. Kovaček, "Обнова српске читаонице и оснивање Српског народног позоришта" [The Revival of the Serbian Reading Circle and Establishing of the Serbian National Theatre], in *Српска читаоница - Градска библиотека у Новом Саду. Споменица (1845-1995)* – please translate this title, ed. Božidar Kovaček (Novi Sad: Gradska biblioteka, 1996), 137-138.

events was both the Serbian and non-Serbian public inside and outside the Habsburg Empire. The celebrations offered visibility for the main Serbian actors, institutions as well as for the Orthodox Church and popularised national symbols and cults.

Special attention will be paid to the river Danube in the travel writings, being at this point the main transport route between the aforementioned urban centres. Many travel accounts focus on the social life on the steamships, the landscape sliding along, as well as the historical importance of the landmarks. This paper also explores how the organisers of the events included the Danube into their self-representation strategies.

II. National Self-Representation and Travelogues

The period between 1861 and 1867, named after the Minister of Interior and author of a short-lived "moderately liberal" constitution Anton von Schmerling, certainly loosened censorship and made it easier to express national sentiments in the public. In the years of semi-absolutistic governance, potentially subversive political ideas were often "hidden", expressed in the form of literature, theatre, cultural events. In the early 1860s mass celebrations of "national" saints (Saint Stephen, Saint Cyril and Methodius, Saint Sava) were held, literary works and theatre pieces popularised the mythical medieval past and meritorious personalities were remembered and symbolically entered into the nation's pantheon. These events served as occasions for mass mobilisation, symbolical and physical gatherings of the members of a modern nation on the streets, both on the scene and in the auditorium of theatres and churches. Cultural events can be thus seen as instruments of mass politics, a widespread phenomenon in the second half of the nineteenth century, notably introduced and analysed by Eric Hobsbawm.[9]

Serbian mass festivities were widely promoted in newspapers, magazines. Brochures and lithographs related to the topic of the events were published. Also, the newly emerging Serbian language press – such as the newspapers *Srbski Dnevnik* [Serbian Journal], *Zastava* [Banner], magazines *Danica* [Morning Star], *Matica* [Queen Bee] – reported extensively on the course of the events. Nonetheless, efforts of self-

[9] E. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263–307.

representation were not only directed towards the Serbian public but were also used as gestures towards other national elites. At these cultural events hosts invited members of their inter-national institutional and personal networks; prominent Hungarian, Croatian, and other Slavic intellectuals. These guests reported on the course of the festivities, memorable speeches, and encounters. Non-Serbian writers sometimes also added their impressions and critical remarks to their accounts; thus positioning themselves towards or against the message of the mass celebrations. These writings often contain remarks about their journeys, the urban and social environment in which the events took place, so one can read them as *travel writings*. Travel writings can be identified as a category, which is certainly wider and more difficult to define than a travelogue. A travel writing speaks about a journey of its author and their (real or fictional) adventures. Such texts are addressed to a wider public; they have to appear to be trustworthy and provoke affective reactions by their readers.[10] Travel writings are by definition subjective, reflecting the author's identity, norms, their understanding of the Self and the Other, the Familiar and the Foreign, Home and Distance. Travel accounts tell a story of a physical journey, but the travelling can also be spiritual; a way to better self-understanding, a journey to God or a ritual of becoming a member of a community.

III. The Danube – Connecting Past and Future

From the 1830s, the steamship had become the most important means of transport on the Danube. Steamers revolutionised not only the transport of goods and people, but also the "mental maps" of their passengers and the wider public as well. As Edit Király points out, the widespread use of steamboats "transformed" the Danube from a physical barrier into a rapid route leading to remote territories, connecting the Habsburg Monarchy with the Ottoman Empire ("Mitteleuropa" and "the East") both physically and as a "ribbon" of

[10] D. Mašović, "Earliest Travel Writings about Southeast Serbia and Their Characteristics," in *The Balkans in Travel Writing*, ed. Marija Krivokapić (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 16.
S. Atanasovski, *Mapiranje Stare Srbije: Stopama putopisaca, tragom narodne pesme.* [Mapping Old Serbia: In the Footprints of Travel Writers, Following Folk Songs] (Beograd: Biblioteka XX. vek-Muzikološki institut SANU, 2017): 46.

representations.[11] The most important Serbian-language publication of the era, Teodor Pavlović's *Serbski narodni list* [Serbian People's Newspaper], reports about the new means of transport (accompanied by a lithograph of the ship):

> Steamboat or steamship is in fact one of the most beautiful and most useful inventions. We are all enchanted when standing on it or watching it passing by from a hill; how it cuts through the Danube and flies like an arrow without any human assistance, making the route from Pest to Zemun so to say in an hour.[12]

The author mentions one of the most important trade routes of the Serbian population in the Habsburg Empire and the autonomous Principality of Serbia, connecting Pest and Zemun (Semlin, Zimony), the border-town to Belgrade. Although this journey was not made in "so to say an hour" but in fact more than 33 hours (according to a speed record in 1831),[13] but the report for sure shows the enthusiasm about the technical invention and the related new possibilities. The regular transport of steamships on the Danube was made possible as a result of the great undertaking by Count István Széchényi, which aimed to clear the obstacles to sailing from the Lower Danube (the Iron Gate) and which was supported by the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović and the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II. Already in 1829 the First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company (*Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft, DDSG)* was established, which during the 1830s extended its routes from Vienna to Galați, the Southeastern exit of the Iron Gate with stops in Pest and Novi Sad. The success of the DDSG was seen as an accomplishment of the Empire, which could profit from the trade on its most important river and tighten relations with the Rumelian part of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Széchenyi's modernisation efforts were closely related to Hungarian national interests of the *Vormärz*. The founding of the Óbuda Shipyard by DDSG, the consequent urbanisation of Pest-Buda and last, but not least the building of the Chain Bridge

[11] E. Király, *Die Donau ist die Form. Strom-Diskurse in Texten und Bildern des 19. Jahrhunderts.* [The Danube is the Shape. 19th Century Textual and Visual Discourses of the River] (Wien-München: Böhlau, 2017), 162.

[12] "Пароплов (?) парна лађа (?) димшићь (?)" [Steamship (?) Steamboat (?) Steamer (?)] *Сербскій Народній Листъ*, August 5, 1835.

[13] "Magyar Ország" [Hungary], *Magyar Kurir,* May 3, 1831.

allowing the easier circulation of ships largely contributed to the development of Hungary's prospective capital. In the first decades of its operation, the state granted the DDSG a monopoly on long distance steamship transport. After the restriction was lifted in 1858, both private entrepreneurs and foreign companies had the right to launch steamship lines on the Danube.[14]

Travelling by a steamer meant not only that one could reach their destinations with a so far unimaginable speed and comfort, but also the possibility to explore new places and meet new people aboard. Already in the 1830s, a multitude of travelogues were published both in Central and Western Europe, giving practical advice for future travellers, but also reporting on the social life on board, on sights and landmarks, on the economy, politics and the society of the coastal settlements, often through the prism of Orientalism, and thus constructing the "exotic" image of the East. Travelogues (and pieces of visual arts) showed the passing landscape in an aestheticizing and historicizing manner.[15] Constantin Ardeleanu points out that such travelogues evoked a mythicised, idealised past, where different ages appear simultaneously. In that sense the physical journey turns into a time travel where travellers could "mentally" meet a series of historical personalities from Emperor Augustus to Napoleon.[16] The historical landmarks or anecdotes were juxtaposed with the bright future, the technical and social "progress" the steamship symbolised. Ardeleanu pays specific attention to the social life on board, which he defines as "steamboat sociality" structured by the places on the ship; the saloon (serving as men's bedroom), the deck used by lower social classes etc. The life on the steamboat, the relatively long togetherness resulted in long talks, games, encounters with a great diversity of people.[17] These cosmopolitan experiences were included in the published travel writings.

In the 1860s, after the liberalisation of the sector, DDSG still dominated fluvial transport. More than 30 years after the beginning of

[14] J. Pásztor, "A dunai gőzhajózás története" [History of Steamboat Transport on the Danube], *Közlekedéstudományi Szemle* 1 (1955): 24–28.
[15] E. Király, *Die Donau,* 197.
[16] C. Ardeleanu, "Steamboat Sociality" along the Danube and the Black Sea (mid-1830s–mid-1850s)," *Journal of Transport History*, (2000) https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022526620908258. (accessed 20. April, 2020): 15.
[17] Ardeleanu, "Steamboat Sociality," 13-14.

regular transport from Vienna to the Black Sea, the novelty of cruising was fading, however, travel writings were still published. The 1860s also marked the beginnings of mass tourism by steamship. For instance, the entrepreneur János (Johann) Zeilinger, responsible for the catering services of DDSG announced a tourist excursion (*kéjutazás*) on the Lower Danube until Orschowa (Oršava, Orsova) and the spa in Mehadia. The five-day journey included a visit to Belgrade (which was eventually cancelled because of the unrests between the Serbian and the Ottoman population of the city), natural and historical sights, such as the Iron Gate (Đerdap), a meadow where the lost Hungarian crown jewels were found, Novi Sad and Petrovaradin.[18] The list of these sights shows the importance of places, which could be related to the stories, myths and anecdotes of the (Hungarian) national past.

This decade is also characterised by the active use of the steamship in Serbian self-representation. As formerly mentioned, the steamboat was associated with technical and social progress, so it was used at Serbian festivities in the 1860s, as a symbol of national modernisation. This symbolism was clearly expressed in May 1864 as after more than a decade of bureaucratic fight the government allowed the reorganisation of the literary and scholarly society Matica srpska. The institution symbolically "moved" from Pest to Novi Sad. By this move, the society left behind Pest and the outdated cultural policies connected to this city (such as the old Serbian orthography) and departed into its future in the town, which was presented as the (new) urban centre of the Serbian national movement. This journey took part on the steamship "*Napredak*" (Progress), provided for this occasion by the wholesaler Jovan Forišković. The steamer transported the documentation of Matica and its collection of books and artefacts to Novi Sad, where it was greeted with salutes (gunshots), and then by a liturgy in the Orthodox cathedral and a ceremonial assembly at the episcopal seat.[19] Steamers, besides other means of transport and communication – for instance, messages sent by telegram and solemnly read on the festivities – had a vital role in Serbian nation-building, as well as in bringing parts of a divided nation (living in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, Serbia or in the diaspora) and of its "allies" together to celebrate, or to discuss their common future. Many

[18] *Sürgöny*, July 2, 1862.

[19] Ž. Milisavac, *Матица српска 1826-1964* [Matica srpska 1826-1964] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1965), 90.

of the important mass festivities of these years took place in Novi Sad; the centenary and millenary celebrations of Sava Tekelija in 1861, that of St. Cyril and Methodius in 1863, a theatre festival at the Serbian National Theatre in honour of William Shakespeare in 1864 and the constitutive meeting of the liberal all-Serbian mass organisation United Serbian Youth in 1866. An essential part of these events was the reception of distinguished guests to the port of Novi Sad. Arriving both upstream (from Serbia) and downstream (from central Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia, as well as Western Europe), prominent guests were given a warm and solemn reception by Serbian notabilities and a crowd, shouting *živio*, sometimes *éljen* (hurray) and an orchestra playing Serbian national songs. An important goal of these efforts of self-representation was to present Novi Sad as a national urban centre ("Serbian Athens"[20]), a home of Serbs arriving from all directions. In the last part of the essay, I will analyse a case study related to a national festivity in Novi Sad, the centenary of Sava Tekelija on the 29th of August 1861.

IV. Mass Celebration in the "Serbian Athens": The Centenary of Sava Tekelija

Sava Popović Tekelija (in Hungarian Tököly Száva; 1761-1842) was a prominent Serbian lawyer, writer, benefactor and Hungarian nobleman. In the 19th century, he took an active part in Serbian public life, generally advocating a Hungarian-Serbian political alliance and speaking up against the language reform proposed by Vuk Karadžić. In 1838, a critical moment in Matica srpska's existence, he enabled the survival of the society with a generous donation. He also established the student dormitory Tekelijanum (*Tökölyanum*) in the centre of Pest offering poor and talented high school and university students free accommodation and the possibility to be educated in their mother tongue. With Tekelijanum, Tekelija wanted to help in creating a Serbian centre in the heart of Hungary, which gave home to a Serbian public library, museum objects, the seat of Matica and the editorial boards of various Serbian newspapers although the establishing of a Serbian printing shop in Tekelijanum was not allowed. Although the Serbian national movement

[20] According to an anecdote, a local craftsman called Novi Sad for the first time "Serbian Athens" Lj. Lotić, *Споменица новосадске трговачке омладине*. [Memorial Book of the Novi Sad Craftmen's Youth] (Novi Sad, 1933), 110.

of the 1860s made many of his political points obsolete decades before he was celebrated year by year for his generosity and donations. His epithets were the "Great Benefactor" *(veliki dobrotvor)* and the "Father" of Serbian pupils or Serbian youth. The reason for the "popularity" of Tekelija's cult at the beginning of the 1860s was in fact the rapprochement between Serbian and Hungarian liberals. The memory of Tekelija in fact was suitable to become the basis of a Serbian-Hungarian cult. As a Serb and a *Hungarus* nobleman he did not support Serbian territorial claims in Hungary and supported "Hungarian" causes; he made a donation of 2000 Forints to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and 1000 Forints to the Debrecen Reformed College.[21]

The centenary of Tekelija's birth gave Serbian national movement the opportunity to present its cultural and educational institutions to the broader, non-Serbian public, to promote their national goals and demonstrate the recent Serbian-Hungarian alliance and friendship. The celebration was inspired by the centenary of the Hungarian poet and language reformer Ferenc Kazinczy in Pest and his home village Széphalom in 1859. Such literary centenaries are part of a tradition of European Romanticism. These occasions served as the acknowledgement of the immortal deeds of the nation's great personalities ("national saints" as Thomas Carlyle stresses), where the nations paid their respect to these meritorious persons, symbolically entering them into the national Pantheon (pantheonization).[22]

The centenary celebration was initiated by the editor of the newspaper Srbski dnevnik, Jovan Đorđević, who also acted as the main organiser (and the director of the recently established Serbian National Theatre).[23] The main institutional organiser of the centenary was Matica srpska. During the preparations in 1861, organisers decided to host the event in Novi Sad. Although Tekelija did not live or work in Novi Sad for a longer time, they considered this place being a centre of the liberal movement and many of the related institutions the most fitting to

[21] B. Kovaček, *Текелијанумске историје,* 5-11.

[22] K. Keserű, "A kultusz köztes helye. Kazinczy magyarországi kultusza" [The Intermediary Position of the Cult. Kazinczy's Cult in Hungary], in *Tények és legendák – tárgyak és ereklyék*, ed. Zs. Kalla. (Budapest: Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum, 1990): 35-38. M. Dović and J. K. Helgason, *National Poets, Cultural Saints: Canonization and Commemorative Cults of Writers in Europe* (Brill: Leiden, 2006): 1-11.

[23] *Србски дневник*, November 1, 1859.

represent Serbian culture. Besides Jovan Đorđević the newly elected mayor of Novi Sad, Svetozar Miletić acted as the host of the celebration. One should also mention the key role of the Orthodox bishop of Bačka, Platon Atanacković. Recently revived or established Serbian associations, the Serbian National Theatre, the Orthodox Gymnasium and the Serbian Reading Circle (Casino) took part in the celebrations as well. While the organisation and the course of the event was dominated by a new generation of liberal intellectuals the conservative side of Serbian politics (Đorđe Stratimirović, Petar Čarnojević) was represented as well.

Srbski dnevnik, the main Serbian newspaper of the time, extensively reported about the celebrations, Hungarian, Croatian, Slovak and Czech periodicals published longer or shorter summaries of the events. Important details of the celebrations are presented in the memoires of Đorđe Stratimirović[24] and Aca Popović Zub.[25] Historian Božidar Kovaček provides a substantial analysis of the events in his monography about Tekelijanum and the memory of Tekelija. Relying on these primary and secondary sources, I will provide a short description of the event and focus on some of its characteristics.

The representative events took place on the 29th of August although some guests had already arrived days earlier and stayed till later in the town. The delegations arrived by steamboat and were solemnly welcomed at the pier. Two distinguished guests were awarded with the specific honour of a representative ride or walk to the town centre. The merchant Ilija Kolarac, who created a literary foundation in Belgrade and also donated for a prospective Law Academy in Novi Sad arrived already on the 28th with the Belgrade delegation. To thank for his generosity Miletić took Kolarac for a ride around the town.[26] The steamboat from Pest arrived the day after, in the morning of the celebration. From the travellers, Petar Čarnojević was escorted by the celebrating mass to the town. Čarnojević was the former royal commissioner of Southern Hungary in 1848, and he, as a Serb, took part in the work of the

[24] G. von Stratimirović, *Was ich erlebte; Erinnerungen von General von Stratimirović* (Wien-Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1911), 133-134.

[25] A. Popović Zub, *Успомене II.* [Memoires II.] (Budim-Pešta: Mađarska kraljevska sveučilištna knjigopečatnja, 1893)

[26] *Србски дневник* August 16, 1861.

Hungarian opposition in the Parliament. In summary, the arrival by steamboat was an important representative part of the celebration.[27]

Ján Francisci, a Slovak writer and journalist visiting wrote about a "people's festivity in the whole sense of the word."[28] In fact, the centenary included many mass spectacles; torch processions and open-air music and performances of the National Theatre. Novi Sad was illuminated in the evening, main buildings (including the town hall) decorated with the Serbian national flag. At the main square, next to the Roman Catholic church and the town hall, a pyramid-shaped monument was erected with the depiction of Tekelija. The programme of the day started in the Orthodox Cathedral with a liturgy celebrated by Bishop Atanacković and by the local cleric Andrija Monašević. The very pantheonization of Tekelija took place in the courtyard of the town hall, where the benefactor's painting was unveiled, the choir sang the Hymn of Saint Sava, Aleksandar Sandić declaimed Damjan Pavlović's poem about Tekelija and Jovan Subotić appraised him in a speech. A festive lunch for 154 guests was prepared in the guesthouse "Sun," where all distinguished guests were giving speeches in the spirit of the Hungarian-Serbian and of the Slavic friendship and brotherhood. In this moment, and in the spirit of the Great Benefactor Tekelija donations were made for the establishment of a Serbian Law Academy in Novi Sad. The day ended with a torch procession and the performances of the Serbian National Theatre.[29]

V. Travelling Abroad or Finding a New Home? – The Centenary of Sava Tekelija in Writings of Danube Travellers

As previously mentioned, prominent guests from distant cities arrived by steamboat at the centenary of Sava Tekelija. In their reports they provided longer or shorter descriptions of the journey itself, the arrival to Novi Sad, historical and natural landmarks. In the following part, three texts will be analysed, written by authors travelling on the same boat starting from Pest via Vukovar, and arriving at Novi Sad in the morning of the 29th of August. This ship carried Serbian, Hungarian, and Croatian

27 M. Jókai, "A Tököli-emlékünnep Újvidéken." [The Tököli Memorial Celebration in Novi Sad] *Vasárnapi Újság*, September 8, 1861, 428.

28 *Pešťbudínske vedomosti*, September 6, 1861.

29 *Србски дневник,* August 18, 1861.

notabilities to the celebration. Hungarian journalist György Urházy published his report on the events in the newspaper *Magyar Sajtó* [Hungarian Press].[30] Mór Jókai, one of the most popular writers of the Hungarian romanticism described the journey in the popular weekly illustrated magazine *Vasárnapi Ujság* [Sunday Paper].[31] The account by the Zagreb-based Croatian writer and journalist Janko Jurković was first published in the periodical *Naše Gore list* [Our Mountains], and later an extended version came out in *Pozor* [Attention][32], a Zagreb newspaper being close to the People's Party, which was advocating a Serbian-Croatian political alliance. The title of Jurković's account "Microscopic travel notes from Zagreb to Novi Sad", already shows that the author puts his excursion to Novi Sad in a wider perspective of an adventurous journey through his homeland, Croatia and Slavonia travelling alone, with strangers and with his wife, using various means of transport. In Vukovar he joined the delegation from Zagreb. Novi Sad was the easternmost point of his journey, from where he returned by steamboat to Vukovar.

Because of the many stops on the way, the number of people travelling to Novi Sad grew to a "logarithm," as Jókai objected. Jurković in Vukovar boarded an already extremely crowded ship.

> There was no mention of sleep, on the principle of "prior tempore, potior iure," which is used on the ships and in taverns without any reason or mercy, all the places around us were already taken, and nobody would consider giving up their places, unless the ship started burning or sinking. Thus, we began having various conversations, watering our dry throats with wine or tea, until eventually, as we were unable to resist the sleep, we found ourselves on the ground, on the roof and in all the corners of the ship.[33]

In his critical account, Jókai uses the journey to become acquainted with different parties in Serbian politics.

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[30] Gy. Urházy, "Tököly-ünnep Ujvidéken" [Celebration of Tököly in Novi Sad], *Magyar Sajtó* (September 3, 1861).
[31] M. Jókai, "A Tököli-emlékünnep," 428-429.
[32] J. Jurković, "Mikroskopične crtice putopisne od Zagreba do Novoga-Sada" [Microscopic Travel Notes from Zagreb to Novi Sad], *Pozor* (June 15-22, 1862).
[33] J. Jurković, "Mikroskopične crtice," *Pozor* (June 18, 1862): 515.

> The notabilities of the Serbian people of every political couleur were present: those who go sleeping and get up in the direction of Vienna, Pest or Belgrade.[34]

He gives a sarcastic compilation of the discussions he witnessed about some political options obviously unacceptable for him, such as: who the Serbian Vojvoda should be and what the appropriate way of appointing him was, or who was going to sit in the *Reichsrat* in Vienna (instead of the Parliament in Pest). Both Jókai and Urházy mention their encounter on board with Petar Čarnojević and Đorđe Stratimirović, describing them as friendly, moderate politicians.

Arriving at Novi Sad, both Hungarian travellers were feeling a bit strange in the town. They were looking for familiar faces, Hungarian symbols, and songs. Jókai stresses the importance of the Hungarian flag, by telling an anecdote about Čarnojević, who insisted on pinning the tricolour at one of his earlier visits (meaning there was no such flag there).[35] Urházy writes about the arrival to Novi Sad, highlighting a Hungarian national song played by the orchestra. The fortress of the neighbouring Petrovaradin echoes the march. The fortification appears here as a national symbol, the witness of Hungarian history.

> The Serbian march was followed by the Rákoczy march and the cliffs of Petrovaradin mightily echoed our national march shaking hearts and minds.[36]

Besides reporting on the event and praising the importance of Tekelija for the Serbian and Hungarian people, Jókai also describes Novi Sad as a politically and ethnically diverse town, mentioning both the unwillingness of the local Germans to take part in the celebrations and the hardships the (Hungarian) Reformed Church was facing in building its church. Already during the festive lunch the author left Novi Sad to visit Patriarch Rajačić in Karlowitz, who could not attend the celebrations because of his illness. In the end, Jókai left by coach to Pest via the Banat region, which was, contrary to the Danube cruise, a long and tiresome journey making the author sick. To sum up the political message of his article (which did not mention either Miletić, or

[34] M. Jókai, "A Tököli-emlékünnep," 428.
[35] Ibidem, 428.
[36] Gy. Urházy, "Tököly-ünnep."

Đorđević), Jókai gives a strong opinion on the „two sides" of Serbian politics, in fact sharply condemning any idea of territorial autonomy.

> We got to know something, about which we might be in doubts. Two parties are recognisable; one always feels well under the Hungarian constitution and the autonomy of the counties, which is eager to make sacrifices for the homeland but is modest in its claims, which was and is ours: has confidence in us and loves us: - and another one wishing privileges rather than equality. (…) We offer rights and justice for everyone and although it may take some time, everyone will join us.[37]

Jókai and Urházy write about their journey to Novi Sad as an excursion into a rather unknown, foreign place. Jurković is in contrary telling the story of getting to know the town, meeting new friends, and, at the end, finding home in a distant place. Although he arrived in the early morning hours to Novi Sad and did not find any accommodation, a friendly stranger at the town hall invited him to his house. Referring to the talks the guests from Pest gave at the festive lunch, he expressed sceptical thoughts about the Hungarian intentions:

> The mask of brotherhood and equal rights still hid the hegemony of the ruling tribe over its slaves, which had since then become visible for some.[38]

Jurković stayed in Novi Sad a few more days. His hosts showed him the town, which he describes as a dynamically growing nice place. He went to the theatre and a ball, which he interpreted as an event, where people of different ages, social class and clothing ("*excluding some exotic people*")[39] were connected by the common language. These thoughts reflect the ideas of Slavic reciprocity or the contemporary Yugoslav idea, which was not in the focus of the celebrations but still appears at and around the centenary event.

[37] M. Jókai, "A Tököli-emlékünnep," 429.
[38] J. Jurković, "Mikroskopične crtice," 516.
[39] Ibidem, 516.

VI. Conclusion

This study analysed one of the most important Serbian mass festivals of the 1860s in Novi Sad through the lens of travellers and prominent guests arriving from Pest and Zagreb. Travel writings show that the steamboat ride and the arrival was an important part of these representative events. The ride on the Danube gave these notabilities the possibility to get to know people of different political backgrounds, persons they never had the opportunity – maybe even did not want – to meet. Informal talks on board were at least as important for political negotiations between national elites as the formal part of the celebration. The analysed travel writings included not only the description of the events in Novi Sad but also allowed for the reframing of the narrative that the (majority of the) organisers wanted to communicate the wider public. In the context of the restrained political and press freedoms of the 1860s, mass events were not "only" of cultural importance. They expressed clear political ideas and the analysed travel writings can be seen as answers to these messages, where authors express their opinion through travel experiences.

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Poetry as Vision: "Mont Blanc" by Shelley

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Shelley's "Mont Blanc" was published in 1817 in *History of a Six Weeks' Tour Through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland*,[2] a volume jointly compiled by the Shelleys. Shelley's descriptive journey up Mont Blanc carried the poem upward, toward the summit, tracing a journey through philosophical and scientific concepts that are yet to find a modern vocabulary. Shelley shares the Romantic belief that poetry is neither a merely decorative nor sweetening comfort nor a luxury for a few, but one of the most powerful, strenuous vehicles for investigation and discovery, one of the highest forms of knowledge.

He has the confidence, learnt from his master Coleridge, that poetry, in its most extended sense, "acts upon the imagination" which is in turn the instrument of "moral good," of man's capacity to "love," to "put himself in the place of another and many others till the pains and the pleasures of his species become his own." Moreover, "[i]n a drama of the highest order there is little food for censure or hatred; it teaches rather self-knowledge and self-respect."[3]

Shelley's concept of the poet and the art of poetry was all at once wide, rigorous, precise, and particular. He saw poetry as an essential means to the development of mankind, as well as a means that could produce infinite forms. When it functioned well, poetry could link history infinitely, through its perpetually revitalised or changing forms in a great chain, in one "eternal poem." All ages and forms were made by this

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[2] M. Shelley and P. B. Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks' Tour Through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, with Letters, Descriptive of a Sail Round the Lake of Geneva and of the Glaciers of Chamouni* (London: T. Hookham, Jun. and C. and J. Ollier, 1817) 175-183. archive.org/details/sixweekhistoryof00shelrich/page/174/mode/2up.

[3] P. B. Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry* (1821), in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat (New York: Norton, 2002) 509-535.

"eternal poem" exterior to time, and as parts of the main.[4] The world evoked by *Mont Blanc* - despite all of its distancing effects - appears familiar as it is sustained by an all-pervasive intertextuality, ranging from the Bible, to the ancient and modern men.

The profusion of the literary material in the poem - from Plato to Christian doctrine - has the function of opening up the long perspective of our cultural inheritance (the diachronic dimension of the work) and is indicated by the (increasingly heavy) hints built into the text which brings it all into focus. One of the functions assigned to *Mont Blanc* is to set the action of the poem *sub specie æternitatis*. Art cannot exist *in vacuo*; it needs a tradition that feeds it continually: the artist cannot "dispense" this tradition and replace it with his own genius or remarkable personality. Or, as Northrop Frye puts it, "literature can only derive its forms from itself."[5] Accordingly, Shelley could not write his own poem without drawing from the literary tradition which was part of his cultural background.

Shelley is one of the practitioners of the so called Romantic organicism, namely that cultural and ideological formation derived from the term *organic*, used from the late eighteenth century to designate wholeness, continuity, naturalness. Even the idea of society is that of a natural organism. Romantic organicism opposes the Enlightenment ideal of history as linear and progressive, by positing an ideal of history as growth and decay. My study seeks to position this heritage-cultural canonical production of Shelley within the broad British cultural legacy of the Romantic-period organicism itself. The cultural formation of Romantic organicism also engages the humanist ideals and institutions of cultural preservation. As Coleridge writes: "the members of the learned class, were planted throughout the realm, each in his apposite place, as the immediate agents and instruments in the great and

[4] The direction of Keats' thought was analogous, though his means, or types of image or syntax were different, for example in his late idea of distinguishing between "the false beauty, proceeding from art" and "the true voice of feeling." *The Letters of John Keats 1814-1821*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958) II, 167.

[5] N. Frye, *The Educated Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), 43: "[conventions] can't exist outside literature."

indispensable work of perpetuating, promoting, and increasing the civilization of the nation."[6]

When Shelley claims that the mountain's voice would be "not understood / By all" but could be interpreted by "the wise, and great, and good" (III; lines 81-82), he draws a similar distinction to that of Wordsworth. Wordsworth and Shelley both insist on the existence of higher minds, viz. poetic minds capable of understanding the world to a degree that the common people cannot. They are minds with especially keen imaginative-creative faculties. In *The Prelude* (1805), Wordsworth distinguishes between "higher minds," which "from their native selves can send abroad / Like transformation [to that which the natural world effected in the opening description]" (Book XIII; lines 93-94), and "grosser minds," upon whom Nature must deliberately exert such transformations. An important difference to note between Wordsworth's and Shelley's portrayals of these higher minds is that Wordsworth's higher minds are not subject to Necessity and intervene directly in human affairs, whereas Shelley's higher minds, are subject to Necessity but do not have any personal concern for human affairs. Nonetheless, the existence of higher minds, chief among which were poets, was extremely important to Shelley. His philosophy of poetry, as expressed in the *Defence*, posits as the principal task of the poet the effort "to bring light and fire from those eternal regions where the owl-winged faculty of calculation dare not ever soar." The poet makes this flight by means of an "invisible" and "inconstant" inspiration that sets him apart from the common man. These "eternal regions" are arguably the supersensible regions that the poet encounters by way of the imagination. The poem involves a subject who is looking out upon a vast but only partially visible landscape that is resounding with the "voice" of a river; the landscape leads the poet into a philosophical musing on the relationship between himself and the natural world. These musings draw

[6] S. T. Coleridge, *On the Constitution of Church and State* (1830), ed. John Barrell (London: Dent, 1972) 39-40. This Romantic organic model of culture informs influential later versions of Anglo-American criticism, such as those of Matthew Arnold, T. S. Eliot and Leavis' anti-industrial and anti-populist version of high culture. The preservationism of the organic model, however, is always to some extent anticipated by models of decay and degeneration. Romantics sensed the possible dangers of the poetic principle falling into decay, and saw its sustaining as a necessity for mankind. Hence even Coleridge's formulation of preservationism closes with the figure of a corruptive "over-civilized race" (S. T. Coleridge, *On the Constitution of Church and State*, 38).

him into a state of enlightenment. It is Shelley's poetic sensibility, his ability to "Interpret, or make felt, or deeply feel" (III; line 83) the Power of the mountain, his "higher mind" that enables him to undergo the sublime experience.

It is thus a characteristic of the British Romantic poets, and of Shelley in particular, the creed of the centrality of man in the universe. In addition, Shelley was a passionate advocate of the Platonic division between the world of everlasting Forms and the world of Mutability – the ordinary world of change, mortality, and suffering. It is no coincidence that in *Mont Blanc,* Shelley delineates a universe, immersed in a mythical atmosphere, where there seems to be no room for the complexities of everyday life. The mountain is presented as an immutable Form and showing on the surface no sign of social tension: an imperturbable realm mirrored by the narrative shape of long and dense stanzas constructed as compact blocks. In other words, what is being displayed here is the image of a microcosm where the echoes of the great historical events linger entwined round a breeze of inscrutability. The ordinary and the extraordinary are juxtaposed to give rise to a combination of themes, topics and images which call to mind similar syncretic worlds of many Romantic texts.

The poet is standing in the shadow of the highest mountain in Europe, looking up at a landscape that towers over and around him in every direction. The journey begins from Shelley's viewpoint on a bridge over the river Arve, from whence he traces the river's course up the mountain, passing by the "giant brood of pines" (II; line 20) at the mountain's base, and continuing up a waterfall and past caverns until finally reaching the remotest extent of visibility, where the mountain appears to be "piercing the infinite sky" (III; line 60).

On the other hand, down below the mountain, he describes the river "bursting" through the ravine (II; line 18), the trees' "mighty swinging" (II; line 23), and the untameable echoes in the caverns—"A loud, lone sound no other sound can tame" (II; line 31). Power, a common element of the experience of the Romantic sublime, is also a major element of *Mont Blanc*, both in the metaphysical bearing of the Power at the top the mountain, but also in the power of the lower landscape, the landscape below the cloud line. The adjectives used to describe the lower landscape in Stanza II are suggestive of a Power that is counter to the "feeble brook" (I; line 7) of the poet's mind in Stanza I. These suggestions of

Power culminate in the image of the glaciers moving down the mountainside in Stanza IV:

> [T]here, many a precipice,
> Frost and Sun in scorn of mortal power
> Have piled: dome, pyramid, and pinnacle,
> A city of death, distinct with many a tower
> And wall impregnable of beaming ice.
> Yet not a city, but a flood of ruin
> Rolls its perpetual stream; vast pines are strewing
> Its destined path, or in the mangled soil
> Branchless and shattered stand: the rocks, drawn down
> From yon remotest waste, have overthrown
> The limits of the dead and living world,
> Never to be reclaimed (IV; lines 102-114).

In relation to such a Power, the human individual is small indeed. There is a slight echo in these lines of the human transience portrayed in poems such as *Mutability*, as Shelley expresses an awareness of his own vulnerability in the midst of a landscape that, by its might and expansiveness, seems to diminish his presence in both time and space. Shelley stretches the pathetic fallacy to Gothic extremes and parallels the fervor of the natural events with the fervor of human sensations. Shelley's Gothic sensibility is essential to the drama of the scene, nevertheless he never falls into a state of fear. Despite the great might of the scene before him, he is able to look, first of all, to the life-giving qualities of the natural scene, as the rivers that flow from the glaciers "Meet in the vale, and one majestic River, / The breath and blood of distant lands, for ever / Rolls its loud waters to the ocean waves" (IV; lines 123-125), then to the greater Power beyond the glaciers, which "dwells apart in its tranquillity / Remote, serene, and inaccessible" (IV; lines 96-97). This faith, this certainty in a Power is the essence of the Shelleyan aesthetic.

Although the role of the imagination in perceiving a landscape is prominent in Shelley's experience of Mont Blanc, nevertheless in many respects the poem is much more descriptive than *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* (1817). The first few stanzas recount Shelley's visual ascent up Mont Blanc. Due to physical circumstances – Shelley's proximity to the base of the mountain, the clouds hanging over the mountain's summit – only the lower elevations of the landscape are visible. In Stanza V, Shelley's imagination takes over where his vision fails, and through this transition, we finally arrive at the top of the mountain: "Mont Blanc yet gleams on high: the power is there, / The still and solemn power of many sights, / And many sounds, and much of life and death" (V; lines 127-129). Extremely impressed by a scene such as he had never seen in England, Shelley tried to render in verses the majestic spectacle which lay before him, its shape, its sounds, its mystery, and at the same time to express the strong and possibly unknown emotions he felt at such a discovery. The description is made of three successive views which correspond to three different visions one obtains in Chamonix when looking from left to right.

The first view is that of the Ravine of Arve "dark deep Ravine" (II; line 12) facing Mont Blanc on the left. The second is the astounding apparition of Mont Blanc itself: "Far, far above, piercing the infinite sky, Mont Blanc appears, – still, snowy, and serene" (III, lines 60-61). The third tableau shows the glaciers which "creep/ Like snakes that watch their prey" (IV; line 101) and descend from the mountain like "A wall impregnable of beaming ice" (IV; line 106). Although Shelley does not intend to draw a picture of Mont Blanc for the sake of picturing, since the poem progresses as a dialogue with the mountain rather than as a painting of it,[7] the evocation resulting from these three views produces a startling resemblance.

The image which is given of the whole scene makes the presence of the mountain so impressive, and it is so close to reality, that someone who has never seen Mont Blanc before but has read the poem could recognize it when seeing it for the first time. However, it is not easy to explain how the poet obtained such an effect. If we try a tentative elucidation, we could say that Shelley uses a kind of cinematographic technique. He describes the mountains as he discovers them, successively, and by huge masses, for instance the "dark, deep Ravine […] Over whose pines, and crags, and caverns sail / Fast cloud-shadows and sunbeams: awful scene" (II, lines 14-15); the "Bursting" (II; line 18) of the River and its "giant brood of pines around [it] clinging" (II; line

[7] In the poem, Shelley emphasizes more the majesty than the beauty of the mountain. In his *Letters* he noticed that the Alps: "exhibit scenery of wonderful sublimity" and are "majestic in their beauty." Cf. *The Best Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Shirley Carter Hughson (Chicago: A. C. McClurgh & co., 1892). *Letter to T.L. Peacock*, May 15, 1816, 53 and *Letter to the same*, July 22, 1816, 74.

20); Mont Blanc itself, with "its subject mountains" (III; line 62) that are "heaped around! rude, bare, and high, / Ghastly, and scarred, and riven" (III; lines 70-71); the icy and petrified chaos of the glaciers, and again finally Mont Blanc which "gleams on high" (V; line 127) and inhabits the Heavens in "Silence and solitude" (V; line 144).

Furthermore, what makes the representation so faithful to the original, so vivid, is the intimate unity between the picturing images and the emotions that the scenery itself has provoked. "[A]wful scene" (II; line 15); "Dizzy Ravine!" (II, line 34); "how hideously / Its shapes are heaped around!" (III; lines 69-70); "great Mountain" (III; line 80); "Flood of Ruin" (IV, line 107); "majestic River" (IV; line 123) etc., all these exclamations through which the poet directly addresses the mountains suggest at the same time the shapes, the feelings they produce. Combined with such expressions, the personification of elements and the choice of metaphors – "Children of elder time" (II; line 21); "A desert peopled by the storms alone" (III; line 67); "old Earthquake-daemon" (III; line 72); "city of death" (IV; line 105) etc. ‐ transform the pines, the rocks, the ice into signs and materialized thoughts, and have a strong picturing power. The sounds of words with an accumulation of hard consonants (cf. particularly Part II), the rhythm of the verses, which sometimes clash and overlap each other, as a syncopated music, sometimes become calm, solemn and serene, contribute also to intensify our impressions and express the wild and majestic aspect of the mountain.

Allied with these aesthetic qualities, the poem reverberates with a strong symbolical meaning, as well as a deep philosophical interrogation, the key of which is given in the first two admirable lines: "The everlasting universe of things Flows through the mind" (I, lines 1-2). At the very outset we are told, and this claim is repeated in each part of the poem, that nature descends into the mind of the poet who has to be its interpreter: it is the reason why all the poem develops as a dialogue between the mountain and the human mind. The latter tries to penetrate the meaning of the former. From beginning to end, this meaning, according to the poet, remains ambiguous, the universe of things like a river being: "Now dark – now glittering —now reflecting gloom / Now lending splendour" (I, lines 3-4) and the mountain itself being on the one hand the image of sterility, chaos, ruin and death (cf. III, lines 70-73; IV, lines 113-114), on the other the symbol of sublimity, solemnity or even wisdom. The poet constantly hesitates between these two alternatives, while his thoughts run within himself as the River flows from the mountains. On the one side, the "legion of wild thoughts" inspired by the scenery "float above [...] darkness," (II; lines 41-42) and everything evokes "a desert" (III; line 67) or an eternal death, where "The limits of the dead and living world" are "overthrown" and "Never to be reclaimed" (IV; lines 112- 114). On the other side, contemplating the river and the serenity of the snowy peak which speaks to the "wise" (III; line 82) and "repeal[s] large codes of fraud and woe" (III; lines 80-81), one hopes to perceive through them the "gleams of a remoter world" which would make "death" only a "slumber" (III; 49-50); above all, one would like to see the Power source and soul of all nature, which inhabits the mountain and reveals "The secret Strength of things / Which governs thought" (V; lines 139-140).

Although the second interpretation seems to be preferred, the poem concludes with a rhetorical question about meaning: "The secret Strength of things/ Which governs thought, and to the infinite dome / Of Heaven is as a law, Inhabits thee! / And what were thou, and earth, and stars, and sea, / If to the human mind's imaginings / Silence and solitude were vacancy?" (V; 139-144). The meaning of these last verses is not without some ambiguity. Does the poet mean, as in verses 80-83, III, that only the wise can understand the significance of the great mountain? Or rather, does he mean that if there were no human mind to contemplate and think about the snowy peak, its "silence and solitude" would remain forever insignificant? It is difficult to say. Shelley's interrogation evokes a chilling kind of hell. God's absence is no problem. But a "vacancy" that denied imaginative resonance to our perceptions would be the ultimate bleakness. It is almost as if the young poet had foreseen the hollow materialism of a secular age not unlike our own.

The abyss is certainly present in *Mont Blanc* as well as caves (symbols of the infinite abyss) are cited frequently enough as sources of Power as in the cave where:

> The echoes of the human world…dim at first
> Then radiant, as the mind arising bright
> From the embrace of beauty…casts on them
> The gathered rays which are reality—

Shall visit us.[8]

It is very well possible that the space referenced by the "infinite sky" (III; line 60) which is reflected in the "unfathomable deeps" (III; line 64) is vast enough to be occupied by the infinite God - yet, Shelley rejects that possibility, leaving a void that must either remain empty or be filled with some other presence. He maintains faith that the mountain has a voice "to repeal/ Large codes of fraud and woe" (III; lines 80-81).

It is important to Shelley's reading of the landscape, however, that the summit of the mountain, the source of Power, is hidden from view – for to see the source of the Power would be to impose a limitation on it. To give a form to the Power, would mean a risk of re-establishing that disliked anthropomorphic deity. The top of Mont Blanc represents, for Shelley, the formlessness and inaccessibility that he associates with the Power beyond the landscape. It is the world beyond the human world, the world beyond the natural world of forests and glaciers, even. The top of the mountain remains unaffected by the change and activity of the world below: "Power dwells apart in its tranquillity / Remote, serene, and inaccessible" (IV; lines 96-97). Shelley describes the continual ebb and flow of the sensory world below the cloud line, the cycle of life and death, the movement of the seasons, and the changing face of the earth. In sharp contrast (to all), "Mont Blanc yet gleams on high […] In the calm darkness of the moonless nights, / In the lone glare of day, the snows descend / Upon that Mountain; none beholds them there" (V; lines 127-32). The snow falls eternally atop Mont Blanc. The winds there are silent (V; lines 134-135), the lightning, "voiceless" (V; line 137). Shelley removes the mountaintop from the realm of sensory experience. This is clearly an effort to establish the remoteness of the mountaintop and thus eluding human perception. The whole of "Mont Blanc" consists of Shelley's attempt to comprehend a presence on the mountain that "teaches awful doubt, or faith so mild, / So solemn, so serene, that man may be / But for such faith with nature reconciled"[9] (III; lines 77-79),

[8] P. B. Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat (New York: Norton, 2002) 202-286.

[9] Some critics take "but for such faith" to mean "by virtue of such faith." Bruce Woodcock, editor of the Wordsworth Poetry Library's *The Selected Poetry and Prose of Shelley* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2002, XVIII), takes this view, noting that in the earlier draft Shelley had written "in such a faith." The reading of "but" as "except" in the later

while resisting comprehension because of its inherent need to give form to what should, in Shelley's mind, remain formless.

The poet confronts the difficult task of casting his understanding of an infinite, formless truth into a medium that by its nature seeks to define and give form. The conflict between poetic inspiration and poetic medium is very similar to the conflict between the sensory faculty and an object that resists sensory definition. Shelley struggled with this paradox more than Wordsworth did.[10] The non-human world is both concealed and revealed in *Mont Blanc*. The tension that arises from this combined effect concealing/revealing makes in William Rueckert's words, a poem "a verbal equivalent of fossil-fuel (stored energy) … ever living, inexhaustible sources of stored energy."[11] When Shelley engages with his visual ascent up Mont Blanc, he taps into this energy; and in his awareness of the impermanence of the man-made structure in its place within the non-human world, he also illustrates/recognizes the interdependent nature of the world. Poetry inspires as well as instructs, as it is an initiation into the concealed order of the world. Its intense gratification, unrivalled in authenticity and honesty, appeals to human nature and makes ultimate sense of the self, opening the individual to interaction and communication. Poetry ennobles, enlightens and entertains because its expressive boundaries are virtually unlimited. Poetry goes beyond strict localisation and cultural arbitrariness,

version would be possible, but it's more likely that Shelley intended faith to possess a certain healing power at this juncture of his thought.

[10] In her reading of Shelley, Angela Leighton emphasizes the conflict with which he addresses the Power atop the mountain, noting his desire to supply a presence in the infinite space beyond the cloud line and the accompanying concern that to do so is to risk reverting back to the comprehensible, anthropomorphic deity that he is so eager to displace—to form an idea of the Power is to give shape to it. Of course, without an idea of something beyond, we are left only with a prevailing vacancy. "It could be said," Leighton writes, "that, when an aesthetic of the sublime begins to shed its theological import, it still confronts the Miltonic abyss, but finds instead [of the possible presence of God] that it is secretless and vacant. It is this alternative face of the sublime which confronts Shelley…The characteristic of the Shelleyan sublime will be its unbelief, and its recognition, therefore, that what the human imagination confronts in its creative aspiration may be only a vacancy." A. Leighton, *Shelley and the Sublime: An Interpretation of the Major Poems* (London: Cambridge, 1984), 23-24.

[11] W. Rueckert, *Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism* in *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology* (Athens, GA, USA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 108.

generating a sense of spiritual compatibility and communion between the collective identities of the world.

Poetry, it could be argued, is vision and Shelley's Romanticism in *Mont Blanc* lies in giving absolute priority to the poetic utterance. Whatever else poetry may be – and one could venture many other definitions – it must above all be that. It seeks, against the poverty of fact, to celebrate reality through the illumination of the imagination. The Power that, in Shelley's *Mont Blanc*, hides its true shape and secret strength behind or beneath a dread mountain shows itself only as indifference toward the well-being of men. Nevertheless, the Power speaks forth through the poet's confrontation with it, which is the very act of writing his poem, and the Power, rightly interpreted, can be used to repeal the large code of fraud, institutional and historical Christianity, and the equally massive code of woe, the laws of the nation-states of Europe in the age of Castlereagh and Metternich.

The paradox of the voiceless silent mountain that nevertheless has a voice implies a potential conflict with Coleridge's reading of the mountain voice in "Hymn Before Sun-Rise, in the Vale of Chamouni"[12] as the voice of God would suggest that in this poem he has, using Shelley's value system, not understood what the mountain said. *Mont Blanc* is a direct response to Coleridge's earlier poem. This is far more Ode-like in character. The tone is consistently elevated and the poet reiterates his belief that the "signs and wonders" of the natural world "utter forth God." The nature of this "power" troubles Shelley. Although Stanza III signals a meditative turn, as Shelley considers the possibility that the unconsciousness of sleep and death is visited by "gleams of a remoter world" (III; line 49),[13] his rhetorical questions hang unanswered in the vast landscape, and "the very spirit fails" (III; line 57). He has embarked on the poem almost as a test drive, through dangerously sublime conditions, of his own atheism. The concept of

[12] Coleridge had begun the poem after climbing Scafell Pike during a solitary Lake District tour in 1802. He concealed the actual setting because, he said, the poem contained "ideas etc. disproportionate to our humble mountains." Less forgivably, he incorporated the text of a poem by the Swiss writer Frederika Brun, without acknowledgment. S. T. Coleridge, *Selected Poems*, ed. Richard Holmes (London: Penguin, 1994) 317. It is little wonder that the pious declarations sound so jarring and uncharacteristic.

[13] Shelley is clearly not concerned with the afterlife in a Christian sense, but with a richer source of mental reality, possibly one that today would be equated with the unconscious mind.

mind as a helpless natural force comparable to glaciers, rivers, winds, etc. is a difficult one for an idealistic and reforming imagination such as Shelley's. Towards the end of the stanza, for the first time in the whole poem, Shelley apostrophises Mont Blanc itself. There is a hushed moment of near-religious awe. "Thou hast a voice, great Mountain, to repeal / Large codes of fraud and woe" (III; lines 80-81). But it is the political reformer in Shelley who projects on to the mountain a voice capable of abolishing systemic corruption. He can go no further with this idea of a near-divine voice: after that, it is to an ideal of privileged human understanding that he turns.

In *Mont Blanc*, the mountain serves as the abode of Power primarily because of its inaccessibility, and because of the clouds that cover its summit and give it the appearance of boundlessness. If Shelley yearns for an "angel's-eye view,"[14] it is because there is always a place above the clouds, or behind the mist – something beyond human reach. If ever this space is breached by the human mind, the Power will be displaced even further in or out, as the case may be, and this will happen at every advance we make, ad infinitum. For this, Shelley is grateful, for were we ever to achieve a solid understanding of this Power, it would become nothing more than another god-term. This faith, this certainty in a Power is the essence of the Shelleyan aesthetic.

Yes, art functions as a witness, an aesthetic of renewal, a force for change, for re-orientation and awareness. In a world as deeply fractured as ours, this is indispensable, a moral duty even. Thus, the Romantic tradition, and in particular the Shelleyan aesthetic re-surfaces: the Shelleyan Power is still the underlying bedrock that sooner or later will redeem the imperfection.

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[14] Cf. James B. Twitchell, *Romantic Horizons: Aspects of the Sublime in English Poetry and Painting, 1770-1850* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 166.

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Pavle Sofrić and His Travelogue *In Hilandar*

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I. The travelogue writer Pavle Sofrić

In the context of the rich travel literature on Hilandar, the travelogue of Pavle Sofrić (1857-1924) deserves special attention. It was published under the title *In Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim)* in *Glas eparhije niške* [Voice of the Diocese of Niš] in 1910 and remained almost unknown to scholars studying this monastery. This text offers not only an abundance of information on topics related to Mount Athos, but also the personal experience of an educated and gifted devotee.

Pavle Sofrić was a hardworking scholar, a professor from Niš, who devoted his research to a wide range of topics – from Saint Sava and the Nemanjić ideology, to beliefs about plants, dancing in *kolos* (translator's note/TN: *kolo*/Serbian traditional circle dance) and witches. His bibliography, which includes about twenty works, shows that he investigated not only historical topics, but also ethnographic and ethnological ones.[2] "It is interesting that he published all his books and booklets at his own expense and distributed them free of charge to his friends [...]. His modesty and immense selflessness extend to nihilism."[3]

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[2] Lj. Petrović, *Bibliografija radova prof. Pavla Sofrića* [The Bibliography of the works of Pavle Sofrić] (Beograd: Izdanje prijatelja i đaka Sofrićevih 1930), 5-15. In addition to the content of articles and books, this *Bibliography* provides a brief analysis of the basic ideas presented in them. This *Bibliography* is supplemented by two entries: J. Mihailović, "Bibliografija radova Pavla Sofrića Niševljanina" [The Bibliography of the works of Pavle Sofrić of Niš], in *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba* [Significant flora in our Serbian Folklore], ed. Jasmina Mihailović i Nenad Ljubinković (Beograd: BIGZ, 1990), 277–278. See also: J. Mihailović, "Literatura o Pavlu Sofriću Niševljaninu" [Literature about Pavle Sofrić of Niš], in *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba* [Significant flora in our Serbian Folklore], ed. Jasmina Mihailović & Nenad Ljubinković, 279-280.

[3] M. Bašić, "Nekrolog. Pavle Sofrić, professor" [Necrologue. Pavle Sofrić, professor], *Glasnik profesorskog društva* 4 (1924): 301.

He was born on 11 August 1857 in Szentendre (Hungary) and descended from a reputable merchant family.[4] He was a close relative of the writer Jacob Ignjatović, who was also from Szentendre. He graduated from high school in Pest, but spent his working life in Serbia, as a high school professor in Loznica (1887-1888), Valjevo (1888-1890), Šabac (1890-1900), Niš (1900-1910), and Belgrade (1911-1924). Sofrić spent several years during World War One in refuge in France. He taught general and national history, geography, and sometimes German in high schools. Far from his Szentendre,

> Sofrić went after the trail of those Serbs from the other side of the rivers Sava and Danube who wanted to contribute to the cultural and intellectual uplifting of their ancestors, of Serbia, like the many educated Serbs from Hungary, which also referred to the Hungary of his generation.[5]

In Niš, he became one of the founders and later the first librarian of the National Library of Niš. He dedicated himself specifically to the work of managing Stevan Sremac's literary legacy.[6] It was precisely this, the Niš period, that was the most important for his professional and scientific work, so he used the pseudonym Niševljanin (TN: of Niš), under which he is still known today in ethnology.

He died on 1 May 1924 in Belgrade.

In the analyses of Sofrić's work, it has been noted that Sofrić sought cultural roots in his studies, and that, in trying to discover the remains of the myths in the surviving customs, rituals, and oral culture of the Serbs, he pursued the reconstruction of the pre-Christian Slavic mythology.[7] "His works, valuable for Serbian ethnology and cultural history, for the study of the 'national soul' – to which he devoted most of his

[4] Biographical information on Pavle Sofrić: M. Bašić, "Nekrolog. Pavle Sofrić, profesor," 299-303; S. Vujičić, "Spomen na Sofrića" [Rememberance of Sofrić] *Sveske* 29 (1996): 204–207; N. Ljubinković, "Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba Pavla Sofrića Niševljanina" ["Significant flora in our Serbian Folklore, by Pavle Sofrić of Niš"], in *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba*, ed. Jasmina Mihailović & Nenad Ljubinković, 257-260; J. Mihailović, "Beleška o piscu" [Note on the author], in *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba,* ed. Jasmina Mihailović i Nenad Ljubinković, 273–275.

[5] S. Vujičić, "Spomen na Sofrića," 205.

[6] P. Sofrić, "Sremčeva biblioteka" [Sremac's library], *Bosanska vila* 15. i 16, 15–30 (1907): 256–258.

[7] J. Mihailović, "Beleška o piscu," 275.

ethnopsychological and anthropogeographic works – due to circumstances, went unnoticed, and his scientific restlessness and contribution remained unacknowledged, forgotten and insufficiently recognized."[8]

From the thematically diverse opus of Pavle Sofrić, two books reached today's readers: *Momenti iz prošlosti i sadašnjosti varoši Sentandreje* [Moments from the Past and Present of the Town of Szentendre], Niš in 1903, which saw two renewed editions in 1994 and 2005[9] and *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba* [Significant flora in our Serbian Folklore], Belgrade 1912, which was a phototype edition, published in 1990.[10] The book *Significant flora in our Serbian Folklore* is said to be a cornerstone in the study of plant mythology in Serbia.[11] In contrast, Pavle Sofrić's travelogue *O Hilandaru (Putopis jednog poklonika)* [About Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim)] is rarely mentioned in the context of travel literature dedicated to this monastery.

A short excerpt, of only thirty lines from Sofrić's travelogue, is published in *Hilandar u knjigama* [Hilandar in Literature].[12] There is also a mention of Sofrić's travelogue in the book by Bojana Melcer, *Manastir Hilandar. Bibliografija* [The Hilandar Monastery. Bibliography].[13]

With respect to travelogues on Hilandar, Dejan Medaković emphasized the role of special travel literature nurtured by Serbian newspapers and magazines.[14] Chronologically, it was at the end of the

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[8] S. Vujičić, "Spomen na Sofrića," 206.

[9] P. Sofrić, *Momenti iz prošlosti i sadašnjosti varoši Sentandreje. Moje đačke uspomene* [Moments from the past and present of Szentendre. My pupilary memories], ed. Vasa Pavković (Pančevo: Zajednica književnika Pančeva, 1994); P. Sofrić, *Momenti iz prošlosti i sadašnjosti varoši Sentandreje. Moje đačke uspomene. Praznovanje Badnjeg večera i Božića u Sentandreji* [Moments from the past and present of Szentendre. My pupilary memories. Textbook Celebrating Christmas eve and Christmas day in Szentendre], ed. Vasa Pavković (Pančevo: Istorijski arhiv : Knjižara Prota Vasa, 2005).

[10] *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba*, ed. J. Mihailović i N. Ljubinković.

[11] N. Ljubinković, *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba*, 268.

[12] *Hilandar u knjigama. Hrestomatija i katalog izložbe* [Hilandar in literature. Textbook and the exhibition catalogue], ed. Nada Mirkov (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 1998), 155–156. In Sofrić's monograph these lines are located in pages 122-123 and 135-136.

[13] B. Melcer, *Manastir Hilandar. Bibliografija* [The Hilandar monastery. Bibliography] (Niš: Centar za crkvene studije, Kosovska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet, Ohajo: Arhivski centar za proučavanje slovenskog srednjovekovlja. Državni univerzitet Ohaja, Beograd: Zadužbina svetog manastira Hilandara, 2003), 75.

[14] D. Medaković, "Otkriće Hilandara" [Discovering Chilandar], in *Otkrivanje Hilandara* [Discovering Chilandar] (Novi Sad: Prometej, 2001), 20.

nineteenth century, when the Hilandar issue became more prominent to the Serbian public.[15] The popularization of Hilandar at that time was also advanced by the journal *Slava* from Niš, whose editor became Milivoj Bašić in 1896 and his associate, Pavle Sofrić.[16] The magazine was issued for a year, publishing supplements on Hilandar.[17] Both Milivoje Bašić and Pavle Sofrić went on a journey "to Mount Athos as well-informed experts on its issues and matters, which is why their travelogue is distinguished by beautiful and accurate observations. Owing to these virtues, they join a special group that, after World War One, would acquire its new, learned continuators, such as Dragutin Anastasijević, Žarko Tatić, Aleksandar Deroko and Vladimir Ćorović."[18]

While Milivoj Bašić's travelogue from 1925 and 1926[19] was reprinted entirely in 1992[20] and in excerpts in 1998,[21] Sofrić's travelogue was not. Its indistinction was also a result of the fact that it appeared in the nowadays little-accessible journal *Glas eparhije niške*, which only exists in the fund of the National Library of Serbia.

The character of Sofrić's travelogue *In Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim)* was commented by Dejan Medaković: "Among the educated people of Niš, it was only Professor Pavle Sofrić, a Szentendre native,

[15] D. Medaković, "Stara viđenja Hilandara" [Old views on Chilandar], *Letopis Matice srpske* 416, sv. 6 (1975): 816 (reprinted in: D. Medaković, *Otkrivanje Hilandara*, [Discovering Chilandar.] 58.)

[16] D. Medaković, "Otkriće Hilandara," 21.

[17] D. Medaković, "Stara viđenja Hilandara" [Old views on Chilandar], 816 (reprinted in: D. Medaković, *Otkrivanje Hilandara*, [Discovering Chilandar,] 58.)

[18] D. Medaković, "Otkriće Hilandara," 21.

[19] M. Bašić, "Sa puta u Sv. Goru" [On the Road to Mount Athos], 1. deo, *Zadužbina. Godišnjak "Fonda Stanojla i Draginje Petrovića*" 3 (1924–1925): 49–80; 2. deo: *Zadužbina Godišnjak "Fonda Stanojla i Draginje Petrovića*" 4 (1925–1926): 41–69.

[19] M. Bašić, "Sa puta u Svetu Goru" [On the Road to Mount Athos], *Gradina*, 6–7 i 8–9 (1992): 115–152.

[20] M. Bašić, "Sa puta u Sv. Goru" [On the Road to Mount Athos] 1. deo, *Zadužbina. Godišnjak "Fonda Stanojla i Draginje Petrovića*" 3 (1924–1925): 49–80; 2. deo: *Zadužbina Godišnjak "Fonda Stanojla i Draginje Petrovića*" 4 (1925–1926): 41–69.

[20] M. Bašić, "Sa puta u Svetu Goru" [On the Road to Mount Athos], *Gradina*, 6–7 i 8–9 (1992): 115–152.

[21] M. Bašić, "Sa puta u Sv. Goru" [On the Road to Mount Athos], 1. deo, *Zadužbina. Godišnjak "Fonda Stanojla i Draginje Petrovića*" 3 (1924–1925): 49–80; 2. deo: *Zadužbina Godišnjak "Fonda Stanojla i Draginje Petrovića*" 4 (1925–1926): 41–69.

[21] M. Bašić, "Sa puta u Svetu Goru" [On the Road to Mount Athos], *Gradina*, 6–7 i 8–9 (1992): 115–152.

who took off on a journey to Hilandar at the eve of World War One, and who published his beautiful travelogue in *Glas eparhije niške*, in 1910. Reading this text, one should not forget that it was written by a historian who, after a great intellectual effort, broke away from his homeland, preserving in himself a sort of lasting romantic fascination."[22]

Pavle Sofrić's travelogue *In Hilandar* was published as part of an extensive four-part section entitled *Four Supplements to Serbian Cultural History*:

I. About the educational work of Saint Sava among the Serbian people
II. My memories as a student of the life of a Serbian national school half a century ago in Szentendre, Hungary
III. Serbian national idea during the Nemanjić dynasty
IV. In Hilandar

The travelogue *In Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim*) is seventy pages long (in *Glas eparhije niške* from pp. 76 to 146) and is a valuable contribution to the study of this monastery. By reprinting the excerpts from this text, we pay tribute to Sofrić, a neglected, but a highly significant explorer of Serbian antiquities, while at the same time we deepen our knowledge of the travelogue genre, as well as the themes related to Mount Athos. Like other texts by Pavle Sofrić, this travelogue confirms the fact that his works "do not deserve to be handed over to oblivion."[23]

II. Pavle Sofrić, *In Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim)*

Historical notes on Hilandar (Chapter V, pp. 109-117)

> It is difficult to point to the origin of the name "Hilandar." N. Dučić says that the residents of Hilandar told him that "The History of the Hilandar," written by Saint Sava, burned in 1722, when the southeast side (mahala) of our Hilandar was destroyed. Had this history been preserved, there is no doubt that it would have provided a reliable answer to the question asked. Furthermore, all that has been said and is

[22] D. Medaković, "Stara viđenja Hilandara" [Old views on Chilandar], 817 (reprinted in: *Otkrivanje Hilandara* [Discovering Chilandar], 59).

[23] N. Ljubinković, *Glavnije bilje u narodnom verovanju i pevanju kod nas Srba*, 260.

curently being said to clarify this issue is, in our view, a fairy-tale. However, we will also make such unreliable speculations here.

Honourable Barski, who travelled across Mount Athos from 1723 to 1747 and visited our Hilandar, says that it got its name from the Greek words “chilia” (a thousand) and “andar” (fog), because it would always be saved by fog whenever bandits from the sea attacked it, since it is only half an hour away from the shore. During the attacks of bandits, Hilandar would clearly appear in the valley when they stood on the hill, but when they would come down from the hill, then the thick fog would always engulf it, which God would bring down by his eternal grace, and they would wander around, unable to reach it. As soon as they got away from it, it would appear clearly to them again. Thus, Hilandar did not suffer any harm, while other monasteries of Mount Athos were plundered – despite the fact that this interpretation seems far-fetched, we should not forget that such wandering amid Hilandar’s enemies is mentioned far later, namely at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it was attacked by the Catalans, which will be discussed more extensively later in the text. And now, in the absence of the necessary historical information, it is difficult to say whether such wandering in the fog had occurred before, or whether a later event was carried over to an earlier century, in order to find the necessary interpretation of the name Hilandar. Certainly, “Hilandar” is mentioned as early as the late twlfth century, in the charter of Emperor Alexios III Komnenos (1195-1203), which grants its construction. But, let us focus on other interpretations of Barski. He cites various opinions that link the name of Hilandar with the jaw of a lion, i.e. the Greek words “hili” (mouth) and “leontari” (lion). For, according to some, the old city, on whose foundations Hilandar was erected, had a statue of a lion with open jaws in front of its gates, resulting in the Greek name given to the city. According to others, the name comes from the fact that the surroundings of Hilandar are open to the sea like a lion’s jaw. And finally, according to others, because there is a stone island in front of the dock of Hilandar, on which ships crash and are torn apart by storms like in a lion's jaw. All these speculations show how unreliable they are. Let us look at more recent attempts in this direction. Porphyry Uspensky, archimandrite and archaeologist, says that in ancient times the Hellantirs, a conquering people from Asia, founded their own village here, and that this is the origin of the name of Hilandar. He later abandoned this interpretation, claiming that in the place of present-day Hilandar, Xerxes' Persians of the Hilenic detachment founded a temple to their god Tire, and hence the name "Hilandar." Therefore, we can freely say that we do not know anything about the origin of the name of Hilandar.

Rastko became a monk in 1192 in Gornji or Stari Rusik, and later received his cassock at the Vatopedi Monastery. His father Nemanja also came here in 1197, having previously become a monk in the Studenica Monastery, receiving the name Simeon. His wife, Ana, became a nun under the name of Anastasia and remained in the convent of Holy Virgin Mary on the Toplica River, as the elder of the monastery.

Rastko's entry to the ranks of monks marks a new direction in the life of the Serbs. Moreover, as his example was followed by his parents, this clearly shows that this direction was quietly prepared and energetically accepted. The task was to enlighten and organize the Serbs in the spirit of the Orthodox Church, so that they would, in light of their many strengths and fine qualities, attain their role, which was intended for them by their own virtue and the virtue of their geographical circumstances. In other words, the idea of Serbs as Orthodox Christians was to be revived and become respected members of the vast circle of European nations.

Domentijan, who in legendary form recounts the life of Saint Sava, says that the idea of building the Serbian Hilandar originated from a very pious old man who, among other councils, said that Saint Sava should serve his fatherland by erecting a Serbian monastery on Mount Athos (to be called a Serbian monastery). According to Domentijan, Vatopedi Monastery's "abbot, having consulted with many, said the opposite and that this was not from God." Despite the obvious legendary character of this moment, we still think that it is of real value. Namely, the medieval man attributed all his good thoughts to God, and therefore that pious old man in the role of the herald of God, to whom Saint Sava refers, could have been a completely visionary occurrence, behind which Saint Sava's and his father Nemanja's patriotic idea of erecting a Serbian monastery may have been concealed. The abbot of Vatopedi, with his brotherhood, sees through the legendary veil into the patriotic essence of the whole endeavour, and because, on the one side, as a loyal Byzantine, he does not consider it useful to raise the Serbian Hilandar, and on the other, because he is reluctant to dismiss such distinguished and generous monks as Sava and Nemanja, he announces with his brothers, that the advice of that pious old man "is not of God." Despite the gravity of the moment, its slight touch of humour cannot be denied.

Fortunately, the political situation at the time was such that the Vatopedi brothers could do nothing. The Crusades were in full swing, because of which Byzantium was in perpetual feverish condition. In addition, we should not forget about the dynastic connections, because the daughter of Emperor Alexios III Komnenos, Eudokia, was married to Sava's brother, Stefan, who would later become known as the First-Crowned.

Owing to these circumstances, Sava managed to get the permission in the Byzantine court to build a Serbian monastery on the ruins of the old Hilandar, which was dedicated to the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Furthermore, Emperor Alexios III subjected this monastery to the direct authority of Sava and Nemanja and all their offspring, and removed it from the authority of the protos of Karyes, who exercised supreme authority over all of Mount Athos. Thus, Hilandar became a Serbian autonomous monastery. Its construction, on the other hand, was accelerated by the fact that Nemanja became seriously ill, and wished eagerly to see Hilandar built. After it was constructed, Sava went to Constantinople to finally establish the legal relations of the new Hilandar. On this occasion, he received a valuable staff as a symbol of his seniority in the monastery and its autonomy. This staff is to this day kept in Hilandar next to the icon of Our Lady the "Abbess." He further received the vast lands of the former Žiga Monastery. At first there were ten monks, but soon their number increased to ninety, which prompted the writing of a typikon (constitution). This typikon was written by Sava himself in 1198. With this act of writing, Sava became for the legislation of Slavic monasteries on Mount Athos what had once St. Athanasius been for all the monasteries located there.

In one of our earlier articles, we outlined the ideas behind this typikon, and now we will outline its more important provisions, that is, the internal orders in Hilandar. A general hagiography seems mandatory. The first piece of monastic clothing is received from the monastery, after which each monk receives a payment to be used for obtaining garment and shoes. A separate ward must exist for the sick. The monks make confessions to their abbot or his proxy every day. Each monk can receive communion three times a week. The abbot is chosen from among ten to twenty of the oldest monks in the monastery without any outside influence. A well-known person is immediately admitted to monks, whereas a stranger is admitted only after the end of a six-month postulance. Gossiping is prohibited. For each monk, the following virtues are obligatory: piety, obedience, mutual love, harmony, and mercy. This typikon was read at the beginning of each month at a joint meal.*

In order to maintain the traditional ties with the Vatopedi Monastery, an ordinance was introduced, which is still

* It will not be unnecessary to state the symbolic meaning of the garment. Anterija (TN: long shirt with deep cleavage) means willful poverty; paraman (a four-sided canvas in black, on which the cross and other signs of the suffering of Christ were embroidered with red silk) means the mark of the martyrdom of Christ, which the monk is to adhere to; outer cassock means forgetting all the world's worries; leather belt means the death of the body; cassock means giving up one's free will; kamilavkion means the careful avoidance of all sin; parakamilavkion means peacefulness and obedience; footwear means certainty, to follow Christ; rosaries mean the spiritual sword: the cross in the hand means the shield of faith, and the wooden cross about the neck is reminiscent of Christ's death.

adhered to most consciously today. Furthermore, when the Vatopedi celebrates Holy Annunciation on 25 March, then the Hilandar brethren solemnly send their envoy, who is greeted with the highest honours because he is considered the elder of the monastery, thus he enjoys all the rights of a monastic elder. All this is done out of honour. Moreover, when Hilandar celebrates the Holy Annunciation of the Virgin on 21 November, a Vatopedi envoy is also welcomed and enjoys the same rights.

It was in Hilandar, thus established, that our Nemanja died on 13 February 1199 at the age of 86. For the merits gained in serving his people and for the miracles attributed to his holy relics, our church celebrates him on 13 February, as Saint Simeon, the Mhyrr-streamer.

Over the centuries, Hilandar shared joy and sorrow with the rest of Mount Athos. During the Latin Empire in Constantinople, it too suffered much from the pillaging crusaders. But its strife came to the fore at the beginning of the fourteenth century (1305-1308), when Catalan troops, composed of Frisians, Turks, Jas, Tatars, and Catalans, looted across Mount Athos. There were several thousand of them. Hilandar was also heavily stricken by them, and only by the courage and prudence of its abbot, who would later become an archbishop and historian, Danilo, that it was saved from ruin. We have a living description of these severe crises, and we will briefly provide it here. By the vivacity of the description, it is possible to assume that it came from an actual eyewitness, and perhaps even Danilo himself dictated it to his student who shared with him all the miseries of this siege.

The written account[24] mentions that the Catalans ruthlessly ravaged and carved. That is why many ordinary men with their wives and children took refuge in Hilandar. So, it had to provide food not only to its monks, but to many

[24] See: D. Učenik, "Žitije arhiepiskopa Danila Drugog" [The Hagiography of archbishop Danilo the Second], in *Danilovi nastavljači. Danilov Učenik, drugi nastavljači Danilovog zbornika*, [Successors of Danilo. Danilo's pupil and other successors of his anthology], ed. Gordon Mak Danijel (Prosveta i Srpska književna zadruga, 1989).

other faithful. With not enough food, children, women, and men started dying. The hungry behaved as if drunk, or lay down on the ground from exhaustion. Some ate grass, some chewed on their belts and shoes, while others ate things worse than that. Many went mad from thirst. The dead were not buried but were eaten by birds. Because of these grievous sufferings, many began to flee, but the robbers cut them down or sold them into slavery. However, Danilo fearlessly persisted in Hilandar for three years and three months. Some of the enemies stormed the gate, and some broke off the wall at the back to come inside. They showered them with arrows, their trumpets blasted, and their troops rushed. Danilo endured all this peacefully and patiently, although he was also sick of thirst and hunger. The food was so bad that it seemed the monks could no longer be able to hold on. This is why Danilo, leaving Hilandar in the hands of his trusted deputy, took Hilandar's archives and its valuables and went to Skopje to King Milutin was staying. In this journey, he was fortunate because the enemy could not harm him. The king received him cordially and thanked him for his extraordinary posture, and at the same time wanted to have Danilo stay with him. Danilo, however, left the archives and the valuables with King Milutin and headed back. On his journey back, he performed miracles with courage, composure, humanity and skill, and finally safely arrived in Hilandar. It was fortunate that he returned because the monks, tormented by a long famine, were about to surrender. He bought food and hired mercenaries, and once again prepared for a siege. Furthermore, the enemies, forcing their captives before them, retreated from Mount Athos, leaving it plundered and covered in corpses. An enemy troop moving past Hilandar was attacked by Hilandar's mercenaries, and, even though Danilo was firmly against this, they were either cut down or captured. On this occasion, they seized a great deal of treasure, and, the captives, despite being godless robbers, were freed, and their duke's valuable clothes and weapons were sent to the king as a sign of this victory.

The Catalans wanted revenge on Danilo for this defeat. So he, lest Hilandar continued to be in danger, took refuge in the monastery of Saint Panteleimon. However, by the treachery of two of Danilo's men, the enemy found out about this and hurried there to capture and kill him. However, owing to Danilo's composure, they failed, and, ashamed, they had to return. Danilo then went to the monastery of Xeropotamou, which was endowed with gifts by Sava, and then he returned to Hilandar. Finally, Milutin's and the Greek warriors defeated these bandits and, thus, the danger was finally eliminated.

In all likelihood, it seems that this grave crisis greatly affected the brethren of Hilandar, thus giving rise to the creation of the legends which will be presented later.

When Dušan the Mighty proclaimed our metropolitanate to be a patriarchate, and a kingdom the empire, our residents of Hilandar were put in a very difficult position towards the Greek monasteries on Mount Athos. They were displeased that Dušan adopted aggressive policies against their Byzantium, and our monks in Hilandar could not do nothing short but stand firmly with Dušan. This crisis was largely mitigated by his mighty hand, which ruled the immediate surroundings of Mount Athos. In the winter of 1647-8 with his wife Empress Jelena, he visited Hilandar, accompanied by his court and a detachment of 400 armoured men. On this occasion he bestowed Hilandar with many lands, so that, to this day, Hilandar is the richest monastery on Mount Athos. He gave the Rusik Monastery a valuable and significant relic – the head of St. Panteleimon, its protector. It is said that Dušan, during his pilgrimage, climbed to the top of Mount Athos and planted his flag there. This tradition has a beautiful meaning, and that is why we are recording it here.

After Dušan's death, turbulent circumstances arose in our empire. At that time, despot Jovan Uglješa ruled its easternmost region, and from 1366 onwards his rule also included the Halkidiki Peninsula and Mount Athos. He also served as Mount Athos' mighty guardian, especially protecting the Simonopetra Monastery. He is one of the most sympathetic statesmen of the Pre-Kosovo era. Because of the position of his country, he was well aware of the all-out danger of the Turks, and worked hard to contain it – hence his serious desire to reconcile the Byzantines with us Serbs, since we were in conflict due to the proclamation of the patriarchate and the empire. To this end he subjected his state in 1368 to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Following his example, Prince Lazar in 1375 completely reconciled the Patriarchate of Constantinople with our own.[25]

[...]

In Hilandar **(Chapter VI, pp 126-128)**

On the pillar next to the abbot's table there is the icon of the Holy Virgin with Three Hands, which Saint Sava brought from the Holy Land. She has a solemn expression on her face, and so does the little Jesus Christ held by the Virgin. The icon is made in silver and gold and is richly ornamented with the gifts of faithful souls.[**]

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[25] P. Sofrić, *In Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim)*, Chapter V "Historical notes on Hilandar," 109-117.

** This is the legend of this icon. – The Byzantine Emperor Leo III the Isaurian, an iconoclast (editor's note: Iconoclasm – a movement that emerged in the Byzantine Empire in the eighth and first half of the nineth century. It denounced the reverence of icons and forbade their possession. The struggle over the icons caused fierce internal conflicts in the Empire, which lasted for more than a hundred years. The cult of the reverence of icons was finally established in 843. John Damascus was one of the most important opponents of iconoclasm), ordered the provincial governor of Damascus to order that John Damascus' right hand be cut off, since he opposed the emperor's iconoclasm with all his might. The governor complied. And now John Damascus, asked the executioner for his severed right hand, and went with it before the icon of the Holy Virgin, and there he wholeheartedly prayed for her mercy. Upon this, he fell asleep, and when he woke up, he found that his severed hand grew back, and that only a red scar remained, showing the bloody executioner's deed. John gratefully added a third hand made of silver to the icon. From this time, icons are adorned with silver, gold and precious stones. Seeing this, the governor of Damascus repented and released John.
Then John went to the Holy Labra of Saint Sabbas and became a monk, bringing with him that miraculous icon that remained in the monastery after his death.
Saint Sabbas the Sanctified foretold on his deathbed in the 6th century that a saint of the royal lineage would come from Europe to enlighten his people. And when he comes, let

Saint Sava Nemanjić travelled to the Holy Land in the first half of the 13th century, where he visited the Holy Labra of Saint Sabbas of Jerusalem, and prayed before the icon of the Nursing Virgin Mary and the Holy Virgin with Three Hands, which were placed one opposite the other, next to the staff of Saint Sabbas the Sanctified. Suddenly, the staff fell before our Sava, and when the abbot's guard learned of this, he asked Sava what his name was, where he came from and what his lineage was. Our Sava answered everything and then the abbot said that the prophecy of Saint Sabbas of Jerusalem was fulfilled, and following Saint Sabbas' directions, the abbot handed Sava both icons and the staff.

Upon his return home, Saint Sava Nemanjić gave the Holy Virgin with Three Hands to Hilandar, and the Nursing Virgin Mary and the staff to Karyes, where they are still kept.

Two legends are told about the fate of the Holy Virgin with Three Hands, which we will present here. According to one, it was taken to Serbia, only to be miraculously returned on a mule to its old place in Hilandar. According to the other legend, when Saint Sava went back to Serbia taking with him the relics of Saint Simeon the Mhyrr-streamer, in order to reconcile his brothers, he also brought along the Holy Virgin with Three Hands, as a gift to his brother Stefan, who later became the First-Crowned king of Serbia. This icon was kept in the house of the Nemanjić dynasty from that time until the last of the Nemanjićs. And when the line went extinct, then one night the icon appeared miraculously before the gates of Hilandar, in the spot where the clock tower now stands, built to commemorate this mysterious incident.

The abbot of Hilandar, rising early to go to midnight service, saw the light of such intensity through the window, as if the sun itself had shone. As he went out there with the monks, he found the Holy Virgin with Three Hands. Then, in a solemn lity, they brought it to the church of Hilandar and placed it in the top spot above the altar. However,

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him be handed Saint Sabbas' staff and the miraculous icon of Virgin Mary Mlekopitateljnica (the Nursing Virgin Mary). The icon is given this name as it depicts Virgin Mary breastfeeding baby Christ.

tomorrow they found it on the abbot's desk, and from there, with prayer and chanting, they returned it to the altar again. Then the abbot took the keys of the church, lest the icon be disturbed by anyone. But the Holy Virgin with Three Hands came to him in a dream, saying, "I did not come here so that you could guard me; it is I who will guard you!". Upon this, the abbot went with all the monks to the church and found the icon again on the abbot's desk. Then everyone bowed down before it and left it on the pillar next to the abbot's desk, where it stands to this day. – Twelve candles are lit before it. When the monks set out to serve the divine service, they say penance before it, kiss it and pray for blessings, but they do not do so before the abbot or archimandrite of the monastery, as the Hilandar typikon dictates. Because of this role, this icon is also referred to as "the Holy Virgin Abbess".

With all that in mind, it seems that the Holy Virgin with Three Hands was, during the time of the Nemanjić dynasty, considered the patron saint of their house, and hence her prominent role in the beliefs of our people.[26]

III. Milorad Pavić and Pavle Sofrić

It is interesting that there is compatibility between Sofrić's travelogue *In Hilandar* and some descriptions given by Milorad Pavić. These include the details related to the name of the Monastery of Hilandar, as well as the story of the icon of the Holy Virgin with Three Hands. Judging by this congruence, Sofrić's travelogue could have served as a source for Pavić's story *The Sneezing Icon* [*Ikona koja kija*], although we should also consider the possibility that they both used some other source or a Mount Athos legend.

Pavić's story *The Sneezing Icon* tells of a historical event from the early fourteenth century, when Catalan mercenaries besieged Mount Athos. One of them, Don Jorge de Rueda el Sabio, was in a detachment that split in two, both units striking Hilandar simultaneously, from the south and the north:

"It was morning, heavy was the fog, so frequent in these parts that the monastery was named by the merging of the Greek words (χιλιαν)

[26] P. Sofrić, *In Hilandar (The Travelogue of a Pilgrim)*, Chapter VI, 126-128.

and (δάριον), meaning a thousand fogs. The soldiers could not discern anything in front of them, so the group with el Sabio went past the monastery on the one side and struck the Catalans on the other side of the fortifications. Assuming they came upon the monks, they killed each other and all perished save the three, who surrendered to the Hilandars and then became monks themselves."[27]

Pavić recounts the fate of the Hilandar's famous miraculous icon, the Holy Virgin with Three Hands, in the part of the story entitled *The Migrations of the Icon "Trojeručica."*

"In the clashes with the iconoclasts, in 726, the Greek poet John Damascus, being an icon worshiper, slighted Emperor Leo III, the protector of this heresy. By the imperial order of the Caliph of the city of Damascus, in which John was in high office, he ordered the poet's right hand to be cut off and exposed at the place in the town where the people gather most in order to invoke caution and admonition. When this was done, Damascus' friends, who were also close to the Caliph, stole the hand from the square and returned it to the poet. Damascus closed himself off in his room that night and, placing hand against hand, clasped his hands before the icon of the Virgin and fell asleep in prayer. When he awoke, he saw that his hand had grown back in his sleep and only a red stripe was showing the spot where it had been cut off. Out of gratitude, the poet then had a silver hand made and placed it on Virgin Mary's icon, and brought the icon with him to Palestine, where he settled down at the Holy Labra of Saint Sabbas the Sanctified at Jerusalem and spend the rest of his life there. After the poet's death, the icon remained in the monastery, right next to the miraculous icon of the Nursing Virgin Mary, which Saint Sabbas had bequeathed, on the occasion of establishing the monastery in the 6th century, to the foreigner from the royal lineage who, after his death, came from Europe to visit Palestine bearing his name.

When, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Serbian poet and prince Sava Nemanjić visited the holy places for the first time, he also came to the Holy Labra of Saint Sabbas the Sanctified. He entered the church to pray before the icon of the Holy Virgin with Three Hands, and at that moment the icon fell from its place in front of the unknown visitor from Serbia. Surprised by this, the guard spread the news of this

[27] M. Pavić, "Ikona koja kija" [The Sneezing Icon], in *Srpske priče* [Serbian tales], ed. R. Livada (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1996), 14.

omen, and, when they learned from Sava that he is a royal, that he bore the name Sava (TN: Serbian form of the Greek Sabbas) and that he came from Europe, the abbot and brothers gave him both icons as a gift, thus fulfilling the wish of the founder of the monastery, who predicted the visit of the Serbian poet. Upon his return from Palestine to Mount Athos, Saint Sava bequeathed the Nursing Virgin Mary to his hermitage Karyes, and the icon of the Holy Virgin with Three Hands to Hilandar. But the Holy Virgin with Three Hands did not stay long in its new home. When he went from Mount Athos to Serbia in 1208 to reconcile his brothers who were fighting over the Serbian throne, apart from the relics of his father Nemanja, Saint Sava also brought along the icon of Trojeručica. He left it in the court of his brother, King Stefan the First-Crowned, entrusting him to keep it in the ruler's house from generation to generation for as long as the Serbian state existed. And so it was. One night in 1389, the Abbot of Hilandar, awaking at the usual time to go to the great church to midnight service, suddenly saw through the cell window a light as bright as the sun on the road leading from the sea in the north in front of Hilandar, a few minutes away from the monastery. He quickly urged the monks to go and see what it was. On the ground, on top of the road leading from the sea to Hilandar, there was a donkey, alone and dusty, with the icon of the Trojeručica. From this, the terrified monks knew that the Serbian army had lost the battle with the Turks in Kosovo, that the Serbian state had fallen to ruin, that the royal court had been destroyed and that the icon had moved back. Then they brought their garments, crosses, and censers, and with chanting and reading, took the icon to the congregational church and laid it on top of the altar. The next day, much to their wonder, they found it on the abbot's desk by the dining room. Not knowing how it got there, they returned it to the altar with offerings and prayers, and the abbot locked the church and took the key with him. But the Trojeručica came to the abbot in his sleep that night, saying, 'I did not come here so that you could guard me; it is I who will guard you!'"[28]

[28] Milorad Pavić, "Ikona koja kija," ["The Sneezin Icon"] 16–18.

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The Judiciary of the Principality of Serbia in Foreign Travel Memoirs (1825–1865)

Uroš Stanković[1]

I. Introduction

In the nineteenth century, Serbia was an exotic destination attracting many travelers from various countries. The travelers gathered information on many aspects of the Serbian society, including the justice system of the young principality. Although the large number of foreigners who travelled around Serbia documented the Serbian judiciary, there is currently no scientific paper has been dedicated to this topic. Therefore, this paper gathers the information on Serbian judiciary as presented by the nineteenth century travel writers. Taking into account that the history of the Serbian judiciary of the time can be divided in two periods (from 1825 to 1838; and from 1838 to 1865), this paper will be divided in two sections.

II. From the Instruction issued to District Courts (1825) to the Turkish Constitution (1838)

The first legal act regulating the organization, jurisdiction, and hierarchy of the courts in the Principality of Serbia was introduced in 1825 under the name of *Instruction Issued to District Courts* (Nastavlenija izdata magistratima). The Instruction stipulated that the first-instance court in civil matters should depend on the residence of the litigants. Should they come from the same village, the village prefect (*kmet*) was to adjudicate the litigation in first instance. In case of parties living in different villages, the county prefect (*knežinski knez*) served as a first-instance court. The county prefect was also second-instance court for lawsuits adjudicated by the kmet in the first instance. The judgments of the county prefects were subject to appeal to nahia courts. If a party was discontent with the

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judgment ruled, they could appeal to the National Court (*Sud narodni*), which also served as a first-instance court for important and dubious litigations. In criminal matters, the nahia courts had the jurisdiction to adjudicate crimes punishable with less than 50 cane strokes, whereas the National Court had the competence to judge offences for which harsher punishments were deemed.[2]

A prominent Serbian intellectual from Austria – the writer and dramatist Joakim Vujić (1772–1847), states that the kmet served as the first-instance court, whereas another Serbian literate from the Habsburg Monarchy, Georgije Magarašević (1793–1830), claimed that village prefects were the court of first instance in "important cases." The letter of the law, presented in the introductory paragraph of this section, completely contradicts Magarašević's statement and partially corroborates Vujić's claim. The renowned playwright somewhat contradictorily presents the kmet's subject-matter jurisdiction. At one point of his travel memoir, the author claims that the kmet figured as judicial authority in civil lawsuits exclusively; nonetheless, when referring to the village prefect's jurisdiction in particular Vujić quotes petty thefts and violence as the offences within the kmet's competence. The Instruction is silent about the kmet's role in criminal cases; nevertheless, Vujić's assertion contradicts Vuk Karadžić's note that the village prefect had the authority to punish "particularly restless people and vagabonds going from cauldron to cauldron" with up to 25 cane strokes. In 1829, an instruction to county and nahia prefects explicitly prescribed that kmets would be authorized to punish offenders with maximum 25 batons. In terms of civil matters, the kmet was competent in disputes regarding inheritance, the division of property, estate borders and debts, as Vujić highlights.[3] According to the same author, the chief kmet fulfilled his judicial duty along with two other subordinate kmets, forming a village court. This statement matches the recordings made by Vujić's bitter enemy Vuk Karadžić. Regarding the instance before which the village court's verdicts were appealable, Vujić's lines are confusing.

[2] See T. Živanović, *Zakonski izvori krivičnog prava Srbije i istorijski razvoj njegov i njenog krivičnog pravosuđa od 1804. do 1865* [Legal sources of criminal law of Serbia and its historical development and the development of its criminal justice from 1804 to 1865] (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1967), 61–62.

[3] J. Vujić, *Putešestvije po Serbiji* [Travel around Serbia] II (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1902), 188.

Namely, the travel writer says that the judgments of kmets were appealed to the nahia prefect, but then next instance judicial body would be the nahia prefect again! Such incongruence is undoubtedly an error on the author's part and it may be assumed that the word ''county'' should have stood instead of ''nahia'' in the first case. A version amended in this fashion appears in Magarašević's work and it is partly sustainable.[4]

The readers should be thankful to Vujić for his depiction of the proceedings before the county prefect. The author recounts that Toma Vučić Perišić, the county prefect of Gruža, warned two opposing parties before the trial that the losing litigant would be obliged to pay 100 groschens and undergo 50 cane strokes. The prefect explained to Vujić that the warning had actually been an indirect way to make the parties reconcile.[5]

According to Vujić's claim, nahia prefects were third-instance courts. The reference to nahia prefects as judges was indeed made in the Instruction, but it is somewhat unclear. To be more specific, the article 4 of the above-mentioned regulation says that the nahia courts would have jurisdiction over lawsuits between parties coming from different counties or even different nahias whether or not they brought their dispute before the nahia prefect previously. Based on this formulation, one may draw the conclusion that nahia prefects were facultative first-instance tribunals for litigants living in different counties or nahias.[6]

Vujić stated it had been up to the parties to bring their witnesses to the nahia prefect. The prefect, says the travel writer, tended to reconcile litigants with no duress. His judgments were subject to appeal before the nahia court.[7]

The notorious Austro-Hungarian archaeologist and traveler Felix Kanitz (1829–1904) claims that the "prefect" (*načelnik*) was the first instance court to try for grave crimes, yet does not specify which prefect

[4] V. Karadžić, *Miloš Obrenović, knjaz Serbiji; Ili građa za srpsku istoriju našega vremena* [Miloš Obrenović, the Prince of Serbia; Or the Material for the Serbian History of Our Time] (Budim: Štamparija kralj. Univers. Peštanskoga, 1828); J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* II, 191, 202, 203; B. Peruničić, *Beogradski sud 1819–1839* [Belgrade Court 1819–1839] (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1964), 38; D. O. pl. Pirh, *Putovanje po Srbiji u godini 1829* [Travel around Serbia in the year 1829], Đ. Magarašević, *Putovanje po Srbiji u 1827. godini* [Travel around Serbia in the year 1827] (Beograd: Prosveta, 1983), 286.

[5] J. Vujić, *Putešetvije* II, 190–191.

[6] J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* II, 199; T. Živanović, *Zakonski izvori*, 62.

[7] J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* II, 189.

would that have been. Whatever the answer was, it would be incorrect, considering that the article 11 clearly specified that the National Court would have jurisdiction over conducting trials for crimes punishable with 50 cane strokes in the first instance.[8]

Magaraševič claims correctly to some extent that nahia courts were third-instance courts. Vujić claimed there had been 12 nahia courts, as Serbia was composed of the same number of nahias. However, up to 1828 when Vujić's travel memoir was published, 10 nahia courts had been founded. On the other hand, Vujić's statement that those courts were made up of two prefects and a scribe was true. Vujić stated that nahia courts were competent in cases of lesser importance, particularly in criminal matters; the latter corresponds to the truth, at least according to the Instruction.[9]

The National Court got a fair amount of space in travel memoirs. The travelers correctly state that the court consisted of 12 judges. French poet and politician Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869) correctly informed his readers that the court had been seated in Kragujevac and that its judges were appointed by Prince Miloš. As for its place in the judicial system, Magaraševič and Vujić agree it was competent to adjudicate on the appeals on nahia courts' verdicts in civil cases, which is true. As for criminal cases, travel writers provide different accounts. Vujić correctly claimed that the National Court served as the first instance tribunal in criminal cases of higher importance, while Kanitz mistook the institution for a second-instance court in criminal trials conducted for grave crimes. According to Vujić, murder was a crime falling solely within the jurisdiction of the National Court, while Magaraševič put forward it was the only court instance other than Prince Miloš authorized to impose the death penalty, which has been verified by a recent research.[10]

[8] F. Kanitz, *Serbien. Historisch-etnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859–1868* [Serbia. Historical and Ethnographic Travel Studies from the Years 1859–1868] (Leipzig: Verlagsbuchhandlung von Hermann Fries, 1868), 634.

[9] J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* I, 45, 51, 172, 200; *Putešestvije* II, 98, 149, 193, 201, 202; T. Živanović, *Zakonski izvori*, 62; Đ. Magaraševič, *Putovanje*, 286; M. M. Popović, "Organizacija sudstva u Srbiji 1815–1838," *Rasinski anali* 10 (2012): 43–44.

[10] O. v. Pirch, *Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst* 1829 [Travel to Serbia in Late Autumn 1829] I (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1830), 67; A. de Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient 1832–1833* (Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1843), 335–336; Kanitz, *Serbien*, 634; J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* I, 172; *Putešestvije* II, 22, 149, 193; Đ. Magaraševič, *Putovanje*, 286; D. Lučić, *Sud*

The depiction of a murder trial can be found in Vujić's travel memoir. The defendant would first be interrogated by the National Court's secretary, in the presence of all judges, whereby allegedly no torture was inflicted. However, it seems opposite to the spirit of the time – according to D. Lučić's findings, a document containing the first mention of torture before the National Court dates from 1834. The defendant was allowed to call his witnesses. If there were not any, or if the defense witnesses were insignificant and not fully credible, or if the defendant confessed, he/she would be brought before the court in three days anew. The secretary would then examine the defendant, again with judges being present, whether he/she confesses to the crime and whether his/her previous confession had been given as a result of fear or confusion. If the defendant repeats the confession, he/she would be asked for a confession for the third and the last time. If the answer was maintained positive, the death penalty would be pronounced.[11]

Two of the travel writers – Magarašević and prematurely deceased Prussian military officer Otto Dubislav von Pirch (1799–1832) point out that besides its judicial role, the National Court was tasked with executing duties of other nature. Pirch claims drafting law codes and their revision were among those tasks, which is in part surely erroneous, as draft codes were only being prepared in the building of National Court. The correctness of the other part of Pirch's claim cannot be completely excluded – it is almost certain that the drafts were discussed among some groups of dignitaries, yet it is still unknown who these "fancy Serbian persons" were.[12]

Magarašević was being idealistic, to put it mildly, when he said that the National Court was counseling with prince Miloš about "important subjects," instancing government, judiciary, and general safety. National

opštenarodni srpski [All-People Serbian Court] (master thesis defended at the Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, 2015).

11 J. Vujić, *Putešetvije* II, 194; D. Lučić, *Sud opštenarodni*, 40.

12 O. v. Pirch, *Reise*, 109; M. M. Chopin, A. Ubicini, *Provinces danubiennes et roumaines* (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1856), 397; A. S. Jovanović, "Rad na 'toržestvenim zakonima'" [Work on Solemn Laws], *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke* 8:4 (1909): 259; D. Nikolić, "Rad na građanskom zakoniku u Srbiji 1829–1835. godine" [Work on Civil Code in Serbia 1829–1835], in *Sto pedeset godina od donošenja Srpskog građanskog zakonika (1844–1994)* [Hundred and Fifty Years from the Introduction of the Serbian Civil Code 1844–1994], ed. Miodrag Jovičić (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1996], 88.

Court in point of fact performed duties in those fields, but with a far more modest role than the travel writer noted.[13]

Obviously, the most interesting "court instance," at least judging by the space given in travel memoirs, was Prince Miloš himself. Vujić and Magarašević claim the ruler was the supreme court. *Ius gladii* (Latin: the right of the sword), the right to sentence perpetrators to death, belonged to the prince. Vujić says Miloš was in specific exercising its right when sentencing a Serb who murdered a Turk. While Kanitz says prince Miloš was sole jurisdiction having right to pronounce the death penalty, Magarašević made the allegation that the only instance authorized to administer capital punishment other than the ruler was his brother Jevrem. The latter indeed handed out the death penalty on a Sima Mihailović from Vlaška in 1826; nevertheless, his letter informing prince Miloš of the fact was excusing, which arouses doubt as to Magarašević's statement. Judicial practice of the National Court from 1825 and 1826 shows that institution was passing death sentences, which were submitted to Prince Miloš for approval.[14]Two travel writers from a later period, a French archeologist Georges Perrot (1832–1914) and an Irish traveler, James Creagh, left some lines on Prince Miloš's judgments being a mockery of justice. The Frenchman made a note on Miloš's appalling judgment in a marital dispute – two couples came to the ruler simultaneously complaining about their marital relations, and the prince simply ordered husbands to switch wives. This record resembles the examples of the Prince's travesty in adjudicating in marital matters provided by Vuk Karadžić. Creagh took over the prince's judgments appearing in the work of the famous French slavist Cyprien Robert (1807 – about 1865) *The Slavs of Turkey* (*Les Slaves de Turquie*). One of them was an instance of the ruler's inconsistency – Miloš first pardoned the kidnapper of a woman, but after seeing her beauty, quashed his own verdict and executed the death penalty by smashing the offender's head with an axe. Miloš's lack of consistency in general, as well as in exercising judicial authority, was also noted by some other authors, so it is not that unlikely that the case in question really took place. The second example was a story of Miloš eventually killing a man accused of theft after

[13] M. Gavrilović, *Miloš Obrenović* II (Beograd: Nova štamparija "Davidović," 1909), 338; Đ. Magarašević, *Putovanje*, 286; D. Lučić, *Sud opštenarodni*, 24–25.

[14] F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 634; J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* II, 125, 201; M. Gavrilović, *Miloš*, 635; D. Lučić, *Sud opštenarodni*, 54, 61.

unsuccessful attempts to obtain confession by means of torture. Some events prove the prince was not particularly restrained when it came to the use of torture. Creagh's allegation that Miloš punished people who would wake him up in the course of afternoon repose with foot-whipping is obviously the author's error stemming from two different accounts by Robert: one, that the prince was not to be disturbed during his siesta, and two, that the riders not dismounting from a horse in front of Miloš's living quarter (*konak*) were subjected to caning.[15]

Vujić had high praise for the Serbian court system of the time. Fascinated with Toma Vučić Perišić's "court procedure," the playwright exaltedly wrote that Serbian judges were much nobler than their colleagues in enlightened countries, because they did not take bribes. Again, being in contradiction with his previous statements, Vujić says that the judge who possibly dared to accept a bribe, would be ousted by Prince Miloš on the spot and infamed, which does not speak on the nobility of Serbian judges, but their fear of punishment. Notwithstanding Vujić's self-opposed statements, one notices that the identical sanction against corrupted judges can be found in the article 12 of the Instruction to County and Nahia Prefects (*Nastavlenija knežinskim I nahijskim knezovima*, 1829). Miloš was, of course, punishing corrupt judges, but according to V. Petrić, an expert in the field, not too harshly.[16]

The mid 1830s were a period of significant changes in the Serbian court system. In 1835, district (former nahia) courts were turned into magistrates (*ispravničestva*), bodies figuring as both police and judicial authority, and the National Court was abolished and replaced by the State Council. Two years later, the "inter-instance" between magistrates and the National Court named the Great Court (*Veliki sud*), was founded. Historical sources contain mentions of peace courts, consisting of county

[15] C. Robert, *Les Slaves the Turquie* [The Slavs of Turkey] I (Paris: J. Passard, Jules Labitte, 1844), 282–284; G. Perrot, "Le prince Michel Obrenovitch et le avenément du prince Milan souvenirs d'un voyage en Serbie," *Revue de deux mondes* 82 (1869): 131; J. Creagh, *Over the Borders of Christendom and Eslamiah* I (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1876), 297–298; V. Karadžić, *Istorijski spisi* [Historical Manuscripts] (Beograd: Prosveta–Nolit, 1987), 165, 171–172, 176–177; D. Lučić, *Sud opštenarodni*, 39–40.

[16] J. Vujić, *Putešestvije* II, 191; B. Peruničić, *Belgrade Court*, 38; V. Petrić, "Krivična dela protiv vlasti i krivična dela zloupotrebe dužnosti u Srbiji 1815–1839. godine" [The Crimes against Government and the Crimes of Abuse of Power in Serbia 1815–1839], *Istorijski glasnik* 4 (1966): 89.

prefect and two kmets, being the court instance before the parties were obliged to appear previous to addressing to the magistrate.[17]

The information on the Serbian judiciary from 1835 to 1838 is provided by Kanitz and renowned French geologist Ami Boué (1794–1881). The latter visited the Balkans in 1836 and 1838 and wrote itineraries of his travels, printed in 1854. Peace courts, in Boué's words, existed in county seats, which would suggest there was one peace court per county. This idea had appeared in the mid-1830s, but was not turned into reality. Kanitz states in error that crimes punishable up to 80 cane strokes or a three-year prison sentence were to be tried in first instance by "the prefect"[18] whose negation can be seen in the legal act called Duties of Military Commanders, Magistrates and County Prefects (*Dužnosti vojeni komandanta, ispravničestva, srezski starješina*, 1836), stipulating that magistrates would try crimes carrying a sentence over than 50 cane strokes (art. 7 and 10). The second-instance court was named "superior" by Boué, who claimed its name in Serbian was simply "soud" and its seats were in the districts' seats. Kanitz's statement on magistrates is also false. The author claims they had the role of second-instance courts for criminal cases adjudicated by the prefect in first instance. In contrast to Kanitz, the Duties inform magistrates were first-instance court for trying crimes to be punished with 25 to 50 cane strokes. The Court of Appeal was the highest-instance court, seated in Belgrade – says Boué. Kanitz overlooked the Great Court and falsely stated that the Governing Council[19] was the final instance in criminal cases conducted for petty crimes.[20]

Kanitz sets forth several more general information on the Serbian judiciary of the time. The author reveals that the court procedure was summary, without the presence of lawyers. If Kanitz is to be believed,

[17] R. Ljušić, *Kneževina Srbija (1830–1839)* [The Principality of Serbia] (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2004), 251, 253.
[18] The county prefect formed a peace court along with two kmets. Although they are explicitly called a "peace court" when judging civil cases only, the same organization as a lowest-instance court appeared in criminal cases as well. See *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjažestvu Srbiji* [Collection of Laws and Regulations in the Principality of Serbia] (henceforth: *Zbornik zakona*) 30 (1877): 135–137.
[19] State Council was renamed to Governing Council in July 1835.
[20] A. Boué, *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe* I (Vienne: W. Braumüller, Libraire de l'Academie imperial des sciences, 1854), 10; Kanitz, *Serbien*, 634; *Zbornik zakona* 30 (1877): 136–137, 141; R. Ljušić, *Kneževina Srbija*, 253.

both civil and criminal trials were pretty expeditious, lasting for no more than two months. Quite the opposite, court fees were fairly high, reaching 2.5 groschens in trials on inheritance matters of the lowest class.[21]

III. From the Turkish Constitution (1838) to the Organization of Courts Act (1865)

The so-called Turkish Constitution, introduced in 1838 and owing its name to the form of sultan's hatti-i shariff, regulated the basics of the new court organization in Serbia. The first instance tribunals were to be peace courts, authorized to pronounce final judgments in litigations valued up to 100 groschens and offences carrying up to 3 days of prison or 10 cane strokes. All other civil and criminal cases would be tried by district courts in the first instance. The Court of Appeal had the jurisdiction to deliberate on the verdicts of district courts. For a certain period of time, the Ministry of Justice was empowered to annul civil judgments, and the prince had the same authority when it came to criminal verdicts. The organization and jurisdiction of courts were first elaborated in 1839 and 1840, then in 1846, when new acts on the organization of district courts and the Court of Appeal were passed, and the Supreme Court was established. From 1850 onwards, misdemeanors were adjudicated by police courts. In the year 1860, the Supreme Court was dissolved, which consequently rendered the Court of Appeal the highest-instance judicial institution. That was the last alteration of the judicial system in Serbia before the reform of 1865.[22]

The travelers are not unanimous regarding the number of peace courts. French historian and journalist Abdolomyne Ubicini (1818–1884) informed that the peace courts existed in a number almost equal to that of municipalities; on the contrary, German geographer Anton von Etzel (1821–1870) stated there had been a peace court in every municipality. Article 1 of the *Temporary Organization and Scope of Peace Courts* (Privremeno

[21] F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 634.

[22] See S. Šarkić, D. Popović, D. Nikolić, *Istorija srpskog pravosuđa (XII–XX vek)* [History of Serbian Judiciary 12th – 19th Century] (Beograd: Ministarstvo pravde Republike Srbije, 1997), 56; I. Krstić Mistridželović, "Donošenje i značaj Policijske uredbe iz 1850. godine" [Passing and Significance of Police Directive Act], *Bezbednost* 1–2 (2009): 419, 423–425; M. M. Popović, *Sudstvo u kneževini Srbiji (1838–1869) organizacija i osnove sudskog postupka* (Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, 2016), 39 and forth.

ustrojenije, i krug dejateljnosti primiritelnih sudova, 1839) speaks in support of Etzel.[23]

Regarding the organization of peace courts, travel writers are unanimous – the institution was made up of a president and two judges. The validity of their statement is confirmed by article 2 of Temporary Organization. On the contrary, the claim of Ernst Anton Quitzmann (1809–1879), a German doctor and medical historian, that every year one of the three judges would be replaced, could not be verified. English diplomat and traveler Andrew Archibald Paton (1811–1874) claimed that peace courts consisted of elderly people from villages. The required qualities of peace judges according to the Temporary Organization (art. 3) were honesty, conscientiousness, impartiality, incorruptibility, sharp-mindedness, reasonability and apprehensiveness.[24] In Serbian society of the time, elderliness was considered a synonym for wisdom and highly valued; however, the research on the presence of elderly people in peace courts would practically be an impossible mission.

Reverend William Denton (1815–1888), an Anglican priest who travelled around Serbia in the spring of 1862, made an incomplete record that peace courts had the jurisdiction in civil cases valued up to 200 piasters, which was the equivalent of 100 groschens. There was an indirect suggestion by Kanitz that such a small jurisdiction of peace courts had been the main reason for the over-burdening of district courts.[25]

In the passages of travel memoirs, one finds few notes on trials before the peace courts. From 1850 forth, says Kanitz, the number of cases tried by peace courts was ever more increasing. Etzel says that the procedure before peace courts was oral and summary, which fully coincides with article 32 of the Turkish Constitution. The form of procedure stayed

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[23] *Zbornik zakona* I (1840): 236; A. v. Etzel, "Skizzen aus Serbien" [Sketches from Serbia], *Das Ausland* Nr 156 (1851), 621; A. Ubicini, "Le pays serbe et la Principauté de Serbie souvenirs de voyage" [Serbian Land and The Principality of Serbia Memories from the Travel], *Revue de deux mondes* vol. 51, No 2 (1864): 442.

[24] *Zbornik zakona* I: 236. A. A. Paton, *Servia the Youngest Member of the European Family: or a Residence in Belgrade and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, During the Years 1843 and 1844* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1845), 87; E. A. Quitzmann, *Reisebriefe aus Ungarn, dem Banat, Siebenbürgen, den Donaufürstenthümern, der Europäischen Türkei und Griechenland* (Stuttgart: J. B. Müllersverlagsbuchhandlung, 1850), 125.

[25] W. Denton, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), 247; F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 125.

unchanged after the introduction of the Civil Procedure Code from 1860, which did not remain unnoticed by Denton. The judgments of peace courts, as claimed by Paton, were seldom submitted to district courts as next-instance tribunal. This sentence seems little surprising, though the report of the Serbian Ministry of Justice to the State Council for 1844 to 1847 states that very few lawsuits come to an end before peace courts.[26]

Paton noted that litigations before peace courts brought no costs to litigants. The article 9 of the Temporary Organization provides that peace courts would be charging their judgments with a fee of 2 paras per groschen and serves as a disproof of the claim.[27]

In Kanitz's travel memoir, an attentive observer may catch sight of puzzling passages on county prefects being a judicial authority of that period. The author mentions that county prefects were entitled to annul judgments of the peace courts; both civil procedure codes from 1853 and 1860 uphold the statement. Yet Kanitz provides further data, which cannot be traced in the court legislature of the time and ought to be subject of future research. County prefects, allegedly, decided on the verdicts of peace courts together with two jurors they had selected on their own.[28] Kanitz's travel memoir even describes the situation of the ill-famed Koznik (Kruševac district) county prefect Ilija Antonijević who wanted to rest rather than judge, and hence left a dispute over estate borders to his scribe to adjudge.[29]

Quitzmann mistakenly named district courts *Appelationsgericht* (court of appeal), adding there was one of them in every district, which was the stipulation of the first article of the *Organization of District Courts*

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[26] *Zbornik zakona* I: 8, 238; A. A. Paton, *Servia*, 87; A. v. Etzel, *Skizzen*, 621; W. Denton, *Servia*, 247; F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 125, 241–242; M. M. Popović, "Izveštaji Ministarstva pravde i statistika sudstva za period 1844–1847. godine" [Reports of the Ministry of Justice and the Statistics of Judiciary for the Period between 1844 and 1847], *Mešovita građa* 35 (2014): 113.

[27] Paton, *Servia*, 87; *Zbornik zakona* I: 238.

[28] Reintroduction of county peace courts was requested in the March Assembly (1840); the authorities answered the regulation on the topic was being prepared; nonetheless it did not see the light of day. See R. Ljušić, *Prvo namesništvo (1839–1840)* [The First Regency 1839–1840] (Beograd: Izdavačko preduzeće Prosveta d.d., 1995), 160–161.

[29] *Zakonik o sudejskom postupku u parnicama građanskim za Knjažestvo Serbiju* [The Code on Court Procedure in Civil Lawsuits for the Principality of Serbia] (Beograd: Pravitelstvena knjigopečatnja, 1853], 5; *Zakonik o postupku sudejskom u građanskim parnicama za Knjažestvo Srbiju* [translation sounds the same as in previous reference] (Beograd: Praviteljstvena pečatnja, 1860), 3; Kanitz, *Serbien*, 125, 241–242.

(Ustrojenije sudova okružni, 1840). As claimed by Ubicini, district courts were seated in the seats of districts. No such provision can be traced in the legislation of the time, but literature provides corroboration of Ubicini's statement. District courts, says Etzel, were formed of a president and three other judges, one of which was reportedly replaced every year, and they were appointed among the residents of a district. These allegations are disproved by the so-called conduct lists (*konduit liste*) of judges submitted to the State Council. Contrarily, Etzel's claim that minimum age for the duty of district judge was 30 years has the stronghold in the Organization of District Courts (art. 3).[30]

According to the same author, district courts' competence stretched over civil, criminal, and commercial matters. Etzel proves himself reliable on this point, as this is exactly what the article 35 of the Turkish Constitution specified. The jurisdiction of district courts, Denton claimed, had no limitation in terms of the value of lawsuits, as court procedure was oral. Apart from this particular piece of information, the travelers were not too generous in putting forward the data on the procedure of district courts. Two famous British travelers to the Balkans, Georgina Muir Mackenzie (1833–1874) and Pauline Irby (1831–1911) make a reference that the Austrian press occasionally published notes on how some of the districts in Serbia were subdued to summary criminal courts due to brigandage (*hajdučija*). In a likely polemic tone, the authors say those courts were to grate for easy suppression of brigands. The summary courts the travelers refer to were in fact ordinary district courts entitled to persecute hajduks by summary trial, meaning that the convict had no right to appeal the verdict, which would in consequence become enforceable at the very moment of passing. Taking into consideration that summary criminal procedure was in force in "the most brigand" Užice district almost ceaselessly for 24 years (1850–1873), Mackenzie's judgment can only be relative. The long-lasting difficulty of Serbian judiciary – overburden with unsolved litigations attracted the attention of Kanitz, who, in his own words, recorded 1000 pending lawsuits before the Valjevo District Court in 1860. The author of this paper disposed of court statistics for the year 1859, showing that the named court combated

[30] *Zbornik zakona* I: 182; E. A. Quitzmann, *Reisebriefe*, 125; A. Ubicini, *Le pays serbe*, 442; D. Đulić, M. Milačić, *Hronika Ćuprije* [Chronicle of Ćuprija] (Ćuprija: Opštinski odbor Saveza udruženja boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog rata, 1977), 29; Archives of Serbia (henceforth: AS), State Council (henceforth: SC), 458/1846.

with 821 unfinished litigations. Etzel claims that a judgment of a district court should be appealed to the Court of Appeal within 8 days subsequently to its pronunciation, by which he informed his readers of the content of article 36 of the Turkish Constitution.[31]

Quitzmann and his fellow ethnic, the German politician Karl Braun Wiesbaden (1822–1893), as well as Denton, call the Court of Appeal the Court of Cassation ("Cassationshof") by mistake. This judicial instance was seated in Belgrade, according to Ubicini and Denton's correct claim. Etzel's travel memoir provides the correct interpretation of the Turkish Constitution provision (art. 37) determining the organization of the Court of Appeal – the institution contained 4 judges, one of which acted as president of the court. The minimum age for the duty of the judge was set at 35 years. Braun Wiesbaden observes that the members of Court of Appeal who acquitted the complotters against the government from the Smederevo district in 1864 were the followers of the former Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević (1842–1858), retained in office by the ruling Prince Mihailo Obrenović (1860–1868). Such an allegation diverged from the fact, since two of the judges – Jevrem Grujić and Marinko Radovanović – were partisans of the Obrenović dynasty (the first however in opposition to Prince Mihailo), and Jovan Filipović was deemed a very professional and impartial judge. The procedure of the court, according to Denton, was written, which was true, although there had been ideas of switching it to oral in the years close to the preacher's travel memoir. Paton claimed that the president of the Court of Appeal was poorly paid, citing amount of a pay which equaled 300 pounds sterling yearly. The conduct list of judges contemporary to Paton's work provides no data as to the pay of Sava Šilić, interim president of the court. Unfortunately, the archive fond of the Treasury Department of Ministry of Finances, most likely containing the answer to the question, was unavailable for research due to the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions.[32]

[31] *Zbornik zakona* I (1840): 9; Etzel, *Skizzen*, 621; W. Denton, *Servia*, 247; G. Muir Mackenzie, A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (London: Dadly, Ibsister & Co., 1867), xxvii–xxviii, F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 125; O. Milosavljević, *Gorski carevi hajdučija u Čačanskom i Rudničkom okrugu u drugoj polovini 19. veka* [Mountain Czars Brigandage in Čačak and Rudnik District in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century] (Čačak: Međuopštinski istorijski arhiv, 2016), 156–170; AS, SC, 409/1861.

[32] A. A. Paton, *Servia*, 314; E. A. Quitzmann, *Reisebriefe*, 125; Etzel, *Skizzen*, 621; W. Denton, *Servia*, 247; Ubicini, *Le pays serbe*, 442; K. Braun Wiesbaden, *Eine türkische Reise* [A Turkish Travel] III (Stuttgart: Verlag von August Auerbach, 1877), 235; M. Đ.

The Court of Cassation, the Ministry of Justice, and the Prince did not arouse the interest of travel writers, since only two of them barely mention their existence within the judicial system, providing no further details.[33]

A lot more attention was given to police courts. Russian historian and ethnologist Pavel Rovinski (1831–1916) noted that Serbian police did not only carry police duties, but also in many cases served as a judicial institution. Referring to the specifics of a police trial, Kanitz says that the police court was consisted of a county prefect, a scribe, and kmets from adjacent villages, which matches article 10 of the so-called Police Regulation (*Policijska uredba*) of 1850. This statement is true, seeing how the Criminal Code for Misdemeanors (*Kaznitelni zakonik za policajne prestupke*, 1850) encompassed such a large number of light offences the police had the jurisdiction to adjudge. Among those misdemeanors, Denton rightly names petty thefts and assaults. Denton and Kanitz provide a description of the procedure of police courts. The latter witnessed the scene in which county prefect Antonijević demonstrated the functioning of some sorts of torture devices for both men and women, which may indicate the use of torture in police investigations. Kanitz claims the procedure of police courts was oral and took place with the door open and occasionally even outdoors. He recalls a trial against a Wallachian accused of stealing a sheepskin. The stolen item was put in front of the suspect, serving as key proof of the committed offence. In the author's words, the witnesses were examined in Romanian. Denton quotes an unknown county or district prefect sentencing the offender by the name of Nicholas Stojanovich; the quotation, nonetheless, bears little resemblance to monologues from modern law and court movies.[34]

Milićević, *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi u srpskog naroda novijega doba* [Memory Book of Eminent People in Serbian Nation of Recent Time] (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska štamparija, 1888), 738; S. Jovanović, *Druga vlada Miloša i Mihaila Obrenovića (1858–1868)* [The Second Reign of Miloš and Mihailo Obrenović (1858–1868)] (Beograd: Izdavačka knjižara Gece Kona, 1923): 68; V. D. Aleksijević, *Savremenici i poslednici Dositeja Obradovića i Vuka Stef. Karadžića* [Contemporaries and Continuers of Dositej Obradović and Vuk Stef. Karadžić] XI, https://www.digitalna.nb.rs/wb/NBS/Katalozi_i_bibliografije/P_425/P_425_11#page/0/mode/1up (accessed April 15, 2020).

[33] A. Ubicini, *Le pays serbe*, 442; F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 125.

[34] *Zbornik zakona* V (1853): 129–186, 190; W. Denton, *Servia*, 216; F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, 37, 243–244; P. A. Rovinski, *Zapisi o Srbiji 1868–1869 (iz putnikovih beležaka)* [Notes on Serbia 1868–1869 (from the traveler's records)] (translated from Russian by Drago Ćupić) (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1994), 134.

Etzel exposes two articles of the Turkish Constitution generally related to the judiciary. One of them guarantees the immovability of judges (art. 42), and the other states that the minister of justice was the authority to decide on the appeals against judges (art. 21).[35]

Two Britons – Paton and Captain Edmund Spencer held Serbian justice in high esteem. The former compliments rapid procedure and unbribability of Serbian courts, whereas the latter emphasizes the simplicity and effectiveness of the judiciary, much to the surprise of the author of this paper, since the court system was unsuccessfully struggling with ineffectiveness of the tribunals from the very beginning of Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević's rule. Spencer observed that courts were modeled in harmony with habits and manners of the people; the requests relating judiciary addressed to the authorities on the March Assembly (1840) and the St Peter's Day Assembly (1848) seem to relativize the traveler's observation.[36]

IV. Conclusion

Travel writers were mostly interested in the organization of courts, their jurisdiction, hierarchy of tribunals and court procedure. Some of them also provide general information on the Serbian judiciary and their impressions of its quality. The facts laid out by the travelers in some cases correspond to the truth, but there are also false data, which can certainly be attributed to the frailness of human memory or misinterpretation of the sources of information. The scenes of trials brought forth by the travelers are the most valuable parts of travel memoirs, as they show how the letter of the law was embodied in practice. The perceptions of the authors concerning the quality of justice may look odd from the Serbian point of view of the time; however one should judge the travelers'

[35] *Zbornik zakona* I: 6, 10; Etzel, *Skizzen*, 621.

[36] A. A. Paton, *Servia*, 314; *Zbornik zakona* IV (1849): 174, 198; E. Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey in 1850* I (London: Colburn and Co., 1851), 111; R. Ljušić, *Prvo namesništvo*, 160–161; U. Stanković, "Rad komisije za unapređenje građanskog postupka od 1845. Godine" [Work of the Commission for Enhancement of Civil Procedure of 1845], in *Zbornik radova međunarodnog naučnog skupa "Harmonizacija građanskog prava u regionu" održanog 26. oktobra 2012. godine na Palama* [Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference "Harmonization of Civil Law in the Region," held on October 26, 2012 in Pale), ed. Dijana Marković Bajalović (Istočno Sarajevo: Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu, 2013), 146 and forth.

conclusions bearing in mind that they were coming from countries in which the court systems were more complex and trials unfolded at a much slower pace, in comparison to which the judiciary of the principality seemed ideal.

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Geographical Itineraries and Political-Social Paths in Amīn al-Rīhānī's Journeys

Elvira Diana[1]

I. Introduction

In Muslim culture, *rihlah*[2] [journey] has always played an important role given that the Islamic faith is based on the journey, known as *hijrah* [departure-migration], of the Prophet Muhammad who moved from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD. According to Islamic tradition, after his move, the Prophet made two essential mystical journeys: the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*. The first, performed on the saddle of Burāq, the mythical winged horse, took Muhammad, accompanied by the angel Jibrīl, from Mecca to the esplanade of Jerusalem. The second journey, the *mi'rāj*, was a night journey in which Muhammad crossed the seven skies where he met the prophets who had come before him. Still, on the religious level, it must be emphasized that one of the five pillars of Islam is the *hajj* [pilgrimage] to Mecca, which in itself represents a critical travel opportunity. It is a mandatory journey to be undertaken at least once in a lifetime by all those who are physically fit and have the financial means to do so.[3]

With the advent of the classical (medieval) period, travelling retained its importance by becoming one of the main themes in Arabic literature, as evidenced by the many *rahhālah* [travellers] who have left a significant legacy. Some good examples are the Iraqi Ibn Hawqal, the Andalusian Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217), and the Moroccan Ibn Battūtah (1304-

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[2] In this article a simplified transliteration has been chosen to facilitate the reading of Arabic names. However, for the Arabic geographical names, the denomination with which those places are best known in the West was chosen.

[3] About the travel in the Islamic religion see *Viaggio e ansia del ritorno nell'Islam e nella letteratura araba*, ed. A. Pellitteri and L. Denooz (Canterano: Aracne, 2019). The book also explores the journey in some works of modern and contemporary Arabic literature. On this topic see also *Tropes Du Voyage: Le Voyage Dans la Littérature Arabe. 1. Départs*, ed. A. Ghersetti (Padova: Studio Editoriale Gordini, 2010).

1368/1377). Ibn Hawqal, a traveller and merchant who lived in the tenth century, left Baghdad in 943 and, usually travelling on foot, he visited North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Iran, and Sicily; the latter being visited in 973. Returning to Baghdad in 976, he described his many journeys in *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*.[4] A chapter of this work is dedicated to the city of Palermo, in all its architectural and cultural splendour inherited from the Arab civilization.[5] The initial motivation behind both Ibn Jubayr's and Ibn Battūtah's departures was the pilgrimage, but they ended up visiting many other lands. The poet and geographer Ibn Jubayr crossed the Mediterranean several times and the account of his first voyage, which took place between 1183-1185, is recorded in the book *Rihlah*:[6] departing from Granada, he saw Ceuta, travelled to Alexandria and then along the Red Sea coast up to Jeddah. After the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he stayed for several months, he set off again reaching Iraq, Syria, and Palestine, where he embarked on his return trip. He reached Messina, but was shipwrecked there. After a while, he resumed his travels, leaving Sicily by embarking at Trapani. He then headed to Carthage and, from there, returned to Granada. Later, the judge, botanist, and geographer Ibn Battūtah, called the Arab "Marco Polo," travelled for almost a quarter of a century (1325-1354) recording the places he had seen. From the lands of pilgrimage, he ventured beyond *dār al-Islām*,[7] going as far as the Chinese ports. On his return to Morocco, he dictated the account of these travels through over fourty countries, and the book, commonly known as *Rihlah*,[8] in addition to describing places and cities, is accompanied by a rich array of geographical, historical, and socio-economic contemporary information.

[4] For the entire text, see Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [The Book of Roads and Kingdoms], ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1973).
[5] F. Gabrieli, "Ibn Hawqal e gli Arabi di Sicilia," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 36 (1961): 245-253. See also *Viaggiatori arabi nella Sicilia medievale*, ed. C. Ruta (Messina: Edi.bi.si., 2003).
[6] See *Ibn Jubayr, Viaggio in Ispagna, Sicilia, Siria e Palestina, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egitto, compiuto nel secolo XII*, ed. and trans. C. Schiapparelli (Palermo: Sellerio, 1995).
[7] *Dār al-Islam* and *Dār al-Harb* are terms used by early Muslim jurists to define the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds.
[8] The full title is *Tuhfat al-nuzzār fī gharā'ib al-amsār wa 'ajā'ib al-asfār* [Gift to Those Who Observe the Curiosities of Cities and the Wonders of Travels]. See F. Gabrieli, *I viaggi di Ibn Battuta (brani scelti)* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1961); *Ibn Battuta, I viaggi*, ed. M. C. Tresso (Torino: Einaudi, 2008). See also H. Kilpatrick, "Between Ibn Battuta and al-Tahtāwī: Arabic Travel Accounts of the Early Ottoman Period," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11 (2008): 233-248.

Since the nineteenth century, the genre of travel literature has been one of the most important vehicles for Arab interaction with the West, introducing the Arabs to Western culture and civilization. Leaving aside the modality and any possible consequence stemming from the encounter of the two culture which are not the subject of this work, here we shall limit ourselves to stressing the fact that with the economic, social and cultural awakening, known as *nahdah*, journeys to Europe on the part of Arabs intensified. This factor favoured the birth of an intellectual élite of travellers who, on their return, brought with them the knowledge acquired abroad and strove to renew and modernize Arab society. It is in this period that "the 'sacred' journey gives way to the study mission or 'profane' journey to the West. Although pilgrimage was also aimed at acquiring scientific knowledge, the nature of science has changed from Islamic to modern."[9]

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Arabs, mostly Christians from the Syro-Lebanese region, began to migrate in waves towards the United States and Brazil.[10] Among these emigrants, driven mainly by political and economic reasons, rose a class of intellectuals which, without losing contact with the motherland and especially with Egyptian innovators, contributed to the renewal of Arab literary production, in prose and poetry, giving life to the so-called *adab al-mahjar* [emigrant literature, better known as Mahjar School].[11] These writers and poets, known as *mahjariyyūn* (or *muhājirūn*), reached the highest expression of Arab culture in America when they founded, in 1920, in New York, the *al-Rābitah al-qalamiyyah* [The Pen League]. The purpose of this associaton, in the words of his secretary Mikhā'īl Nu'aymah (1894-1988), was "to lift Arabic literature from the quagmire of stagnation and imitation, and to infuse a new life into its veins so as to make of it an active force in the building up of the Arab nations."[12]

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[9] M. Salvioli, "Migrazioni a Nord. Visioni d'Occidente nella letteratura araba," *Between*, I, 2 (November 2011), www.Between-journal.it (accessed January 29, 2019).

[10] On the travel memoirs of two Lebanese intellectuals, who visited Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century see M. Avino, "Impressioni europee di viaggiatori siro-libanesi all'alba del XX secolo," *La rivista di Arablit* 11 (2016): 5-19.

[11] I. Camera d'Afflitto, *Letteratura araba contemporanea dalla* nahdah *a oggi* (Roma: Carocci, 2007), 95-100.

[12] N. Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985), 18.

Among the *mahjariyyūn* who made America their second home and English their second language, the names of Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān (1883-1931), Mikhā'īl Nu'aymah, Amīn al-Rīhānī or al-Rayhānī (1876-1940), stand out, next to Rashīd Ayyūb (1881-1941), Nasīb 'Arīda (1887-1946), Nadrah Haddād (1887-1950), Ilīyā Abū Mādī (1889-1957), and 'Abd al-Masīh Haddād (1890-1963).

II. Amīn al-Rīhānī: literate-traveller

Born in Frayki (al-Furaykah or al-Fraykah, also known as Freike or Fraike), a small Lebanese village,[13] Amīn al-Rīhānī emigrated to New York when he was only 12 years old, together with his uncle 'Abduh, and his elementary school teacher and future brother-in-law Na'ūm Mukarzil. It was the year 1888 and, considering that the first Lebanese, a certain Antūn Bishalānī from Salima, arrived in New York in 1854, it is clear that, when al-Rīhānī arrived, the history of Lebanese emigration to the United States was barely thirty four years old: not enough time to allow Lebanese migrants to emancipate themselves economically, let alone culturally and artistically.[14] So it is no surprise that most of them were forced to start out as peddlers, moving from the Atlantic coast to the farthest city in the country. Even the very young al-Rīhānī started working in his uncle's small business as an accountant. Then, studied law for a while, always striving to perfect his English and assimilating the culture of the new environment.

Thus Amīn al-Rīhānī differs from all other Arab travellers who had grown up in the East and only later came in direct contact with the West. He moved backwards, since he rediscovered the East and became acquainted with European culture after studying in the United States.[15] He, in fact, returned to his homeland, for the first time, only after ten years, for health reasons, going back a few more times before the outbreak of the First World War. These trips were fundamental for his cultural education, since they gave him the opportunity to get closer to the Arabic language and culture.

Soon, however, Amīn al-Rīhānī rebelled against the type of life and work reserved for most Arab migrants who landed in America at that

[13] 80 km north east of Beirut.
[14] N. Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 12.
[15] N. Saba Yared, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* (London: Saqi Books, 1996), 138.

time. A few years after arriving in New York, he left family and job to join a theatre company that played in Kansas City. Shortly thereafter the group broke up and he was forced to return home. The bankruptcy experience notwithstanding, that trip was crucial for him since, as a result of that adventure, he made up his mind to live for the arts and to be himself a man of letters. In other words, that trip changed him radically. He went "from business to art, from a seeker of money to a seeker of beauty and truth."[16]

In 1905 he visited Cairo where he made lasting contacts with the Egyptian poets Ahmad Shawqī (1868-1932) and Hāfiz Ibrāhīm (1872-1932), alongside some of the greatest Syro-Lebanese intellectuals who had emigrated to Egypt, such as Shiblī Shummayil (1850-1957), Ya'qūb Sarrūf (1852-1927), Jurjī Zaydān (1861-1914), Khalīl Mutrān (1872-1949), Farah Antūn (1874-1922). He also got to meet the Egyptian *muftī* Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905), one of the key founding figures of Islamic modernism[17].

In 1910 he published in Beirut the first two volumes of *al-Rīhāniyyāt*, a collection of articles, essays and prose poems.[18] The same year, he returned to the United States via Paris where he met a number of Syrian and Lebanese dissidents who had fled there after the Young Turks revolution against the Ottoman regime. In fact, several secret societies had sprung up in the French capital, which supported the cause of Arab nationalism and the right to self-determination for the territories subjected to the Sublime Porte.[19] Also in Paris he met in person, for the

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[16] N. Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 14.

[17] About a travel of Muhammad 'Abduh to Italy see A. Pellitteri, "La Sicilia oltre l'Orientalismo: alcune note a partire da un viaggio di Muhammad 'Abduh a Palermo nel 1902 e da scritti sulla figura di Maometto di arabisti siciliani," in *Oltre l'Orientalismo e l'occidentalismo. La rappresentazione dell'Altro nello spazio euro-mediterraneo,* ed. R. Griffi et al. (Milano: Guerini e Associati, 2009), 113-130.

[18] In 1923-24 volumes 3 and 4 of *al-Rīhāniyyāt* [The Rihani Essays] appeared. *al-Rīhāniyyāt* was subsequently re-edited and republished by his brother Albert, as *al-Rīhāniyyāt* (1956), *al-Qawmiyyāt* [Nationalisms, 1956], comprising the political articles, and *Hutaf al-awdiya* [Hymn of the Valleys, 1955], which collects most of his prose poems. The main literary critical articles that were not included in *al-Rīhāniyyāt* appeared in the collection *Adab wa fann* [Literature and Art]. A new and complete edition of his works has subsequently been published under the patronage of his nephew Amīn, by Dār al-Jīl, Bayrūt. For bibliographical information of Amīn al-Rīhānī's production, see the references.

[19] F. Medici, "Figli dei cedri in America. Il carteggio tra Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān e Amīn Fāris al-Rīhānī," *La rivista di Arablit* 1 (giugno 2011): 85-86.

first time, Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān. With him, and with the sculptor Yūsuf Sa'd Allāh al-Huwayyik (1883-1962), he moved to London,[20] where the three compatriots stayed for a few weeks attracted by the varied British cultural activities. To these contacts were added those accrued in his travels in the East, always in the years following 1908. Between Syria and Lebanon, for example, al-Rīhānī had the opportunity to meet two other important intellectuals like him, tireless travellers between Europe and the East: the Syrian, of Kurdish origin, Muhammad Kurd 'Alī (1876-1953)[21] and the Lebanese Druze Shakīb Arslān (1869-1946). al-Rīhānī returned to Paris in 1913 as representative of Lebanese-American emigrants within the Arab Congress.

At the outbreak of the First World War, he was in America and from there followed the historical events that also involved the Arab countries. In 1916 he married Bertha Case, an American painter and together they travelled to Spain, France, and Great Britain, since he had in the meantime become a correspondent in Europe for a number of American newspapers. His Andalusian experiences were collected in *Nūr al-Andalus* [The Illumination of Andalusia].

In 1917, al-Rīhānī visited the Vatican where he met Pope Benedict XV. Also, in 1917 he returned to New York where he published *Khārij al-harīm* [Out of the Harem], a novel originally written in English and then translated into Arabic. During this time, he also took a trip to Mexico, traces of which can be found in the English-language work *The Land of the Mayas*, which however was never published.

In February 1922 he began his famous journey to Arabia, via Egypt, where he assumed the unofficial role of ambassador and mediator in political and economic matters, in the name of nationalism and Arab unity. As for the unity of the Arabian Peninsula, it is worth remembering that this geographical area, at the time, was still under Turkish sovereignty, at least in theory. In actuality, several local dynasties had managed to make themselves more or less independent by taking advantage of the difficult geographical conditions of the region that

[20] Ibidem, 84.

[21] Muhammad Kurd 'Alī travelled and stayed in many European cities, where he met the greatest European orientalists of the period, including the Italian ones. For further information see A. Pellitteri, "Muhammad Kurd 'Ali e l'orientalistica italiana," in *Studi arabo-islamici in onore di Roberto Rubinacci*, ed. C. Sarnelli Cerqua (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1985), 493-501.

prevented the Turkish army from exercising effective control. Here al-Rīhānī met the various local authorities with whom he discussed the political future of those lands: in Hejaz he had several audiences with King Husayn ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī (1854-1931), *sharīf* of Mecca. Then, he headed to San'ā' where he met Yemen's ruler, Imām Yahyà bin Hamīd al-Dīn (1869-1948). After that, it was the turn of the ruler of the then reign of 'Asir. From there, he left for Iraq via Bombay. After a short rest, he moved to Najd where he met King 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Sa'ūd (1876-1953), and on his behalf negotiated some agreements between local Arab leaders and the British authorities.

These journeys, made on the back of mules, camels, and horses, allowed him to gain extensive political experience, as evidenced by the first two volumes of *Mulūk al-'arab* [Kings of the Arabs]: the picture that emerges from these extensive travel reports is that of a politically complex Arabian Peninsula. According to al-Rīhānī, unity in that area was difficult to implement but not impossible. The difficulties could be attributed to the presence of many local dynasties, their political rivalries and their adherence to different religious denominations: for example, Yemen was Zeidite, Najd Wahhabi, Hejaz mostly Sunni. In his opinion, the mutual aversion among the tribes and the British interference made matters even worse. The solutions he proposed, however, although dictated by principles of freedom and human rights, seemed naive and oblivious to the pervasive role played by the Islamic culture, as when he proposed to recognize King Husayn al-Hāshimī, as Chaliph but limiting his role to that of a spiritual leader.[22]

In 1923 he went back to Beirut by car crossing the Iraq-Syrian desert. The following year, in November of 1924, he returned to Hejaz, at the invitation of King Husayn al-Hāshimī who asked him to mediate the conflict between him and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Sa'ūd. The book *Ta'rīkh Najd al-hadīth* [The Modern History of Najd] reflects the insight gained as a result of these journeys. The trips to Hijaz were also the source for a series of monographs published in English, including *Maker of Modern Arabia*; *Ibn Sa'oud of Arabia: His People and His Land*; *Around the Coasts of Arabia*; *Arabian Peak and Desert. Travels in al-Yaman*.

In 1927 he visited Jeddah for the third time. In 1932 he returned to Iraq and two years later he wrote in Arabic *Faysal al-Awwal* [Faysal the

[22] E. Rossi, "Lo scrittore arabo-libanese Amin er-Rihani," *Oriente Moderno* XX (1940): 557.

First]: a biography of Faysal I, praised as founder of modern Iraq and promoter of Arabism in greater Syria. *Qalb al-ʿIrāq* [The Heart of Iraq] too is based on the Iraqi experience. It is a work that illustrates the social development achieved by the country under Faysal I and subsequently under his son, Ghāzī. Between 1907 and 1937 he took about fifteen short trips to Lebanon. His travel notes and impressions were collected in the work *Qalb Lubnān* [The Heart of Lebanon], which was left unfinished and was published posthumously by his brother Albert. A year before his death in 1939, he visited Morocco and, from there, moved on to Spain. The reports of these trips were collected in *al-Maghrib al-Aqsà* [The Far Morocco].

Amīn al-Rīhānī's voyages were the source of his travelogues, but also of other works, including *Wujūh sharqiyyah gharbiyyah* [Eastern and Western Figures], a posthumous collection of lectures given between 1904 and 1939, on Eastern, Arab, and Western cultures, with reference to prominent personalities, some of them met in his travels. It should also be noted that "His travels in the cities of Europe and America and the countries of the East, predisposed him to a wide circle of learnings, interests and creative exploration."[23] Indeed, al-Rīhānī was constantly exploring new literary avenues and genres, both in English and in Arabic. He was a poet, an essayist, a prose writer, an author of political articles, a critical historian and a translator. In the literary field al-Rīhānī is considered the first Arab American to have composed, in 1905, poems in the *shiʿr manthūr* genre [prose poetry], typical of the literary production of the Mahjar Shool which, influenced by W. Whitman, set out to break out of the poetic patterns of the past. Thus the 1911 work *The Book of Khaled* is considered the first novel by an Arab author published in English in America.[24] He also wrote costume novels, such as *Zanbaqat al-Ghūr* [The Lily of al-Ghore], in which, once again, through the characters, the author symbolically proposes a tentative encounter between Eastern and Western cultures.

[23] A. Imangulieva, *Gibran, Rihani and Naimy: East–West interactions in early twentieth-century Arab literature* (trans. from the Russian by R. Thomson) (Oxford: Inner Farne Press, 2009), 86.

[24] When in 1918 Jubrān made his debut in English literature by publishing *The Madman*, al-Rīhānī had already published in English *The Book of Khaled*, his collected poems *Myrtle and Myrrh* of 1905 in addition to English writings in manuscript.

As evinced so far, his works, although initially inspired by curiosity and wanderlust, contain numerous political and social elements, to the point of representing a valid historical testimony of the period. In this regard, it is worth remarking that "What remains to be Rihani's most important and far-reaching legacy in Mahjar literature is, perhaps, his understanding of literature as being necessarily dedicated to a message, and of the writer's role as being thoroughly committed."[25] This belief is implicit in all his travel works, where al-Rīhānī, in addition to having literary or political objectives, also plays the role of social reformer. In his view, however, not all writers have the ability to perform this task, as he elucidates in the article *al-Kuttāb* [The Writers].[26]

His absolute conviction that art, including writing, can contribute to changing and improving the historical-political conditions of a people is strikingly evident from the texts of his conferences. For instance, following a brief visit to Palestine in 1927, where he met with Palestinian leaders, including Hajj Amīn al-Husaynī (1897-1974), he gave a series of lectures travelling between United States, Canada and England. On those occasions, thanks to him, the Anglo-American public became acquainted with the Palestinian-Zionist cause. In this regard, it should be noted that although al-Rīhānī died eight years before the *nakbah*,[27] he saw the premonitory signs of what would become the unresolved Palestinian issue. In the 1931 article *Zionism and Palestine*, taken from *The Fate of Palestine*,[28] the author, in several places, asserts that peace in the Near East depends upon peace in Palestine, demonstrating a highly prophetic and forward-looking vision, in light of the dramatic events that have caused so much bloodshed in the Middle East in the last 70 years or so, partly related to the Palestinian issue. He strongly condemns European

[25] N. Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 23.

[26] In this article, al-Rīhānī analyzes the various types of writers highlighting their strengths and weaknesses, to the point of describing the figure of the ideal writer: the one who does not market his business by flattering the powerful élite of the moment, but he does not live detached from the surrounding reality either, immerged in books and newspapers. See E. Diana, "Brevi note sul 'filosofo di al-Furaykah,'" in *Il conforto della ragione. Studi in onore di B. Razzotti*, ed. E. Fazzini et al. (Lanciano: Editrice Itinerari, 2010), 301-312.

[27] The word, which literally means "catastrophe," has come to indicate the year of foundation of the State of Israel (1948).

[28] The book, which includes part of the conference texts and articles written in English and dedicated to the Palestinian-Zionist cause, was published posthumously by his brother Albert. It was then translated into Arabic under the title *Masīr Filastīn*.

interference in Middle East politics and, with regard to the disastrous Balfour Declaration, he writes:

> But it is specified in this Declaration that the Jews shall have a right to build a national home in Palestine, and not to have Palestine for a national home. The difference is significant. For a national home in Palestine does not mean that they may have the whole country for that purpose. A right to a room in a house cannot be interpreted as a right to the whole house. But how can you crowd a nation in a room?[29]

Later in the article, he refutes the alleged historical and religious rights advanced towards Palestine by the Zionists. Concerning the historical rights, he says:

> Because the Jews conquered and ruled Palestine they believe that they still have a claim to it. On the same ground it may be rightfully claimed by the Egyptians, by the Persians, by the Greeks, and by the descendants of the Romans, the Italians…On the same ground Spain may rightfully claim Mexico and South America; the Arabs may rightfully claim Southern Spain: and with more reason the Indians of this country would have a right to establish an Indian national home in New York. […] Suppose the British or the French were still in occupation of the Holy Land from the days of the Crusades, do you for a moment believe that they would give it to the Jews for a national home? The historical claim is preposterous.[30]

In spite of this, he continued to have sincere hopes for a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Zionist problem, calling for mutual understanding between the two peoples: "The Arabs and the Jews can then settle their differences among themselves in a peaceful and friendly manner, as they have always done in the past, before the Balfour Declaration, which is like a bird of evil omen, spreading its black wings over the Holy Land."[31]

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[29] Ameen Rihani, *The Fate of Palestine*, 23-24.
[30] Ibidem, 31-32.
[31] Ibidem, 40.

Therefore, being a peace lover and a free thinker, his journeys were an expression of his desire to create a secularized Arab nation, made up of citizens free of sectarian divisions where minorities could coexist peacefully with the majority; a nation free of political or cultural tyrannies, whether of Eastern or Western origin.[32] This mentality, highly impregnated with values such as freedom and human rights for all, is also reflected in his religious position, although it is still difficult to define: belonging to a Maronite Christian family, he presumably converted to Islam. However, when he died on September 16, 1940, the Beirut newspaper, *L'Orient*, announcing his death, informed its readers that the funeral was held at the church of Frayki.[33]

Beyond any classification, through his travels in the East, he discovered and came to appreciate the spirituality of those lands, characteristic that is in direct opposition to the materialism of the West. At the same time, he was an admirer of America, even though he condemned some aspects of its industrialization believing that the new civilization had brought with it new forms and methods of slavery, as stated in the article *Fawqa sutūh Nīw Yūrk* [Over New York's Roofs],[34] dated 1906. Quite significant are his words uttered years earlier, on 9th February 1900, in his famous speech *al-Tasāhul al-dīnī* [Religious Tolerance] at the Maronite Society in New York, in which he expounded his firm belief that "God does not favour one nation or group over another. Nor does He elect a particular people on this earth. [...] The monotheistic religion is one and we are all united before the Lord and worship only one God."[35] The project cultivated with Jubrān in their London days, which unfortunately did not go beyond the planning stage, is emblematic of his firm beliefs on the subject. The plan called for "the building of an opera house in Beirut, half church and half mosque, whose double dome would have symbolized the union between Christianity and Islam under the banner of art."[36]

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32 About al-Rīhānī's political thought see A. Pellitteri, "al-Qawmiyyāt: Note sul pensiero politico di Amīn al-Rīhānī," *Oriente Moderno* LXIV (1984): 109-120.

33 E. Rossi, "Lo scrittore arabo-libanese Amin er-Rihani," 558.

34 Amīn al-Rīhānī, *al-Rīhāniyyāt. Maqalāt ijtimā'iyyah wa falsafiyyah*, ed. Albert al-Rīhānī (Bayrūt: al-Mu'assasah al-'arabiyyah li 'l-dirāsah wa 'l-nashr, 1982), 128-132.

35 Amīn al-Rīhānī, *al-Tasāhul al-dīnī*, in Ibidem, 53-54.

36 F. Medici, "Figli dei cedri in America," 86.

We would like to conclude this short essay dedicated to one of the most fascinating and interesting Arab personalities of the early twentieth century, entirely devoted to cultural, social and political commitment, whose intellectual formation is an amalgam of various experiences, of places that he visited and personalities that he met both in the East and in the West, by citing an extract from his article *Man Anā?* [Who I am?], in which our author gave a definition of himself:[37]

> Sometimes I feel, and I am sure, that my personality is made up of numerous personalities, incompatible on the surface, but harmonious in their essence and in the eternity of their existential cycles.
>
> From an ethnic point of view, this personality is: Semitic-Aryan, that is Assyrian, Iranian, Greek and Arab (see the religions of these countries).
>
> From a religious point of view, it is: follower of Baal, of Dionysius, of monotheism, of Christianity, of Islam and of Sufism (see religious history of these countries).
>
> From a literary point of view, it is: Eastern and Western, poetic and philosophical, scientific and practical (my passion for Eastern poets and philosophers, and my love for Western scientists and workers).
>
> From a political point of view, it is: aristocratic (Eastern) and democratic (Western). Aristocratic in volition, but democratic in conduct. Simple and complex at the same time, superior and complete, yearning for freedom and independence of nations within the framework of human faith and in the shadow of brotherhood and peace.
>
> In addition, I also have the personality of an artist who sees truth and beauty not only in things that are visible, but perceives and venerates them, both in their external forms and in their inner soul.
>
> This old and new personality, old for its roots and new for its fruits, which contains plants, flowers and fruits growing

[37] This article was written in 1936, in response to the request to clarify his text *Law lam takun anta nafsaka fa-man tawaddu an takūna?* [If you are somebody else, who would you be?]. It was included in Albert al-Rīhānī's edition of *al-Rīhāniyyāt*.

in the garden of geniality and prophecies, in the most fertile soil in the history of the world, that is, in these countries. However, it remains a free personality bound only to what is strictly necessary for its growth and development and its spiritual continuity.[38]

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[38] Amīn al-Rīhānī, *Man Anā?*, in *al-Rīhāniyyāt. Maqalāt ijtimā'iyyah wa falsafiyyah,* 40-41.

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Sights of China: Markers of Otherness in Polish and Serbian Travel Writings (1842-1949)

Tomasz Ewertowski[1]

I. Travellers and sights – introduction

Travelling, sightseeing, and providing accounts of travel impressions are inextricably linked, even if connections between them are not straightforward. Let us start with a few examples demonstrating the intricate relations between what a traveller sees and writes about it. Milutin Velimirović (1893-1973) was a Serbian doctor and writer who ended up due to the turmoil of the First World War in East Asia, and later wrote two travel books on his experience in China, Japan, and Mongolia.[2] He explored a seemingly unimpressive river: "Banks are low and one would say that it is one dirty, muddy puddle."[3] However, what

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[1] Shanghai International Studies University, China; Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland.

[2] Velimirović's writings were placed by a Serbian sinologist Radosav Pušić among the most important pages written in Serbian about China – R. Pušić, ed., *Podnebesko carstvo. Srbi o Kini 1725-1940 (putopisi i članci)* [Heavenly Kingdom. Serbs on China 1725-1940 (travelogues and articles] (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2006), 130. Velimirović's biography and family connection present a very interesting story. His elder brother, Borisav Velimirović (1880–1944), worked for many years in East Asia and it was he who helped Milutin to find employment in China. Milutin's niece, Borisav's daughter Ljalja Velimirović (1912–1943), also published travelogues about China. For more information on the Velimirović family, see G. Antić, *Velimirovići. Književna baština* [The Velimirovićs: Literary Heritage] (Andrijevica: Stupovi, 1996). About Milutin himself and his writings, see L. Rajković, "Milutin Velimirović," *Razvitak* 21:1 (1981): 70–78; X. Jin, "Opis Kineza u putopisu Milutina Velimirovića 'Kroz Kinu'" [A description of the Chinese in Milutin Velimirović's travelogue 'Through China'], in *Ljubomir Nenadović i srpska putopisna tradicija* [Ljubomir Nenadović and Serbian travel writing tradition] (Priština: Filološki fakultet, 1995), 159–62.

[3] M. Velimirović, *Kroz Kinu: putopis* [Through China: A Travelogue] (Beograd: S. B. Cvijanović, 1930), 42. All translations into English are my own, unless otherwise indicated. Translations were made to ensure coherence in meaning for non-Serbian and non-Polish speaking readers. I have sought to provide exact translations; however, these

the traveller saw was combined with what he knew about this river, so overall his description is far more elaborate:

> So, this famous Yellow River will not impress you with anything (besides a bridge). But still it is horrible, and still it is a source of wealth and misery for the whole of North China. Deceptive, dangerous, whimsical, but fruitful and generous as the Nile.[4]

Therefore a dirty, muddy puddle is in fact a crucial a watercourse for the wellbeing of a vast part of the country. A few pages later, Velimirović's account goes even further, as he describes how, on the banks of the river, he was overwhelmed by strange feelings, thinking how for thousands of years the wind had blown the sands, transforming the sea into a plain through which the river was now flowing.

Let us consider another example. Marian Walentynowicz (1896-1967), a Polish artist, architect, and passionate traveller, visited China in the 1930s. This is how he described a location inside the Temple of Heaven complex in Beijing: "(…) a round, flat, triple platform, made of impeccable marble."[5] A marble platform would have been quite impressive, but its full significance was introduced by Walentynowicz later, when he explained that it was the Altar of Heaven, which was considered the centre of the Earth, followed by a description of imperial rituals. As in Velimirović's case, knowledge about an observed object changes its meaning for the traveller, making his impressions much more profound and his writing more exciting. The praise of the altar's simple form and its ritual significance leads to a general conclusion on Chinese civilization: "It requires a really perfect culture to dress what is most holy in such a perfectly simple form. (…) With all my European culture, I humble myself before this modest, white marble carved terrace." [6]

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cannot be acknowledged as proper literary translations. The original says: "Obale niske, i pre bi čovek rekao da je to jedna kaljava, razmuđena bara."

[4] Velimirović, *Kroz Kinu* [Through China: A Travelogue], 42. "Dakle, ničim (sem mostom) neće vas poraziti ili oduševiti ta čuvena Žuta Reka. Pa ipak je ona strašna, ipak je ona izvor bogastva i nesreće cele severne Kine. Varliva, opasna, ćudljiva, nestalna, ali plodonosna i izdašna kao Nil!."

[5] M. Walentynowicz, "U stóp Ołtarza Nieba" [At the Foot of the Altar of Heaven], *Tydzień Literacki Polski Zbrojnej* 17:56 (1938): 3.

[6] Walentynowicz, "U stóp Ołtarza Nieba" [At the Foot of the Altar of Heaven] 3. "Trzeba mieć naprawdę doskonałą kulturę, aby największą świętość ubrać w tak

What can be learnt about travelling, sightseeing and travel writing from these two examples? They can be analysed using a semiotic definition of sight as conceived in the sociology of tourism. According to Dean MacCannell, an object is usually recognised as a sight thanks to previous information about it, the so-called "markers."[7] MacCannell understands this term broadly as covering any information concerning a sight, e.g. stories told by others, books and lectures about a particular location, etc. In our examples, the knowledge of the importance of the Yellow River for the Chinese culture allows Velimirović to perceive the "muddy puddle" as an impressive sight, while Walentynowicz sees the simple marble platform as the centre of ritual activities. MacCannell's idea was magnified by Jonathan Culler, who emphasised the interchangeability of both the signifier (marker) and the signified (sight).[8] A sight can itself become a marker, that is, a signifier of something else. For Walentynowicz, the Altar of Heaven is a signifier of the greatness and sophistication of Chinese civilisation.

In the context of sightseeing, two sociologists of tourism, John Urry and Jonas Larsen, emphasised the socio-cultural frames of "ways of seeing": "People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires, and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education."[9] This point can be illustrated with the example of a dragon. Sculptures, reliefs and paintings of dragons were of course often described by travellers, who referred to them as if to "an imperial emblem,"[10] "a symbol of the yellow race,"[11] "a national emblem

doskonale prostą formę. (…) Z całą swą europejską kulturą korzę się przed tym skromnym, w białym marmurze wykutym tarasem (…)."

7 D. MacCannell, *The Tourist. A new theory of the leisure class*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 110.

8 J. Culler, "Semiotics of Tourism," *American Journal of Semiotics* 1:1/2 (1981): 127–40.

9 J. Urry and J. Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2011), 2. Culler's as well as Urry and Larsen's usage of MacCannell's concept was criticised by Raymond W.K. Lau for treating sights constituting signs as a fairly common phenomenon, when in reality it only happens in some special cases (R.W.K. Lau, "Tourist sights as semiotic signs: A Critical Commentary," *Annals of Tourism Research* 38:2 (2011): 711–14). However, from my perspective, Culler, Urry and Larsen's are to the point when stating that seeing sights as signs is fairly common, so I have adapted their perspective in this paper.

10 M. Rajčević, *Na Dalekom Istoku* [In the Far East] (Beograd: Štamparija "Đura Jakšić," 1930), 99.

11 O. Subotić, *Iz žutog carstva* [From the Yellow Kingdom] (Novi Sad: Natošević, 1921), 59.

of China."[12] In these examples, a sculpture or an image was described as a dragon and signified some political or socio-cultural entity: Qing Empire, China, yellow race. There were, however, very different accounts of this mythical creature written by Catholic missionaries. Władysław Michał Zaleski (1852-1925), the Apostolic Delegate for the East Indies,[13] visited Chinese temples and houses in Rangoon and Singapore during a trip to Southeast Asia in 1897. He did not simply write about sculptures but claimed that a devil in the shape of a horrible dragon reigned over the altars.[14] The background of the traveller, who was a representative of a Catholic institution, led to him perceive the dragon as a devil and signifier of abominable paganism. A similar description of dragons can be found in a travelogue by another Polish Catholic missionary, a Franciscan friar named Paulin Wilczyński (1881-1989), who was active in Northeast China in the 1920s. During one of his trips in the Shandong province, he noticed many sculptures of, according to his writing, "snakes."[15] He asked his companions, experienced missionaries, what they meant (referring to MacCannell, we can call this looking for "a marker"). He got the answer that China is still in the hands of the infernal dragon and this is a symbol of its rule.

II. Objectives and scope

A previous part of the article introduced how a semiotic approach to tourism describes processes happening between travelling, sightseeing and travel writing. Concepts provided by MacCannell, Culler, Urry and

[12] B. Grąbczewski, *Podróże po Azji Środkowej* [Travels in Central Asia], 3rd ed. (Warszawa: PWN, 2010), 80.

[13] Zaleski, hailing from an aristocratic Polish family, was a high-ranking Catholic church official. He stayed in India for 30 years, serving as the Apostolic Delegate for the East Indies in the years 1892–1916, and in this period he also made trips to Southeast Asia and China. On Zaleski's life and writings, see the biography by Witold Malej *Ks. W.M. Zaleski: delegat apostolski Indii Wschodniej, arcybiskup Teb, Patriarcha Antiochii* [W.M. Zaleski: Apostolic Delegate to the East Indies, the Archbishop of Thebes, the Patriarch of Antioch.] (Rzym: 1965) and an article by George Lerski ("Polish Prince of the Church in South Asia," *The Polish Review* 4 (1984): 57-69).

[14] W.M. Zaleski, *Podróż po Indo-Chinach r. 1897 i 1898* [A Journey to Indo-China in 1897 and 1898] (Kraków: nakł. aut., 1898), 23, 48.

[15] P. Wilczyński, "Z misyj franciszkańskich. (Z wrażeń podróży O. Paulina Wilczyńskiego do Pekinu)" [From the Franciscan missions. Father Paulin Wilczyński's impressions from his trip to Beijing], *Dzwonek III Zakonu Ś. O. N. Franciszka Serafickiego* 4–7 (1927): 288.

Larsen help formalise an attitude which is common to research on travel writing in the last few decades, namely the presumption that a travelogue presents a place visited in an "imaginary" way, so broadly speaking it depends more on the cultural background of the traveller than on reality itself.[16] Of course we could not fall into what Vladimir Gvozden calls "textual illusion"[17] and negate all links between the reality and the texts; actually among studies on travel writing about China there are brilliant examples of works which analyse a discourse on China as an interaction between "observed reality, the persona of the observer, and the trope of representation."[18] This paper refers to methodological assumptions that have just been introduced, but the objective is of course less extensive due to space constraints. On the basis of selected examples from Polish and Serbian travel writings from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, I would like to show how certain items, which were perceived as typically Chinese, became signifiers of various interpretations of "Chineseness." This study is linked with my earlier research on the image of China in Polish and Serbian travelogues from the 18th to the mid-20th century; however, the attempt here is to provide a more elaborate treatment of the texts I have mentioned earlier, as well as taking a first look at material I have not previously analysed.[19] The timespan of this study (1842-1949, i.e. from

[16] See examples of seminal studies: E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003); M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[17] V. Gvozden, *Jovan Dučić putopisac: ogled iz imagologije* [Jovan Dučić the Travel Writer. A Study in Imagology] (Novi Sad: Svetovi, 2003), 30.

[18] S.C. Fritzsche, *Narrating China: Western Travelers in the Middle Kingdom after the Opium War* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1995), 3. For inspiring works on travel writing about China, not only about Western travellers, see also N.R. Clifford, *"A Truthful Impression of the Country": British and American Travel Writing in China, 1880-1949* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001); D. Kerr and J. Kuehn, eds., *A Century of Travels in China. Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010); S.S. Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842–1907* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1999); J. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China. 1862-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); X. Tian, *Visionary Journeys. Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011).

[19] Cf. T. Ewertowski, *Images of China in Polish and Serbian Travel Writings (1720-1949)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020)

the "opening up" of China after the first Opium War until the establishment of the People's Republic of China) is determined by the fact that in the aforesaid period there is already quite a significant number of travelogues about China. The Middle Kingdom was to some extent becoming familiar to European readers, even though it was still to remain an exotic destination. It was not an unknown country, as Paul French points out, as since the 1820s, and especially in the period 1900-1949, China was "a big story" for the Western audience and there was a proliferation of texts about the Chinese.[20] However, it was a place that embodied the exotic and otherness. Those features make it very interesting to analyse how travellers perceived sights that were known to them from a textual tradition but were nevertheless identified as foreign and exotic.

III. Sights

1. Rickshaw

How did travellers react to and describe one of the most common means of transportation in East Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, namely the rickshaw? We can start with an example not from China but from the then French colony of Indochina. In describing his stay in Saigon, the aforementioned Walentynowicz wrote: "Sometimes, with a quiet and rhythmic tapping of bare heels, a light trolley on spoke wheels with tires, passes by."[21] A description of the physical appearance is followed by an explanation of it being "a local droshky."[22] A rickshaw is perceived as something typical, local, and East Asian, but is simultaneously made familiar to readers by a comparison with a vehicle common in Central and Eastern Europe. There is also a comical dimension; Walentynowicz remarks that because a rickshaw has just one seat, couples who want to go on a date need to rent two vehicles and while spending time together they are forced to

[20] P. French, *Through the Looking Glass. China's Foreign Journalists from Opium Wars to Mao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 11.
[21] M. Walentynowicz, "W niemądrym Saigonie" [In reckless Saigon], *Tydzień Literacki Polski Zbrojnej* (Warszawa, March 27, 1938), 2. "Czasem z cichym, a rytmicznym klapaniem bosych pięt przemyka lekki wózek na szprychowych kołach, zaopatrzonych w dętki."
[22] M. Walentynowicz, "W niemądrym Saigonie" [In reckless Saigon]. „miejscowa dorożka."

hang in the air between two carts (Walentynowicz's article was accompanied by his cartoon drawing showing a couple hugging while being carried on two rickshaws). Here, a vehicle is a sign of the humorously described strangeness of a foreign land; however, much more common was seeing rickshaws as a sign of social inequality and exploitation. Jovan Milanković (1869-1936), a Serbian diplomat who visited China on diplomatic duties during the First World War and immediately after it,[23] called rickshaws "a shame for humanity."[24] Tadeusz Meissner (1902-1966), the first mate on the Polish sailing ship, *Dar Pomorza*, which called in at Shanghai and Hong Kong during a trip around the world in the 1930s, wrote about poverty among the Chinese population in contrast to the great wealth of the international settlements, giving a description of a rickshaw as part of a discourse on inequality. After commenting on misery in Chinese quarters, he wrote: "A rickshaw makes an equally unpleasant impression, a human-animal, carrying another human, maybe also an animal, alas less noble."[25]

It can be pointed out that the authors' background, especially the length of their stays in China and familiarity with East Asian conditions, influenced the meaning they gave to rickshaws. Milutin Velimirović described how he became accustomed to it and looked at rickshaws as part of the system: "Of course, after some time spent in China, you look at these unhappy people a little differently and more realistically. The earlier avoidance, the feeling of being ashamed of oneself, the sentimental-melancholy thinking – are all gone. One sits in a very comfortable cart, calmly thinking, that in doing so he is giving someone a chance to earn money."[26] Witold Urbanowicz (1908-1996), a Polish fighter pilot who joined the American Air Force in China during the

[23] On Milanković's biography, see V. Golubović, "Uspomene iz Sibira Jovana Milankovića" [Jovan Milanović's Memoirs from Siberia], *Ruski almanah* 19 (2014): 176–81.

[24] J. D. Milanković, *Uspomene iz Sibira 1918-1919 i put okeanom u domovinu 1920* [Memories from Siberia 1918-1919 and the ocean trip to the homeland 1920] (Beograd: Vreme, 1926), 111. "Jedan sram za humanitet."

[25] T. W. Meissner, *Dookoła świata na "Darze Pomorza" (1934–1935)* [Around the World on "Dar Pomorza" (1934-1935)], 2nd ed. (Katowice: KOS, 2006), 126.

[26] Velimirović, *Kroz Kinu: putopis* [Through China: A Travelogue], 74. "Naravno posle izvesnog bavljenja u Kini gledate na te nesrečne ljude malo drukčije i stvarnije. Ranije izbegavanja, stid od samog sebe, sentimentalno-melanholična razmišljanja – prošla su. Čovek seda u vrlo udobna kolica, umiren mišlju, da time ipak daje nekome zaradu."

Second World War[27] and wrote a very interesting book about his Chinese experience, commented that there were no other means of transportation and added that if he would apply his humanistic principles, these people would not have earned any money and might have died of hunger.[28] For these authors, rickshaws are still a sign of poverty and overpopulation, albeit rational and legitimate means of transportation.

2. Braids

Up until the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912, Chinese men were obliged to wear long braids as a sign of recognition of the rule of the Manchu dynasty. Men with queues (ponytails) of course attracted the attention of Polish and Serbian travellers in the period when this kind of hairstyle was reserved in Europe only for women. This custom was well-known in Europe, so authors usually did not express any surprise[29] but described it as one of the characteristic traits of Chinese appearance. Milan Jovanović (1834-1896), a Serbian doctor and writer who worked during 1878-1882 as a ship's doctor on Austrian Lloyd steamers sailing to East Asia,[30] gave a depiction of braids within a long, ethnographic-like

[27] About Urbanowicz's biography, see W. Krajewski, *Witold Urbanowicz – legenda polskich skrzydeł* [Witold Urbanowicz – A legend of Polish wings] (Warszawa: ZP Grupa, 2008). On his Chinese experience, see E. Kajdański, *Długi cień wielkiego muru: jak Polacy odkrywali Chiny* [The long shadow of the Great Wall. How Poles were discovering China] (Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 2005); W. Odyniec and J. Włodarski, "Polski lotnik w Chinach w 1943 roku" [A Polish pilot in China in 1943], in *Początki wiedzy o Chinach w Polsce* [Beginnings of the Knowledge about China in Poland], ed. Irena Kadulska and Józef Włodarski (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2008), 135–42.
[28] W. Urbanowicz, *Latające Tygrysy* [Flying tigers] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1983), 221.
[29] There are, however, exceptions. A Franciscan missionary, Gerard Piotrowski (1885–1969), who arrived in China as a young man in 1911 and stayed there for a few decades, claimed in his memoirs that he felt very surprised when he saw men with braids at his arrival in Shanghai: G. Piotrowski, *Wspomnienia misjonarza o Chinach czyli zwyczaje i obyczaje Chińczyków spostrzeżone i zanotowane przez autora w związku z jego pracą misjonarską w Chinach od 1911 do 1949 roku* [Memoirs of a missionary about China: or, customs and tradions of the Chinese observed and noted by the author during his missionary work in China from 1911 to 1949] (Pulaski, Wisconsin: The Franciscan Printery, 1956), 12.
[30] On Jovanović's biography and writings, see a biographical book by Snežana S. Veljković, *Gospodin koji nije znao sanskrit* [A gentelman who did not know Sanscrit] (Beograd: Laguna, 2016) and biographical articles: I. Tartalja, "Jedan zaboravljen majstor srpske proze iz perioda ranog realizma" [One forgotten master of Serbian prose from a period of early realism], *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane, Zbornik radova* 13:2 (1984):

portrayal of Chinese traders visiting the ship. In a detailed way, he described how their heads were shaved, with only a long queue going down to the waist and from there it was extended with a silk cord down to the calves.[31] This description reflects an ethnographic and didactic tendency in Jovanović's travelogue; he wanted to picture faraway lands and in this way make them available to the Serbian public. We can contrast him with two Polish travellers who also visited the Chinese coast in the 1880s, namely Julian Fałat (1853-1929) and Hugo Zapałowicz (1852-1917). Fałat, a famous Polish painter, made a trip around the world in 1885.[32] He also treated queues as a typical element of Chinese appearance but mentioned them in the context of leisurely activities of Singaporean society, namely cricket and tennis. He commented that with their braids, the Chinese looked very funny during games.[33] Hairstyle not only signified Chinese otherness, but the whole situation can be seen as an example of an attitude described by Homi Bhabha using the concept of mimicry. The Chinese imitate the colonial masters of Singapore by playing Western sports, but their queues made them look funny, "almost the same, but not quite."[34]

129–36; G. Maksimović, "Putopisna proza Milana Jovanovića Morskog" [Milan Jovanović Morski's travel writing], *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 56:3 (2008): 623–38. On Chinese topics in Jovanović's work, see T. Ewertowski, "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit? Relations between Europe and China in the travelogue 'Tamo amo po istoku' of Milan Jovanović," in *Boym et cetera*, ed. Aleksander W. Mikołajczak, Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, and Rafał Dymczyk (Poznań: Humanistic and Interdisciplinary Research Group AMU, 2015), 190–202; T. Ewertowski, "The Image of the Chinese in the Southeast Asian Contact Zone. National Comparisons in the Travelogues of Milan Jovanović and Władysław Michał Zaleski," *Imagologiya i komparativistika* [Imagology and Comparative Literature] 6 (2016): 40–57.

[31] M. Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska druga* [Here and there on the East. The Second Book] (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1895), 164.

[32] On Fałat's trip and its influence on his paintings, see J. Malinowski, "Podróż Juliana Fałata do Chin i Japonii w 1885" [Julian Fałat's travel to China and Japan in 1885], in *Orient w kulturze polskiej. Materiały z sesji jubileuszowej z okazji 25-lecia Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku w Warszawie 15-16 października 1998* [Orient in the Polish Culture. Proceeding of the jubilee session on the 25th anniversary of the Museum of Asia and Pacific in Warsaw, October 15-16 1998] (Warszawa: Dialog, 2000), 75–84.

[33] J. Fałat, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs], ed. Anna Lubasiowa (Katowice: Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1987), 118.

[34] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 122.

In the case of Hugo Zapałowicz, an Austro-Hungarian Pole, who was a natural scientist and military man and who travelled around the world a few years after Fałat (1888-1890), a description of the Chinese hairstyle is also a sign of otherness, but of most significance is not actually the sight itself but the writer's own reaction to it. Zapałowicz wrote that once on a ship a Chinese man was standing next to him and his long braid was reaching towards the traveller's side, so he really wanted to take it into his hands to observe it carefully. However, because of knowledge acquired from "markers," Zapałowicz knew that it would be very offensive.[35] This experience and its write-up is conditioned for the most part by two factors – on the one hand, an almost erotic fascination with the otherness embodied in the braid, and on the other by knowledge and social norms.

For Milorad Rajčević (1890-1964), a Serbian traveller who in the first half of the 20th century journeyed all around the world including a trip around Asia in 1910-1911,[36] the queue was an element of Chinese fashion: "Men are also with a braid. It is a decoration for them. What for our old people was a moustache is a braid for the Chinese."[37] While in examples from Fałat's and Zapałowicz's travelogues the sight of a braid appeared in the context of certain specific situations and in Jovanović's travelogue his ethnographic description was still associated with a specific group of people (traders visiting the ship), Rajčević made it part of his general characterisation of the Chinese. It has been noted by researchers that Rajčević was a rather simple-minded traveller, whose narrative is focused on adventures and is fast-paced and is thus often lacking any "culturological" depth.[38] It is also visible in the way he described Chinese hairstyle, giving superficial characteristics and a shallow analogy with his home culture.

The examples analysed above show how queues were seen as a typical element of Chinese appearance and how they marked Chinese otherness.

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[35] H. Zapałowicz, *Jedna z podróży na około Ziemi. Tom II* [One of Trips around the World. Vol. II] (Lwów: Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1899), 159.

[36] On Rajčević's biography, see Nada Savković: "Putovanje – životna opcija Milorada Rajčevića" [Travel – Milorad Rajčević's life option], *Filolog* 17 (2018): 514–30.

[37] Rajčević, *Na Dalekom Istoku* [In the Far East], 121. "I ljudi su s perčinom. To im je ukras. Što je za naše stare bio brk, to je za nih perčin."

[38] V. Gvozden, *Srpska putopisna kultura 1914–1940. Studija o hronotopičnosti susreta* [Serbian Travel Writing Culture 1914-1940: A Study in the Chronotope of a Meeting] (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2011), 83, 89.

However, these instances also show how widespread knowledge about China, which conditioned the perception of sights, was shallow and stereotypical. Because the custom of wearing braids was well known, writers from our corpus were not surprised despite the fact that this practice was very different from European conventions. Travellers described braids as a curiosity and a sign of Chineseness but were nevertheless familiar despite being exotic. However, notwithstanding this familiarity, very seldom did travellers mention the historical background of queues and their political significance. It is worth noting that one of the writers who described queues as a sign of Manchu political domination over China was a diplomat named Konstanty Symonolewicz (1884-1959), who was an experienced "China hand." He wrote two books and a number of articles inspired by his stay in China from 1912 to 1930.[39] He described how one of his servants cut off his braid to show his revolutionary, anti-Manchu attitude,[40] and also gave a compelling description of a street scene in Beijing in the wake of the revolution when revolutionaries were cutting off people's braids while one old lady sat on the ground saying that she would not get up until her son's braid grew again.[41] Symonolewicz's great familiarity with Chinese affairs made him aware that this common sight of braids was not simply an object of funny curiosity or fashion.

3. Chinese characters

One of the sights that most suggestively embodied the otherness of East Asian civilisation was its orthographic system. Most travellers who wrote about the Middle Kingdom made some remarks about Chinese written characters, even if they were totally unable to actually read them and had either non-existent or very limited knowledge of the Chinese language. From this perspective, comments about the Chinese system of orthography were usually a juxtaposition of three factors: travellers'

[39] For general information about Symonolewicz, see Kajdański, *Długi cień wielkiego muru*, 323–40; *Konstanty Symonolewicz – orientalista, dyplomata, opiekun Polonii Mandżurskiej* [Konstanty Symonoloewicz – an orientalist, a diplomat, and a protector of the Manchurian Polish diaspora], ed. A. Winiarz (Szczecin: Książnica Pomorska im. Stanisława Staszica w Szczecinie, 2012).

[40] K. Symonolewicz, *Moi Chińczycy. 18 lat w Chinach* [My Chinese. 18 years in China] (Warszawa: Biblioteka Polska, 1938), 29.

[41] Symonolewicz, *Moi Chińczycy*, 59.

feelings aroused by visual impressions, knowledge provided by markers, and some personal opinions about Chinese civilisation in general.

Stefan Bryła (1886-1943), an outstanding Polish engineer and architect, wrote a travelogue about his 1912 trip to East Asia, in which he related in a lighthearted and humorous way various situations encountered by a tourist in exotic countries, in addition to a number of Eurocentric statements full of self-confidence. This attitude is also visible in his description of Chinese characters. In his account of a trip through the streets of Beijing, the architect recounted a collection of typical sights – houses, shops, rickshaws, people with long braids – and included among those "weird daubs of Chinese letters."[42] The same attitude towards Chinese writing is also visible in Bryła's travelogue from America, where he wrote that characters in New York's Chinatown were like strangely twisted giant spiders.[43] The Chinese orthographic system is seen as typical of local sights, albeit depreciated as something weird and strange.

In Bryła's account, a negative attitude towards Chinese orthography is expressed in a selection of metaphors and reveals personal feeling without intellectual content. However, sometimes characters were seen in a negative light for more reflective reasons, such as in the 19th and early 20th century when it was common to perceive China as a stagnant, conservative country, a Herderian "mummy of an ancient civilization," and sometimes alleged backwardness was attributed to Chinese characters.[44] Among the travellers in our corpus, this statement was uttered by Milorad Rajčević. He claimed that the Chinese language was made of words with one syllable, and for every syllable a special character is required, so a lot of time and effort is needed to learn how to read and write. For that reason, the Chinese could not easily obtain education and hence the country's backwardness.[45]

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[42] S. Bryła, *Daleki Wschód* [The Far East] (Lwów: Księgarnia Naukowa, 1923), 133. "bohomazy chińskich liter dziwaczne."
[43] S. Bryła, *Ameryka* [America] (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Polskie, 1921), 78.
[44] H. Saussy, "Impressions de China; or, How to Translate from a Nonexistent Original," in *Sinographies. Writing China*, ed. Eric Hayot, Haun Saussy, and Steven G. Yao (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 67–68; G. Blue, "China and Western social thought in the modern period," in *China and Historical Capitalism*, ed. Gregory Blue and Timothy Brook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 74.
[45] Rajčević, *Na Dalekom Istoku* [In the Far East], 134.

In the examples analysed above, othering is combined with disdain. But let's look at instances where othering and fascination are combined. There were travellers who described Chinese characters as signs of Chinese otherness, even though they attributed positive values to them. One such case is remarks from a travelogue by Mieczysław Jankowski, a Polish soldier who took part in the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War and later wrote a book about his experience in Manchuria. He related how he observed "the art of Chinese writing" and emphasised that the word "art" is fully deserved.[46] He also gave a detailed paragraph-long description of writing with a brush and ink. So while Bryła's impression associated characters with ugliness, Jankowski linked them with art and sophistication. This traveller, again thanks to "markers" and in a way similar to Rajčević, also referred to the huge number of characters and the difficulties in mastering them. However, for him it signified not backwardness but learning and wisdom.

Milutin Velimirović's description of Chinese characters is also an example of exoticism and fascination with otherness. This traveller visited the Temple of Confucius in Beijing and observed tablets with descriptions, allegedly 3000 years old. His remarks expressed enthralment with unknown and exotic writings: "I look at those stony, eternal books, with small hieroglyphs, and while I would like to read a text from at least a single tablet and elucidate the mystery of hieroglyphs, unfortunately, among numerous signs only sometimes do I find very rare acquaintances: mi, taj, ce or fu."[47] Just as Zapałowicz wanted to touch a braid, Velimirović wanted to read and understand characters. In both cases, a sight becomes a marker of exoticism. In Velimirović's case, writings also represent the ancient and mysterious heritage of the Middle Kingdom.

IV. Conclusion

This article has presented a number of examples of how certain items seen as typical of China acquired an additional meaning in a travel

[46] M. Jankowski, *Mandżurja. Wrażenia i wspomnienia* [Manchuria. Impressions and Memoirs] (Warszawa: Skł. gł. w "Księgarni Polskiej," 1909), 63.

[47] Velimirović, *Kroz Kinu: putopis* [Through China: A Travelogue], 150. "Gledam na te kamene večite knjige, sa sitnim jeroglifima i mnogo bih želeo da bar sa jedne ploče pročitam tekst i rasvetlim misteriju jeroglifa, ali na žalost, od sviju mnogobrojnih znakova, tek po negde nailazim na vrlo retke poznanike: mi, taj, ce ilu fu…"

narrative depending on the author and his/her background. Nonetheless, a statement to the effect that travel writing presents an imaginary reality depending on the writer's socio-cultural background is but one of a number of factors to be taken into account during the investigation of travelogues and is not a conclusion. It is very important to analyse in detail which aspects of writers' experience, knowledge and sensibility influenced their specific way of portraying the observed reality. Of course, such research would require a much more detailed study than this one, still, we can already observe, for instance, the significance of a writer's Catholic missionary background (Zaleski and Wilczyński on dragons), how Eurocentric convictions of a writer purporting superior Western technical knowledge led to disdain for foreign aesthetics (Bryła on characters), and how a fast-paced narrative by an uneducated traveller sank into shallow observations (Rajčević on braids). However, what could well be the most important insight from our short investigation is China's twofold nature as a place that is familiar yet radically other. On the one hand, the Middle Kingdom was familiar because travellers easily identified certain items as Chinese. The authors described seeing rickshaws because they knew that such vehicles were typical and potential readers would have expected them to appear in a narrative about China. However, despite this sense of familiarity, the description tended to emphasise the sights' otherness, for while braids or characters were relatively known, they served as signs of otherness without due references to their social and political significance.

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Serbia Is Not Siberia: The French on Serbia and the Serbs at the Turn of the Nineteenth into the Twentieth Century[1]

Aleksandra Kolaković[2]

I. Introduction

There has always been a belief that travel influences the acquisition of knowledge, thinking, perception, and new ideas. The image of the country visited remained in the minds of travellers for a long time. Also, travellers communicated their impressions to friends, family, colleagues, and a wide audience of listeners or readers. The development of the press, as well as the faster distribution of books and newspapers made distant and unknown areas more accessible to those who never travelled. In a time of romanticism, legends, myths, the lack of sufficient knowledge on the Balkans and its people, as well as the long rule of the Ottoman Empire in the area influenced the vague and inaccurate preconceptions about Serbia and the Serbs.[3] Travellers, even those highly

[1] This paper is a part of the project activities of the Institute for Political Studies, supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

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[3] P. H. Lacombe, *Voyage sur la carte en Italie, en Grèce, en Turquie, en Arabie, en Egypteetaux î les de la Méditeranée, contenantune des criptiondesprincipa les villes, suivie d'un tableau indiquauant leur distance de Paris et leur population* (Paris, 1835); M. Pavlović, "Prosper Merime i njegove Gusle" [Prosper Merimee and his Gusle], in *Gusle*, ed. Prosper Merime (Beograd: SKZ, 1991), 21; S. Sretenović, "Les philoserbs en France au temps du Royaume des Serbes Croates et Slovènes (1918–1929)," *Etudes danubiennes (Les relation Franco Yougoslaves dans l entre-deux guerres 1918–1940)* 23:1–2 (2007): 121; A. Vujović, *Srpsko-francuska susretanja* [Serbian-French encounters] (Beograd: Učiteljski fakultet u Beogradu, 2011), 50; A. De Lamartine, *Souvenirs impressions pensées et paysages pendant un voyague en Orient (1832–1833)* (Paris, 1835); M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan* [Imagining the Balkans] (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2006), 143–144; A. Kolaković, "Interesovanje francuskih intelektualaca za Južne Slovene u 19. veku," [The interest of French intellectuals in the South Slavs in the 19th century], in *3rd Conference for Young Slavists in Budapest*, ed.

educated, often went to Belgrade and Serbia, often bringing stereotyped views which supposed the existence of two unequal European civilizations, one of them being the "inferior Eastern Europe,"[4] as formulated by Joseph-Marie de Maistre in 1819. However, romanticized ideas on Serbia and the Serbs began to fade especially from the second half of the nineteenth century with the Berlin Congress and the state independence (1878). Furthermore, the decline of the Ottoman Empire shifted the focus of interest to the *young* nations of the Balkans.

Serbia's transformation into a country that could compare to other developed European countries began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This was not left unnoticed by foreigners travelling to Serbia for business or leisure. The French who often wrote about the Serbs and Serbia did not rely on solely known sources, but they rather described their own experience during their stay in the city.[5] Bits and pieces of that information about the ordinary life of Serbs and the Belgrade itself at the turn of the century can be found even in the reports of the French diplomats of the time who had Serbia as their duty station for a while. We can see what kind of memories did they take with them from their travels and work of literature, as well as from the correspondence between the French and the Serbian intellectuals of the time. All those remarks, their viewpoints and memories were transposed into the French environment. They built the idea of the other (or the same) Europe that exists in the Balkans, which was not well known and was therefore suitable for the development of stereotypes and prejudices.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Serbia and the Serbs were officially introduced to the French public by Albert Malet (1864–1915), a historian and a diplomat on his special mission at the Serbian royal house, who also served as a professor for the Serbian king, Aleksandar

Urkom Aleksander (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Institute of Slavonic and Baltic Philology, 2014), 116–120.

[4] M. Ekmečić, *Susret civilizacija i srpski odnos prema Evropi* [Encounter of civilizations and Serbian attitude towards Europe] (Novi Sad: Fond za pomoć Srbima Toma Maksimović, 1997), 75.

[5] M Pavlović, *Od Esklavonije ka Jugoslaviji* [From Esclavonia to Yugoslavia] (Sremski Karlovci, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjžarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1994), 222; A. Kolaković, *Susret sa Beogradom: Francuzi o Beogradu na prelazu iz 19. u 20. vek (Rencontre avec Belgrade : les Français parlent de Belgrade au tournant du XIXe siècle au XXe siècle, Meeting with Belgrade: French talking about Belgrade at the turn of the century)* (Beograd: Centar za istraživanje kulture i dijaspore, 2016).

Obrenović. *Dnevnik sa srpskog Dvora* (*Diary from the Serbian royal palace*) was written by Malet for his family and closest friends, and today, this remarkable work can be viewed as a memory with significant historical accuracy, since it shines a new light on how a foreigner, accustomed to the Parisian lights, saw Belgrade.[6] Malet was a French intellectual who spent over two years in Serbia and met people and witnessed the customs on a daily basis, writing down his thoughts along the way. For creating a full picture of Belgrade in Paris, significant were the texts in the daily papers that were coming more and more often since the Annexation Crisis (1908). That was the time when Paul Labbé (1867–1943), geographer and secretary general from La Société normande de géographie (The Norman Geographic Society) came to visit Serbia. After his visit, Labbé gave a series of lectures about Serbia all around France. He even published a manuscript *A travers la Serbie. Impressions d'un récent voyage*.[7] During the Balkan wars, numerous reporters came to the region of Balkans, Serbia and of course, Belgrade. It is rather interesting how Belgrade, the Serbs and Serbia was perceived by the mining engineer, Alphonse Muzet, during his exploration trip for the French financiers in order to analyse the economy of the Balkans. Muzet, who later became trade attaché in Belgrade, was exploring the possibilities of building a railway network. After his visit, a book was published, under the title *Aux pays balkanique: Monténégro Serbie Bulgarie* whose significant portion was dedicated to the political situation in Serbia, ordinary people lives, economic subjects, but most notably, the natural resources of Serbia.[8] At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was possible to make visual presentations of the Balkans and the Serbs, through means of photographic campaigns that were put together, under the patronage of French banker Albert Khan, by geographer Jean Brunhes. This was made under the *Archive of the planet*.[9]

[6] A. Malet, *Dnevnik sa srpskog dvora* [Diary from the Serbian court] (Beograd: CLIO, 1999).
[7] Archives of Serbia, The Serbian Mission in Paris, folder 4, confidential, number 26, Ministry of National Economy to the Serbian Mission to Paris, Belgrade, February 13th, 1909; Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Legacy of Jovan Cvijić, VII-94, Claud Labbé to Ljubica Cvijić, Paris, June 12th 1930; Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, Legacy of Jovan Cvijić, VII-95, Claud Labbé to Ljubica Cvijić, Paris, June 23rd 1930; P. Labbé, *A travers la Serbie. Impressions d'un récent voyage* (Paris: Impr. de L. Gy, 1910);
[8] A. Muzet, *Aux pays balkanique: Monténégro Serbie Bulgarie* (Paris: P. Roger, 1912).
[9] D. Okuefuna, *The wonderful world of Albert Kahn. Colour photographs from a lost age* (London: BBC Books, 2008); www.albertkahn.co.uk/about.html (accessed 1 March 2020).

II. From Lack of Knowledge and Incomprehension to Impressions

When Albert Malet was coming into Serbia at the beginning of October 1892, the first thing that he noticed was, "in between of two huge rivers, Belgrade is sitting charmingly on a cliffs' edge, with the Domes from the Kings palace shining in the morning Sun."[10] The first depiction of Belgrade was rather short and vague, but he noticed immediately the buildings erected in French style, and also train cars, made by French engineers. On his path from the Belgrade railways station towards the hotel Imperial, where he took a room. Malet notices with a bit of disappointment, "The endless sea of dust that, during the rainy days, turns itself into a lake of mud, covering even the hilly little streets made out of horrid oval stone, surrounded with the ugliest of hoses covered in white facades."[11] At the end of the nineteenth century, Belgrade looked rather dirty and lacking seriously in care, but that was just at the first sight, "with the Sun easing down a bit this negative impression,"[12] Malet concluded. Though his first impressions were changed after he got to know Belgrade and the Serbs a bit better.

A traveller going through the Balkans and parts of Serbia noticed some elements of *Orientalism* and shared these thoughts about it to the French society. The common belief which prevailed on Serbia as an exotic and backward environment, together with the expectations that Belgrade is closer in appearance to far Eastern cities sometimes created a surprise at the first encounter, which has been developing by the Western model.[13] During one of his travels, Malet stayed at a hotel called

[10] A. Malet, *Dnevnik sa srpskog dvora*, 67.

[11] Ibid, 68; Aleksandra Kolaković, *Susret sa Beogradom: Francuzi o Beogradu na prelazu iz 19. u 20. vek*, 3, 11, 19.

[12] Ibidem.

[13] S. Nedić, "Urbanističko uređenje Beograda od 1886. do 1914. godine" [Urban development of Belgrade from 1886 to 1914], *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* [Annual of the Museum of the City of Belgrade] 23 (1976): 175–216; B. Maksimović, "Urbanizam i arhitektura Beograda od 1830. do 1941. godine" [Urbanism and architecture of Belgrade from 1830 to 1941 Urbanism and architecture of Belgrade from 1830 to 1941], in *Istorija Beograda* [History of Belgrade] (Beograd: SANU, 1995), 235–247; B. Nestorivić, "Razvoj arhitekture Beograda od kneza Miloša do Prvog svetskog rata (1815–1914)" [Development of Belgrade Architecture from Prince Miloš to the First World War (1815–1914)], *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* [Annual of the Museum of the City of Belgrade] 1 (1954): 167–181; J. Petrović, "Istorijski, društveni i ekonomski razvoj Karađorđeve ulice

Europe in Svilajnac,[14] where he spotted a toothbrush in the room, which was used by every traveller.[15] About Hotel Europe, he wrote: "There is a taste in the building, which the builder could not execute nicely. Almost every town in Serbia has such inns with different names. On the front there are steps with finished Corinthian ornaments; the painter's work is colourful; dining room; our rooms are the best - just towards the barn and the garbage can," he concluded: "If you are traveling to the East, avoid the inns named Europe."[16] Malet also described the appearance of Svilajnac, which he emphasized as "a larger village as well as all other Serbian towns except maybe Belgrade and Kragujevac."[17] In the late nineteenth century, the French intellectuals emphasized, in particular, the problem of the underdevelopment of Serbian cities in the interior, not only in terms of population but also in their lifestyle.

The travellers wanted to get to know not just Belgrade, but also the life in the countryside of Serbia. In 1893, Alfons Magrou, the French language professor of the Serbian King Aleksandar Obrenović, visited by foot the villages of Avala and the Kolubara region, and from these visits he got the impression that the "pure, genuine Serbian people, despite the railways, electric lighting, telegraph, remained pastoral and peasant." They also brought to France *a pretty picture* of a Serbian village: "the houses are away from each other, and each is surrounded by an orchard. The surface is clean, green, smiling. Peasants dressed - somewhat like our buzzards - in wide puffed jackets."[18] The French intellectual was particularly impressed by the need of a Serbian peasant to enjoy: "As shepherds of ancient idylls, he can play in the flute or hum with songs, sing or make lyrics. The nature is beautiful there, and give him no literature, please – because he is a great ignorant – do not spoil

u Beogradu do 1914. godine" [Historical, social and economic development of Karadjordje's Street in Belgrade until 1914], *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* [Annual of the Museum of the City of Belgrade] 57 (2010): 135–150.

14 Svilajnjac is located 100 km south-east of Belgrade, on the banks of the river Resava and bordering the river Morava.

15 A. Malet, "Uskršnje uspomene iz Srbije" [Easter memories from Serbia], *Zora* [Aurora] 8–9:1.8 (1899): 305.

16 Ibidem, 306.

17 Ibidem, 305.

18 A. Magrou, "Srbi i Srbija (uspomene od četiri godine provedene u Srbiji od 1899 – 1893. godine" [Serbs and Serbia (memories of four years spent in Serbia from 1899 to 1893], *Delo* [*l'Oeuvre*] 73 (1915): 79.

the impressions he receives from it [...] Indeed, there are no peasants who are more of a natural poets or musicians, than those peasants from Drina, Kolubara and Šumadija. What he loves is, first and foremost, *kolo* (national folklore dance), and especially songs performed with *gusle* (national instrument), national epics or songs so numerous and so passionate, but all anonymous, that came directly from the soul of the people."[19] "It is wonderful to travel from Svilajnac to Manasija in the fresh morning and clear morning air. The nature is very tempting: on the left side of the road flows the Resava River, which winds through the countryside and sparkles, and wherever it runs, it is caught by the paddle of a watermill. Far right there in the plain, the view narrows and falls on the silvery surface of Morava," Malet described his Easter journey to the old Serbian spiritual centre.[20] Serbia's natural beauties and "the delicate life" that takes place in its mountains were also spotted by the future writer Valery Larbaud on his return trip from Northern and Eastern Europe in 1898, when he travelled through Belgrade for his visits to Russia, Constantinople and Sofia. In his later works, he remembered the scent of rose gardens, the virgin Serbian mountains, small train stations with boys and girls in "lovely folk costumes," who followed colorful wooden full-wheeled cars like the ones from Homeric period, as well as new buildings, white and red houses and pictures of a horseman in blue and red on the streets of Niš.[21]

Patrimonio, a long-time French ambassador in Belgrade, often noticed that "there are no more distrustful people than Serbs, but they are generally loyal and good."[22] Most likely, he was influenced by the fierce political struggles in Serbia at the time. Malet's mission in Serbia was to instruct the young prince Alexander in the history of diplomacy, but he also worked for the French government in the hopes that he would increase French influence. Alphonse Magrou observed that "the first line that is surprising with the average Serb, especially the peasant type, is his pride. They look you straight in the eye, give you a wide hand, and shake yours, with vigour."[23] During his early travels to central Serbia,

[19] Ibidem, 82.
[20] A. Malet, "Uskršnje uspomene iz Srbije," 305.
[21] M. Pavlović, *Od Esklavonije ka Jugoslaviji*, 224–225.
[22] A. Malet, *Dnevnik sa srpskog dvora*, 70.
[23] A. Magrou, "Srbi i Srbija (uspomene od četiri godine provedene u Srbiji od 1899 – 1893. godine," 123.

Malet also made a similar observation. "Serbian people are proud," he wrote. In his introductory texts, while translating Serbian folk songs of the *Kosovo Cycle* associate of Serbian diplomacy, the slavist and journalist Ivan de Malkyhazouny, emphasized the role of monasteries and churches in Serbian history and tradition, which was to bolster both the patriotism and the courageous spirit of the congregation.[24]

The transformation of the Serbian capital, the introduction of electricity, trams, the paving of streets, the refurbishment of old buildings, the erection of new buildings in the spirit of modern European architecture were not missed by the curious eye of French visitors. At the end of the nineteenth century, Belgrade was beginning to shed its Oriental atmosphere, replacing it with a European model, while still retaining its Balkan character. With the opening of the first power plant in 1893, street lighting appeared, and the city began to be electrified. Electric trams began replacing horse-drawn trams.[25] Although Malet considered Serbia to be a "semi-European-semi-eastern" country, he noted the changes introduced by Serbian "returnees from Paris and Vienna" and predicted that they would cause major upheavals in Serbian society.[26] French intellectuals also noticed changes in the way of everyday life, women's clothing, the difference between life in a big city - Belgrade - and the smaller cities, as well as life in the countryside. For instance, Malet emphasized the modest and not always tastefully decorated interior of houses and restaurants. He also noted that during his stay he enjoyed the food of a French restaurant in Belgrade, which was run by an Italian, more than he did the local cuisine, which he considered too caloric for a Frenchman.[27] Two decades later, Muzet also noticed defects in the cobblestone of Belgrade, as well as "peppery and fatty foods," which, according to the judgment of a French intellectual, was a consequence of the overuse of peppers in Serbian cuisine, especially in Southern Serbia.[28]

While certainly possessing more knowledge of Serbian than the average Frenchman, those French intellectuals who came to Serbia

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[24] I. de Malkyhazouny, "La Battaille de Kosovo. L'Epopée serbe," *La Revue slave* (1907): (special edition)

[25] See: D. Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt: urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda: 1890-1914* [Cobble and asphalt: urbanization and Europeanization of Belgrade: 1890-1914] (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2012).

[26] A. Malet, *Dnevnik sa srpskog dvora*, 148.

[27] Ibidem, 71.

[28] A. Muzet, *Aux pays balkanique: Monténégro Serbie Bulgarie*, 77.

lacked in-depth information regarding the country. In 1909, Paul Labbé observed democratic and patriotic elements in Belgrade as well as the rest of Serbia. He visited Belgrade as well as Šabac, which he said was called *Little Paris* by the Serbs. He also travelled to Loznica, Valjevo, Zaječar, Bor, Niš, Kruševac, and Novi Pazar. Paul Labbé, a geographer, was delighted with the "lovely games" performed in folk costumes with "beautiful music."[29] He noted the existence of a family atmosphere in Serbian homes and the nurturing of patriotism, and was particularly keen on the folk customs of fraternity, communal labor, and hospitality. He particularly emphasized that Serbia was a country of small holdings and that there were virtually no social classes, and compared the love of the Serbs towards their homeland with the feelings of the French for France.[30] At the time of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Labbé presented the economic and democratic capacities of Serbia to French high society, as well as the Serbian respect for the French society and culture, and especially highlighted the similarities of the French and Serbian understandings of patriotism.

The Balkan wars confirmed that the Serb "in moments of crisis, the strong aspirations, aspirations for self-sacrifice and enthusiasm for sacrifice, exist."[31] Based on the texts by Muzet and other French intellectuals, journalists, and diplomats, depictions of life in Serbia and Belgrade were being made. French authors observed problems in the functioning of the city and state, as well as the daily concerns of citizens. Muzet in 1912 noticed a tendency towards borrowing without prudent thinking, illiquidity of small financial institutions in the interior of the country, problems in the functioning of the bureaucracy, slow communication, and embarrassing behaviour of officials. In the report of a long time French envoy in Belgrade in 1913, it was written that the Serb "lives by his imagination and his dreams." The envoy was alluding to the cult of the Kosovo Serbian folk songs and traditions which "for centuries supported the national spirit."[32]

[29] P. Labbé, *A travers la Serbie. Impressions d'un récent voyage*, 9–13, 15, 17.
[30] N.N."Beleške" [Notes], *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Gazette] 29:11 (1912): 875.
[31] A. Kolaković, *Susret sa Beogradom: Francuzi o Beogradu na prelazu iz 19. u 20. vek*, 5, 13, 22.
[32] M. Pavlović, *Francuzi o Srbima i Srbiji 1912–1918* [The French about Serbs and Serbia 1912–1918] (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1988), 247.

III. Meeting with Serbian Customs, History, and Orthodoxy

Holiday celebrations and customs revealed the character and daily life of Serbs, whose traces are also preserved in the works of other French intellectuals. The customs and celebrations of the Serbs were reported by Alphonse Magrou and Albert Malet at the end of the nineteenth century, and by Paul Labbé after his visit to Serbia in 1908, and by Alphonse Muzet in 1912. Serbian religious holidays, celebrations, weddings, celebrations of Christmas, Lazar's Sabbath - Vrbica, Flower Week, and Easter, as well as the accompanying customs, were especially inspiring to French intellectuals. In his *Diary from the Serbian royal palace*, Malet left testimony of the customs that followed the celebration of all major Serbian religious holidays. The impression that Malet gained was that the Serbs had more interest in the customs related to the holidays than in the holidays themselves. During his first visit to the Belgrade Cathedral Church, he emphasized: "in truth, there was no service […] Despite the large number of religious images, I did not get the impression that these people were truly pious."[33] In describing the celebration of religious holidays, Malet also emphasized the lack of order and discipline, explaining that Serbia is "a true country of democracy, because every individual is considered equal to his neighbour and because it would not be understood why he and that neighbour would have an advantage over him."[34]

The French travel writers paid special interest to the customs related to the marking of the family patron saint day. "The day when a family celebrates their patron, for the sake of remembering the day her ancestor left polytheism for the sake of Orthodoxy, is the most popular day, dearest to the heart of a true Serb. It is called glory," wrote Alphonse Magrou.[35] He described the feast and customs associated with the celebration: "When the weather permits, the celebration is performed under clear skies; large fires are burning in the yard or garden; they roast whole piglets, *suckers*, or beef pieces on a spit, large (ćevap), small (ćevapčić). Tradition requires that every guest take a piece, by using only his hand. The celebration becomes tyrannical when toasts come. It

[33] A. Malet, *Dnevnik sa srpskog dvora*, 93, 131.
[34] Ibidem, 132.
[35] A. Magrou, "Srbi i Srbija (uspomene od četiri godine provedene u Srbiji od 1899 – 1893. godine," 121.

demands that they be measured on the table, and after they drank, the glass raised."[36]

Serbian medieval history, embodied in numerous monasteries and the artwork they guarded, was admired by most French intellectuals, from Malet, through Labbé, to Gabriel Millet. In 1906, Millet was staying in Serbia for one month. He visited: Manasija, Ravanica, Annunciation (near Stragar), Vracevšnica, Vednje, Shepherd and Kablar monasteries (John, Nicholas, Trinity, Annunciation), Arilje, Bella Crkva (near Karana), Čačak, Veluce, Rudenica, Kruševac, Prokuplje, and Kuršumlija, and then presented them in high French society to French intellectuals, creating by this an interest in Serbian cultural heritage.[37] Photographic campaigns further indicated to travellers the aforementioned cultural monuments in the Balkans and the surrounding nature. However, coming to Belgrade and Serbia, French intellectuals still lacked sufficient information. Malet, by his own admission, prior to his arrival in Belgrade, was "quite ignorant of Serbs" and it was only after reading the book of Saint-René Taillandier – *Serbia: Karadjordje and Miloš*, when he realized that Serbian history was "beautiful and very exciting."[38] At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the jurist, geographer and ethnologist Paul Labbé, compared Serbia's unfamiliarity in the world to the similar case of Siberia.[39] Labbé was one of several French intellectuals who clearly stated in their works that there was much information about Serbia being presented to the French and European public because of an organized Austro-Hungarian propaganda campaign. Serbia's natural beauties, such as Đerdap and places where religion, tradition, culture, and past were merging (Ravanica, Studenica, and Žiča) were also of interest to Labbé and many other French intellectuals. On his arrival to Serbia in 1914 and during his retreat with the Serbian army, Auguste Boppe, a French diplomat and ambassador to the Serbian government in exile

[36] Ibidem.

[37] J. Ćirić, "Gabriel Millet et Djurdje Bošković: l'étude conjointe des monuments médiévaux de la Serbie moravienne," in *La Serbie et la France: une alliance atypique: relations politiques, économiques et culturelles, 1870–1940*, ed. D. T. Bataković (Belgrade: SASA, 2010), 545–556; D. Preradović, "Prvo putovanje Gabrijela Mijea po Srbiji" [Gabriel Millet's first trip around Serbia], in *Srbi o Francuzima – Francuzi o Srbima* [Serbs about the French - The French about the Serbs], ed. Jelena Novaković, Lj. Ristić (Beograd: Filološki fakultet Beograd, Društvo za kulturnu saradnju Francuska Srbija, 2015), 188–189.

[38] A. Malet, *Dnevnik sa srpskog dvora*, 74.

[39] P. Labbé, *A travers la Serbie, Impressions d'un récent voyage*, 4.

during the Great War, recalled Studenica, which he had visited in 1891. He left it with fondest memories: "I can see even now a little beautiful path that took me through the woods to the small valley where the monastery lies, with its walls, its courtyards, its church, a masterpiece of Serbian-Venetian art, which remained intact for centuries, testifying the glory days of St. King Stevan."[40] Besides customs related to big holidays, Paul Labbé and Alphonse Muzet were particularly attracted to celebrations and wedding customs. The need to comment on Serbian customs and to point out some elements of the Orthodox faith and customs were also reported by French diplomats in their reports. Reporting on his mission to close shops in Skopje on Orthodox Christmas Day in 1913, Léon-Eugène Coulard Descos, a French ambassador in Belgrade from 1907, also wrote several lines dedicated to the Feast of Epiphany and the way it is celebrated among Serbs.[41] French intellectuals, despite existing stereotypes, were able to understand the importance of the relationship between Serbs and national traditions, history, legends, myths, and Orthodoxy.

IV. Conclusion

The French intellectuals were very aware of how much more effort, research, and studies were needed to be made in order to introduce that part of Europe to others. Although small in scope, the texts of French intellectuals describing Belgrade and the interior of Serbia contributed to the French's acquaintance with Serbia and the Serbs. It is difficult to say precisely how well the individual texts have succeeded in this job. It is quite certain that those texts whose authors were able to market them to the general public or the French elite had a more decisive influence on the creation of the idea of Serbia and the Serbs. After returning to France, Alfons Magrou and Alber Malet enjoyed excellent reputations for their expertise on Serbia. Labe's *A travers la Serbie: Impressions d' un récent voyage* contributed to the presentation of Serbia in France because the author, as a secretary-general of the Normandy Geographical Society, had sufficient professional authority to have his work echoed in French scientific and business circles.

[40] A. Boppe, *Za srpskom vojskom od Niša do Krfa* [With the Serbian Army from Nis to Corfu] (Beograd: Čigoja, 2014), 25.
[41] M. Pavlović, *Francuzi o Srbima i Srbiji 1912–1918*, 245.

Prudence and the prevailing belief in the European public in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century regarding Serbia, as a country that belongs to the Orient, are visible in the attitudes of diplomats who spent part of their careers in Belgrade and Serbia. Such belief apparently was common among French intellectuals, who knew the history and the political and social scene in Serbia. Neither their contacts, links, and cooperation with the Serbs were not always strong enough to change the image of Serbia as *an exotic country* in a constant struggle between the traditional and the modern. Maria Todorova in her book *Imagining the Balkans* believes that the idea of the inhabitants of the Balkans as primitive barbarians and abusers rounded off in the first decade of the twentieth century. Actually, the Serbs were at the centre of this picture of the Balkans because of the events of 1903 and 1914.[42] In France, the image of the Serbs changed by time and had certain specific characteristics. The courage and the successes of the Serbian army during The Balkan Wars resulted in a belief in French intellectual circles that Serbia was the dominant Balkan state that could be counted on in the pursuit of French politics.[43]

French intellectuals and publicists noted the characteristics of the Serbian way of living, as well as some traits of the Serbs, and they also shared with their readers all available information or their personal views of Belgrade and other Serbian cities. The general impression was that the information provided by the French publicists, especially after the Balkan Wars, introduced Serbia to the French public who knew it as much as Siberia. After the initial information, from the Annexation Crisis and the Balkan Wars, more positive images of Serbia and the Serbs started spreading among the French public.[44] In order to investigate the Balkan wars and the military power of the Balkan states, General Hert visited Belgrade in early November 1912. After admitting that he expected to find "a noisy town, a people with southern instincts, striking and delighted with success," the general admitted that the Serbs had shown him "what efforts could be required of a young nation, inspired by noble sentiments, under the guidance of energetic leaders. Serbia has been

[42] M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, 117–120.

[43] A. Kolaković, "French Intellectuals and the French Policy Change in the Balkans (1912–1913)," *Journal of Turkish World Studies* 12:2 (2012): 199–212.

[44] A. Kolaković, "Road to Great War. Serbian Intellectuals and Austro-Hungarian Policy in the Balkans (1894–1914)," *Serbian Political Thought* 1 (2014): 67–89.

preparing and deserving of its success."[45] The texts of French intellectuals, with a wealth of different information, made possible the creation of a picture of the changes that engulfed the young Balkan state, observed in the West only through the colonial prism of prejudice and blurred representations. Thanks to these texts and information on everyday life, the appearance of Serbian villages and towns, monasteries, and character traits, a new perception of the Serbs was developed in the eyes of the French. This was especially important because the mentioned change was happening at the time of the strongest struggle of the Serbs for their national goals.[46] Therefore, these texts' impact on the political circles of France, which was possible because writers such as Malet or Labbé were in official state diplomatic and economic missions, was crucial for getting to know the Serbs and understanding the national goals of the Serbian people on the eve of the Great War.

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[45] N.N. "Beleške" [Notes], *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Gazette] 31:18 (1913): 636.

[46] A. Kolaković, "Francuski intelektualci i Srbija u predvečerje Velikog rata" [French intellectuals and Serbia on the eve of the Great War], in *Srbija i geopolitičke prilike u Evropi 1914. godine* [Serbia and geopolitical situation in Europe in 1914], ed. M. Stepić, Lj. Ristić (Lajkovac, Beograd: Gradska Biblioteka Lajkovac, Institut za političke studije, 2015), 279–301.

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VARIA:
MODERN PERSPECTIVES ON TODAY'S RAILWAYS

The Railway Station of Timişoara in Serbian Sources (1863-1919)

Jovana Kasaš[1]

Travelling by train in Banat, a region that was divided between Hungary, Romania, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after World War One, has been a vital part of the everyday life of its inhabitants since the nineteenth century.[2] The city of Timişoara (currently in Romania), the largest settlement and the seat[3] of the Banat region, was named after the river Begej, known as Little Timiş in the past. In the nineteenth century, it was the seat of the Tamiş County, situated along the Bega canal. From as early as the mid-fourteenth century, it has been standing at the intersection of the main roads between the East and West; it thereby represented a powerful economic hub and it remains to this day one of the largest economic, social, and cultural centres of Romania with over 300,000 inhabitants.

The current central Railway Station of Timişoara, whose official name is Railway Station Timişoara-North (Timişoara Gara de Nord), is located in the Iozefin Quarter and is one of the oldest in Romania. The station changed its name over the years: it was called both the Railway Station Iozefin and the Railway Station Princess Elena (Domniţa Elena), but since the 5th of January, 1939, it is known as the Railway Station Timişoara-North. Timişoara now has two other smaller stations: the East station and the South station.

The first building of the Railway Station was inaugurated on the 15th of November, 1857, at the same time when the railway line Szeged–Kikinda–Jimbolia–Timişoara (amounting 112 kilometres) was put into

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[2] Jovana Kasaš, "Srbi u Temišvaru kao građani prvog reda: svakodnevni život" [Serbs in Timisoara as first-class citizens: everyday life], *Attendite* 15 (2019): 97.

[3] In 1716, Timişoara passed from Turkish to Austrian dominance and was transformed into the seat of the Banat region. Radu Bellu, Dušan Dejanac, Ivan Simić, Jovan Čudanov, Horváth Ferenc, Gyula Gyarmati, *Szeged–Kikinda–Jimbolia–Timişoara* (Jimbolia: Asociaţia Glasul Roţilor de tren), 2007, 5.

service. Timişoara station was the last station and had low passenger flow at the time.[4]

It took two hours and a quarter to reach Szeged from Kikinda by train, and then another two hours to go from Kikinda to Timişoara. At first, two trains departed daily from Timişoara and Szeged. Thus, Timişoara became a city connected to Western Europe by rail. Apart from combined trains, freight trains were soon to be introduced, and the first train crossed the Budapest–Kikinda–Timişoara line in 1861. In 1857, the Railway station in Timişoara started to use gas lamps for lightning, and in 1884, it became the first railway station in Europe to use electrical lighting prior to the stations in Paris and Vienna.[5]

Dr. Đorđe Lazarević, a resident of Novi Sad, noted in his biography that travelling by the Timişoara rail had a significant impact on him as a young man. In May 1863, Lazarević was invited to attend his brother's wedding in Pest, which he reached by boat on the Danube river; afterwards, he travelled from Pest to his sister's wedding in Timişoara:

> Oh, the joy! I have never travelled by boat, never been to Pest, and furthermore, I am also going to travel by train, which I have never seen yet.[6]
> I will never forget the moment when I first set foot on a train and when it set in motion. I travelled at such speed that I could hardly dare to look at the fields I passing through and I was shaking.[7]

On the journey by rail back from Timişoara to Novi Sad, Đorđe Lazarević also went through and Pančevo.

In 1897, a new building was constructed for the Timişoara Railway Station, designed by the architect Felix Speidl, professor at the Technical University in Budapest. It was built in French neo-Renaissance style, with towers adorning it. Its façade held four statues, each representing the most significant economic branches of the time. Two of those statues were the work of sculptor Lajos Lantai.[8] With a construction cost

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[4] R. Bellu, D. Dejanac, I. Simić, J. Čudanov, H. Ferenc, G. Gyula, *Szeged–Kikinda – Jimbolia–Timişoara*, 5.

[5] Ibidem, 7.

[6] Đ. Lazarević, *Moja Biografija* [*My biography*] (Novi Sad: Gradska biblioteka, 2013), 50.

[7] Ibidem.

[8] General information concerning the Timisoara Railway Station as well as the photographs were obtained thanks to Dr. Zoran Markov, a historian from Timişoara, the

amounting to one million crowns, it was a grand building, likely one of the most beautiful railway stations of the time in Hungary. The railway complex included a warehouse for locomotives and a service for locomotives and carriages.

Fig. 1. The old building of the Railway Station in Timişoara.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

The building was described at the time by the famous Serbian writer Miloš Crnjanski, who was living in Timişoara. Writing for the daily paper "Politika," he described the railway station as "enormous," concluding that it was "larger" than the one in Belgrade, and was "red like a house on fire, engulfing all the surrounding parks in soot and smoke."[9]

head of the history department at the Museum of Banat, to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

[9] M. Crnjanski, "Naš Temišvar" ["Our Timisoara"], *Politika* 6001 (1925): 16.

Fig. 2. The building of the Railway Station in Timişoara.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

Fig. 3. The building of the Railway Station in Timişoara.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

Fig. 4. The building of the Railway Station in Timişoara.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

In the pre-war Serbian press, the only mention of the Railway Station Timişoara (that we found) is when the Serbian Timişoara bishop Geogrije (Letić) was greeted at the station in 1904. We found the record of the festive welcome in the Serbian newspaper "Srpski Sion."[10]

After the breakthrough of the Salonika Front on the 15th of September, 1918, the Serbian army and the Allied Forces hasted towards the territory of Banat, Bačka, and Baranja, inhabited by Serbs. A part of the Serbian army reached the seat of Banat, Timişoara, by rail. A division led by Major Dušan Dodić reached the Railway Station in Timişoara on the 19th of November, 1918. The Major noted in his journal that his division was transported to Timişoara in wagons.[11]

Afterwards, the newspaper "Srpski list" reported that Voivode Petar Bojović "entered Timişoara with great pomp" and was welcomed at the Timişoara railway station by a great number of Serbs, of members of the Serbian National Council of Timişoara, as well as by Dr. Otto Roth, the Hungarian commissioner and president of the Council of Banat. Bojović

[10] *Srpski Sion* 10 (1904): 273.
[11] Entries for the 19th and the 20th of November 1918. Ljubica Zdravković, "Dušan Dodić, oslobodilac Jagodine – ratni dnevnik" [Dušan Dodić, Liberator of Jagodina – War Journal] *Koreni* (2003): 218.

was greeted by the president of the Serbian National Council Ivan Prekajski, followed by Roth, who spoke in Hungarian. When Roth greeted the voivode as both the president of the Council of Banat, and as a commissioner of the Hungarian Republic, some of the citizens of Timişoara gathered there expressed their disagreement.[12] To this, Bojović replied that one could not have heard of a Hungarian Republic in Banat; he added that he did not acknowledge "any Hungarian commissioners in the places that the Serbian army had occupied." Furthermore, the voivode took advantage of this opportunity to highlight that "all that the Serbian army has conquered remains Serbian and united with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" adding that the Serbian army was going to remain in Banat until the Peace Conference, and that "Banat will always be Serbian."[13]

Fig. 5. The building of the Railway station in Timişoara.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

However, the non-Serbian population of Timişoara did not acknowledge "the Serbian Imperium" established in the city. Consequently, a great workers' strike broke out on the 22nd of February,

[12] *Srpski list* 45 (1919): 1.
[13] Ibidem.

1919. On the 25th of February, 1919, the editorial board of the newspaper "Sloga" communicated to the strikers that if their purpose was to "protest against the finished act of the imperium falling into Serbian hands," they had not achieved anything because they had only inflicted "damage to the entire city, and not particularly to the imperium of the Serbs." Furthermore, they noted that while the damage was widespread, it was not irreparable, adding that "the almost difficult issue" was the disruption of railway transport as it could lead to a shortage in food supplies.[14]

The military sources and the daily press of the time reveal that the great workers' strike started with the union of the workers and engineers from the railways of Timişoara who sent their delegates to the French general Léon Farret. The delegates requested permission from Farret to hold a peaceful manifestation and warned him of possible unrest in the near future.[15] On the 19th of February, 1919, the Minister of Defence in Belgrade proposed the Supreme Command a set of guidelines for measures to be taken in case of a strike; the guidelines were based on the standpoint that the railway workers were "in the military service of the occupier." The Supreme Command received an order that in case of an attempted strike, a list of all railway staff should be compiled and hostages should be chosen based on it. The workers were then to be informed that they were subject to court-martial trial and that the strike was considered a military rebellion. On the 21st of February, 1919, not only the railway workers of Timişoara, but also tram drivers, water supply line workers, and others went on strike. The serious threats of the military authorities, the taking of hostages, along with the standpoints of the leftist social democrats, forced all workers (except for railway workers) to end the strike on the 23rd of February, at ten o'clock. The railway workers in Timişoara and Subotica ended their strike on the 24th of February.[16]

The press in Novi Sad informed that an absolute order reigned in the Tamiş County during "the Serbian Imperium," although the traffic was

[14] *Sloga* 61 (1919): 3.
[15] B. Hrabak, "Veliki politički štrajk u Vojvodini i na ugarskoj teritoriji pod okupacijom srpske vojske 21-22. februara 1919. godine" [The Great Political Strike in Vojvodina and in the Hungarian Territory Under the Occupation of the Serbian Army on 21–22 February 1919], *Zbornik Historijskog instituta* (1965), 318.
[16] Ibidem, 322-323.

poor due to an insufficient quantity of coal. The Vršac newspaper "Nova zora" communicated that it was this very shortage of coal that caused the railway line of Timişoara–Valkanj–Žebelj–Čakovo to stop operating.[17] The traffic and the problems it faced in the aftermath of World War One gradually diminished, thus the newspaper "Sloga" announced that as of the 1st of May, 1919, the citizens of Pančevo also had a direct connection to Timişoara.[18]

In compliance with the terms of the Paris Peace Conference, by which Timişoara became part of the Kingdom of Romania, the Serbian Supreme Command sent a report to the Serbian Minister of Defence and Commander of the Fourth Army Province, stating that in the event of the military evacuation of Timişoara, they should begin by evacuating hospitals, warehouses, recruits and all who did not have to wait until the last moment. Furthermore, it was stated that the evacuation was to be carried out by rail or by navigable rivers and canals.[19]

On the 27th of June, 1919, the French General Franchet d'Espèrey arrived in Timişoara from Hungary by rail in order to supervise the evacuation of the army from the city. In compliance with his wish, there was no welcoming reception organized and he was greeted at the Timişoara Railway station solely by Dušan Kalafatović and the Commander of the Cavalry Division. According to Kalafatović's testimony, d'Espèrey was "very forthcoming and kind, acting in a quite amicable manner." Kalafatović was one of d'Espèrey's guests at the dinner he organized in a train carriage at the Timişoara Railway Station.[20]

While the evacuation of the army was unfolding, the Serbs of Timişoara were also leaving the city. Military reports show that influential Serbs from Timişoara (national activists who fought for the unification of Timişoara with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), requested help from the military authorities to be moved out of

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[17] *Jedinstvo* 1 (1919): 1; *Nova zora* 41 (1919): 2.
[18] *Sloga* 122 (1919): 2.
[19] Report of the Supreme Command to the Minister of Defence and commander of the Fourth army province dated 18th July 1919. *Veliki rat Srbije za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1914–1918*, odbrana *države ujedinjenih Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1919–1920*, knj. 32 [The Great Serbian War for the Liberation and Unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1914–1918, Defence of the Unified State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1919–1920] (Beograd: Medija centar "Odbrana", 2014), 328-329.
[20] Ibidem, 281-285.

Timişoara.[21] For that purpose, they addressed the Commander of the Cavalry Division in Timişoara. In his report, sent to the Commander of the First Army Province, he stated that the Serbs "feared the terror" of the Romanians, who would "retaliate the patriotic manifestations, friendliness and hospitality they had shown the Serbian army since its arrival in Timişoara."[22] The Commander, trying to support the families on the move, requested the Supreme Command to issue an order to help them. This order was to be directed to the delegate of the railway inspection in Timişoara who would provide the transport service required by these families; however, support would be given only "based on the merits of the persons in question."[23] The Serbs who left Timişoara by rail generally went to Veliki Bečkerek, Velika Kikinda, or Pančevo. Often, they had nowhere to live upon arrival, so they had to remain, for a period of time, in the very carriages that brought them there. The press in Banat wrote that these people "were nonetheless happy because they escaped the Romanian revenge" and thankful to the county governor Martin Filipon who provided them with the railway transport for their migration.[24]

Following the delimitation between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Romania, Timişoara became part of the "Greater Romania." The Railway Station in Timişoara was in Romanian territory and fell under the administration of the Kingdom of Romania. Following the terms of the Treaty of Trianon, ratified by the act no. 136 and published in the issue of *The Official Gazette* of the 21st of September 1920, the ownership of the railway line between Jimbolia and Timişoara was also transferred to the Romanian state.[25]

During the Second World War, the Railway Station was bombed by the Allied Forces on the 3rd of July, 1944. This caused extensive damage. In 1945, reparation works commenced, and three years later, they were near completion.

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21 Report of the Commander of the Cavalry Division in Timişoara to the Commander of the First Army Province dated 12th July 1919. *Veliki rat Srbije*, 317-318.

22 Ibidem.

23 Ibidem.

24 *Banatski glasnik* 155 (1919): 2.

25 R. Bellu, D. Dejanac, I. Simić, J. Čudanov, H. Ferenc, G. Gyula, *Szeged–Kikinda–Jimbolia–Timişoara*, 8.

Fig. 6. The Railway Station in Timişoara in 1924, view from today's Boulevard Gen. I. Dragalina. Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

Fig. 7. The building of the Timişoara Railway Station after the bombing in 1944. Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

After the Second World War, the station acquired a new appearance. Initially, parts of the original building were preserved (its east wing) while a new façade was built (figs. 8 and 9, representing the station the 1960s).

In 1976, a complete reconstruction was carried out and the building acquired its present appearance. Not much has changed in the architecture of the station since then and although renovation works were planned, they were never implemented.

Today, the railway junction in Banat seems to be falling out of use. This is currently being opposed by the "Association of Railway Enthusiasts" who are taking action for the revitalization of the railway to Hungary and for re-establishing traffic along the line Timişoara–Kikinda–Szeged.[26]

Fig. 8. The Railway Station in the 1960s.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

[26] R. Bellu, D. Dejanac, I. Simić, J. Čudanov, H. Ferenc, G. Gyula, *Szeged–Kikinda–Jimbolia–Timișoara*, 11.

Fig. 9. The Railway Station in the 1960s.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

Fig. 10. The current appearance of the Railway station in Timişoara.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Zoran Markov.

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The Hungarian Railways in the Humanities

Vivien Sándor[1]

This study[2] discusses how the rail is perceived in the humanities as a means of travel and a tool for everyday use. How can the railroad be a research topic in the humanities? This paper will present, starting with 1945, a brief history of the Hungarian railways up to the year 2000, including socio-geographical and ethnographic information on the subject. The purpose of this paper will be to demonstrate the administrative and social-shaping power of rail areas through the study of this specific local research of Hungarian railways.

The transport difficulties caused by the Trianon[3] still exist in 2020 and to this day, there are no connecting lines between county seats in Hungary. During the Second World War, much of the railway ring going through today's Hungary, Romania, and Serbia was severely fragmented; nevertheless, ever since then, track reconstruction was one of the main tasks at the railway. The history of the Hungarian railways is descriptive, less exploratory or explanatory. However, my research has shown that, in addition to being descriptive, it also points to a relationship between several research hypotheses. In order to understand and examine the spatial planning dynamics of the railway, it is essential not only to be aware of the descriptive sources, historical literature, and primary

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[2] Studying railways is one of the most challenging research stances. It requires spontaneity, willingness to travel, humility, thorough background knowledge and, last but not least, knowledge of technical language. As it is said in Hungary, the railway and the railway society itself is a large family, which requires a consideration of their difficult work conditions. The researcher must join this family without having a traffic service exam and without fulfilling duties (as an employee). The biggest challenge is – drawing from personal experience – building trust.

[3] The Trianon is a treaty dated June 4, 1920 by which Hungary lost ¾ of its territory. These areas were attached to neighbouring countries. See more: J. Woods, *When will Hungary get back its lost territories? Trianon is 99 yrs old.* 2019. https://dailynewshungary.com/when-will-hungary-get-back-its-lost-territories-trianon-is-99-yrs-old/ (Accessed June 04, 2019).

sources, but also to search the local culture and history. This study reflects primarily on mobility and the resulting sociological indicators, as well as on how the humanities can benefit from a more in-depth and accurate view of the organization of the railways in the twenty-first century.

I. The place and role of the railway in research

In order to be able to discuss academically the spatial organization and the society of the railway, its history in Hungary cannot be neglected. According to the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, not only did the territory of Hungary become truncated, but the counties were displaced to the periphery, thus leaving settlements and villages without a centre. Thus, Csonka-Bihar and Csonka-Szatmár counties shared the railway ring road, half of which remained in Hungary, while the other half (the Gyula-Nagyvárad-Szatmárnémeti-Beregszász-Sátoraljaújhely-Kassa railway ring road[4]) became part of three other countries (Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia). In this respect, the railway became an oxymoron. After World War II, reconstruction was the primary goal so that both passenger and freight traffic could restart as soon as possible:

> In the morning after the attack, those who came to work did not recognize the train station. The rails were reaching at the sky, the pieces of torn locomotives were thrown up by the air pressure to the top of the warehouse, the shards cutting through the thick steel of the wheels. (...) At first, after the liberation, the railway passengers tried to destroy the bomb funnels again, they searched in the debris for locomotives and wagons to be repaired, they tried to put the rails together by matching short pieces of rail, so that the first consignments of food could be sent to the capital from Dombóvár, Kanizsa, and Kiskunhalas.[5]

After World War II, manual labour was still used for reconstruction, but from the 1950s onwards, mechanization appeared in both track

[4] I. Balcsók, B. Baranyai and L. Dancs "Hajdú Bihar megye. Bihari térség [Hajdú-Bihar county. The area of Bihar]," in *Magyarország kisrégiói 8/1* [The small regions of Hungary], ed. Sándor Kasza (Budapest: CEBA Kiadó, 2002), 12.

[5] G. Moldova, *Akit a mozdony füstje megcsapott* [Who was struck by the smoke of the locomotive] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1978), 17.

construction and rail-laying work.[6] In the 1970s, railway bridges and overpasses existed for the transport service, of which a significant role was given to the southern rail connecting the Danube bridge, the Keleti-Főcsatorna (Eastern main canal) bridge, the Övcsatorna canal bridge, the Mura bridge, etc.[7] From the second half of the 1950s, service and station buildings started to be built, including the station building of the city of Debrecen (built between 1958 and 1960), which is still a remarkable building to this day. By the 1960s and 1970s, even smaller stations incorporated buildings from where traffic was controlled. Two significant buildings need to be highlighted: one is the passenger hall of the Budapest-Southern Railway Terminal (Budapest-Déli pályaudvar), whose image has hardly changed in the twenty-first century. The Budapest-Southern Railway Terminal is one of the most important railway terminals of the capital. The other significant building is that of the station in Szolnok, whose external and internal façades have not changed since construction in 1975. Szolnok is a key hub, as it connects the eastern, western, southern, and northern parts of the country. Of course, the railway has several similar railway junctions, but this one plays a cardinal role in the railway traffic of Eastern Hungary.[8] In addition to the reconstructions, MÁV (Magyar Államvasutak, the Hungarian State Railways) also took great care of the protection of monuments, so the building of the Kalocsa station was adorned with folk art motifs.[9] At the same time, in addition to new building constructions, traffic technology and machinery also developed, and steamers were replaced with diesel and electric machines. Furthermore, in terms of passenger comfort, the dynamics of travel also changed: namely, InterCity trains and higher-speed tracks appeared.

The railway "world" is not solely technical, but also includes a less researched group in the society: the railroad workers and their families. Prior to the year 2000, research was not significantly focused on exploring this closed micro-society, although sociology, linguistics, and ethnography all study the world of railways: jargon, uniforms, customary world, railway time, group and micro-social dynamics, as well as the

[6] *A 125 éves MÁV* [The 125 year-old MÁV], József Csiba, Marianne Koltai, István Mezei, ed. (Budapest: MÁV Rt., 1993), fig. 431-439.
[7] Ibidem.
[8] Ibidem, figs. 445, 448, 450.
[9] Ibidem, fig. 457.

settlement-forming power of railway buildings and, within linguistics, the interpretation of the railway signalling system. One does not need to be a railroad worker to encounter this sign system. In order to avoid ambiguity and standardization, the railway is working with a particular signalling system which can cause a communication problem for travellers. The first step to solving the communication problems between the railway and the passengers, in terms of research, was done through three studies which will be presented in the followings.

One of the studies, *Szemed a pályán legyen! Mozdonyfüstös néprajz*,[10] was published in 2017. This publication was preceded by a series titled *Talpfák – Ties*[11] and by György Moldova's *Akit a mozdony füstje megcsapott*.[12] All three discuss the railways which, although shaped by external factors (laws, social organization, economic development, innovation), are still static. Today, locomotive engineers, traffic managers (*forgalmi szolgálattevők*), ticket inspectors, yard-masters (*tolatásvezetők*), and railroad officers still exist. These fundamental railroad "pillars" have not changed and they continue to fulfil their mission: transportation.

The authors of the *Szemed a pályán legyen! Mozdonyfüstös néprajz* and *Talpfák* argue that railways have always been slow to respond to changes and increased demands. This is especially true for passenger transport, which is still provided by the Hungarian State Railways. Freight traffic in Hungary is carried out by private railway companies or their subsidiaries, so there is a sharp separation within the group of locomotive engineers. MÁV's fleet is developing slowly, and this is particularly true with regard to railway wagons. Furthermore, MÁV realized in 2014 that it was necessary to open up to the traveling public in order for them to understand the reasons for the permanent delays.[13] Therefore, there was a change in MAV's communication strategy, both internally and externally. The title of a study published in 2017, is also highly suggestive: "Keep your eyes on the road!" (*Szemed a pályán legyen!*)."[14] Indeed, initiates are aware that this is a constant call to locomotive engineers, even in the

[10] *Szemed a pályán legyen! Mozdonyfüstös néprajz* [Keep your eyes on the road! Locomotive smoke ethnography], ed. Géza Balázs, Gergely Molnár (Budapest: Magyar Szemiotikai Társaság, 2017).
[11] *Talpfák* [Ties], ed. János Bali, György Máté (Budapest: ELTE BTK Néprajzi Intézet, 2008).
[12] G. Moldova, *Akit a mozdony füstje megcsapott*.
[13] In 2015, MÁV's website was renewed: https://www.mavcsoport.hu/.
[14] *Szemed a pályán legyen! Mozdonyfüstös néprajz*, ed. Géza Balázs, Gergely Molnár.

driver's seat. In addition, many locomotive-built features help the commander so that he does not lose sight of his duties. The study titled "Eyes on the road!" (*Szemed a pályán legyen!*) presents railway ethnography in a more scientific way.[15] Furthermore, it presents the anthropology of the railways and the extent to which the railroad is an interdisciplinary issue. The contributors to this study stress the extent to which railroads or line closures affect the lives of individual areas, while also discussing the semiotics of railroads, the linguistic specificity of railroad jargon, or railroad caricatures. The authors also present the architecture of the existing switchman houses as the remains of station buildings and of a bygone age. Their conclusion is that railway workers form a social class which is rarely researched and mentioned in literature. However, much has been written[16] on railway language, vocabulary, its intimate content, and its place in the standard language of everyday life. In general, the primary factor that triggers railway language is having a railroad worker in one's family. Sooner or later, relatives will have to adjust to the railway's rhythm, including vocabulary.

György Moldova's book[17] is the first sociographic study whose author holds a MÁV credential in the field. The sociographic study presents in full detail throughout six chapters the Hungarian railway world of the 1970s. The first chapter represents a cornerstone for the beginning of railroad sociography studies. Its title is "Traffic must go!" (in Hungarian, "A forgalomnak menni kell!"[18]) in which Moldova presents the Budapest-Ferencváros train station. Why was it important and a priority to start the presentation with Ferencváros? Firstly, the title of the chapter is a quote of a station manager who helped Moldova with his research; and secondly, Ferencváros connects the western and eastern parts of Hungary, both in freight and passenger traffic.

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[15] Ibidem.

[16] See: O. Papp, *Vasutasszleng* [The slang of the railwayman], 2015. http://mnytud.arts.klte.hu/szleng/szakdolg/ papp_olivia-vasutasszleng.pdf. See also: Z. Ercsey, M. Kisteleki, T. Vincze, *Lassújelek hatásai a vasúti közlekedés költségeire* [The impact of slow signals on rail transport costs], 2013 http://www.sinekvilaga.hu/dr.-ercsey (Accessed September 05, 2020).

[17] G. Moldova, *Akit a mozdony füstje megcsapott.*

[18] Ibidem, 7.

Fig. 1. Map of Ferencváros[19]

Even decades after Moldova's research, the critical role of Ferencváros has not changed. The centre of freight traffic remains Budapest IX. district, Ferencváros, with even the other main railway stations in the city not being as important. Moldova, through the railway workers he had interviewed, is a great example of the fact that being a railroader in Ferencváros is not only a profession, but a way of life. The concept of train-free time in Ferencváros is unknown, because if the focus is not on passenger transport, it is on freight. Furthermore, Ferencváros is more than a traditional station, more than a directing station, and more than a west-east link. Because it performs many functions, a high number of employees work in Ferencváros day and night. This led to it becoming a city within a city, encompassing a workers' hostel, a house of culture (railway houses of culture can be found in several cities, including Szolnok and Debrecen), and other civil facilities that serve railwaymen and their families.[20]

György Moldova further discusses the topic, stressing the group of train drivers, the attributes of the micro-society, as well as issues of track

[19] Map of Ferencváros. Source: https://www.google.com/maps/place/Budapest,+IX.+ker%C3%BClet/@47.461387,19.0877187,15z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x4741dd23b15f80d1:0x500c4290c1ed5c0!8m2!3d47.4649279!4d19.0916229 (Accessed June 05, 2020).
[20] T. Tokai, *Ha a 201-es váltó mesélni tudna* [If the no. 201 switch could tell its story], http://iho.hu/hir/ha-a-201-es-valto-meselni-tudna-150405 (Accessed April 05, 2015).

maintenance and hospital care for railway workers. Moldova thus perfectly illustrates that the railway group is a society within a society.

II. The railway as primary source in local research

Railways play a decisive role in urban studies and social geography, as they allow large municipal administrative settlements to transform into cities. This is the case of Vámospércs, one of the stations of the railway line 105, located in Hajdú-Bihar County, about 20 kilometres from the city of Debrecen (Fig. 2), along the main road 48. As it is located in the peripheral territory of Hungary, the railway has saved it from depopulation, as well as from the closure of the railway lines that took place in the 2000s. Railway line 105 has been serving the city of Vámospércs for over 100 years. In addition to passenger traffic, international freight traffic also runs on the line, which is served by MÁV and other private railway companies. The line is not electrified, so only diesel machines are part of the rolling stock. Before 1920, trade and large-scale exchange of goods represented the real turnover on this line, as Nagykároly and Érmihályfalva held trade fairs.[21] This railway line escaped the horrors of the Second World War, after which the three settlements of Nyíracsád, Nyírábrány, and Vámospércs started to grow steadily and eventually gained the rank of cities in the 1990s. Nyírábrány is a border settlement with an international border crossing, along railway line 105. As Nyíracsád was the smallest of the three, until 1923, it only had a small railway which served freight traffic and later developed to serve passenger transport as well – thus the inhabitants of the settlement and the surrounding homesteads reached Debrecen via this small railway. In the 1930s, tourists also used the narrow-gauge railway of Nyíracsád. On the basis of a 1968 decision, traffic on this narrow-gauge line ceased on the 31st of August 1977. The forest of Gút, originally crossed by the rail, was declared protected:

> The railway affected many homesteads and villages, as there were numerous market passengers, including people traveling going to work and school. After the railway was closed, the farmers were left without a means of transport.

[21] I. Dankó, "Vámospércs a dualizmus korában (1849-1914)" [Vámospércs in the age of dualism (1849-1914)], in *Vámospércs története* [The history of Vámospércs], ed. István Gazdag (Vámospércs: Vámospércs Nagyközség Önkormányzata, 1995), 53-71.

> The last loaded freight train arrived at the Debrecen-Fatelep station.[22]

This decision somewhat predestined Nyíracsád's development path, as it was deprived of its transportation point that would have helped its economic progress and population retention. The closure of the railway line resulted in its neighbour, Vámospércs, becoming the centre in the region. One of the inhabitants of Vámospércs recalls the closure of the Gút narrow-gauge railway as follows:

> It started with the construction of a road between the settlements, because there was a dirt road between Vámospércs and Nyírmártonfalva. Practically from that point onwards, Vámospércs became a centre, because you did not have to wait for the light railway, the Zsuzsi train, to take you to Debrecen, because the population of Nyíracsád, Nyírmártonfalva, and Gút commuted to Debrecen by small railway. From then on, when the asphalt road was completed, Debrecen became more accessible and these small towns were able to develop better.[23]

The railway line stretched between Debrecen and Nyírbéltek, but the track remained only between Debrecen and Hármashatárhegy, which is 16.6 kilometres long, as the rest was demolished.[24] The section of the narrow-gauge railway that has survived to this day is shown in Fig. 2 in light grey, right below the red line (making both red and light grey lines still in use today); whereas the black line (the traffic between Hárashegyalja and Nyírbéltek) shows the part of the line which is not in use anymore.

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[22] Zsuzsi Forest Railway. *History of Zsuzsi.* https://zsuzsivasut.hu/a-zsuzsi-vasut-tortenete/ (Accessed September 05, 2020).

[23] Interview detail, November 2017. These interviews were conducted in the framework of an ethnographic research between 2016-2019. I did the interviews myself. The topic of the interviews was urban renewal. The quote is from a 53-year-old man who lives in Vámospércs.

[24] Zsuzsi Forest Railway. *History of Zsuzsi.* https://zsuzsivasut.hu/a-zsuzsi-vasut-tortenete/ (Accessed September 05, 2020).

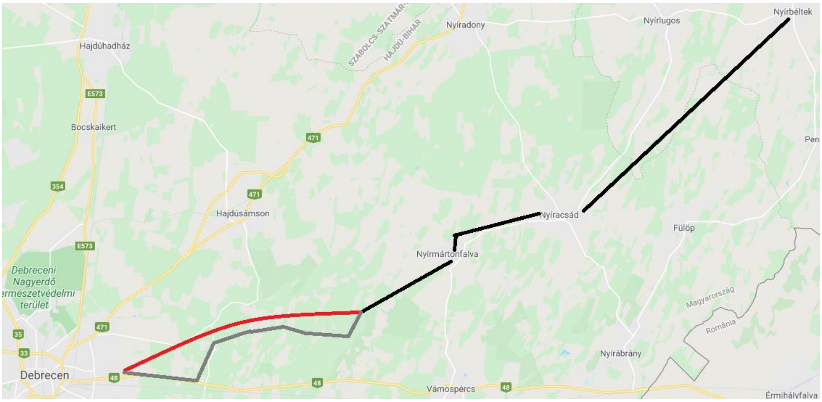

Fig. 2. Map of the small railway.[25] The route of the Zsuzsi forest railway between Debrecen and Hármashegyalja. The black line between Hármashegyalja and Nyírbéltek shows the traffic is not operating anymore on that section.

III. Concluding remarks – railways and the humanities

The railway therefore not only belong to the fields of technical sciences and history, but can also be studied in sociology, linguistics, ethnography, and psychology. Of course, the issue of the relevance of research and usability arises. The researcher acts as a bridge between science and society, thus bringing the closed world of the railway closer to the users of the railway, that is, the passengers. The micro-world created by railways, including buildings, railway legends, railway families, as well as micro-historical events, have only recently gained research relevance. Furthermore, György Moldova points out that the impact of terminated, closed railway lines on local society is major.[26] Every element of the railway not only offers a research topic for the past, but also serves for present-day research.

[25] Self-edited map. Map source: https://www.google.com/maps/@47.6333693,21.8518864,11.5z (Accessed June 05, 2020).
[26] Internet availability of Moldova's book: http://vilir.gportal.hu/portal/vilir/upload/717530_1327607724_07294.pdf. See pages 295-327.

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