

MARA BRANKOVIĆ

Serbian Empress

In 1432 or 1433, the marriage between the Turkish Sultan Murad II and the daughter of Despot Djuradj, Mara, was arranged. The background of this a bit sudden marriage of Mara is not clear. It is undisputable that it was the political marriage, but the question remains who initiated it. This marriage was supposed to be the guarantee of Djuradj's future fidelity to the Sultan.

There were many reasons for which the Despot could be accused by the Sultan. Apart from receiving the signs of the Despot dignity from Byzantium and continuous secret agreements with Karanoglu and Hungarian King Sigismund, there was also not permitted building of the Smederevo Fortress. Djuradj's permanent intrigues at the Turkish court brought him numerous opponents who were accusing him before the Sultan on a daily basis. As written by Turkish chroniclers, Murad II was annoyed with listening to constant complaints about Djuradj's infidelity and he decided to conquer the Despotate and deprive the Despot of all his estates. Through his spies, Djuradj had been informed about that and he offered him Mara as his wife and the part of Serbia with her as his dowry in order to calm down the Sultan. The Sultan did not want to marry Mara since he was a good Mohammedan and believed that this marriage would be a humiliation for him. However, he had been pressured by his pashas, probably bribed by Djuradj, and he accepted it.

There is a quotation by Constantine of Ostrovica who described this event in a bit differ-



ent manner. According to him, Mara's marriage was arranged and only afterwards Despot Djuradj asked for and was allowed to build Smederevo: "Then, the Turkish Emperor Murad took the Despot's daughter called Mara and asked the Despot to, together with her, also send him his son Grgur. The Despot sent his son Murad and, in this friendship, the Despot asked the Emperor to let him build the monastery, which the Emperor allowed and promised not to oppose him and also allowed him to build a secured town for himself, and gave his firm word to keep the promise. Relying on the Emperor's promise, the Despot had the Fortress Smederevo built" (Constantine of Ostrovica).

The marriage with Mara did not give the Sultan anything more that he could otherwise achieve, because the Despotate was very weak and it could not be defended against stronger military action. The actual winner was, in fact, Djuradj. Therefore, it is assumed that Mara's marriage was his own idea. It was a very risky move, but, at that time, it was the only possible way to acquire any stronger position at the Turkish court. Perhaps, at that time, he remembered the example of Princess Milica who had her daughter Olivera married to Sultan Bayezid in which way she managed to keep Serbia for the Lazarevićs. It was the basic reason why his father Vuk lost the power over Serbia, which he should have had it by some logic. Something similar is said by Doukas when he mentioned that Djuradj sent the message to the Sultan: "The Em-

peror, the Master, receive my daughter as your Empress, as your grandfather Bayezid took a girl from us." This political recipe was now applied by Djuradj but his success was more than incomplete.

It was certainly not easy for Djuradj when he decided to send Mara to the Turkish harem. It is quite possible that he hoped this marriage would never happen. There are several reasons for that. The Sultan himself did not show any willingness to bring Mara to his harem and he accepted it all under the pressure of his pashas. On the other hand, it was agreed to wait for several years until the marriage since Mara was still young (in 1432, she was only around 14). In addition, the Sultan had some three hundred women and many boys in his harem, and it was quite possible that he would forget about this marriage. Besides, it was possible to arrange by bribing the people in the Sultan's surroundings not to remind him of the marriage. Finally, since several years had to be waited for the marriage, it was quite possible that some sudden events could occur and prevent Djuradj to perform his obligation. Indeed, at that time and in the course of several subsequent years, Djuradj was convinced that Hungary with the support of Europe, would finally manage to break the Turkish power. Many of his risky actions were motivated by his unrealistic expectations and it was quite possible that he looks at this agreed marriage in the same way.

It seems that further development of events was favourable for Djuradj. The Sultan, under foreign pressure, accepted the marriage, and the engagement was formalised by Saruja Pasha's visit to the Despotate and necessary procedures. Mara remained at her parents' home, and the Turks travelled back home after the engagement. Everything seemed as if nothing had happened. Djuradj gained again some kind of the Sultan's thrust and there were no more threats of Turkish attacks. He fulfilled his obligations on a regular basis and it seemed that the Sultan was even satisfied. De la Broquière claimed hearing the Sultan saying that from Serbia "he received more cavalrymen than he would have got if it were his own".

Mavro Orbini, somewhat differently describes Mara's marriage to the Sultan. Namely, the Sultan dissatisfied with the way in which Djuradj

fulfilled his vassal obligations, decided to make firmer ties with him by asking Djuradj's daughter in addition to the payment of tax. Djuradj was undecided regarding Mara's leave to the harem, but his wife Irene convinced him to finally give in: "After that, Murad sent Saraji Pasha from his court to Djuradj to obtain regular tax and to bring the Despot's daughter Maria to be his wife. This made Djuradj very sad; he was not sorry to pay the tax, but it was very difficult for him to give his daughter to be his wife. Finally, defeated by his wife Eirine's words, or Irene's (as called by others), he gave her hoping that with such a relation, he would fully reconcile with Murad, but it turned out differently, as it will be said below."

In August 1435, Sultan Murad II sent his envoys to bring him the promised girl. In September, the wedding was celebrated in Adrianople, and Mara was escorted by her brothers Grgur and Stefan. Mara was less lucky in this marriage than it was the case with Kantakuzena. Although Murad II loved women, he had around three hundred of them in the harem, he preferred boys whom he had around thirty: "And after drinking, he found the greatest pleasure in women and little boys sodomites, and he has got around 300 or more women, and he has also got 25 or 30 boys who are constantly with him even more often than women" (De la Broquière). The Greek writer Doukas tried to present that Mara was the Sultan's favourite, as Olivera used to be, but this was completely wrong. Murad II was a real Mohammedan therefore, he did not even want to see Mara who was a Christian, not to mention some other relations with her. There is a source claiming that there was no wedding ceremony in Adrianople "because the Sultan found that it was not worthy of love to make a celebration to a Christian" (Murad Dragoman). George Sphrantzes goes even further by saying that Mara was never touched by Sultan Murad II, thus she returned to Serbia the same as when she had come to his court. This was not easy for her as proven by her vow that if she ever managed to be released from the Harem slavery, she would devote her maidenhood to Good.

Together with Mara, Djuradj had to pay a great dowry. But, this was not all, there was yet another sacrifice. It has already been said that

Mara was escorted by her brothers Grgur and Stefan and that they were present at the wedding ceremony, if any. However, only Grgur returned to Serbia whereas Stefan had to stay as a hostage ensuring Djuradj's faithful fulfilment of obligations.

At the end, Mara was sent to the harem premises in Bursa where she spent her days. During that time, it was certainly much more difficult for Stefan. It is not known what kind of experiences he had during his stay in Turkey, but it is quite certain that Stefan did not easily cope with his hostage situation. He was a very good-looking young man and it was questionable whether he caught someone's eye there and whether he was exposed to some additional humiliations. During these years, great hearted towards the Turks was accumulated in him and among the Brankovići, he turned out to be the biggest opponent of the Turks. He was soon joined by his brother Grgur in his captivity after the fall of Smederevo (1439).

It is quite possible that their captivity would have ended without any problems unless tragic events had occurred. Namely, Sultan Murad found out that Despot Djuradj had some correspondence with Novo Brdo defenders who were defending against the Turkish siege at that time (1440), as well as that he had some secret contacts with his captured sons Stefan and Grgur. Murad II enraged and ordered to put Stefan and Grgur in shackles and to take them to the town of Tokat in Asia Minor. There was a jail for political prisoners. Soon after they had been brought to this jail, both of them were punished by being blinded on 8th May 1441. The event of blinding is described somewhat differently by Constantine of Ostrovica. He says that the Sultan ordered Stefan and Grgur to be taken to a faraway Tokat exclusively to be as far as possible from their sister Mara, who would have certainly helped them if she had known what happened to them. Soon, the Sultan sent a secret order that both Mara's brothers were blinded: "When he had arrived in Adrianople, Emperor Murad ordered that both Despot's sons were sent to the dungeon at the seaside, in the town called Tokat, and their sister, Murad's wife, could not help them at all. Also, he sent a herald, secretly so that his wife was unaware thereof, to have their eyes pulled out" (Constantine of Ostrovica).

For a while, Mara did not know that her brothers were in Tokat, but she heard about the Sultan's order that both of them were to be blinded. Therefore, she fell in front of him begging him to revoke the punishment: "And when she had found out about that, she fell in front of him, asking and begging him not to hurry so much and saying: they are already your slaves and prisoners and you can do whatever you want later" (Constantine of Ostrovica). The Sultan Murad II sincerely accepted this Mara's plea and he really wanted to help, therefore, he sent the herald on a fast horse to revoke the punishment. However, afraid that the Sultan may revoke the punishment the commander of Tokat had executed it much earlier than it should have been done. When the herald arrived, Grgur and Stefan had already been blinded: "The Emperor immediately sent the herald not to execute it. Without any delay, the herald quickly riding and replacing the horses, could not prevent that. Their eyes had already been pulled out. Due to some malice, this sordid man had hurried up. When the Emperor found out that the one who had received the order hurried up so much to have their eyes pulled out, he sent another herald there and ordered to have his eyes pulled out, as well" (Constantine of Ostrovica).

This Mara's action failed although there was just a little bit time needed to save her brothers from blinding. In her later activities, Mara would be much more successful, but she was always inclined to the Turkish side. Even before the Turkish attack on Smederevo (1439), she wrote to her father Djuradj warning him of the Turkish power and begging him to leave Smederevo to the Turks. At that time, Djuradj did not have sufficient political wisdom to obey his daughter, which he finally dearly paid. Smederevo fell, his son Grgur was captured and then blinded together with Stefan.

Mara's role is especially visible in making the Adrianople Peace in 1444. At that time, the situation was very complex. The Christians were in a big offensive, and the whole Despotate was in the Turkish hands. In such a situation, Sultan Murad II offered the possibility to Despot Djuradj to regain his Despotate, provided he left the Christian alliance. At the beginning, negotiations between the Sultan and the Despot were secret, and

Mara Branković took the intermediary role. Apparently, Sultan Murad II exerted pressure on her to address her father and convince him to make peace. It is hard to believe that she was only the intermediary regardless of whether she was influenced by the Sultan or her father Despot Djuradj. Therefore, perhaps one could wonder whether she was the one informing her father, Despot Djuradj, about gloomy mood prevailing at the Turkish court, as well as that Sultan Murad II was ready for great concessions just to make peace. She felt a good opportunity for the Despot to regain the Despotate and both of his blinded sons, without any further fights and victims.

In late June 1444, the agreement was made. Finally, the Despot was able to be very satisfied. By the Adrianople Peace, he got back the whole Despotate, including the vassal obligation to ensure supporting military detachments to the Sultan and to pay the tax. In addition, his two blinded sons, Grgur and Stefan, returned to Serbia after many years. Some longer time had to be waited for Mara's return to Serbia which was after the death of her husband Murad II.

The death of Sultan Murad II in 1451 did not take the Despot by surprise. He immediately sent the heralds who congratulated Mehmed II, but also requested the renewal of the previous agreement between Turkey and the Despotate. The Sultan immediately accepted it, and the agreement was extended under the previous conditions. In addition, Sultan Mehmed II released Mara Branković of her further stay in Turkey and sent her back to the Despotate with rich gifts. This made Djuradj especially happy. Toplica and Dubočica, held by the Turks until that time, were given for her sustenance: "And he sent Djuradj his daughter called Mara who was the wife of his father Murad and his step mother. He sent her off fairly by giving her two provinces: Toplica and Dubočica and made an alliance with the Despot: as long as he and his son Lazar were alive, he did not want to make them any inconveniences and he ensured that the Despot would send fifteen hundred cavalymen during war and pay the tax of fifteen thousand ducats every year. The Despot accepted it all and he actually did much of that" (Constantine of Ostrovica).

As soon as Mara Branković returned from Turkey, the Branković family finally got together. However, all this was far from family harmony. Although the Brankovićs suffered a lot and were heavily hurt by the Turks, there was no concord among them. It can even be said that deep hatred was prevailing among them. As it was always the case, the reason was the struggle for the power. There is no doubt that Mara Branković had a decisive influence on her father Despot Djuradj, even more so because she enjoyed an exceptional position at the Turkish court. New Sultan Mehmed II (the future conqueror of Constantinople) called Mara his "mother", and she considered him as her son. Even to such an extent that she taught him Serbian while he was a boy. Mehmed II lost his mother early (today, it is not even known who she was), and Mara had no children. Therefore, it is no wonder that these two human beings, each of them lost in own way in the labyrinths of the harem, got close together.

After Mara's return from Turkey, there was an attempt to have her marry the Byzantine Emperor Constantine. At the time when she returned to Serbia, she was around fifty years old and due to such relatively young age, as well as to her good relations at the Turkish court, George Sphrantzes, Grand Logothete of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine, got an idea to have his sovereign marry Mara. At that time, the Byzantine Emperor was a widower, he sent his delegates with the task to find him sufficiently rich and sufficiently influential woman. Due to her good relations with Sultan Mehmed II, it seemed to Sphrantzes that Mara would be a good match for the Emperor of rather failing Byzantine Empire. He proposed that to the Emperor, and the latter immediately accepted it. Of course, Despot Djuradj and especially Irene, were flattered by the idea of their daughter marrying the Byzantine Emperor. However, Mara's excuse was that while she had been the wife of Sultan Murad II, she vowed that she would not marry again if she ever left the harem but that she would become a nun. Thus, the marriage plan failed, and it turned out that it was serendipity for Mara since Constantinople fell soon and Emperor Constantine was murdered. Since she was exceptionally honoured and loved by Sultan Mehmed

II, she would certainly not have the same destiny, but there would have been some consequences by all means.

Mara took an active part in the Serbian politics until the death of Despot Djuradj on 24th December 1456. Then, there was a rift in the family. Whereas Mara, Grgur, and Irene were inclined to the Turkish side, new Despot Lazar, Despotess Helena Palaeologus, and Stefan represented the Hungarian side. While Irene was still alive, the relations were maintained somehow although with difficulties. At the end, the conflict was of such an extent that Irene, Mara, and Grgur had to flee to Turkey. Already old and ill, Irene died during the trip. The Turkish Sultan Mehmed II received Grgur and Mara in a very nice manner. From that time, Mara's political role significantly decreased, and she dedicated the rest of her life to herself.

Mara Branković had the most peaceful time in her old age. Immediately after her arrival from the Despotate to Turkey, she managed to get property from the Sultan Mehmed II in Jezevo in the vicinity of Serres where she spent her days. It was certainly her choice since the land was located on the road from Serbia to the Holy Mountain and there were also the estates of the Holy Mountain monasteries. This was the place where religious travellers stopped on their travel to the Holy Mountain, and Mara helped them and offered a resting place. She also helped her brother Grgur, uncle Thomas Kantakouzenos, Despotess Helena (the widow of her brother Lazar), and the Bosnian Queen Mara, the daughter of Despot Lazar, also found shelter with Mara. This intelligent woman provided comfort and shelter to anyone, even

to Despotess Helena who was evil to the whole Branković family and due to whose anger Mara Branković had also to flee once. However, as a real Christian, Mara was able to forgive and help.

The copying and painting school was active within Mara's court in Jezevo, and the famous Vladislav the Grammarian stayed there, as well. In addition, her heralds were continuously travelling from Jezevo to Dubrovnik and Istanbul, within her constant mediations, especially between Venice and Turkey. The extent of Mara's influence is seen in the fact that she was also able to protect the Constantinople Patriarchate, even to bring her people to the patriarchate throne, including one Serb Raphael. In addition, she had the relics of Saint John of Rila transferred from Tarnovo to the Rila Monastery. She represented the interests of the Holy Mountain monasteries in Istanbul.

Mara actively dealt with the clerical activities, she supported the monasteries in the Holy Mountain and she did not hesitate to sometimes take an active part in high politics, especially when she was asked to do so by Sultan Mehmed II. The reason why she has never become a nun is probably because she considered herself the successor of the Serbian rulers. The charters she issued and there were many of them, were verified with the stamp of her father Despot Djurdje. At the same time, she called herself "empress" or "ruler": "Your servant, Empress and Ruler Marija." She lived to be around 70 years old. She died, as recorded by a chronicler, in 1487: "In the year of 6996 (1487), Empress Mara, the daughter of Despot Djuradj, died in Jezevo on the Holy Cross Day, on Friday in September (14th).

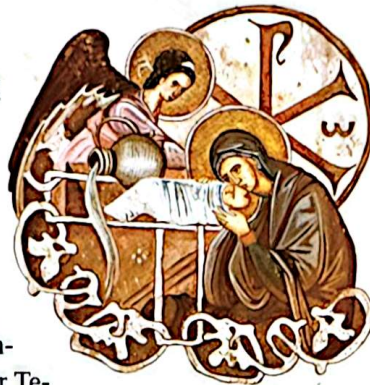
SAINT ANGELINA BRANKOVIĆ

Despotess and Nun

SAINT MAKSIM BRANKOVIĆ

Archbishop of Krušedol

In the course of 1460, blind Despot Stefan Branković arrived in Albania and there he got married to Angelina, the daughter of Catholic Albanian nobleman Arianiti Komneni: "Thus, Stefan fled to Albania, where at the insistence of his family, he took Angelina as his wife, or Teodora, as others call her, a chaste woman, the daughter of Skanderbeg's father-in-law, Arianiti, for the house not to be without an heir" (Mavro Orbini). This was a rather good marriage since Arianiti had close family ties with Skanderbeg. Together with the bride, Despot Stefan also got some estates from which he sustained himself. At that time, he was 44 or 45 years old. In early 1461, he left Albania and went to Venice, where he was well received, especially because he had been the Venetian patrician since 1435. While he was in Venice, he was visited by the Bishop of Mantua who described him as "a person without any objections; a man cannot be imagined with more dignity than him; a tall man, with an exceptionally serious and clever face". Despot Stefan did not stay in Venice for a long time but with his sister Kantakuzena, he bought an estate in Friuli with the town Beograd from the Gorizia Count Leonardo. This estate was in the territory of Venetian state. His sister Kantakuzena left him in the summer of 1469 and went to Mara in Turkey. Stefan hated the Turks so much and he had neither the will nor desire to go there with her. He passed away there on 9th October 1476. As far as it is known, he did not interfere in political events any



more, and his only occupation were his children: sons Djordje and Jovan and daughter Mara. With his wife Angelina, he lived in a rarely harmonious relationship and the only preserved of his letters from 1476 is full of love and gratitude to her.

It seems that he lived very modestly since he did not have any income apart from the one received from Venice. He had predicted his death and addressed Dubrovnik in a letter describing his difficult condition: "I am writing to your Lordship because my income is at the end and because I have doubts that I will live much longer. I am not sorrowful for my illness and death, as much as I am sorry for my Angelina and my little children: Djura, and Mara, and Jovan, whom I leave to God and the Holy Mother and to the world: what you do with them, let God do to you. And, noblemen, in my poor home I do not have where to write a testament, I do not have gold or silver or any furnishings to leave to Angelina and the children I made this effort to recommend to your lordship with all my concern and sorrow seeing that I will leave this world I recommend them to your lordship in my free will."

After his death, blind Stefan Branković left his wife Angelina, his sons Djordje (at that time 14 or 15), Jovan (one year younger), and daughter Mara. At the time of Stefan's death, the whole family was in Friuli town of Beograd. Even until then, these Brankovići lived very modestly and after Stefan's death, the situation got worse even more, because Dubrovnik, probably thinking that

the political career of the Branković family was over, provided less support. Their financial problems were only one side of their difficult life. The continuing attacks of their neighbours who tried to take away the parts of their estate were even more difficult. Since she lacked power to resist continuing attacks, Angelina Branković turned for help to many sides, but only Venice showed some kind of understanding. The Republic endeavoured to diplomatically settle down the hostile neighbours, and when it failed, it sent some mercenaries. However, it seemed as if it further provoked aggressive neighbours, and the Brankovići were in the hopeless situation. Therefore, Angelina decided to take a bit risky move, and in late 1478, she and her sons travelled to Vienna to Emperor Friedrich III to let him know of her troubles. Probably, she did so advised by Kantakuzena of Cilli, who seemed to be better with high court's relations.

Finally, it turned out that Kanakuzena's advice was very good because Emperor Friedrich III very nicely received Angelina and her sons, listened to her complaints and resolved their problems. He gave them the castle Weitersfeld in Styria and Angelina and her children moved in there soon. Of course, the King's complaisance and prudence towards them was not without obligations which the Brankovići had to assume. It was the oath of allegiance by which the Brankovići became imperial vassals.

It is not known what the Brankovići did in Styria in the next few years and what the direction of their actions, if any, was. The only known thing is that Angelina together with Kantakuzena tried to sell the old estate in Friuli and that she sent her representative but the sale was very difficult to make.

It seems that the Brankovići coped quite well, which is seen from some exceptionally discerning actions of Emperor Friedrich III towards them. It is hard to believe that they impressed the Emperor at the first meeting so that he did not forget them later. It is more likely that they took part in the life at the imperial court – not so important one though – but quite sufficient for the Emperor not to forget them. In any case, the Emperor mediated in the marriage of Mara Branković (Stefan

and Angelina's only daughter) to Boniface Paleologo V, borderline Marquess of Monferrat. At the time of the wedding, in 1485, Mara was only 19. The wedding was performed in Innsbruck, and the ceremony was enhanced by the presence of Emperor Friedrich III. However, the future spouse did not attend the wedding. He was replaced by his representative.

After the wedding, Mara Branković, escorted by her brother Djordje, travelled to Casale where her husband Bonifacio was. When Mara arrived, Bonifacio immediately made a marriage contract with the Brankovići under which Mara brought 10,000 ducats to the Marquis as her dowry. Mara left a good impression on her husband and it remained noted that she was considered to be not only beautiful, which she actually was, but also a very noble. What she thought of and felt for her husband who was much older than her, is not known, but it is known that at that time, girls did not decide about their future marriages. It was especially the case in the Branković family where many girls were sacrificed through marriage contracts for the purpose of political interests. Obviously, it was the case this time, as well. In an unknown country, with very low influence and almost no treasure, the Brankovići had to struggle for their survival, especially now when they exclusively depended on the mercy of Emperor Friedrich III. The Brankovići did not dare reject marriage offer by an old Marquess, and such offer, mediated by the Emperor himself, was certainly welcomed.

Taking into account relations of that time, Mara Branković was married well however, life was not inclined either to her or to other Brankovići. Perhaps, at the beginning, when she gave birth to two sons, George IX and John George Sebastian, in whom she found solace – it seemed as if fortune smiled on her. Already in 1493, she became a widow, and immediately afterwards, in 1495, she passed away at the age of twenty nine.

When Mara was escorted to her husband, the Brankovići returned to Carinthia and stayed there until the death of Despot Vuk Grgurević in 1485. Although there is no evidence of their activities, they undoubtedly vigorously followed everything that was happening in Srem. It is hard to believe

that insulted by the fact that Vuk Grgurević got the title of the Despot and the role of the leader of the Serbs they maintained any contacts with Despot Vuk. According to the legitimate right, the Despot title was not supposed to be given to Vuk but to the blind Stefan Branković and his sons Djordje and Jovan. Because of that, Djordje and Jovan must have felt as if they had been deprived of the title, and they probably considered Vuk as usurper, nevertheless, at that time, he was too powerful to take any action against him. In addition, it seems that Djordje and Jovan were too proud to ask for any support from Despot Vuk although they were in a very difficult situation. On the other hand, Despot Vuk was aware of it all and he was not too willing to establish any relationship with Djordje and Vuk.

After the death of Despot Vuk Grgurević, the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus invited the Brankovići, Djordje and Jovan, to Srem to take over estates left by Despot Vuk, as well as the Despot title. It was surprising since Djordje and Jovan were vassals of Emperor Friedrich III, who was a fierce enemy of King Matthias Corvinus with whom he waged a war at that time. In the summer of 1485, King Matthias Corvinus even managed to enter Vienna with his army. Of course, it did not even come to the Brankovići mind to reject such an invitation and they were on their way to Hungary with their mother Angelina.

In 1486, the Brankovići were in Hungary. Djordje and Jovan Branković got the Despot title. It was obvious that they considered their arrival in Srem as a permanent situation, because they brought their mother Angelina with them, as well as the relics of their father Stefan. This impressed the Serbs in Srem greatly and not without a reason. The right over the Despot title claimed by Djordje Branković was, in any case, much bigger than that held by late Vuk Grgurević. Namely, Djordje was a legitimate son of Stefan Branković, whereas Vuk was, at best, an illegitimate Grgur's son. In addition, they had the relics of Saint Stefan which could awaken memories of the Serbs of the past times which were much better than the ones they lived in then. The cult of a ruler was re-established among the people, the cult which was almost forgotten in previous years. It is obvious

that Djordje and Jovan Branković, probably with the support of their mother Angelina, devised and organised their activity among the Serbs in Srem well.

In the following years, Despot Djordje Branković fulfilled his vassal obligations on a regular basis, and then, suddenly, in the period between July 1497 and July 1499, he became a monk. In the Monastery of Kupinik, in the Church of the Holy Apostle Luke, where the relics of blind Stefan Branković (the Despot's father) were, Despot Djordje was secretly tonsured at night. Soon afterwards, the Metropolitan of Sofia, Kavelevit, arrived and ordained him as the Kupinik Hiermonk with the monastic name Maksim. The Despot's mother Angelina and brother Despot Jovan found out about this only when everything was over. What their reactions were is not known, but nothing could be done about it anymore. The position of Despot Djordje was now taken by Despot Jovan, only for a short time, until 10th December 1502 when he died.

Since Monk Maksim rejected the offer by the Hungarian King to regain the position of the Despot, the Brankovići were deprived of all their estates enjoyed until that time. Soon afterwards, Maksim and his mother Angelina left Serbia. They found shelter in Wallachia with Duke Radul the Great.

Maksim and mother Angelina brought the relics of blind Stefan Branković and the relics of Despot Jovan from Srem. They were cordially received by Duke Radul. Apparently, he was aware of Maksim's diplomatic abilities therefore, it is no wonder that he used him for his diplomatic activities for which Maksim was very useful to him. It is known that in 1507 Maksim managed to reconcile Duke Radul with Moldavian Duke Bogdan III diplomatically. Already in the next year, Maksim and Duke Radul travelled to Buda where the Duke negotiated with King Vladislaus. In return, Maksim was appointed the Wallachian Metropolitan, and he was able to use this position in several ways.

After the death of Duke Radul in 1508, Mihnea "the Bad" became a new Duke. Since he was inclined to the Catholic faith, he was reluctant to see Maksim there. Maksim was, however, a con-

vinced Orthodox and mutual conflicts occurred between them. Yet, even Duke Mihnea could not deny Maksim's diplomatic qualities thus, he, the same as Duke Radul, appointed him for diplomatic missions. However, he wanted to get rid of Maksim, and it seems that his idea was to extradite him to the Turkish Sultan. Maksim found out about that, and when he went to Buda to King Vladislaus, after conscientiously performed activity, he refused to return to Wallachia.

Maksim decided to withdraw from all secular activities and to fully commit to spiritual life in a convenient place in Srem. Such a suitable place in Fruška Gora was enabled to him by Stevan and Marko Jakšić. Maksim and Angelina, who returned from Wallachia in the meantime, had the Monastery of Krušedol dedicated to the Annunciation built. The relics of blind Stefan Branković and Despot Jovan were placed there and Maksim and Angelina found their peace. It is not known what Maksim dealt with apart from clerical activities, in the last years of his life. In 1513, he became the Metropolitan of Belgrade and his Metropolitanate covered the Serbs in Srem and in the part of Serbia around Belgrade and quite probably in the whole of Hungary. Even at that time, he was highly appreciated and everyone saw a future saint in him. He passed away in Krušedol on 18th January 1516.

Maksim's mother Angelina was mostly with Maksim and probably under his influence, she became a nun. It is not certain when mother Ange-

lina Branković became the nun, but it is certain that it was after 1502 and before 1509 (at that time she called herself "a humble nun"). Between 1512 and 1516, not far from the Monastery of Krušedol in the village of Krušedol, she had the Church of the Presentation of the Jesus Christ in the Temple built. This church had originally been built as a female monastery and it had some cells in which nuns were accommodated. In 1509, Angelina sent her spiritual father Evgenij to the Russian Grand Prince Vasilije Jovanović asking him for help. In her plea, she said that she intended to have a church dedicated to Saint John Chrysostom erected where she would place the relics of her husband Saint Stefan and her son Saint Jovan. She already had the location for the church – she bought it for 100 ducats. The Grand Russian Prince responded to this plea and sent sable leather and some money. The little church was built from these contributions.

Angelina spent there the last years of her life. She outlived her son Maksim for several years and died on 30th July 1520 (or 30th April 1516) and she was buried in the narthex of the church of the Presentation of the Jesus Christ in the Temple. Subsequently, her relics were transferred to the Monastery of Krušedol where the relics of blind Stefan Branković, Despot Jovan, and Maksim had already been placed. In 1716, the Monastery together with the relics of these Brankovićs were burnt down by the Turks. Today, there are only some particles of these relics.

MAKARIJE SOKOLOVIĆ

Serbian Patriarch, Saint

It is not known when Patriarch Makarije Sokolović was born. Many things about him are related to the legend or assumptions. It is possible that he became a monk in the Monastery of Mileševa but there are some opinions that it was in Hilandar and that he was even the Prior there. It is not even certain that he was the brother of the Turkish Vizier Mehmed Pasha Sokolović. Some say that he was only his relative. Yet, it is certain that he was in close family relations with the Turkish Vizier, which brought him many privileges. While he was the Archimandrite of Hilandar, he was entitled to wear bigger calotte than other monks, and he also got a special privilege to wear mace (because of which he was called "Makarije the Mace") and to ride a good horse. It is almost certain that he had been a Serbian Patriarch since 1557.

The Turkish times were exceptionally difficult both for the Serbian people and for the Serbian Orthodox Church. After the arrival of the Turks, the church organisation was almost completely destroyed, episcopal assemblies were not held in Peć anymore, and there were many intrigues among the church supremacy. The southern parts of the Serbian Orthodox Church were subordinated to the Ohrid Archdiocese.

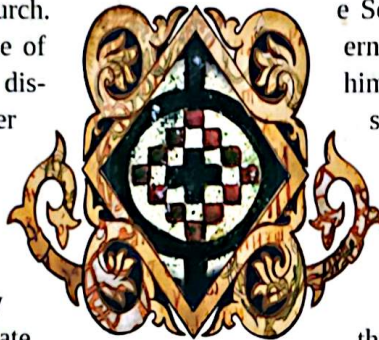
Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent subordinated the whole Peć Patriarchate to the Ohrid Archdiocese because of which he had resistance. The Bishop of Smederevo, Pavle, disobeyed the Ohrid Archdiocese and took over the Archbishop chair in Peć. There was a total mess. This was the case until 1557, when Makarije Sokolović was ordained as the Patriarch.

Makarije Sokolović immediately renewed the Peć Patriarchate. There is no doubt that the Grand Turkish Vizier Mehmed Pasha Sokolović was very meritorious for that. Thanks to his support, Patriarch Sokolović was recognised by the total Turkish authority. He got broad authorisations, the same ones that the Constantinople Patriarch had. It means that he managed the church property, collected church levies, inherited the property of those who died without any heirs, confirmed the rules of all guild organisations, arbitrated in all marital disputes and criminal cases: "The same as in Constantinople, the Patriarch and the bishops of the Peć Patriarchate were allowed free exercise of religion, free management of church estates, as well as the right to collect levies from the people, priests, and monks. The Patriarch together with the Synod was allowed to appoint Metropolitans and bishops with prior notification of the Sultan, without which such an appointment, chirotony, and installation would not be valid. In addition, the Patriarch was recognised huge privilege to appropriate estates without any heirs of priests, monks, bishops, and Metropolitans (the so-called *Ius saducitatis*). In brief, the Patriarch was recognised in the Turkish empire as the supreme head of the Serbian people" (Jovan Radonić).

This is the reason why "Patriarch Makarije was rightfully considered the Serbian people's Ethnarch" (Sava, the Bishop of Šumadija). In addition, the Patriarchate managed to develop the feeling of religious solidarity among people systematically "considering the threat of Islamification, and closely related to the idea of the national community" (Vladimir Ćorović).

Just at the position of the Patriarch, Makarije Sokolović showed his real values: "good, just, and peaceful man." This is not exaggeration, he was the disciple of Hilandar and he was fully in the tradition of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Later, the Metropolitan of Raška, Silvestar, wrote that Patriarch Makarije observed the universal principle of the church, he was wise, and immediately knew what he wanted: "every field of his complex and fruitful activity shows a serious and wise man who knows well what he wants. As the Patriarch, he fully reflects the consecrated traditions of his church. When he renewed the Patriarchate of Peć, he actually re-established the distorted clerical and canonical order of the church as it used to be in the Serbian Church at the time of its full bloom. The principle is permanently preserved and ardently applied and autocracy avoided in the renewed Patriarchate of Peć as the consequence of the activity of the Patriarch Makarije" (Djoko Slijepčević).

At the same time, the Serbian Patriarchate controlled almost all of the areas where the Serbian people lived: "now, after many centuries, the Serbs in Bosnia and old Raška, and the Serbs in the areas along the rivers Drava, Danube and Tisa, the Serbs in Mures and along the river Vardar, Timok, Morava, and Drina, and the seacoast feel again that they are connected but not only in one state which equally protected them, but also in their own community, in one organisation



which works and cares for them, provides them spiritual food, hopes, and, consolations" (Stanoje Stanojević).

Patriarch Makarije founded some new dioceses, with the seat in Buda, Pécs, Szeged, Arad, Timisoara, Vršac, the Monasteries of Orahovica and Rmanj (for Dalmatia). It is interesting that the dioceses in Samokovo, Tetovo, and Maška are mentioned, but nothing is known about them. It is assumed that Patriarch Makarije had forty dioceses under his spiritual guardianship. In his time, Makarije was called "the Patriarch of all the Serbian lands and coastal and northern areas, and other areas". He signed himself as: "the first Patriarch upon the second renewal of this honourable throne of all Serbian lands, western coast, and northern areas".

In his time, the Monasteries Banja near Priboj and Vinča near Grocka were renewed, the narthex in the Monastery of Gračanica, as well as in the Patriarchate of Peć painted and the Church in the Monastery of Budisavci were painted and many other monasteries were renewed: "In the whole clerical area, the enthusiasm and new life are felt" (Stanoje Stanojević).

Between 1570 and 1571, Patriarch Makarije got ill and he withdrew then. At the throne, he was succeeded by Antonije. In the upper church of the Monastery of Banja near Priboj, there is a fresco showing the scene of handing over the patriarchal throne. He passed away in September 1574

ARSENIJE III ČARNOJEVIĆ

Serbian Patriarch

Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević was born in Bajice, Montenegro around 1633. It is assumed that he comes from the old Crnojević family. Nothing is known about his youth and education. Likewise, it is not known when he became a monk. In one of his letters to Patriarch Maksim, whom he succeeded at the patriarchal throne, it is seen that they had good relationship because he addressed him as “a good father and teacher”.

In 1665, he became the Prior of the Patriarchate of Peć. In 1669, he was elected the titular Metropolitan of Peć, thus, he had already been foreordained as the successor of Patriarch Maksim. Since Patriarch Maksim was very ill, in 1671, Arsenije Čarnojević started to perform all duties of the Patriarch. In 1672, he was elected the Patriarch of Peć.

At that time, he travelled a lot, thus, he went to Bosnia (1674), Braničevo (1676), Srem (1676), Žiča, (1677), Braničevo again, etc. The Archbishop of Bar, Andrija Zmajević, at that time described him as follows: “The Patriarch is 35–40 years old, handsome and dignified in his appearance and very kind in his conduct.” In 1683, he travelled to Jerusalem. His very detailed diary about this journey remained in which he wrote among other things the following: “Let it be known that in 1683, I, Humble Patriarch of Peć, came to worship the Holy Sepulchre and other holy places for the sake of forgiveness of my sins.” The whole diary is full of the joy of life and satisfaction that its author, in his young age, became the successor of the throne on which Saint Sava used to sit.

The most tragic moments in the life of Arsenije Čarnojević were during the war between Austria and Turkey 1683–1699. Then, the Austrian army managed to reach as far as the southern parts of Serbia, to Kosovo. In the spring of 1688, the Turks plundered Gračanica where they found the treasure of the Patriarchate of Peć. Arsenije Čarnojević himself was caught and taken on a donkey. First, the Turks intended to behead him because they suspected that Arsenije was secretly negotiating with Austria, but thanks to the bribe of 10,000 thalers, Arsenije was freed. Soon afterwards, in 1689, the Turks tried to catch him again but he escaped from Peć to Nikšić.

In the meantime, the Austrian army seized the whole Kosovo and came to Peć. At that time, Patriarch Arsenije was in Cetinje. Then, the commander of the Austrian army, Piccolomini, had already conquered Priština, Skopje, Prizren, and Peć. He invited the Patriarch to return to Peć: “Unless he was there within seven days, he should not come anymore.” Due to the fear of losing his Patriarch throne, Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević returned to Peć, and in Prizren, he met the Austrian General Piccolomini. The General issued him a protection document. At that time, around 20,000 Serbian volunteers rose up under arms, with the support of the Patriarch: “then he abandoned peaceful politics of his predecessors and began leading militant politics towards the Turks. Ignoring the fact that his predecessors lost their lives because of starting struggles for liberation, together with the people, he openly participated in the activity and in the uprising against the Porte“ (Rajko Veselinović).

Unfortunately, Piccolomini suddenly died of plague on 9th November 1689, and the Turks militarily recovered and began suppressing the Austrians. In early 1690, the Austrian army was withdrawing on the left bank of the Danube and the Sava. The Serbian population followed the Austrian army not daring to wait for the Turks. There were also Arsenije III Čarnojević, five bishops, seven priors, eleven captains, and others: "Therefore, the Patriarch gathered all the valuables from the Patriarchate, and with many monks and national leaders and with many, mostly wealthy people, who were afraid of the Turkish revenge, began retreating after the Austrian army, and over Novi Pazar and Studenica reached Belgrade. The monks and farmers who did not want to flee but stay at their hearths, were killed or captured or retreated into hills and they were dispersed everywhere" (Stanoje Stanojević).

Upon the arrival to Belgrade, the Patriarch sent Isaija Djaković to negotiate with the Austrian Emperor Leopold, and on 21st August 1690, the Serbs obtained the so-called "Privileges". To them, the Serbian people, clerical autonomy and the Patriarch's jurisdiction within the scope as it was under the Turks, was recognised and they were able to "under their own rule, appoint archbishop among themselves, Serbian people, and in the Serbian language, elected by clerical and secular classes among themselves. This archbishop shall have free authority to dispose of all of the eastern churches of Greek rituals, ordain bishops and priests in monasteries and where necessary, have churches built under own authority, appoint priests in towns and villages: in brief, as it has been the case so far, to be the head of the churches of the Greek ritual and of the population of the same confession, and to have the authority to dispose of them, with own clerical authority, under the privileges provided by our givers".

At that time, Patriarch Arsenije III still believed that there was hope to return, but after the Peace of Karlovci signed in 1699, the hope vanished. At his position, new Patriarch – Kalinik I was appointed by the Turks at the Patriarchate of Peć. Thus, the unity of the Patriarchate of Peć, or of the Serbian Orthodox Church, was broken.

At first, Arsenije Čarnojević was in Hungary, but during those 11 years he did not have permanent residence. Therefore, he changed the place of his residence, from Szentendre, to Kovin, Sirig, Hopovo, Dunaszekcső, Futog, and Pakrac. Nevertheless, on 8th October 1701, the Austrian Emperor ordered to set his residence in Szentendre. During all this time, Arsenije Čarnojević implemented the reorganisation of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia. He founded several new dioceses, and he also appointed new bishops. He enjoyed great respect among the people and he was called "the great father and pilgrim", "general father and teacher", "holy old man", "good shepherd", "gift of God", "merciful master", etc.

The Austrian government also had great respect for Arsenije III Čarnojević, and a special testimony about the Patriarch is the evaluation of the Neoactivist Commission, otherwise very hostile towards him. In their report to the Vienna government, they state: "The head of that schismatic people is just like a king, their Patriarch, whom we call the Serbian Archbishop, and his people call him the Patriarch, and they follow him all the way, like bees following their queen."

At the time of Rakoczi Uprising 1703–1711, Patriarch Arsenije supported the Austrian Emperor though Rakoczi required the Patriarch to join him. For his loyalty to Vienna, the Patriarch received estates in Sirač and Dalj, in return of Dunaszekcső, and the Serbs got new patents and privileges. Nevertheless, all these privileges were hardly, or most often never, implemented in practice. The continuing pressures of the Uniates and Catholics took up a lot of the Patriarch's time and efforts to defend against them.

Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević passed away on 27th October in Vienna and he was buried in the Monastery of Krušedol in Srem, in the tomb of Saint Maksim, the former Serbian Despot. In 1721, the clerical-national assembly was held in the Monastery of Krušedol. At that time, there was a threat of the Uniatism, and the assembly participants were sprinkled with the water in which the relics of Patriarch Arsenije were washed.

ARSENIJE IV JOVANOVIĆ ŠAKABENTA

Serbian Patriarch

Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta was born in Raška in 1698 or 1699. It is not known where he was educated and ordained. When he was a young man, he became the Metropolitan of Raška, then he became the Exarch and the assistant to Mojsije (Rajović) the Patriarch of Peć. Those years of his life are not known well. It is only known that he used to come to the Monastery of Vrdnik (Srem Ravanica) to collect charity. Patriarch Mojsije selected him as his successor. In his letter of 18th February 1725, he announced that he became Patriarch called Arsenije IV. In a document he was mentioned as "the Archbishop of Peć, the Patriarch of the Serbs, Bulgarians, and others". He himself states in a note: "in that year, I was happy to receive the Serbian throne and signed it myself in the year and month (23rd April) Master Arsenije."

His politics was similar to the one of the Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević. The basic idea was to do everything in order to liberate the people from the Turks. In that context, the Patriarch had discussions with Vienna about the possibility of the Serbian people's uprising against the Turks. Because of that, the Patriarch was in great troubles. During the retreat of the Turks from Novi Pazar in 1737, they were expelled by Duke Atanasije Rašković of Stari Vlah, the Turks were looking for the Patriarch in order to hang him. Nevertheless, he managed to get away, first to Rugovo, then to Vasojevići. He reached the River Morava from Novi Pazar and then he went to Kragujevac and Niš: "They were fleeing all night long before the holy Sunday and on the very holy Sunday.

Thus, we managed to reach Belgrade, afraid not to be intercepted by the Turks on our way" as described by Patriarch's Synkellos, Partenije Pavlović. From Belgrade, the Patriarch went to Sremski Karlovci, then to Petrovaradin, and on 16th December 1737 to Vienna "to see his family".

This was another great migration of the Serbs from Kosovo to Southern Hungary. The Patriarch was joined by the Bishop of Niš, Georgije Popović, the Bishop of Raš, Jevtimije Dimitrijević, and the Bishop of Užice, Aleksije Andrejević. During this retreat, many people died in the village of Lelić near Valjevo. Immediately after the departure of Patriarch Arsenije IV, the Greek Joanicus III was appointed at the throne in Peć. While Patriarch Arsenije IV was alive, there were no relations between the two of them though Patriarch Arsenije IV maintained relations with the monasteries and various clerical representatives at the Patriarchate of Peć. The following was written about new Patriarch Joanicus III by Patriarch Arsenije IV: "Indeed, now the new Patriarch and clergymen from Niš and Raška are in Belgrade, selecting homes for themselves, where they will live, and they called us to meet, and not to be afraid of them, which we refused" (2nd September 1739).

Right at the time of the arrival of Patriarch Arsenije IV to Srem in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, the Metropolitan of Karlovci, Vikentije passed away (6th June 1737). He was succeeded by Patriarch Arsenije IV and he became the Administrator of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. Since then, he was in Sremski Karlovci. On 1st

October 1741, Empress Maria Theresa acknowledged his Patriarchal dignity, but, at the same time, appointed him as the head of the whole Serbian clergy and people, in her hereditary kingdoms and provinces. He signed as "The Archbishop of Peć and the Patriarch of the Serbs and Bulgarians, of the Western Coast, Dalmatia, Bosnia, both sides of the Danube, and the whole Illyria".

Patriarch Arsenije IV made much efforts relating to Serbian privileges in Austrian Empire. Upon his request, the Empress Maria Theresa confirmed the privileges provided to the Serbian people by her predecessors through the Hungarian Court Office on 18th May 1743. Yet, three years later, on 1st December 1746, the Empress notified the Patriarch that clerical and national assemblies could not be convoked without the imperial ap-

proval any more, at the expense of the people, and without the presence of the Imperial Commissioner. Allegedly, people complained about high assembly costs.

In Karlovci, Patriarch Arsenije IV had the old Metropolitanate Residence demolished and had a new Patriarchate Court erected. The building existed until 1788, when it was completely burnt down. Next to the new court, the Patriarch had the Seminary and the Court Chapel of Saint Tryphon erected. When the present Church in Sremski Karlovci was built, this chapel was demolished.

Patriarch Arsenije IV Šakabenta passed away in Sremski Karlovci on 7th January 1748 and was buried in the Monastery of Krušedol monastery on 16th January.

HRISTOFOR ŽEFAROVIĆ

Hristofor Žefarović was born in early XVIII century near Lake Ohrid in the west part of Southern Serbia. It is known that he was a hieromonk, but he was rarely in monasteries, he rather travelled. He traded with holy books and utensils and also painted icons. It is known that he was in Vienna in 1741. At that time, his first copper engraving *Saint Sava with the Serbian Saints of the Home of Nemanja* appeared. He drew it, and Toma Mesmer engraved it. At that time, he also made Serbian books *The Saint's Lesson to Newly Appointed Priest* (engraved in copper in Vienna in 1740) and *The Privileges of Austrian Emperors to the Serbian People* (Vienna, 1741).

There is no doubt that Žefarović is significant because of his *Stemmatographia*, the book copied from copperplates, issued in Vienna in 1741. For it, Žefarović engraved images of South-Slavic saints, the portrait of Arsenije IV, whereas Toma Mesmer engraved coats of arms, texts, and both compositions with Emperor Dušan. With this work, Žefarović "presented himself as the engraver with a developed sense for graphic stylisation, and, at the same time, with the sense for typographic and graphic work, arrangement of illustrations, vignettes, calligraphically written texts, etc." (D. Davidov).

This book announced the baroque period of the Serbian graphics: "The book *Stemmatographia* is important in the Serbian XVIII century graphics, because with this book, serious engraving activity began among the Serbs" (Dejan Medaković). Perhaps, the artistic value of *Stemmatographia*

was not great for that time, but the impression it left on the national life of the Serbs was significant. The engravings therein are certainly not of the highest quality, the same as verses following the drawings (thirteen syllables according to the Polish model). Yet, *Stemmatographia* had a decisive influence on the creation of the national feeling and formation of the state and on national awareness of the Serbs. For almost three centuries, this book was the only source of Serbian, as well as also Bulgarian heraldry.

Hristofor Žefarović made many copper engravings for commissioners from the south: *Saint Theodore Stratelates and Tiro* (1741), *Saint Nicholas* (1742), *Saint Naum* (1743), *Mother of God, the Source of Life* (1745). For commissioners from the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, he engraved the icons: *The Ascension of Christ* (1743), *The Epiphany* (1746), *Saint Nicholas* (1746), *The Crucifixion of the Christ* (1751), *The Presentation* (1751). In these engravings, Žefarović did not restrict himself only to the image of presented saint, but he also included exceptionally interesting details, such as the monastery for which the engraving was intended, its surroundings, as well as many realistic scenes (e.g. Metropolitan's visitation). These scenes may be called "small" but they have decorative function like a frame for the main character, and today, they have documentary value.

Žefarović published two more copperplate books: *Resurrection Canon and Morale by the Saint*, both in 1742. In 1745–1746, Hristofor Žefarović went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When he came back, he made the copper engraving

ing *Holy Emperor Uroš* (1746) for the Monastery of Jazak in Fruška Gora. In the same year, he made copper engraving *Holy Prince Lazar* for the Monastery of Vrdnik (Ravanica of Srem), and *Branković Saints of Srem* for the Monastery of Krušedol. Under the impressions of his journey to Jerusalem, he issued copperplate book *Description of Jerusalem, the Holy City of God* (1748), and immediately afterwards another copperplate book *Proskynetarion* (1749).

In 1750, Žefarović was in Vienna again where he tried to establish the Serbian printing house. In 1753, he made Saint Stefan Štiljanović, which includes two medallions presenting the town of Morović and the Monastery of Šišatovac. He issued the last copperplate book in Venice in 1765 was *The Rules of Moleben by Holy Serbian Educators*.

Hristofor Žefarović passed away at the Epiphany Monastery in Moscow on 18th September 1753. He endowed his scarce assets to his nephew Danilo, determined his guardian and fu-

ture occupation. He wanted Danilo to have regular education at Vienna Art Academy.

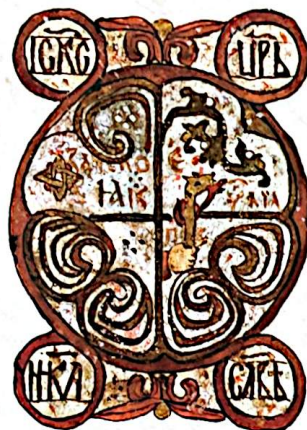
Hristofor Žefarović was an educator, national printing and literature forerunner. He was also that in the field of Serbian artistic versification. Yet, his impassable glory is the one of a skilful drawer, engraver, and painter. It is quite certain that in his lifetime he made in copper a lot of saints and historic persons. Some of his works were irreversibly lost, and some were sometimes inconveniently used. Thus, in 1858, a pan with his drawings and verses engraved was found: "It was a Serbian copper engraving which, after apparently sustaining many troubles, finally experienced that cakes were baked in it since it was used as a pan. Seventeen saints were engraved on this copperplate" (*Seven* from Novi Sad 1858). In one house in Zemun, his copperplate with engraved verses from 1741 serving as the furnace door was found. Nowadays, the copperplates of Hristofor Žefarović have been studied and valued and they are kept in the most important Serbian museums and galleries.

ZAHARIJA ORFELIN

Zaharija Orfelin was born in Vukovar in 1726. His original surname was Stefanović but in time, he changed it into Orfelin. There is a long list of his professions. He was a teacher, a clerk, a calligrapher, a cartographer, an illustrator, a graphic artist, an engraver, a pedagogical writer, a poet, a translator, a theologian, a designer, a publisher, a philologist, a calendar and magazine editor, a reviewer, etc. He spoke Russian, German, Latin, Italian and French and wrote in Serbian, Russian, and German.

Not much is known about Zaharije Orfelin, it is only assumed that he was born around 1726. In his childhood, he lived in Vukovar, he was self-taught: "Reading books was my single academy and principal science" (Orfelin). In 1751, he was in Buda and then in Vienna where he learnt penmanship, drawing, and engraving. For some time, he worked as a teacher in Novi Sad. The poem from that time is *Hail to Mojsej Putnik*, written in 1757, in the glory of Bishop Mojsej Putnik, at the occasion of his appointment.

The poem is exceptional, not so much because of its text, as it is by the design of its calligraphic initials, images and other illustrations. For a while, it was thought that the poem manuscript was lost. However, it was found and fully published in 1959: "Bound in light blue silk, today with damaged cover, with a monogram embroidered with golden and silver threads, with gilded edges of all sheets, Orfelin's handwriting makes a general impression of the luxuriously made me-



morial book which was given to governmental and clerical chiefs on the most festive occasions at courts" (S. Mišić).

In 1757, Orfelin made a bishopric charter for Metropolitan Nenadović, and from that year, he was also his "clerk". He spent five years with Nenadović and travelled a lot with the Bishop. During that time, he founded his engraving

workshop in Sremski Karlovci and brought "copper typography" from somewhere. There, he made official texts, diplomas, bishopric charters, etc. At that time, single sheets of *The Holy Force*, *The Crucifixion of the Christ*, *Mother of God of Bodjani* (including the view of the monastery), *The Presentation of the Mother of God*, etc. were engraved.

It is interesting that on 16th April 1758, Orfelin participated in the ordaining of Dositej Obradović. At that time, he married a girl called Ana, and in late February 1759, they got a son Petar. Ana died in childbirth. She was buried in the church yard of the Cathedral: "she gave her life to her first and last son and went to eternity" (Orfelin).

A famous Orfelin's poem *The Cry of Serbia* is from 1763. It is the poem inspired with the biblical cry of prophet Jeremiah, which has an outstanding power and warmth, thus, it is considered to be the best poem by a Serb in XVIII century: "There is scarcely any other date more significant in the history of the people than the one when a gifted and caring man who, in deaf silence, with-

out any predecessors and without any support, writes a song to his compatriots the echo of which becomes widespread. And Orfelin was such a poet" (M. Leskovac). The poem cries out against the destiny of Serbia enslaved and fragmented by the Turks. In the poem, Orfelin was very critical to clerical chiefs, due to which, it was forbidden and confiscated in Sremski Karlovci. Because of that, Orfelin had to leave Karlovci.

In 1762, he went to the Monastery of Velika Remeta and then he travelled to Timisoara in 1763, where he was a "Treasurer" to Bishop Vidak Jovanović. There, he engraved and printed clerical diplomas. Also, at that time, he wrote a small catechesis manuscript which includes the questions and answers to his son Petar called *Apostolic Milk*. Then, he was suddenly found in the home of a Timisoara nobleman. It is assumed that he worked as a home teacher.

Already in 1764, he was in Venice, where he was improving the engraving technique. His poems *Advice to a Learned Young Man* (1764), *The Poem on History*, and *Spring Melody* were published then. Those were his last poems: "His poetry proves to be an ambitious attempt to find his own way which would from previously rather religious literature lead to wide horizons of the new age. He cannot be denied the contribution to the creators of the Serbian literary poetry despite the fact that he did not have any direct followers" (B. Čalić).

At that time, his *Latin Primer*, *The First Dictionary of the Latin Language*, *The Slavic Primer*, *Calendars* for 1766 and 1767 were published. In the second Calendar, Vuk Karadžić found three real folk fairy tales: "According to the language, it may be said that not only in relation to that time, but also in relation to many today's book, they are good and too good" (Vuk Karadžić). Also, he made numerous engravings of Serbian saints, etc.

Launching of *The Slavic-Serbian Magazine* in 1768 was perhaps the most important thing that Zaharija Orfelin did. It was the first magazine of the South Slavs. For the first time, the ideas of rationalism, secular culture, education for all classes, and etc. were presented in it. Orfelin himself, in the Preface, explains the reasons for starting the magazine. This is not only the programme of

his literary work: "it is the manifesto of historical significance, where, for the first time in the Serbian language, the rational and enlightening doctrines of XVIII century were presented, where, for the first time in the Serbian literature, the idea of secular culture was developed" (Skerlić). Unfortunately, the first issue of the Orfelin's *Magazine* was also the only one. All these ideas were continued by Dositej Obradović. Fifty six years later, in 1824, the Serbs launched their first new magazine – *The Matica Srpska Chronicle*.

In 1770, Orfelin returned to Sremski Karlovci, where he dealt with and became famous for his calligraphic work. He created his masterpiece *The Life and Glorious Actions of Ruler and Emperor Peter the Great* in 1772. It is a very detailed and precise biography of the Russian Tsar Peter the Great. The highest value of this book is its exceptional design. He drew and engraved all headings, ornaments, portraits, medallions, and geographic maps.

Nowadays, Zaharija Orfelin is mostly known and appreciated for his works of art, i.e. graphic, drawing, engraving, and calligraphic works. Some were only drawn by him and were engraved by others, whereas others were both drawn and engraved by him. He did the majority of his works upon his return to Sremski Karlovci. The following were created at that time *Vinča Mother of God* (engraved in 1770), *Emperor Lazar* (drawn in 1773, carved by Mesmer in Vienna), *St. Peter and Paul with the View of the Church in Sremski Karlovci and the Monasteries of Kuvęždin*, *The Leaflet of the Monastery of Krušedol*, *St. George*, *St. Demetrius including the View of the Monastery of Velika Remeta*, *the Monastery of Hilandar*, *St. Sava and St. Simeon*, etc. These are, indeed, exceptional works: "With the shining precision and fineness and eastern fantasy, the drawn filigree patterns that testify of a living legend, brought from the south. In general, his works mix and intertwine eastern elements with already predominant baroque" (V. Petrović).

Many Orfelin's diplomas and charters were kept, and the best known is *Slavic and Vlach Calligraphy* from 1778. His *Grammar* commissioned from Vienna was prepared as a learning tool for penmanship of the Serbian and Vlach languages

for primary schools in Banat. Empress Maria Theresa was delighted with his work and paid him high reward of 100 ducats. Indeed, "this marvelous book is something most beautiful in the Serbian calligraphy of all times". Thanks to it, Orfelin became the member of the Vienna Academy of Arts.

Orfelin abandoned his secular glory and began his almost pointless wondering throughout monasteries in Fruška Gora – Beočin, Grgeteg and Velika Remeta. Finally, he settled down with the Bishop of Pakrac, Josif Šakabenta. Nevertheless, in 1783, Orfelin was in Vienna where he worked as corrector in a printing house. Then, his last work *The Experienced Cellarer*, the book intended for winegrowers, was published. After the publication

of the *Cellarer*, he returned to Novi Sad, where he passed away on 19th January 1785. He spent the last years of life on the homestead of the Bishop of Bačka, Josif Šakabenta, living on his charity and he died there. Orfelin's death was described by Jovan Rajić: "On 19th January 1785, my kind brother Zaharija Orfelin died in Novi Sad, on the bishopric homestead, too poor." Similar was written by Luki-jan Mušicki: "poverty, sorrow, and hunger."

With his works, Zaharija Orfelin tried to emancipate and cultivate Serbian spirits in accordance with the model of enlightened and free-minded European citizens. Because of that, he is a central figure of the Serbian spiritual life of XVIII century, a pioneer in the literary and enlightenment endeavours.

DOSITEJ OBRADOVIĆ

The year of birth of Dositej Obradović is not very certain and it is assumed that it was around 1742 (perhaps 1739) in the place of Ciacova, in Timisoara Banat. At his birth, he was given the name of Dimitrije. Dositej's father was a craftsman, but he died shortly after Dositej's birth and soon afterwards, his mother died. Dositej learned literacy in his birthplace, and from the very beginning, he was interested in church literature, to such an extent that he was, for a long time, fantasising about going to Dečani Monastery and becoming a monk there. Yet, the life took a different way. He was sent to learn the craft in Timisoara, to become a quilt maker: "I was there for a year and a half, I was visiting markets and learning to sew, however, I neither liked it nor I was skilful in it" (Dositej Obradović). He did not stay there for a long time, and with a friend (in 1757), he ran away to Fruška Gora Monastery of Hopovo.

That part of his life is more exciting than any other, perhaps, not so much due to external events but due to his inner development. Right at the Monastery of Hopovo, Dositej finally had an opportunity to read religious books and he himself stated that he was helped a lot in it by former prior, Todor Milutinović: "I was a young deacon and a minor monk; I was graceful serving with or without the flock; it was declared everywhere that I was a saint; the rumours began spreading in the village that I also made wonders" (Dositej Obradović).



dović). In November 1760, he left the monastery. He first travelled to Zagreb, where he studied Latin for a while. Then he went on, through Lika to Dalmatia Zagorje. There, in some Serbian villages, he worked as a teacher and saved money for his journey to Russia, about which he fantasised a lot: "for three years, according to my deal, I spent with those God's people; three sweet years" (Dositej Obradović).

When he collected sufficient amount of money, in 1763, he went to the Holy Mountain. He wanted to meet the famous Greek teacher and writer Eugenios Voulgaris. Yet, he did not reach the Mount Athos, because he got ill on his way there, and he had to return. In the Kotor Monastery of Mainie, he was ordained as a priest by the Montenegrin Metropolitan Vasilije and then, he worked as a schoolmaster in the village of Golubić for a while. Since the plague began raging in 1765, Dositej moved away.

In Dalmatian Kosovo, Dositej wrote his exceptionally significant work. Namely, he lived with priest Simić, and he prepared the *Alphabet (Bukvica)* for the priest's daughter. Officially, this was his first literary work. Since his *Alphabet* aroused great interest, it was rewritten a lot by many people, which stimulated Dositej to continue with his literary work, in the vernacular language. Yet, he was restless, and he went to the Monastery of Dragović. After two months, he travelled to Trogir, then to Split, and to Corfu. He stayed there only for a month, and supported him-

self by performing church services for Serbian officers. Afterwards, Dositej went to Morea and, finally, after two months, he arrived at the long desired Holy Mount Athos. He spent the whole winter in Hilandar and in the spring of 1766, he went to Smyrna.

Dositej stayed in Smyrna for three years. He studied Greek and attended lectures of the Greek philosopher Jerotej Dendrino. There, as he said, he: "acquired the complete school education which could have been obtained generally in the orthodox world". He wanted to stay for some longer time in Smyrna, but due to the Russian-Turkish war, he lost his job and was penniless. Therefore, in 1768, he returned to Dalmatia again. During his journey, he visited Patras, Santa Quaranta, crossed the Albanian mountains and, on his way there, he learned the Albanian language. From Corfu, he went to Venice, then to Zadar, and he finally reached Dalmatia Zagorje. In 1769, he became the teacher in Plavno. He prepared his second *Alphabet* there.

Dositej's fame as a learned man and good preacher was spread among the Serbs thus, in 1770, he accepted the service in Skradin. He did not stay there for a long time either, as if he was restless, he travelled to Venice again, then to Zadar, where he held sermons to Serbian officers until 1771 when he went to Trieste. This period of Dositej's life is emphasised as especially important by all his biographers, because he got to know the people and its needs at that time and he also learned real Serbian vernacular language well. He himself was "Unusually tough, he had kind nature and he was tactful and cheerful" (V. Petrović).

In 1771, Dositej went to Vienna where he taught Greek children and he himself was constantly studying (Latin, French, German, logic and metaphysics). In time, he got to know the German language so well so that he even taught it. The Metropolitan Vićentije Vidak was interested in Dositej, and he employed him as a teacher to his nephews in Modar. He moved to Karlovci with them. After one year, he went to Pressburg with his students. He moved with him to Karlovci and after a year, he moved with his students to Pressburg. He was supposed to go to Germany, but he had some quarrels with Metropolitan Vidak so he left his students and in 1779, he travelled to Trieste again. He still worked as a teacher and

thanks to his occupation, he travelled through the whole Italy in a short time.

Then, he moved to the island of Chios, where he taught the Italian language. Since he was earning quite well, he managed to save for his trip to Constantinople. There, he met a Romanian nobleman and he got the job of a tutor for his children in Iasi. When he collected 300 ducats, in the autumn 1782, he went to Germany and enrolled at the University of Halle, where he studied philosophy, aesthetics, etc. In Halle, he took off his monastic clothes and put on "sinful worldly robes".

In the spring of 1783, he moved to Leipzig, where he attended lectures in physics. In Leipzig, he somehow managed to find Breitko of printing house where the Cyrillic alphabet was used. In 1784, he issued there his first literary work: *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović who was Given the Name Dositej as a Monk*. Together with his *Life and Adventures...* he also published *The Letter to Haralampije*. *The Life and Adventures* covers his previous life: "This is a book about travels and friendships, cheerful, optimistic, full of various adventures, meetings with people and countries, arrivals and departures, portraits of people, delighted praises of friends and benefactors whom he had acquired in various countries, but mostly in Dalmatia, Greece, and England" (Jovan Deretić). Subsequently, he published the second book about the next thirty years of his life, to which he did not give any title and which was entitled *Travel Letters* by the publisher.

After his book had been published, he went on a journey throughout France, went to London, and in 1785, he returned to Leipzig. Then, his book *The Advice of Common Sense* was published. He did not stay in Leipzig for a long time, but went on to Vienna. He stayed there for two years, and then he received an invitation from General Simeon Zorić from Russia. Perhaps, Dositej would not go to Russia unless Zorić offered purchasing a printing machine and printing of his works. Dositej believed him, but after six months of boredom at Zorić's estate, after he had realised that the printing machine would not be bought, he returned to Leipzig where his *Fables* and *The Poem of the Seizure of Belgrade* were printed.

In 1789, Dositej went to Vienna again. Those years were not easy for him and he supported himself by private tuition and by selling books. When

he could not endure anymore, he went to Trieste in 1802. In 1803 in Venice, he published his *Ethics*. He saw the arrival of Napoleon's troops there.

While he was in Venice, Dositej heard that the people in Serbia under Karadjordje's leadership rose up against the Turks. In the desire to help his Serbian nation, he returned to Karlovci and got in touch with Karadjordje. The latter sent him to Bucharest in 1807 on behalf of the uprising, to the main headquarters of the Russian army. In August 1807, Dositej finally came to Belgrade. Already in 1808, he founded the Grande School and the Seminary in 1810. In the same year of 1810, Dositej became the member of the Parliament. There, he got the position of the National Minister of Education. He passed away in Belgrade on 28th March 1811.

Dositej Obradović is still incompletely evaluated "In our literature, Dositej is mostly known for his autobiography and as a fabulist although he should be equally renowned as an essayist" (Jovan Deretić), which can be seen in his fourth, very voluminous work *Sobranije raznih naravoučiteljih vešćej v polzu i uveselenije*

služaščih which he wrote in his old age. Those are total of fifteen excellent essays.

It is difficult to estimate the significance of Dositej: "Dositej Obradović is an innovator and an initiator who can rarely be seen, one of those people who create an epoch and remain guides of the whole nation. There is no doubt that new spiritual and literary life among the Serbian people originates with him" (Jovan Skerlić). As stated by Stojan Novaković, the appearance of Dositej Obradović "shows in front of us, from a distance from which we look into the past, in a humble, quiet manner, but his significance is epochal, his consequences are huge, and they have not vanished even today".

Dositej Obradović cannot be considered without the comprehension of the value of the enlightenment: "With him, the Serbian middle class took over the leadership of the people. Because of that, Obradović was fanatically loved, actually adored, as well as attacked and proscribed by the high clergy", and the final appraisal of Dositej Obradović can be this one: "Obradović is an originator of our modern life" (V. Petrović).

JOVAN MUŠKATIROVIĆ

Jovan Muškatirović was born in Senta, Bačka in 1743. The very year of his birth is not certain and it is provided just arbitrarily. According to his surname, he comes from a family where military traditions have been very rooted and strong. Probably, one of the ancestors from this family served in the Serbian areas of Hungary in the regular army (musketeers), thus they got this surname.

Jovan Muškatirović graduated law from the University of Pest and passed the bar exam in 1769. He was the first Serb who became an attorney at law in Hungary therefore, the first among the Serbs who was a "proper lawyer". Muškatirović was very proud of the fact that he was an attorney at law, thus, he always signed as such in his books: „the licenced attorney at law in the glorious Kingdom of Hungary and its related jurisdictions“. He was the first and in the following years, there were more attorneys at law: "Since then, until the beginning of the XIX century, the Serbs in Hungary had as many as 34 lawyers while the first Doctor of Law was Sava Tekelija, who passed his doctoral thesis in Pest in 1775" (Ž. Milisavac).

He moved to Novi Sad where there was only one other attorney at law who was a non-Serb and all the Serbs in Novi Sad went to Muškatirović.

However, this still did not mean that Muškatirović could stay in Novi Sad. Since it was concluded that the City needed two attorneys, and there were four of them at that time (including Muškatirović), the Novi Sad Magistrate permitted Muškatirović to finalise started proceedings but it did not permit him to take new cases apart from the so called "summary" proceedings that could

be finished quickly. Yet, Muškatirović stayed in Novi Sad. On 14th March 1770, he came before the court as the attorney at law on 26th September 1770, he was given proxy by Nikola Duka, the great-grandfather of Zmaj's Ruža by her mother's line and Muškatirović's future father-in-law.

The first Muškatirović's success occurred in 1771 when he became the attorney a law of the Fruška Gora Monasteries, about which the copy of a contract was found in the archives of the Grammar School for Boys in Novi Sad. It is seen in the contract that it was entered into on 3rd January 1771 between the attorney at law Jovan Muškatirović, on the one side and Metropolitan Jovan Georgijević, Šišatovci Archimandrite Vićentije Popović, Krušedol Archimandrite Pahomije, and Hopovo Prior Sofronije Radojević, on the other side. The contract was drawn up in 8 articles and related to the monasteries of Krušedol, Remeta, Hopovo, Vrdnik, Jazak, Bešenovo, Šišatovac, Kuveždin, Privina Glava, Beočin, Rakovac, and Grgeteg. The contract covered the estates Dalj in Virovitica County and Neradin in Srem County. Under this contract, Muškatirović was bound to perform his duty in all cases in a wholehearted and tireless manner. On the other hand, the monasteries expressed their wish that he kept his duty until the end of his life, i.e. as long as he wished to perform his duty and to the satisfaction of the monasteries. The price of Muškatirović's work was one thousand forints per year (three hundred from the Metropolitan and seven hundred from the above-mentioned monasteries).

At about that time, he got married (the exact year is not known). His spouse was Ekaterina Ne-

deljković, born on 10th January 1755. In 1772, their son Petar was born. Ekaterina was only seventeen then, which means that at the time of their marriage she could have been fifteen or sixteen years old. Subsequently, she gave birth to their sons Aleksandar (29th July 1790), then Simeon (born on 3rd November 1793), and finally daughters Jelisaveta and Pulherija.

The litigation he accepted in 1782 was especially important in Muškatirović's career and he travelled to Vienna for that. Although he failed in the litigation, he stayed for some longer time in Vienna and he met Dositej Obradović and Atanasije Sekereš, which was very significant for his later literary work. In 1787, he became municipality senator in Pest: "the first elected Serb (1787) as the senator of the city of Pest was the attorney at law and writer Jovan Muškatirović, at that time, the first Serb with the attorney at law's diploma" (Ž. Milisavac). He kept the position for some longer time, and in his autobiography, Sava Tekelija praised that he helped Muškatirović to be re-elected as the senator: "I did the same thing for Pest where Muškatirović became the senator again. Thus, it happened that we had two senators in two towns, which had never happened before" (Sava Tekelija). Since he had been the only Serbian attorney at law in Hungary for some longer time, Muškatirović enjoyed great reputation among the Serbs who lived there. As the senator, he was the representative of numerous and very wealthy Serbian population in Pest, in addition, he maintained very frequent and close ties with the Serbs in the so-called lower areas, i.e. in the Southern Hungary.

In the National Encyclopaedia, under the entry "Jovan Muškatirović", he was exclusively mentioned as a writer, i.e. the first collector of the national proverbs. It was only causally mentioned that he was an attorney at law. The following is said about him as a writer: "M. takes a prominent position in the history of the Serbian enlightenment mostly because he was the first Dositej's follower, who implemented his ideas in a consistent, clever, and multilateral manner and because he was the first to collect and publish national sayings and proverbs." In addition, he was one of the first people who wrote his books in the vernacular language.

In 1786, the first Muškatirović's book entitled *A Short Reflection about Holidays* was published. It was written in the civil alphabet and as said by Jovan Skerlić "in a relatively good vernacular language". This book left a sufficiently good impression on Dositej Obradović to say the following about it: "A small, but useful book about holidays by Mr Jovan Muškatirović, the Senator of Pest, written and published and worth reading by everyone. This learned and praise worthy man in his fatherland and nation very wisely shows the following in the above-mentioned book: what holidays are, where they have originate from, how they should be reasonably celebrated and what damage is caused if they are unreasonably and lazily spent and abused." With this book, Muškatirović had only troubles, because, in the end, he was sued by Karlovci Metropolitan (who actually sued the printer Kurzbeck) because he had printed such "a blasphemous book".

Since he was afraid of any new troubles with the Serbian Orthodox Church, Muškatirović signed his next book with other name (Samuel Klajn). The new book entitled *Rasuždenie o postahi vostočnii cerkve* was printed in the church alphabet and in the Slavic Serbian language including many tinges of the vernacular language. It was printed in Vienna in 1794. In it, Muškatirović dealt with the fasts which existed in the Serbian Orthodox Church at that time.

Both Muškatirović's books are practical and have no literary value. He himself did not want to create literary works and he gave numerous practical arguments defending his attitudes. Just these parts of his books are the most valuable because they, in fact, provide observations about the life of that time and the customs of the Serbian people. Though both books deal with theological issues, as well, Muškatirović is not entrapped and does not discuss about them. As an attorney at law and not very religious man, he lacked knowledge about the dogmatism of the Orthodox Church and he was aware of that. However, he refers to other authors and does not conceal it, in his books about the fasts, he even announces: "I want to write about what I have seen in other writers."

If in his two books Muškatirović is on the line of free and rationalistic thought of Dositej

Obradović, i.e. lacking own originality, then he is much more significant and, above all, original in another field. Muškatirović is the first orthodox Serb who collected folk literature. This was the reason why the Matica Srpska celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of publishing Muškatirović's collection of proverbs in 1866. This was the first printed Serbian book that recorded folk literature.

In Vienna in 1786, the Muškatirović's collection of proverbs entitled *The Proverbs* was published. It was dedicated to his son Petar: "Jovan Muškatirović wishes to dedicate it to his dear first-born son Petar Muškatirović." As he said, he considered that the value of the proverbs was high and all great people in the world used them, Emperor Solomon and even Christ himself: "Any great people in the world used the proverbs and sayings in their teaching."

Since he was aware of the high value of proverbs and sayings, Muškatirović decided to collect them, above all because "no one collected them in our Serbian language and even less published them". It was the reason why he prepared a special notebook and, day after day, when he had heard them, he noted them down with the intention of publishing them "for those who spoke the same lan-

guage". When he had collected a certain number of proverbs, he showed them to his "friends", especially mentioning Atanasije Sekereš and Dositej Obradović who "unanimously advised him to print this collection, and enlighten our nation in such a manner". Because of that, Muškatirović had this book printed "with cordial and warm wishes for those who were creators to avoid to be forgotten and, finally, to those who use them for amusement, to amuse with them for many years".

The book was very successful and the second edition was published in Vienna in 1807. In the second edition some new proverbs and sayings were added. Both editions were printed in church letters. Vuk Karadžić used Muškatirović's collection, which he specifically mentioned in the preface of his book *National Proverbs and other Sayings in Common Use*. Thus, Vuk says: "From the proverbs collected and published by late Jovan Muškatirović (the first time in Vienna in 1787, and the second time in Buda in 1807), I took those which I heard said by people and for which no one may say that they are shameful." The book of the proverbs and sayings was written by Muškatirović in good vernacular language, which was very rare at that time.

Muškatirović passed away at the age of 66 on 14th July 1809.



PETAR I PETROVIĆ

Metropolitan of Cetinje and Ruler of Montenegro (St. Petar of Cetinje)

Petar I Petrović was born in mid XVIII century, probably around 1748, in Njeguši, to father Marko Petrović and mother Maria, nee Martinović. When he was ten, he went to the Cetinje Monastery, at the age of twelve he was tonsured, and at the age of seventeen, he was ordained as a hierodeacon. For a while, he was educated in Russia, from where he returned in 1766, when he was ordained as a hieromonk. Soon afterwards, he became an archimandrite. He was mostly in the monasteries of Stanjevići and Cetinje where he helped Bishop Sava. During all that time, he had arguments with Gubernator Radonjić for the predominance over Montenegro. The struggle underwent various stages, and both sides endeavoured to gain the support of Russia. In late 1777, the two of them (Gubernator Radonjić and Archimandrite Petrović) went to a common mission to Petrograd. They were there for six months, but the Empress did not receive them even once.

In those years, a major internal crisis started in Montenegro. There were continuing inter-tribal conflicts, several persons appeared (Bishop Sava, Archimandrite Petar Petrović, Bishop Arsenije Plamenac, Gubernator Radonjić, etc.) who considered themselves worthy of leading Montenegro. The intrigues of Bishop Sava, who was an elderly man then, brought even more unrest. After his death on 7th March 1781, the issue of his successor was raised. According to his wish, it was supposed to be Arsenije Plamenac, but the majority of people favoured Archimandrite Petar Petrović. Yet, the Bishop's wish prevailed and his successor was, indeed, Arsenije Plamenac. However, this did not last for a long time, the position of

the Gubernator in Montenegro was weakened, old Bishop Arsenije Plamenac did not leave Crmnica, and completely isolated, he did not care much for anything. Therefore, some of the prominent Montenegrins chiefs got an idea that the Archimandrite Petar Petrović was to be ordained as Bishop. Since the Gubernator Radonjić did not oppose that, on 13th October 1784 in Sremski Karlovci, Metropolitan Mojsije Putnik ordained Petar Petrović as the Bishop of Montenegro, Skenderija, and Primorje. The original desire of Petar I was to become the Bishop in Russia. Since he failed to get the passport for Russia, he required the permit from the Austrian Emperor Joseph to be ordained as the Bishop by the Karlovci Metropolitan. When he got such permit, he went to Karlovci, but he had an accident, he fell out of the cart, broke his leg, and was treated in Vienna for six months. He was ordained as the Bishop only when he was healed and then, he returned to Vienna to thank the Austrian Emperor. Some time earlier, on 15th May 1784, old Metropolitan Arsenije Plamenac died. Thus, the new Bishop Petar I got to the Bishopric throne without any problems and this rank was returned to the Petrović family.

The new Bishop Petar I Petrović was 37 years old at that time. He was tall and very slim but with fine features of his face, for which it is stated that it was "vigorous", on which his blue eyes were distinguished. His rich hair and long beard stressed his dignity even more. His impeccable private life increased his reputation. He lived in the Stanjević Monastery or in Cetinje. He was very active and sent numerous epistles to the people and chiefs. He was well educated, spoke

several foreign languages and was always polite with foreigners, always demonstrating prudence and proficiency, both in diplomacy and at war.

In the summer of 1785, Bishop Petar I travelled to Russia. For some time, he stayed in Schlov, afterwards, he moved to Petersburg, and on the third day upon his arrival, on 8th November 1785, he was expelled from the capital. While he stayed in Russia, Montenegro was invaded by the Turks (Mahmud Pasha Bušatlija), who committed great evil and burnt the monastery in Cetinje. In early 1786, Bishop Petar I returned to Montenegro and found hunger and continuing vendetta. Mahmud Pasha managed to bring a great disunion among the Montenegrin chiefs and in frequent clashes, many people died and blood feuds were endless. Many people were prepared to leave Montenegro. Because of that, Bishop Petar I travelled throughout Montenegro after his return from Russia. He visited many villages and tried to prevent blood feuds. He managed to renew the Cetinje Monastery, and it is stated in a letter that he was so poor "that he did not even have his own home in the place of his throne".

In the following years, the Bishop was constantly balancing among Austria, Turkey and Russia, but he was also tackling internal difficulties, especially with Gubernator Radonjić. The major threat were the Turks who attacked in the summer of 1796. The clash of the Montenegrins, whom there were around 3,000, and Mahmud Pasha's army of around 18,000 occurred at Martinići from 2nd to 11th July 1796. The major battle was on 11th July, from six o'clock in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon. It was a terrible Turkish defeat: "Mahmud himself was forced to flee at night, having left 473 dead men in the battlefield, among whom there was his son-in-law, the Bey from Tirana, and Yakup-aga Serdarević", wrote Metropolitan Petar of Cetinje. The most important thing was that Montenegro was united apart from the Crmničans and those from Brdo, the Pipers and the Bjelopavlićs. On 3rd September 1796, Metropolitan Petar I notified Austrian Emperor Leopold II, as well as the Russian Empress Catherine II, about the victory. The decisive moment in the battle was described by the Metropolitan in a letter: "may the Lord be praised and glorified who has inspired our

troops with such courage, which made the enemy flee, chased them away towards their ramparts, which barely one-third of them reached because everyone fled wherever he could." Immediately after the battle, at the very battlefield, the sermon was held, followed by firing salvo.

On 14th July, a column of several hundreds of Montenegrins passed, at the beginning of which, ten Turkish flags were held which were confiscated (they were held by ten Montenegrin chiefs). In the column, immediately after the flags, Metropolitan Petar I was riding with the sabre in his right hand and the cross in his left hand. He was followed by eight standard-bearers (with eight more seized Turkish flags), in two rows, and each one included forty cavalymen (chiefs), then there was Gubernator Radonjić on the horse with a drawn sword. They were followed by around 500 Montenegrin warriors. The sermon was held in the Cetinje Monastery after which "the salvo was fired three times from rifles and they shouted: long live, long live, long live our overly wise archishepherd, father, and leader".

However, Mahmud Pasha led the new army two months later. This time, the battle was at Krusi on 22nd September 1796. The Turks were defeated again and Mahmud Pasha Bušatlija was killed. According to the legend, he was killed by Bogdan Vukov from Zalaz. The Metropolitan Petar I was at the battlefield again in the military uniform, his position was near Vučji Studenac on the right bank of the river Matica. After the battle was won, the divine service was held, and then the whole army was shown the won loot, and Mahmud Pasha was beheaded. The triumphal campaign was held from Krus to Cetinje, and the head of Mahmud Pasha was ceremoniously held. Almost the identical procession went through Cetinje as the one after the victory at Martinići.

Hardly anyone in Montenegro realised then the significance of these two victories for further history of Montenegro. Europe realised that after the battle at Krusi, a new state was entering the European family of states – Montenegro. At that time, Montenegro sustained great changes, the Pipers and Bjelopavlićs became its part and was also the sign to other highland and Herzegovina tribes to unite in the coming years. In addition,

most importantly, the authority of Metropolitan Petar I was so great that he could finally start creating the state of Montenegro.

Soon afterwards, Austria overtook Boka Kotorska from Venice though Montenegro had similar ambitions. In this case, Metropolitan Petar was rather sober-minded, and accepted this situation though his Montenegrins were already in Boka. During all those years, Petar I was in constant contact with Russia and on several occasions, he received weapons, but more frequently money, from the Russian Emperor.

Sometimes, Metropolitan Petar I intentionally tightened relations with Austria, and then calmed them down. Therefore, Austrian reports about him as this one of 20th November 1802, are not rare: "This ambitious Metropolitan yearns for Russian protection though he only considers this as a means to achieve his goal, because he does not want any foreign rule." There is no doubt that he had great protection and support from Russia, but after the assassination of the Russian Tsar Paul I in March 1801 and after Tsar Alexander came to the Russian throne, some things changed. The new Russian Tsar did not pay specific attention to Montenegro, thus, Metropolitan Petar I turned to France. Those newly established relations did not develop much since the Russian Tsar Alexander roused and sent the charter through his delegate Marko Ivelić to Montenegro in October 1803. The Russian Holy Synod interfered and sent a very austere letter to Petar I accusing the Metropolitan of frauds and inaction and was invited to court to justify himself or to repent. Among other things, the Holy Synod's letter stated that the Metropolitan was sent the holy myrrh, hundreds of antimins and church-books, which were not used by the Metropolitan, etc. Nevertheless, this dispute was settled down, the Russian court was satisfied, and Tsar Alexander sent to Metropolitan Petar I "his emperor's mercy" in the form of three thousand ducats.

In mid-1805, the war of the European coalition against Napoleon was raging in Europe. After Napoleon had crashed the allies near Ulm and Austerlitz, Austria had to leave the war. It was done through the peace settlement in Pressburg on 26th December 1805, but the price thereof was the loss of Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. Among other things, Boka Kotorska was supposed to belong to France. In such a situation, the Metropolitan in-

terfered in the war a bit incautiously and with the support of the Russians attacked Dubrovnik and induced by Russia, he also attacked Herzegovina in April 1807. He was defeated near Nikšić, apparently, because of the Russian and Montenegrin disagreement, when a quarrel aroused in which Metropolitan Petar I was wounded: "The news was spread that the Metropolitan of Montenegro was wounded by a Russian officer. Here is what is said about that: the quarrel arose between the Montenegrins and the Russians due to the division of the loot. The Metropolitan noticed that his Montenegrins were harmed and he took their side. Yet, the Russian officer defended the Russian side. Some harsh words were said by both sides. It is said that the Metropolitan rose his stick against the Russian officer and that the latter pulled out his sword and made a deadly wound to the Metropolitan on his loin."

Napoleon was still unbeatable in Europe so that Russia settled the peace with France in Tilsit in June 1807. Again, Russia let Boka Kotorska to France, and Napoleon promised again that he would not revenge to Montenegro. Until the end of July 1807, Metropolitan Petar I withdrew his Montenegrins and the French troops seized Herceg Novi and Boka Kotorska until mid-August.

From that time, a couple of nice descriptions of the appearance of Metropolitan Petar I remained. This is the one left by the Russian naval officer, Vladimir Bronevski: "Petar Petrović is a nicely built and tall man, tanned in his face, with vivid eyes, attractive appearance and dignified posture. I watched him when he was entering Kotor and again when the guard was changed and when he visited the fortification. I saw him again during his visit to General Pushkin and observed his manners in the company. I can freely say that he does not look like Petar the hermit. He is the only one of all of the archpriests in this world who knows to be dignified which does not match much with the archpriest's crosier (sceptre). When he sat on the archpriest's chair prepared for him, he looked like an emperor: in Pushkin's apartment, dressed in black silk cassock tightened in the waist with a beautiful belt on which his sabre decorated with precious stones was hanging and his shoulder decorated with a large sash of St. Alexander, he rather looked like a general than the Metropolitan. Indeed, he is better commander at the front and in

fortifications than in blessing officers approaching him. He is always surrounded with a whole lot of people. His grenadiers are real giants: the smallest one has two arshines and twelve vershoks, and the one in front of him is three arshines tall. His weapons are decorated with corals and gilts. Petar Petrović speaks Italian, French, and Russian – the last one as his mother tongue. For political reasons, he prefers to use interpreting from the first two languages in negotiations. He is not superstitious, he is unaware of prejudice and he is interested a lot in public education. He is quite willing to speak with foreigners. His manners are distinguished with fineness and tact. He carefully monitors the development of political events in Europe and he knows how to use favourable circumstances and to get away from the most difficult situations. His spirit is constantly awakened and he is dominated by ambition and he apparently likes warlike deeds. His political and military talent, closely related to the spirit of his people, can lead him to major successes only if he were able to establish discipline among the Montenegrins, the discipline without which their courage remains barren. He could be successful in this, because his will is the law to the Montenegrins. His only efficient means of commanding is his archpriest's anathema. With this, he managed to prevent murders and bloodsheds. As said by the people, all those who are cursed by the Metropolitan experience sad destiny."

French Marshal Marmont also described the Metropolitan: "This Metropolitan is a wonderful man, very intelligent, he is around fifty five years old and he behaves in a very elegant and dignified manner. His positive and statutory authority was of little significance in his country, but his influence was huge." On another place, he says of him: "At that time, Metropolitan Petrović lived, a very intelligent man of strong significance, he wore white calotte, the symbol of the greatest religious dignity of their Church."

After Napoleon's failure in Russia, Metropolitan Petar attacked Boka Kotorska again. In mid-September 1813, the attack began. There were two columns and the first was led by Metropolitan Petar I personally while the second, by the Gubernator Vuk Radonjić. Budva was immediately seized, and Kotor was besieged. It surrendered only after three months of the siege, in

early January 1814. After this, the whole Boka was in the hands of Metropolitan Petar I. On 29th January 1814, he held the assembly at which the act on joining Boka Kotorska to Montenegro was published. The speed thereof was justified by the threat of the Austrian army entering Boka, which they deemed as theirs. The Metropolitan endeavoured to avert the Austrians from that, which he managed on two occasions, but on 9th June 1814, the struggle began near Kotor. Having seen that Montenegro lacked the strength, he proposed Austria to give over the whole of Boka and to get Kotor in return. When the Austrians rejected that, on 12th June he withdrew the whole army to Montenegro. Though there were some hopes that Montenegro could get something, they all vanished in mid-June. The Russian Tzar Alexander I informed Metropolitan Petar I that Boka was attached to Austria. Thus, the second rule of Austria over Boka Kotorska began, which lasted until 1918.

In the following years, the Metropolitan endeavoured to maintain as good relations as possible with Austria which underwent various crises. There were numerous border conflicts, quarrels because the Austrian army entered into the monasteries of Maine (1814), Stanjevići (1820), etc. The peace was maintained with the Turkish Pasha in Scuteri, and, though there were some minor conflicts, they were not transformed into something bigger. Only in 1820 did the Bosnian Vizier Dželaledin attack Herzegovina tribes of Drobnjaci, Morača, and Rovac. At the beginning, the Turks were partially successful, but, finally, they were defeated. After the battle, the Morača and Rovac were attached to Montenegro, whereas Drobnjaci, Uskoci, and Župljani remained to be under the Turks.

Already at that time, the Metropolitan was gradually withdrawing from the state affairs, and as his successor, he selected Rade Tomov, Petar II Petrović Njegoš, whom he sent to be educated in Russia.

Petar I Petrović passed away on 18th October 1830. Four years later, he was proclaimed the saint. Then, he got the name by which he is mentioned by everyone nowadays – St. Petar of Cetinje. Since then, his relics have been placed in the open coffin in front of the altar in the church in Cetinje.

STEFAN STRATIMIROVIĆ

Karlovci Metropolitan

Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović was born on 27th December 1757 in Kulpin (Bačka) by father Jovan and mother Angelina. His family had several officers in service for Austria and several of them received imperial medals for their demonstrated courage. His father died early and his mother took care of him. Stefan went to primary school in Kulpin, afterwards in Begeč. He finished two classes of grammar school, where he studied German and Latin, in Novi Sad. Afterwards, he continued his education in Szeged and then in Vac where he learned Hungarian. It seems that he was also educated in Kecskemet. He finished these schools in 1775.

In Buda and Vienna he studied law until 1783, when he went to Sremski Karlovci with an exclusive intention "to be dedicated to clergyman profession" (Evgenije Jovanović). He had a great support by Metropolitan Mojsije Putnik "who loved him like his own child and secretly considered him as his successor" (Rumi). He was surprised because he could not find any school in Sremski Karlovci where he could study theological sciences. Therefore, he had to find some private teachers and was lucky to meet Archimandrite Jovan Rajić. Then "his spirit soon realised the situation of his people and church of that time, which he loved sternly; his bright eye that he retained in his old age until his death had seen through the curtain of dark future. He believed that he would be able to do the best for the people and the church as a priest" (*Srpski Sion*, 1899, 253).

At the Annunciation Day in 1784, Metropolitan Mojsije Putnik ordained Stefan as a Deacon, and on 28th March as an Archdeacon. He became

a monk on 29th June and on 6th July he was ordained as a hieromonk and also as a synkellos. On 15th August of the same year (1784), he became the Archimandrite of Krušedol Monastery. In those years, he was constantly with Metropolitan Putnik whom he had helped to administer clerical activities.

He was ordained as the Vršac Bishop on 15th May 1786, but since Bačka Metropolitan Josif Jovanović Šakabenta had already been transferred to the Vršac diocese, Stratimirović got Buda diocese (he was ordained on 15th June 1786). He was only 28. The selection was made by the Emperor himself. There were three candidates and the Emperor talked with all of three of them and chose Stratimirović: "he recognised his sharp look revealing knowledge and good characteristics of young Stratimirović and appointed him the Bishop" (*Novine Serbske* 1836, issue 42, 345). The next four years, he spent in Buda diocese, but this part of his life is not so known.

Already in 1790, though the youngest among the bishops, he was elected the Metropolitan at the Timisoara Assembly. From that time until his death, the biography of Metropolitan Stratimirović is actually the history of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Karlovci Metropolitanate. During all that time "he was the centre and the outcome of all undertakings of the church. His powerful spirit hovered over everything and with an extraordinary activity pervaded the events, dominated them providing guidelines to the whole clerical and national life" (Djoko Slijepčević).

At the Timisoara Assembly, Stratimirović was assigned to establish General Seminaries

where clerical personnel would be educated, but he did not do so. Because of that, he was criticised a lot: "I will not say that he erred, I would only say that he made a mistake, that he made a very big mistake" (Ilarion Ruvarac). In return, he founded eparchy clerical schools, and during his reign, Karlovci and Novi Sad grammar schools were founded. The Karlovci Grammar School remained especially famous: "The Karlovci Grammar School is the first of Stratimirović's high schools which was seen by contemporaries as a prominent institute for the equality of a gifted but barbarised people during long slavery, with enlightened western nations" (Nikola Radojčić). He had also attempted to open a printing house in Sremski Karlovci but he did not get the permit from Vienna.

During his administration, he had many conflicts with Vienna regarding the episcopacy renewal. Namely, the Synod was not able to meet when necessary, because the imperial permit for such a meeting was not always obtained. At that time, Vienna endeavoured to keep the right for itself to nominate bishops. Yet, the Austrian Emperor "respected him a lot not only as a dear person, but also as the one of the first government officers of his empire" (Jovan Subotić).

The time of Metropolitan Stratimirović is also the time of Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić, as well as of Karadjordje and Miloš Obrenović in Serbia. The Metropolitan supported the activities of Karadjordje and Miloš Obrenović with all his might, but he did not have much understanding for what Dositej and Vuk Karadžić tried to do: "Stratimirović had a completely conservative attitude because he was afraid that a new spirit of the enlightened rationalism with its rationalistic tendencies would greatly harm Ser-

bian Orthodox Church, which was entrusted to his leadership and protection from any detrimental effects" (M. Grujić). All that seemed to him then not only revolutionary but also anticlerical. He wanted the new Serbian culture to be built in the language used by the church but Vuk actually attacked and contested this language.

Stefan Stratimirović was an exemplary clerical man: "every day, there was Matins in the Hall, and Vespers in the evening, and he was never missed out. When he did not feel well, he participated in another room in his home clothes. And during Great Vespers on Saturdays, and on the eve of any great holiday, he was always seen at service at his desk" (J. Subotić). Dositej Obradović appreciated him a lot: "blessed and too blessed may be that holy, great fatherly spirit who produced such shepherds and teachers for us."

Metropolitan Stratimirović administered the Karlovci Metropolitanate for full 46 years and no one before or after him managed to do so. He died suddenly on 4th October 1836 in Sremski Karlovci and was buried next to Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović in the Sremski Karlovci Cathedral. It is believed that his characteristics and significance were best described by Nikola Radojčić: "At the high and responsible position that he held in difficult and dangerous times when he lived, Stratimirović, in a wise and dedicated manner, made efforts regarding the welfare of his church and nation. I do not see anyone at those times who could in his position do what he had accomplished. Indeed, he took the honourable paths of Saint Sava taking care of the progress of the Serbian church, state and nation. At the end of his long life, he could honourably say that his efforts for such deeds were not in vain.

SAVA TEKELIJA

Popović-Tekelija family is an old, fairly ramified Serbian family whose roots reach to the family Popović in Banat. Sava's great-grandfather, Jovan Tekelija, the Colonel and Captain of Pomorišje Military Frontier, is considered to be the initiator of this family tree. Since he distinguished himself in the military service, Prince Eugen honoured him with the rank of "Captain or Commander Colonel". Jovan Tekelija received nobleman title in 1706. Sava Tekelija's grandfather – Ranko Tekelija – came from the marriage of Jovan Tekelija and Eufrosina Jović (Roksanda in subsequent poems). Ranko Tekelija was married twice, first with Alka Rašković, afterwards with Ana Cvetković. In these two marriages, Ranko Tekelija had sons Jovan, Dimitrije, Petar, Pavle, and Lazar.

Ranko's eldest son, Sava's father – Jovan Tekelija, married Marta Nenadović at the age of forty. Sava's mother came from the famous family – she was a niece of Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović. Since, at that time (1741–1751), the Military Frontier was demilitarised, Jovan Tekelija was dedicated to his estate, thus, he spent almost all his life in peace as a provincial, county nobleman. Though noble, the Tekelija family was rather impoverished at that time. Therefore, its role in the newly arisen legal and political situation could not be large. It was quite certainly felt by Sava Tekelija who could only from stories feel what his family used to mean in Arad. Jovan Tekelija and Marta Nenadović had three children, Petar, Sava, and Alojzija.



Sava Popović Tekelija was born in Arad on 17th August 1761. He began his education in Arad at the age of six. In 1767, he studied in the Serbian school and two years later, he moved to the Latin ("magisterial") school. There he learnt Latin and Hungarian. For a while, since 1775, Sava was in Buda "where I studied poetry. At that time, poetry was taught before rhetoric".

At that time, he did not know German, yet. While he was educated in Buda, he lived quite modestly at the house of some tailor whom he paid 5 Forints for "food" (meals) and lodgings. He ate with journeymen and slept on straw covered with a sheet. Under his head, he had a pillow and covered himself with a blanket. He said the following about his position and everything he had denied to himself: "How it was for me when I, after my soft bed at home, had to sleep on straw and instead of silken quilt I covered myself with a blanket and saw that other children had more meals to eat, who were given various treats by their mothers at home".

His parents were not willing for him to continue further education: "My parents, especially my mother, did not want to give me further to school, but they wanted me to get married. However, since I had seen the world and the need of education, I had fallen for sciences and I wanted to learn. Thus, nothing more was left to me to do, but to hire a simple cart and secretly run away". With a small saving ("since I have always been a good housekeeper, I had a few ducats"), he managed to get to Vienna.

In 1770, Emperor Joseph II was visiting Hungary and, on that occasion, he went through Arad. When he had seen the eagle on the Arad church, he asked about the church and was answered that it was Tekelija's church. Having heard it, the Emperor asked whether there were any family members. When he had heard that there was a family (Sava Tekelija's family), he asked to see them. "And we, that is, my father, mother, sister, brother, and I were brought to him: he looked at us from head to toe, however, our parents did not know any other language apart from Serbian and Vlachian which the Emperor did not know, thus, after a quarter of an hour or a bit more, he dismissed us". Thus, the meeting of the Emperor and the Tekelijas passed rather poorly. Since none of the Tekelijas' knew German or French, or another language, apart from Serbian and Vlachian, the conversation was impossible. There, Sava clearly realised that the lack of education among the Serbs in another state meant that no progress was possible. Because of that, he was so persistent.

After finishing grammar school, Sava Tekelija chose a military occupation and in 1780, he went to Vienna and he wanted to be enrolled at an engineering academy. However, he was rejected, because he was too old for this type of school: "that I am too old for it and I could not be accepted." He stayed in Vienna for the next two years. He went to university and listened to various lectures, among other things, he studied French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as playing the flute. At that time, his financial situation was much better so, he even had his own lackey. After two years spent in Vienna, he returned to Arad, where his parents "received him with great joy". But, he was also faced with the same problems there. He wanted further educated, whereas his parents, especially his mother, wanted him to get married.

From 1782, Sava Tekelija was in Buda where he studied law. He was one of the best students, and he openly praised about being allowed many things by his professors which were actually not allowed to other students ("our professors treated us nicely and allowed us many things which would otherwise not be allowed"). Among other things, he went to balls and he enjoyed "other entertainments". For that reason, medical students reported him to the Magistrate.

In the course of 1786, Sava Tekelija graduated law. The completion of his education comprised of taking three exams. The first exam was "Jure nature, gentium publico universali". The second exam was "Pandekt", and after he had passed the third exam, he was allowed to take doctoral exam. Tekelija defended doctoral dissertation on 26th May 1786. It was entitled *Dissertatio iuridica de causa et fine civitatis (Legal Dissertation on the Cause and Purpose of the Existence of the State)*. As stated by him, this defence was attended by numerous professors and students: "Thus, in the month of May, when I had completely finished it, I went up the cathedra as the first one in the newly established hall in the former curial home, where many gentlemen, especially students, gathered".

Thus, Sava Tekelija became the first Doctor Juris among the Serbs: "and so, I got the Doctoral Diploma and became the first Doctor Juris not only among the Serbs, but also among the Hungarians who were not professors". Almost immediately after he had passed his doctoral exam, Sava Tekelija went to Russia in 1787. He stayed there until 1789, when he returned to Arad to his parents.

Very soon, Sava Tekelija got very significant government positions. Already in 1790, he was the vice notary of Cenad County. As such, he participated in the Timisoara Assembly.

In 1790, the Assembly was held in Timisoara where the Serbs decided whether they would, as the nation, get legal position (legalis) or remain under the imperial protection of Vienna and have uncertain privileged position (privilegalis). Right at this Assembly, Sava Tekelija gave the speech that made history. In 1790, Emperor Joseph II died.

In 1792, Tekelija was in Buda and attended the coronation of Franz I and became the Cavalier of Vienna Court. The next six years, until 1798, due to the requirements of his state service, he spent in Vienna. Then, he resigned and spent the rest of his life in Arad.

At the time of the First Serbian Uprising, Sava Tekelija addressed Napoleon Bonaparte in a letter ("Memoire" of 13th June 1804). At that time, Napoleon had already conquered Dalmatia and the part of Croatia, which gave an idea to Tekelija to propose to Napoleon to establish the Illyrian Kingdom.

Since he wanted to win Napoleon over his idea, Tekelija stated that there was a threat that Russia could penetrate to Serbia, and in order to stop that, the best thing would be that European states provide support to the Serbian nation. Napoleon never responded to this letter. Having been disappointed, Sava Tekelija sent a similar letter to the Austrian Emperor in 1805. Of course, this attempt also failed. Tekelija went to Russia two more times, in 1811 and 1816, and those were business trips.

Sava Tekelija got married to Amalia noble Bezeg in 1813. The marriage lasted only for a month, however, the divorce litigation spanned out during the period of almost ten years, from 1821 to 1830.

This Serbian patriot remained especially remembered and praised as one of the biggest donors. Before him, the Serbs had also left endowments to their people and fatherland, and the grandest were Dimitrije Anastasijević Sabov and Sava Vuković of Berkasovo. When Tekelija made the decision to bequeath his assets to the Serbian people, a great role was played by Teodor Pavlović, whom Tekelija met at the attorney office of Mihailo Vitković. Teodor Pavlović was also meritorious for the foundation of the Museum of Matica Srpska to which Tekelija bequeath the portraits of his family. From the Museum art collection, the Matica Srpska gallery would subsequently be developed, and the museum artefacts gifted to the Museum are the core of the collection of the present Vojvodina Museum, established in Novi Sad after the World War II. Since 1806, Sava Tekelija had been thinking how to help and support cultural and educational development of his people. His letter of 1806 was preserved in which he explained to his brother Petar "that he did not intend to marry, but to leave his estate for scholarships". This was nonsense to Petar, thus, he responded and proposed to Sava to get rid of such a "foolish plan". Nevertheless, in 1810, Sava invited twelve rich Serbs from Arad at his place and proposed to them to establish a fund to finance education of young Serbian students. It is how the fund was set up. At that time, Sava emphasised that "it is impolite that a man takes care only of himself", and that "without knowledge, no one may hope to have something better and bigger".

It is interesting that Sava Tekelija made the plan on how much particular citizen should have contributed to such a fund. Since he was quite aware of their financial situation, something like that was not difficult to him: "I think that anyone worthy of being called a Serb would not restrain himself due to his low assets and contemptuous love of money to, according to his possibilities, allocate the part of his assets for education of everyone, including his child." Tekelija's assets were, indeed, great, and Jovan Subotić assessed them at 400,000 silver forints. Therefore, on 21st August 1838 in his "letter of foundation", he founded his largest endowment Tekelijanum in Pest. The basis of the foundation included 100,000 forints, two houses in Pest, three houses in Arad, and 28 acres of land. The purpose of this foundation was to "ensure education of poor Serbian students".

In Pest, Tekelija bought a house, in Veres Street, very close to the University and the Serbian Orthodox Church, where he arranged accommodation for poor students. As he stated: "in Pest, as the centre of science, I want to establish the home centre, for the purpose of which I have bought the house nearby the church and the University, for twelve students who will come to Pest to study and get accommodation there and hundred forints for their sustenance for the time being and other things will be arranged later. I am going to put that under the supervision of Matica Srpska to which I also provide the accommodation comprised of three rooms for a supervisor: one for a library, one for the Pantheon or for holding meetings, one for students; three for myself and my family; downstairs, one big room for typograph and two remain for storages."

His cadets had accommodation in this building, financial support for the purchase of books, payment of exam fees, etc. At the very beginning, there were twelve students and subsequently eighteen. Milovuk wrote about that to Vuk Karadžić: "Now, on Sunday, Mr Sava Tekelija visited us, to build again our home on two floors at his own expenses provided that: it includes 3 rooms for 12 students, whom he will provide scholarship, and 3 rooms and a kitchen for a manager, and 1 hall for the Library and for the gathering of Matica members, approved by us, thus, he deposited us 15 thousand forints and the remaining cost

will be subsequently provided by him. The house has to be finished in the period of one year”.

What this edifice looked like was stated by D. Popović: “At the first floor of the building, from the yard side, there was a big hall determined for the students to stay there and the room next to it was used as the library. The third larger room was set by Tekelija to be for Matica members where they can have their meetings”. It seems that three rooms were designated for the editor of the “Chronicle”. He also left one room for himself, in which he would stay when in Pest. At the ground floor, below the students’ hall, there was the printing office.”

While he was alive, Sava Tekelija took care of his building and after his death Matica Srpska took over the care. Until 1878, one hundred and seventy nine students passed through Tekelijanum and after that year to the World War I further one hundred and sixty seven students. This building stood there until 1906, when a new one was built.

In 1826, Matica Srpska was founded. It experienced the bloom when Sava Tekelija was elected its President in 1839. In that same year, he merged his “Zavedenije” (the foundation for the education of Serbian young men – frontiersmen) with it. In that same year, he gave a large number of books to the Matica Srpska and later he financed printing of the Lukijan Mušicki’s book.

A couple of years later, in 1841, Tekelija established his fund with the deposit of 100,000 forints as the support for the education of the Serbs at the Military Academy in Vienna and Pest: “I leave one hundred thousand forints in silver from the interest of which, immediately upon the approval by the emperor, two children of our officers are to be educated at the Vienna engineering academy, and two at Ludovic Academy in Pest”. In his biography, rather embittered, he mentioned the negligence of treating one of his gifts. “If such foundation was established in Russia by someone,

where up to one hundred cadets, bishops, seminary, and rectors will be educated, such a donor will be decorated with at least medals of Ana or Vladimir but to a Serb nothing”.

There is a funny anecdote told by Jovan Djordjević about Tekelija’s efforts to fulfil all of the requirements of his cadets: “He established such a foundation with such will and managed it, so that he procured everything necessary to cadets by himself; he filled cadets’ pads with straw and sew them himself – and he was nearly 80 years old then”. Many years later, another cadet of this Academy – Veljko Petrović told the following story: “At the time when I was at the Tekelijanum,, it was remembered that an eighty-year old man locked the gate by himself at night and before going to bed, he oversaw whether everyone was there, reading a book or in bed. Nevertheless, he often had to replace locks and keys. Students secretly fled and revelled, and he used to be seen with a lantern in his hand looking after them at nearby pubs. When cadets returned, they would sing and played tambourine under his window and broke wine glasses on the door. A good old man grumbled, scolded them and advised – and forgave crazy youth in the end.”

Sava Tekelija was also remembered by Jovan Subotić. He described him when Tekelija was over 70 years of age: “I met him when he began the eighth decade of his life. A tall, slightly bent old gentleman, with especially fine, white and rosy skin on his cheek, and grey, scarce, fine hair on his head. He often pulled his trousers in his boots, and wore one-coloured tail-coat, dark blue, matching his boots. Before he died, all those who had been around him had left Pest, thus, I got an order to be with the old man when he had his meals, in order not to be alone, and to have someone to talk”.

Sava Tekelija passed away in Arad on 21st September 1842. The Tekelija family disappeared with Sava Tekelija.

KARADJORDJE PETROVIĆ

Serbian Voivoda

The family of Karadjordje Petrović is an immigrant family from some Dinara mountain area of the Vasojević side, however, it is not known from which brotherhood. It is assumed that the Petrovićs came to Serbia after the Austrian and Turkish war 1737–1739. At that time, many Serbian families moved away from the Turks.

As far as it is known, Karadjordje's grandfather settled in Viševac, Šumadija whereas his two brothers were nearby, somewhere around the Jasenica river. Karadjordje's father Petar also dealt with cattle breeding, mostly pigs. Due to moving cattle to pastures, the Petrovićs' were on a constant move and rarely stayed in one place. It is what actually enabled Petar to deal with haiduk actions. Karadjordje's mother Marica is the daughter of Petar Živković from Masloševo from Kragujevac Jasenica. There is a story about her that she was very brusque, that she did not give ground to men and that she even rode a horse. Because of that, she was called Marica Katana. In this marriage, the firstborn son was Djordje (Karadjordje). Since he was borne on Saint George Day (3rd-16th November), he was named Djordje after this saint. There is no common opinion about the year of Karadjordje's birth, and 1762 can be accepted as the year of his birth. There are various opinions about where Karadjordje was born. In the opinion of some historians, he was born in Žabari, and others think (it seems as



more probable) that he was born in the village of Viševac. In time, two more sons were born (Marko and Marinko) and two daughters (Marija and Milica). The eldest sister was Marija to whom Karadjordje was especially inclined.

Karadjordje was still a child when his father killed some Turk and, they had to move away from Viševac. Petar continually changed his occupations. He worked with a Djurdj from Žabari, but he did not stay there for some longer time. He moved to Zagorica where he kept beehives with one Turk. He stayed there for some seven-eight years.

Afterwards, they went to Braničina, the village in Smederevo Nahiyah, where he kept the beehives of the Turk Fazli Pasha from Palanka. Janićije Djurić added that Petar killed two more Turks who stayed for the night at his house in 1778 then, he killed another Turk who caught him while hunting a doe with a relative in 1781. It is not known with certainty how Karadjordje's father passed away. After his death, his mother remarried Petronije Topolac in Topola.

Around 1786, Karadjordje got married to Jelena, the daughter of Jasenica ruling prince (Obor-knez), Nikola Jovanović. At a gathering, Karadjordje courted Jelena and danced next to her in a kolo. A jealous young man, Vukota, attacked him in such a manner that he slapped Karadjordje after which Karadjordje killed him with his firelock. Because of that, he had to flee. This time, he

joined the haiduks of Stanoje Glavaš. Subsequently, the Turks tried to abduct Jelena, but Karadjordje saved her. Soon afterwards, perhaps in 1785/6, Karadjordje got married to Jelena. At that time, he began with pig trade. He collected pigs throughout Serbia and sold them in Austria and Germany. He did not stay in this business for a long time since the Turkish authorities were suspicious that he killed some Turks. In addition, people said that there would be Austrian and Turkish war. Because of that, the whole family was getting ready to immigrate to Austria. With Karadjordje, the whole Petrović family, his mother, stepfather, brothers and wife went then.

During a journey, his stepfather Petronije suddenly changed his mind and decided to return. However, one of their escorts (Ilija, or someone else with different opinion) killed Petronije. He was buried in Crvena Jaruga. Afterwards, they crossed the river Sava and reached the Monastery of Krušedol. They made a deal there that Marica and Karadjordje's wife would milk the cattle, and he would keep the monastery forest. He was soon bored with this job and he signed up for the Austrian army. The war ended in 1790. Since Karadjordje was not able to return to his ruined estate in Serbia and since he had nothing to do in Austria, he re-joined the haiduks in Serbia. He had a large detachment comprising around sixty men. Once, he had a direct conflict with the Prince Aleksa Nenadović who was protecting his Nahiyah and was wounded in his arm.

Then, Karadjordje made up his mind to move his family from Srem to Serbia since the amnesty was announced and there was no reason to be afraid of the Turks. His family settled in Topola and started a new life there. As one of the most prominent Serbs in his area at that time, Karadjordje was within the national army established by Mustafa Pasha and led by Stanko Arambašić. When the janissaries – dahias gained the rule, Karadjordje, as it was the case with other prominent Serbs, began thinking about an uprising.

Karadjordje managed to avoid death mostly thanks to the fact that the Turks did not seriously take him. According to one version, seven Turks went after him. They surrounded his house, but in brief rifle fire, he killed two of them and the others flee. According to another, there was no

conflict. The Turks did not find him though they were looking after him on several occasions. He immediately moved to Stanoje Glavaš and, for a while, they were hiding in forests. At the beginning, there were few of them, only four, but in ten days, the group was increased to as many as two thousand people. It resulted in the Orašac meeting, gathering between three hundred and five hundred people. Among the most prominent ones, in addition to Karadjordje and Glavaš, there were Petar Jokić, Aleksa Dukić from Banja, Milovan and Radovan Garašanin from Lipovac, Jovan Krstović from Bukovik, Haiduk Veljko, Arsenije Lomo, Tanasko Rajić, and other. The meeting was held in the place called Marićeva jaruga. It is not quite clear when the meeting in Orašac was held. It is believed that it was held on Candlemas, on 2nd February 1804. It is certain that the decision about the uprising was made there and Karadjordje was elected the leader. All other things are assumptions because there are no written documents about such an important event.

After the meeting in Orašac, Karadjordje was the supreme Grand Duke, that is, "Verhovni Vožd". He became the ruler and the leader and all of the participants swore allegiance by kissing the cross and gospel, as the main symbols of their faith. The Assembly, as the only real source of power, gave him all authorities. This meant at the same time that the Assembly was the main source of power and of the Duke, as well. Karadjordje, being more confident, issued the order to the people to rebel. Now, it was not an invitation, but the Duke's order.

Within a short time period, a large territory was liberated from the Turks and Belgrade was surrounded. Notably, until 20th April 1804, only two and a half months after the "slaughter of the princes", the dahias were crushed in military sense in Serbia. Out of totally 12 Nahiyahs, 10 were held by the rebels. Under his command, Karadjordje had around twenty five thousand quite well organised and armed people. On the other hand, the success of the uprising resulted in the division between Karadjordje and the princes. From the very beginning of the uprising, Karadjordje paid great attention to the support from Austria and numerous Serbs who lived there. Austria did not make any efforts to prevent supplying

ammunition and weapons to the Serbs, but it did not directly interfere in it.

That the uprising was taken the direction not so many people hoped of was shown at the Assembly of the Chiefs in Ostružnica held on 24th April where almost all prominent people gathered. The decision was made to require expelling of the dahias from the pashadom, to renew prince self-government, trade, religion, the right of the supreme prince and the vizier to consider all the basic issues of their mutual relations, amnesty for the rebels. The attacks to Belgrade were intensified and, the most important thing was that the rebels began organising their own rule throughout the Nahiyahs. Nine Serbian chiefs in the camp near Topčider drew up a new appeal to the Russian Tsar (15th July 1804), and in a subsequent request, they addressed the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adam Czartoryski. Then, the slaughter of the dahias occurred (in the night between 24th and 25th July).

During this time, Karadjordje was developed into a real uprising leader. Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović described him in a letter as an ignorant, rough, very short-tempered, rather wilful, nevertheless, on the other hand, utterly honest and just. At that time, Karadjordje rejected any possibility of a compromise with the Turks and Jakov Nenadović advocated quite the contrary.

In the summer of 1805, the rebels won the great victory near Ivankovac. This battle would have a decisive role in the further development of the uprising. Probably, until then, it could be said that the rebels rose up against the violent dahias, but after this battle, it was clear that it was the struggle against the Sultan and the Turkish Empire. After that, on 1st August 1806, the rebels achieved a great victory at Mišar near Šabac. The Turks also experienced the similar thing near Deligrad. This most successful year was finished by the rebels by conquering Belgrade on 30th November (12th December) 1806.

In January 1807, the Porte finally accepted the peace conditions imposed by the rebels. They were brought by Petar Ičko but the rebels rejected them. Perhaps, this was a crucial mistake and if it had not been for the rejection of peace conditions the first Serbian Uprising would have survived. Much later, Gaja Vodeničarević said that

Karadjordje complained in 1813 that they made a mistake because they did not accept the conditions achieved by Ičko.

In its proclamation of 11th January 1807, Russia promised independence to Serbia, provided the Serbian army supported the Russians in their operations against the Turks in Vlachia. It was a disappointment for the rebels when Russia and Turkey made an armistice in Slobozia on 12th August 1807. Napoleon, who threatened Russia, was gaining increasingly more victories. However, the armistice made in Slobozia brought the peace to Serbia, which lasted until the spring of 1809.

The war between Russia and Turkey restarted in 1809. Of course, Serbia was on the side of Russia. Namely, Russia tried to overtake Vlachia and Moldova from Turkey for its borders to reach the Danube. Karadjordje considered that it was the right time to expand the uprising outside liberated territories. He sent Milenko Stojković towards Vidin, Miloje Petrović towards Niš (then Pirot and Vranje), Jakov Nenadović towards Bosnia, he himself went through Stari Vlah towards Herzegovina (he was to be connected with Montenegro there). There were many bloody battles and in late autumn, the Turks were stopped at the field of Tičar, then also near Loznica. It is considered by many that the battle near Loznica (17th/18th October 1810) was by its consequences equal to the one at Mišar.

In 1810, the rebels did not only successfully defend, but they also achieved some victories. The Serbian guards were on the Drina and the Timok, in Tara, Zlatibor, Javor, Golija, above Novi Pazar, on the southern slopes of Kopaonik and Jastrebac, near Toponica of Niš, in Gramada, on Stara planina. It was a long frontier with around seventy fortified trenches. The next year, 1811, was of no major significance though there were some continuing fights however, they were finished soon. In that year, Karadjordje managed to completely crush the resistance of his opponents and to become the absolute ruler in Serbia. Milenko Stojković and Petar Dobrnjac left Serbia.

The year of 1812 was of a decisive significance. It is when Russia made the peace with Turkey in Bucharest on 16th May 1812. Serbia is mentioned in item VIII of the treaty. Namely, the

Porte promised amnesty to the Serbs, it allowed them to administer own internal affairs and to collect tax, whereas the Turks were given the towns and the largest weapons of the Serbian army (cannons). The Turks did not have any right to interfere into the internal Serbian affairs, to set out moderate levy to the Serbs, etc., and, most importantly, they had to agree about everything with the Serbian people. It turns out that in this item the rebels got what they could have got back in 1804, and perhaps even more in 1807.

However, the Turks attacked Serbia from three directions: from Vidin, from Niš, and the Drina. It is taken that there were around 80,000 Turkish soldiers in comparison to around 50,000 Serbian ones. In July 1813, the final crash of the rebels began. Dejection prevailed in Serbia, and it seemed as if Karadjordje himself succumbed, asking to move to Russia as early as on 30th March 1813. Just when Hurshid started the move, he was very ill of typhus and as if Karadjordje lost his strength and he could not impose his will. Therefore, he left to Mladen Milovanović to distribute the defence. This was the reason for him to move to Zemun on 21st September 1813. Metropolitan Leontije was with him. After a short stay in Zemun, Karadjordje went to Fenek monastery. When it was heard about, the Serbian leaders were panic stricken and some prominent Serbs began to retreat.

Only two days after Karadjordje's escape, the Turks entered Belgrade which was not defended. Some sporadic resistance lasted for about a month and at the beginning of October 1813, the Turkish rule was re-established in Serbia. It was the definite failure of the First Serbian Uprising. In a short time, around 120,000 refugees fled to Austria. Karadjordje was escorted to Graz on 23rd January 1814 with his son Aleksije and two servants and stayed there for a while. The estates of all of the Serbian chiefs were confiscated.

In the second half of September 1814, a large group of Serbian uprising chiefs went from Timisoara to Russia. In October, they were distributed in Bessarabia and some of them even got pensions. In such a manner, they were for some time removed from the political scene. Nevertheless, in early 1817, Karadjordje managed to escape from Russia and secretly enter Serbia. He informed the uprising leader of that time, Miloš Obrenović, on his arrival and that he intended to make Serbia rise up again. Miloš had no intention to do something like that and he ordered the assassination of Karadjordje, which was done at night between 12th and 13th July 1817. The requiem was served by priest Vučko Popović from Adžbegovac and he was buried at the spot where he was assassinated. Subsequently, his mortal remains were transferred to Topola and buried in the Topola church.

FILIP VIŠNJIĆ

Filip Višnjić was born in Trnovo, the village of Bosnian Podrinje. At the time of his birth, this place had around 200 houses and it was considered a big village, he himself originated from the Vilić family. There were four brothers – Djordje, Marko, Lazar, and Luka. Filip was born around 1767 and his parents were Djordje Vilić and his wife Marija. Since Filip's mother was called Višnja, Filip took her surname – Višnjić.

In his early age, Filip lost his father who died due to sudden disease. Around 1775, smallpox made eight-year old Filip's face in scars and injured his eyes. At that time, his mother had already remarried and moved to the new husband's house in the village of Medjaši. Probably, Filip got in touch with the fiddle (gusle) there. Since he was blind, he often went from Medjaši to Trnovo to visit his remaining relatives. However, in 1787, due to a conflict, the whole Vilić family was killed by the Turks. At that time, his mother also died.

After this disaster, Filip began more actively to deal with fiddling and began travelling throughout Bosnia and farther with the instrument in his hands. "As he told me... he went not only throughout the whole Bosnian pashadom but also to Scuteri and begged singing and playing his fiddle" (Vuk Karadžić). Even with his appearance he drew attention. He was tall, with big bones and strong and broad shoulders. On such journeys, he got scars on his cheek, his left ear was half cut, and he lost one finger on his right hand, and another finger was crippled. Subsequently, he praised proudly that he got those scars in the struggle with the Turks when he led a detachment

in Karadjordje's uprising. However, the origin of his scars was rather from fights at inns where he fiddled and where his songs were disliked.

In 1809, Filip Višnjić moved from Bosnia to Serbia, but, for a while, he had to stay at a refugee camp located near Šabac. He stayed there with his wife Nasta from the village of Mrtvice, who came from a prominent Djuković family. In 1813, they brought their two children to Srem, son Ranko who was ten and new-born daughter Milica, called Manda. In late 1810, Filip Višnjić was in Loznica and took part in the great victory of the Serbs over the Turks. In the last days of the Serbian tragedy, in 1813, Filip Višnjić was in Ravanj. After the failure of the First Serbian Uprising, Višnjić, together with his wife and children, moved to Srem across the river Sava. For some time, he stayed in the village of Martinci and then he went to the village of Grk (nowadays Višnjićevo) and settled in the yard of Gaja Noćajac. He made there a kind of a cottage, surrounded with little stools, and gathered listeners and sang to them there.

Vuk Karadžić also travelled a lot throughout Srem, and in 1815, he managed to bring him to the Monastery of Šišatovac. There, Vuk wrote down the poems written by Filip Višnjić and was inducing him for a while to travel to Serbia again. "At that time, I tried to convince him to go to Serbia again, since I wanted him to write more poems there but there was no way to do that" (Vuk Karadžić).

Vuk Karadžić was in this activity helped a lot by Parson Marko Mijatović, who served in Grk in the period from 1811 to 1828. Apparent-

ly, Mijatović helped Vuk to bring Filip Višnjić to Šišatovac. From the letter sent by Vuk to Lukijan Mušicki on 9th August 1815, it is clearly seen that Mijatović had been writing down poems sang by Filip Višnjić and then sent them to Vuk. In addition, in his letter, Vuk mentions a "blind woman" from Grk. The "blind woman" was considered by him to be a woman fiddler (at that time, all of the fiddlers were called "the blind" though they were actually not blind) and asked to transcribe all those poems she knew which referred to Prince Lazar. This letter is very interesting, thus, I am going to present it in full (in the part relating to Grk): "If that blind woman from Grk came, please organise that all those old poems were transcribed, especially those about Lazar (how he got married, how he went hunting, Lazarica, and the like) and about Stefan the Mighty; if she does not come, write to the Priest in Grk, let him transcribe them or bring the Blind Woman escorted to you, because we shall hardly find these poems at another place. Write a letter to the Priest in Grk, let him transcribe something new from Filip the Blind, especially if he composes something..." (*Stražilovo*, issue 15, 10th April 1886, page 512).

Filip was in Grk only during winters, whereas, during summers, he travelled throughout Srem, Bačka, Banat, and Slavonia. After some time, he left the yard of Gaja Noćajac and moved to Manojlo Radišić, his distant cousin. At that time, he made quite good earnings from his singing, thus, he gained some habits which are in contrast to the idealised picture in which he is presented as an old man – beggar who, blind and feeble, travels on dusty roads: "he was taller than men of medium height, with big bones, gaunt, with strong and broad back, and red in face with rashes. He was rather bald on the scalp and on the front part of his head. His eyebrows were big, and he had big and thick greyish moustaches falling towards his chest. His nose was hooked, he had ginger greyish longer hair, which fell on his shoulders and billowed when he walked. His gait was dignified. In winters, he wore a simple Bosnian robe made of coarse fabric but always clean; and, in summers, he wore clean white, longer robes with short coat, peasant shoes, Bosnian socks, and fez on his head without tassels. This is what he had worn at the beginning, and subsequently he wore

our usual Srem clothes and white woollen cloak" (J. Kozobarić).

When he walked, he was sometimes supported with two sticks. He had a big scar on his cheek. Having been dissatisfied with his behaviour, Vuk Karadžić wrote down : "...because he lived well in Srem; wherever he went, people gave him presents and gifts for his poems; he enrolled his son at school in Grk; he had his horse and a dray as if he were a gentleman."

He was very famous and he was received by Metropolitan Stratimirović, Lukijan Mušicki, the landowner of Kukujevci, Michael Janković and many others. He was well rewarded for his singing and he could afford a big fiddle decorated with silver and the fiddle-stick decorated in the same manner: "Višnjić had a nice fiddle, decorated with silver, and he sang the poems followed by the fiddle music. In winters, he stayed at home and in summers, he travelled throughout surrounding villages and towns singing heroic poems. When he stayed at home, he would sing almost every night and both old men and children listened to him gladly. He sang most often in Grk and Bosut" (J. Kozobarić).

Unfortunately, after his death, his fiddles were hanging on the horn in the Radišić's attic of the old house and decayed there.

Filip Višnjić died in Grk in 1834, "and he was buried at Radišić graveyard and a big wooden cross was erected on his grave on which the fiddle was engraved. Later, the cross disappeared, and almost everyone forgot about his grave" (J. Kozobarić). He was 67 years old. Soon after their father's death, his son Ratko and daughter Manda died and were buried next to him. With the help of Radišić's cooperative, the Parson K. Zmejanović found the Višnjić's grave and in 1887, with the donation of all of Grk residents, a monument was raised to the fiddler. The monument was ceremoniously revealed on 15th August 1887.

Based on the documents of that time, it can be seen that the basic idea of raising the monument to Filip Višnjić originated from the Serbian youth gathered around Serbian Academic Society "Zora" in Vienna. At the celebration of Saint Sava in Vienna in 1887, where Vuk and Višnjić were glorified, the idea of raising the monument was initiated: "The youth initiated the idea to raise the

monument on Višnjić's grave, and they would fulfil it. Many donations were given, thus, the idea would not fail, and our *Zora* immediately selected the committee for raising the monument to Filip Višnjić, who would, during all this school year, work on the idea. Therefore, we can hope to have a purely national celebration in Srem by the summer, which has not been organised before" (*Javor*, Novi Sad 1887, p. 60).

Everything was organised by the Serbian Academic Society "Zora" from Vienna in the agreement with the Mitrovica Serbian Church Choir (*Javor*, Novi Sad, 1887, p. 494). The preparations for this celebration were really great. The invitation to the ceremony was announced in several newspapers of which the one in *Javor* was the most distinct.

There is a record of what the celebration at the revealing of the monument looked like: "On the Assumption of this year, the gravestone was revealed in the village of Grk, Srem, to the fiddler and Serbian poet, blind Filip Višnjić. This event was organised with the great people's celebration. The Serbian people from Banat, Bačka, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Serbia gathered. There were several thousand people. First, the liturgy was served by the priests Damjan Jevrić from Jamina, Jovan Jeremić from Bačinci and local parson Jovan Zmeanović presided, and Šid and Mitrovica church choirs sang. After the sermon, the requiem was served for Filip Višnjić by Jovan Vuković, the Archpriest and Professor at Zadar Seminary. The speech was given by parson K. Zmeanović. Four wreaths were placed on the grave of which one was sent by the Serbian Academy of Science from Belgrade. Upon the consecration of the gravestone, Rada Vrhovac, the professor of the Karlovci Grammar School, spoke. After that, there was real people's celebration and nice and significant speeches were given by Nikola Nikolić from Mitrovica, Stevan Damjanović (on behalf of *Zora*), Kosta Radojčić, the doctor (on behalf of *Gradac Srbadija*), Milan Popović (on behalf of the Budapest *Kolo mladih Srba* and Radovan Košutić, the philosopher who wore peasant clothes. In the nearby Mitrovica, the oration was organised for the guest and the teacher, Jovan Vučanov greeted them. During the oration, the

choirs were jointly singing: those from Belgrade, Ruma, Mitrovica, and Novi Sad. This celebration was splendid and it would forever be remembered by all those participating in it" (*Javor*, Novi Sad, 1887, p. 560).

Similar was also reported by "Srbobran". It reported that there were "people from all Serbian areas. First, Srem was represented the best, followed by Slavonia, Banat, Bačka, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia". There were many Serbian societies: Serbian Royal Academy, Matica Srpska, the Serbian National Theatre, Kornelija – Serbian Choir from Biograd and many other choirs.

On the very date of this ceremony, priests Damjan Jevrić (from Jamena), Jovan Jeremić (from Bačinci), Kosta Zmeanović (from Grk) served the sermon: "During the service, until the half of the ceremony, the Šid Choir sang and after that, the Mitrovica Choir continued to sing. At the church, the speech was held by K. Zmeanović." At that time, numerous telegrams with greetings were received (*Srbobran*, issue 83, 1887).

It should be mentioned here that guests were met by the locals: "Passing through the streets of Grk, everyone must have seen that the gates were wide open on every house. You could pull in carts wherever you wanted and everyone accepted you with his arms wide opened. And, there was not any house in Grk which had no guests. You could see 10, even 15 carts in many houses where fires were burning in yards, and sheep, pigs and poultry were roasted near the fires. Near houses, long tables were laid for 20 and more persons. This is how all of the houses in Grk looked like. You were given water everywhere to wash out dust from your face, everyone spoke about Višnjić and showed the house in which he had his little cottage and everyone was willing to take you to the house in which Višnjić died.." About the atmosphere: "At the market in Grk, a little fair was opened. There were inn keepers with tents and confectioners with their delicacies. I noticed only one thing: the celebration of Višnjić ended without any – fiddlers".

The dinner was at the end of the celebration: "After revealing the monument, common dinner was served in the shade. There were more

JOAKIM VUJIĆ

Joakim Vujić is considered to be “the father of the Serbian theatre” though, in his time, he was considered to be “Slavic-Serbian writer” of Dositejan orientation. He was a very fruitful writer and perhaps even more fruitful translator. In addition, he travelled a lot and left several exceptional descriptions of his journeys.

He was born on 9th September 1772 in Baja to father Gligorije (a soap maker and a merchant) and mother Euphrosyne. He finished primary school in Baja. He continued his education in Novi Sad and studied grammar school in Kaloč. Afterwards, he moved to Szeged but he stopped his education and started to work as an apprentice in a trade store. However, he did not stay there long because his boss inhumanly beat him and he ran away back to his parents to Baja. He continued his education in Kaloč. He tried to attend school in Bratislava and as he did not have money, he went to Dur. He intended to study rhetoric there, but he was scared of the principal, who threatened him with twelve hits with a whip “if any of the students went to a pub or an inn or smoked tobacco”.

Afraid of punishments, Vujić went to Esztergom where he was enrolled in grammar school, but he did not stay more than a half of the year there. Somehow, he managed to go to Bratislava again where he was received, free of charge, at Evangelistic Lyceum and Alumni. Afterwards, he was enrolled at the Roman Catholic Academy since he wanted to finish law. However, at a lecture, a Hungarian professor when explaining Hungarian private law explained that “the Noble, that is, the Aristocrats have got higher predominance in Hungary than other educated and wor-

thy people”. Vujić thought it was not fair and on 18th August 1795, he left his school and returned to Baja. He did not stay there for a long time and went to Trieste on foot in winter. On his way, he went to Sremski Karlovci. There, he was persuaded to be employed at the Magistrate in Novi Sad. It seemed that Vujić liked the idea, but he asked to be found an attorney in Zagreb with whom he would be able to learn the practice.

For that reason, he went to Zagreb on 15th May 1796. He was received by the attorney of Count Nicki, Pavle Zavodski. He worked there for a while, but he was not satisfied with Zavodski and he found another attorney to learn the practice. He stayed in Zagreb until the summer of 1797. He intended to go to Trieste, but while he was staying in Karlovac, his father came and brought him back to Baja (1797). Finally, he was in Novi Sad again, in July 1797, but he could not get a job at the Magistrate. Therefore, he moved to work as a clerk with Jovan Milivojin, the first local attorney of that time. He stayed there until the autumn and then, he went to Sombor. In 1801, he went to Trieste, where he gave private lessons and printed books. He travelled throughout Italy and stayed at the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Right at that time, he visited theatres in Italy and was delighted with the Italian opera. Then, he got an idea to try something similar himself.

His restless spirit took him to Nova Gradiška and then, to Zemun. In both places, he worked as a teacher. Yet, in Zemun, as politically unfit, he was imprisoned. In 1813, he started to work as a teacher at teacher training college in Szentendre and organised theatre performances there. At the Hungarian theatre in Pest, he showed his first per-

formance and gathered the theatre company comprised of Serbian students of the Pest Grammar School. It was the play *The Squawker* by, at that time very popular, Kotzebue. It was not just translated but also adapted by Vujić, and as he said, he "Serbianised" it. He moved the plot to Trieste, among the Serbs of that time. All of the characters were given Serbian names, he even introduced some local motifs, thus, the audience, who were all Serbs, could recognise something own.

Nowadays, it is considered that "it was the first public play in the history of the Serbian theatre" (J. Deretić), but it should be said that Vujić would not have been able to show it unless he had been greatly supported by the Hungarian Theatre Society. Vujić did not have anything, he was given everything, the stage, decoration, the technique and etc. *Novine Serbske* from the imperial city of Vienna were delighted: "Oh, this play is a forerunner and prediction that the taste of the Serbs will be developed and tastes of our nation will be enriched."

Although Vujić was almost 50 years old at that time, he travelled a lot and staged performances with his company, mostly in Serbian settlements in Hungary – Baja, Novi Sad, Zemun, Pančevo, Timisoara, Kikinda, etc. He was, indeed, a real theatre man and did everything. He was a dramaturge, a director, an actor, a playwright and an organiser. He had a special attitude towards a play: "drama text in itself was not essential to him but the play for which such a text was only a necessary basis, a screenplay which could be changed and adjusted to the taste of the audience and possibilities of scenic performance" (J. Deretić).

He wrote some of the plays himself. The following of his translations are known – *Fernando and Yariko* by German writer Karl Eckartshausen (1805), *Kind Envy because of a Shoe* by an unknown author (1805), he adapted *Village Plays* (1807), *Reward and Punishment* (1807), *Bat* (1807), *Squawker* by Kotzebue (1814). He also played in them. His manuscript included 21 plays. His plays do not have any depth, even less literary value and they are not even original so that reading the plays does not leave any impression. For Joakim Vujić, only theatre is important which gives vividness and persuasiveness to such texts.

In August 1815, Vujić went to Novi Sad and presented his first play based on his own manu-

script "Mr Georgij Petrović Called the Black or Belgrade Conquered by the Turks". This play was a sensation in Novi Sad and it was not so by chance. The actors in this play were also the students of the Catholic Grammar School in Novi Sad. Two years earlier, Karadjordje was imprisoned at Petrovaradin, his wife resided in Sremski Karlovci and in Novi Sad, and there were many refugees from Serbia in Novi Sad. Not even two years had passed from such an event, and the theatre play about it was staged. The Principal of the Catholic Grammar School, Pavle Kele, was afraid of any reactions by the authorities because, the students, who were forbidden to watch theatre plays, actually acted in one play of specific nature. Therefore, he required that the play was banned by the Magistrate. The Magistrate did not respond as preferred by the grammar school principal, but the drama manuscript was provided to Senator Jefta Jovanović, an Attorney.

Vujić went to Serbia on two occasions. Prince Miloš Obrenović liked him and Vujić became his protégé. In Kragujevac and Belgrade, he organised a theatre play, and he founded Princely-Serbian Theatre in Kragujevac in 1834. It was the first permanent Serbian theatre, and he was "the director of the Princely-Serbian Theatre". He was in Serbia until 1839. Then, he went to Southern Russia, where he stayed until 1842 when he returned to Serbia.

Joakim Vujić has remained known by his translations, as well. It is known that he translated a French grammar book, a general geography book and, several entertaining books for the young, *Young Robinson* (1810), and he also translated several books from Italian and English.

In Bucharest in 1826, he published his biography (in German), and in 1833, the translation thereof into the Slavic-Serbian language was published in Karlovci. The full title thereof is *The Life and Unusual Adventures of Joakim Vujić, a Slavic-Serbian Writer*. He described his journeys throughout Serbia in the book *The Journey throughout Serbia* (Buda, 1828), and journeys in other countries in his book *The Journey throughout Hungary, Vlachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Herson, and Crimea* (Belgrade, 1845).

Joakim Vujić was an opponent of Vuk Karadžić, thus, he issued a pamphlet *The Complaint about the Serbian Literature* (1833).

He died on 8th November 1847.

BOŽIDAR GRUJOVIĆ

Teodor Filipović (Boža Grujović) was born in 1776 in Ruma, "and his father was born in the village of Vrelo, in Valjevo Tamnava" (M. Milićević). Teodor Filipović's father was Živko Filipović (along with three other children). As stated in the notebook of Karl Šverer, a former professor in Ruma, at that time, there were 330 Serbian homes with the population of 1887 in this place. Teodor attended school in Ruma together with Atanasije Stojković who played an important role in his later life. Teodor Filipović graduated and then acquired his doctoral title in Pest. One year later, Karadjordje started the First Serbian Uprising in Serbia.

At the same time, the university was opened in Kharkov where Doctor Atanasije Stojković, also from Ruma, worked. Apparently, under his influence, Teodor Filipović, upon finished studies, went to Kharkov in 1804. There he got the position of an assistant professor for the subject of the History of Law of Significant Nations, Old and New.

It is a question what would have later happened in Filipović's life unless Archpriest Mateja Nenadović, one of the leaders of the First Serbian Uprising, came to Kharkov in the late autumn of 1804. Several deputies came together with the Archpriest, and they were all travelling to Petersburg at the order of Karadjordje: "In Kharkov, they met Teodor Filipović, a Serb from Ruma, the doctor and teacher at the Kharkov University, whom they asked to go to Petersburg with them" (M. Vukićević). As stated by Archpriest Mateja, Stojković and Filipović were very glad when they heard that the Serbian delegation came to

Kharkov, but, at that time, none of them knew that the Archpriest intended to take one of them to Petersburg.

Archpriest Mateja chose Teodor Filipović: "Teodor Filipović speaks quietly and moderately, Atanasije Stojković is rather hot-blooded. After they had gone to their flats, Čardaklija asked me and Jova Protić: "Out of these two men, who would you like to take?" I told him that I would not like that one, "because I like the taller hot-blooded and boisterous". Protić continued and said: "If we take the taller one (i.e. Stojković, we will not be able to reach half of our trip without quarrel, finally, he will take our cart, and he will drive, and we shall go on foot. Thus, we all said that we would take Teodor" (Archpriest Mateja Nenadović).

At the very beginning, Filipović was not especially willing to go with the delegation to the Russian Tsar, because "it was hard for him to leave his service, yet, for the sake of his people, and for the sake of the national future, he sacrificed it all and accepted to go with the delegates to Petersburg since he knew the languages and since he was willing to be their Secretary, and provide support in the activity because of which they were on their way" (M. Vukićević). In Kharkov, Filipović had to give notice to the position of the Professor, but he also had to take his brother Mihailo with him, whom he brought from Austria. Thus, they reached Petersburg, where Filipović had to write a detailed request and send it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Adam Czartoryski on 3rd November 1804.

The delegation was partially successful, and Filipović played his role in a very good manner. It was Filipović's first contact with diplomacy. After they had completed their activity, the Serbian delegation returned to Serbia in January 1805. Filipović and Petar Čardaklija went to Serbia some time later. After his departure from Kharkov, Filipović first went to Sremski Karlovec to visit Metropolitan Stratimirović. There, he was convinced by the Metropolitan to change his name, according to his great-grandfather, into Božidar Grujović. In Serbia, he was further known under such name. The reason of the change was the protection from the prosecution by the Austrian authorities. Until April, Grujović was with his relatives then, he moved to Serbia. First, he stayed with Archpriest Mateja "where he was without any visible activity", however, he was "carried away by great thoughts". As stated by Archpriest Mateja, Filipović's "father and family were in our village of Vrelo, nevertheless, he was with us in Brankovina and began writing the structure of the government, what the government should be like in our circumstances".

Grujović's texts *To Remember* and *A Letter* originate from that time. Those were two legal documents discussing two institutions – the government and the ruler (leader of the country). Right these texts became the basis for all subsequent constitutional and legislative documents of 1805, 1808, and 1811. Both legal documents are very interesting, because, in them, Grujović advocated legal state, since he wanted Serbia to be such, stating: "Indeed, the first ruler and judge in the country (state) is the law. It commands rulers, dukes, the government the clergy, metropolitans, and any minor and adult people. It will defend us, and preserve our freedom and will."

At that time, Serbia was, as any other place where there was revolution, the country without any law, and the situation was even more difficult, because several century long slavery under the Turks resulted in the fact that people lived on the verge of their survival. There were almost no literate people not to mention learned ones. Here, Grujić felt "that it was necessary to consider and take care of something else the legality which should immediately follow the success in

the struggle against the oppressors, and, in addition to the liberation from the Turkish burden, it is to grow and scatter and establish its power among people in the country, for the sake of everyone's safety of life, honour, and property, and in order for the enlightened Europe to see, as soon as possible, that the Serbs are not only against the Turks, enforced with their evil, but that they, at the same time, establish a strong state, and permanent law based on legality, which will be the guarantee to everyone, without any difference in law regarding tribes, religion, and country" (Lazar Arsenjević Batalaka).

Grujović got the position of the Secretary of the Serbian Government and he immediately began writing the laws and regulations. According to Karadjordje's will, he was nominated as the "Minister of Foreign Affairs". His basic task was to maintain correspondence with foreign offices. Even while he had been with Archpriest Mateja in Brankovina, Grujović wrote the law called *The Constitution* under which the Government would act. In addition to dealing with legal activities, he also wrote the diary describing his military experiences.

He was very ambitious, and today we can see – also naïve because he wanted from the very beginning to set up the law that would equal the subordinated and the superiors. Therefore, he called Karadjordje to come to "the discussion to Bogovadja". However, Karadjordje did not come and the meeting was held fifteen days later at the Monastery of Voljavča under the mountain of Rudnik. There, Karadjordje accepted more or less everything proposed by Grujović and the Government was established: "It was on 15th August on the Assumption of 1805 – Boža Grujović was a secretary, a conceptor, an archivist, a head and all of these titles" (Archpriest Mateja Nenadović). Soon, the Government moved from the monastery of Voljavča to Bogovadja.

Grujović himself is the author of the first law of liberated Serbia. For the very session of the Government he drew up *The Government Structure* in 1805. There is no doubt that this text of Grujović was and remained the first constitutional act on the structure of the uprising state, governing the relations between the ruler and the govern-

ment with assigned rights and secular and clerical courts were arranged with prescribed legal proceedings. It was decided to make the inventory of goods for the purpose of tax levying.

Probably, a bit idealistically and, above all naïve, convinced that this regulation would be observed in Serbia and that Karadjordje and the national leaders would actually implement it, once Grujović delightedly added for some decree: "This is called the Serbian freedom." His ideas were proper and he specifically emphasised that judges had to abide only to reason and justice: "In addition to political understanding, Grujović also added the poetic hymn to justice and freedom. At the time of a bloody war, inflamed passions, craving for power, wild jealousy and almost wild natures, Grujović praised the rule of reason, justice, freedom, and law. He wanted to restrict the powers of a ruler, prevent violence, curb injustice, prevent mutual bloody conflicts, stop the recalcitrance of individual power holders. A body, comprised of honourable and prominent people, had to act in accordance with the law and reason in order to protect the just and innocent from suffering; to subject the guilty and criminals to punishment; to replace hasty rifle clashes with just ruling under the law" (J. Prodanović).

Filipović also had the main role in the enactment of the Assembly Establishment (enacted by the Smederevo Assembly in 1805) which prescribed the rules for activities of secular (village, county, Nahiyah, and Supreme National courts) and ecclesiastical courts (vicarious, archpriest, bishopric and grand national one). Also, he worked on the so-called *Karadjordje's Code* which contained provisions on offences against the state and its system, disciplinary measures against military offenders and a series of criminal and civil provisions.

In early 1806, Grujović was, together with Archpriest Mateja Nenadović and Miloš Urošević in the delegation which travelled to Vienna. However, the delegation was not very successful. At the time when the government was moved from Smederevo to Belgrade in 1807, Vuk Karadžić met Grujović and recorded: "During this time, Božo was the pillar of the Serbian government.

He was a President, a Secretary, a Clerk and everything."

Even then, Grujović had tuberculosis, and since the treatment in Zemun failed, in the winter of 1806, he tried with the treatment in Novi Sad however, there was no cure. He died in Sremska Kamenica on 25th March 1807: "Boža got ill and went to his brother to be treated, and he died in 1807 and was buried near the Novi Sad Cathedral" (M. Milićević). He was only 31. According to another version, he died in Petrovaradin. The burial was in Novi Sad, and as claimed, it was one of the largest.

It is impossible to estimate the influence Grujović had in Serbia. In his famous letter *On the Structure and Enlightenment of Serbia*, he was, in addition to Archpriest Mateja Nenadović, called by Metropolitan Stratimirović, the pillar of the legal structure of Serbia of that time. He was much appreciated by Stojan Novaković who said: "Božo Grujović (Teodor Filipović), an educated lawyer of Austrian school, a man from Ruma in Srem." He was characterised in a very interesting manner by Jaša Prodanović: "At that time, there was a man who intended to create the body which would administer the state and be above all leaders. He was a centralist, but also the opponent of unrestricted rule of a supreme ruler."

I think that the Filipović (Grujović) could be named the creator of liberal ideas in Serbia. Perhaps, their thinking was limited but, it could be no different at that time, primarily not in a patriarchal and feudal Serbia where liberal ideas were completely unknown. It had to be waited until 1848 and the Assembly on the St. Andrew Day in order for such ideas to be fully expressed. Also, Božidar Grujović was one of the first people who initiated the idea of natural law in Serbia. His work strived to establish and justify the state in theoretical terms. Nowadays, his idea may be obsolete since his concept is based on the position of XVI-II century rationalism and natural law the source of which is the sovereignty of ruler's power in legal norms as such. However, this idea remained in subsequent years. In Miloš' Serbia, his ideas were directly applied by the natural law professor, Dimitrije Davidović.