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PSYCHOLOGY

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SLEEP QUALITY AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

ABSTRACT. The aim of the study was to examine the relationship between sleep quality and life satisfaction. The basic hypothesis was that the dimensions of quality and quantity of sleep will be statistically significant predictors of life satisfaction among employees of the Serbian Railways. A total of 126 workers working in different jobs were surveyed: dispatcher, information worker, cashier, train driver, and conductor. Respondents differed according to gender, age, and years of service. The main research variables were operationalized by The Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI; Buysse et al., 1989) and the Satisfaction Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985). The results showed that based on the regression model consisting of sleep quality modalities, the criterion variable – life satisfaction ($R^2 = .40$, $p < 0.01$) can be statistically significantly explained. The largest individual contribution to the prediction of the criterion variable has the predictor of dysfunction during the day ($\beta = -.42$, $p < 0.01$), followed by sleep disorders ($\beta = -.22$, $p < 0.05$) and sleep duration ($\beta = -.22$, $p < 0.01$). Examination of differences with respect to some sociodemographic variables showed that women show poorer quality of sleep, and that the quality of sleep decreases with age,

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that more sleep disorders occur, which causes dysfunctions during the day and more frequent use of medications.

KEYWORDS: quality of sleep, life satisfaction, railway employees.

INTRODUCTION

The field of psychophysiology of work represents a fertile ground for research activities in professions related to the transport of people and goods. One of them, railway transport, has recently experienced a rapid development in our country due to the introduction of new technologies, which, on the other hand, requires employees in this complex system to increase their efforts in performing work duties. This effort, among other things, is reflected in psychophysiological functions, such as sleep. The sleep function, further, is a component of the causative agents that affect an individual's daily activities and essentially participates in what the psychological literature calls life satisfaction. Therefore, in this research we tried to examine this relationship, having in mind the type of jobs, which are performed in different shifts, in the railway transport system.

QUALITY OF SLEEP

Sleep quality is a generally accepted construct used in clinical psychology, although its operationalization is still questionable. Some of the papers dealing with the relationship between subjective and objective sleep do not find a correlation between subjective and objective indicators of sleep quality (Landry, Best, & Liu-Ambrose, 2015). In psychology, sleep quality is usually approached using subjective assessment scales, while researchers in the medical sciences are more likely to focus on some of the objective indicators. Subjective indicators of sleep quality are mainly focused on qualitative indicators such as sleep length, drowsiness, feeling after sleep and the like. However, the quality of sleep, as found in various studies, may also depend on many individual factors, including the instruments we use (Bixler, Kales, A., Soldatos, Kales, J.D., & Healey, 1979). The mechanism of alternating wakefulness and sleep can be disrupted for a variety of reasons and cause a number of problems. Sleep disorders can be divided into those caused by disrespect of circadian rhythms, inorganic factors, as well as those that accompany certain psychiatric and neurological dysfunctions. In the first

case, the natural rhythm of wakefulness and sleep, which changes within a 24-hour period, can be disturbed for several reasons. Modern way of life, later going to sleep of a modern man and shortening the rest period, working in the third shift, rotation of shifts, stress, etc. act to shift the rhythm of human physiological functions. The entire duration, continuity and integrity of sleep are disturbed. The most important changes in this regard are irregular, insufficient and intermittent sleep (Obrenović, 2003).

SLEEP QUALITY AND SHIFT WORK

The quality of sleep is one of the most important conditions for efficient work in shift work. Petz and Vidaček (2000) mention, among others, the dimension of distinguishing between morning and evening types as predictors of sleep quality. Morning types are considered to be people who get up about two hours earlier than the majority of the population (so-called indifferent types) and are ready to sleep between 20.00 and 22.00, unlike evening types who wake up about two hours later than most of the population and go to sleep between midnight and 2 a.m. (Horne & Ostberg, 1976). Morning types have a more rigid circadian rhythm, but when it comes to adjusting to a new shift schedule, research shows that evening types are more adaptable in this regard (Farbos, Bourgeois-Bougrine, Cabon, Mollard, & Coblentz, 2000). However, bearing in mind that aging leads to less evening and more morning types with age, from the aspect of age this dimension is of great importance for workers working in different shifts (Cavallera & Giudici, 2008). Night work is not in accordance with biological mechanisms, such as the circadian rhythm, so night shifts can impair the quality of daily functioning. The total sleep time for 24 hours was reduced the most after the first night spent at work. On other days, sleep time is gradually extended, but the deficit always remains. It was calculated that even after three weeks of uninterrupted work in the night shift, the average length of sleep, calculated for every 24 hours, is always less than that these same workers worked normally during the day and slept at night. When working in a daily shift, the average length of a worker's sleep for a 24-hour period is about 8 hours. The same population of workers, when working in the night shift, shortens the average sleep time to about 7 hours. Thus, the total amount of sleep in a week with night work is significantly less than when individual works in other shifts. The total sleep deficit is greatest in the first days after moving to a new

shift, and then progressively decreases. In younger people, the initial adaptation to phase inversion is achieved only on the sixth or seventh night. Older people reach the initial phase of adaptation more slowly, even the phase of readaptation, and the reason for that is the more rigid structure of their circadian rhythm and more inert mechanisms of regulation of physiological variables. Only after 10 to 12 consecutive nights of work, the habituation is more complete, and after 20-30 days it is stabilized. Therefore, those who work permanently at night do not suffer from chronic insomnia, or are resistant to it. In addition, shift rotation causes numerous changes in other psychophysiological functions. The question arises of the existence of effective mechanisms that can reduce the workload, ie increase work efficiency and improve the quality of life. A large number of studies have addressed this problem and some of the solutions may be to increase the light intensity during night work or to darken the sleeping area during the day (Baehr, Fogg, and Eastman, 1999). Some say that a study in which workers were allowed to sleep for a maximum of one hour during night shifts, between 23.30 and 03.30 (Takeyama, Itani, Tachi, Sakamura, & Suzumura, 2002), achieved good results in this field.

SLEEP QUALITY IN RAILWAY WORKERS AND SHIFT WORK

Railway workers have somewhat more specific working circumstances than other employees in the transport industry. In one study, the results show that the subjective load on drivers is high (Ingre, Söderström, Kecklund, Åkerstedt, and Kecklund, 2000) in large part due to feelings of monotony. Drivers are usually alone in their cabs, and while driving they are usually focused on speed and movement (Branton 1979), but also on controlling various dynamic forces, upcoming terrain, traffic signs and communication. Rail shifts are usually irregularly timed, starting in the early morning hours, with often short distance between them (Hak & Kampman 1981; Ingre et al., 2000; Torsvall, Åkerstedt, & Gillberg, 1981), while sleep conditions can be very unfavorable, resulting in poor rest (Hak & Kampman 1981; Ingre et al., 2000). Such conditions can lead to drowsiness during work. The development infrastructure of the railway and its functionality can also be a very important factor, because slow railways and less extensive transport lead to greater monotony in work and a higher risk of drowsiness. One study conducted on railway workers in Greece (Härmä, Sallinen, Ranta, Mutanen, & Müller, 2002) suggests that adjusting shift work, length, and

rest time, in addition to extending the main sleep period, would likely reduce employee drowsiness.

LIFE SATISFACTION

Life satisfaction is one of the relatively recent constructs of positive psychology, which refers to the global evaluation of personal life (Penezić, 2006) and is a component of subjective well-being. The development of positive psychology is primarily associated with one of the dominant psychological directions – the so-called humanistic psychology (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003), although other psychological directions are also interested in factors of optimal functioning and adjustment of the individual. Life satisfaction, however, like other concepts of positive psychology, is difficult to define. According to one of the definitions, it represents a complete perception and evaluation of one's own life and is most often described as a cognitive component of subjective well-being (Diener, 2000). However, precisely because of insufficient knowledge of this concept, the expansion of life satisfaction research is noticeable (Arslan, Hamarta, & Uslu, 2010; Diener & Diener, 2009), using in such research a variety of methods. Positive psychology grows out of critiques aimed at the fact that psychological interests and research have mainly focused on the negative aspects of the overall continuum of individual functioning, based on the paradigm of “neopositivism” (Lucas & Diener, 2010).

In order to better understand the concept of life satisfaction, it is necessary to get to know its broader background, the basic concept of positive psychology – subjective well-being (or, colloquially, the experience of happiness). In recent years, a model consisting of two components has been predominantly used (Diener et al., 2003; Lucas & Diener, 2010): cognitive, i.e. cognitive, and affective (Diener et al., 1985; Pavot & Diener, 1993). The affective component of well-being was originally understood as a kind of balance of positive and negative affectivity (Diener et al., 1985; Pavot & Diener, 1993). Later, mainly due to the accumulation of empirical findings, this component was defined as a more or less pronounced dominance of positive over negative affectivity (Diener et al., 2003; Lucas & Diener, 2010). The cognitive component is the experience or (self) assessment of the individual to what extent he is satisfied with his own life in general, in all its aspects, regardless of specific values, norms and goals (Diener et al., 1985; Pavot & Diener, 1993). Life satisfaction is, as we see, a cognitive component of well-being, refer-

ring to a personal assessment of well-being and happiness, and is the most commonly used indicator of well-being and quality of life.

METHOD

SUBJECT OF RESEARCH

With this research, we tried to shed light on the relationship between sleep quality (represented by indicators: subjective sleep quality, sleep latency, sleep duration, sleep efficiency, sleep disorders, use of hypnotics and dysfunction during the day) and life satisfaction.

SAMPLE

Sample was consisted of 126 respondents, both sexes (83 men and 43 women), different ages (31 to 62) and work experience (8 to 41 years).

INSTRUMENTS

For this purpose, two instruments were used:

- 1) The Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index – PSQI (Buysse et al., 1989) which assesses the overall quality of sleep in patients in clinical studies.
- 2) Satisfaction Life Scale-SLS (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) which assesses the cognitive component of subjective well-being.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE PARAMETERS

On the Life Satisfaction Scale, the possible range of scores goes from 5 to 35, with a score of 20 representing the neutral point of the scale. Low scores, between 5 and 9, reflect extreme dissatisfaction with life while scores between 31 and 35 are indicators of extreme satisfaction (Pavot & Diener, 2008). The average score obtained empirically on this sample is 18.94 (with a standard deviation of SD = 5.84), which is below the neutral point of the scale, and corresponds to a slight dissatisfaction with life (Table 1).

SLEEP QUALITY AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

	N	MIN	MAX	M	SE	SD
LIFE SATISFACTION	126	8.00	31.00	18.94	.52	5.84
SLEEP QUALITY	126	.00	3.00	1.23	.07	.82
SLEEP LATENCY	125	.00	3.00	1.28	.08	.94
DURATION OF SLEEP	126	.00	3.00	1.24	.07	.80
SLEEP EFFICIENCY	126	.00	3.00	.55	.08	.92
SLEEP DISORDERS	126	.00	3.00	1.49	.05	.61
DYSFUNCTION DURING THE DAY	126	.00	3.00	1.25	.07	.83
USE OF DRUGS	126	.00	3.00	1.21	.07	.86

TABLE 1: PRESENTATION OF DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICAL INDICATORS ON THE EXAMINED VARIABLES [TABELA 1. DESKRIPTIVNI PODACI INDIKATORA ISTRAŽIVANIH VARIJABLI]

The range of scores on the Scale for measuring sleep quality goes from 0 to 3, with higher scores indicating poorer sleep quality. The results indicate that the worst estimated dimension is sleep disorders (AS = 1.49, SD = .61), and the best sleep efficiency (M = .55, SD = 0.92). These values are not compared with the reference sample, so at this point we can only give a description of the distribution of results on a specific sample.

INFERENCEAL STATISTICS

		LIFE SATISFACTION
SLEEP QUALITY	r	-.439**
	p	.000
	N	126
SLEEP LATENCY	r	-.343**
	p	.000
	N	125
DURATION OF SLEEP	r	-.280**
	p	.002
	N	126

TABLE 2: EXAMINING THE CORRELATION OF BASIC RESEARCH VARIABLES [TABELA 2. ISPITIVANJE KORELACIJA OSNOVNIH ISTRAŽIVAČKIH VARIJABLI]

SLEEP EFFICIENCY	r	-.091
	p	.309
	N	126
SLEEP DISORDERS	r	-.201*
	p	.024
	N	126
DYSFUNCTION DURING THE DAY	r	-.518**
	p	.000
	N	126
USE OF DRUGS	r	-.477**
	p	.000
	N	126

TABLE 2: EXAMINING THE CORRELATION OF BASIC RESEARCH VARIABLES [TABELA 2. ISPITIVANJE KORELACIJA OSNOVNIH ISTRAŽIVAČKIH VARIJABLI]

Based on the correlation coefficients, it can be concluded that, in general, poorer sleep quality (higher values on sleep quality dimensions) is associated with lower life satisfaction (Table 2).

The results shown in Table 3 show that the regression model consisted of the dimensions of sleep quality statistically significantly explains 39.9% of the variance of life satisfaction ($R^2 = .399$, $p < 0.01$). The multiple correlation coefficient indicates a high correlation between the model and the criteria. The following table will show the individual contributions of certain dimensions.

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Sig.
1	.632	.399	.363	.000

TABLE 3: REGRESSION MODEL: SLEEP QUALITY DIMENSIONS AS PREDICTORS OF LIFE SATISFACTION [TABELA 3. REGRESIONI MODEL DIMENZIJA KVALITETA SPAVANJA KAO PREDIKTORA ZADOVOLJSTVA ŽIVOTOM]

Of the predictors that make up the examined regression model, the predictor dysfunction during the day ($\beta = -.42$, $p < 0.01$), then sleep disorders ($\beta = -.22$, $p < 0.05$) and sleep duration have the largest individual contribution to the prediction of the criterion variable life satisfaction. ($\beta = -.22$, $p < 0.01$). The negative correlation between these variables leads to the conclusion that poorer quality of

sleep, i.e. the presence of dysfunction during the day, sleep disorders and shorter sleep duration are associated with lower life satisfaction (Table 4).

MODEL	Beta	p
SLEEP QUALITY	-.148	.182
SLEEP LATENCY	-.138	.128
DURATION OF SLEEP	-.217	.007
SLEEP EFFICIENCY	.061	.448
SLEEP DISORDERS	-.223	.019
DYSFUNCTION DURING THE DAY	-.424	.000
USE OF DRUGS	-.119	.263

TABLE 4: REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS [TABELA 4. REGRESIONI KOEFICIJENTI]

Based on the results of the applied t test to examine the differences between groups, it can be concluded that there are statistically significant differences in the expression of sleep quality ($t=-3.099$, $p < 0.01$), sleep latency ($t=-3.524$, $p < 0.01$), sleep disorders ($t=-3.445$, $p < 0.01$) and dysfunction during the day ($t=-2.813$, $p < 0.01$) with respect to the sex of the subjects (Table 5).

	t	df	Sig.
SLEEP QUALITY	-3.099	124	.002
SLEEP LATENCY	-3.524	123	.001
DURATION OF SLEEP	.755	124	.452
SLEEP EFFICIENCY	.520	124	.604
SLEEP DISORDERS	-3.445	124	.001
DYSFUNCTION DURING THE DAY	-2.813	124	.006
USE OF DRUGS	-1.565	124	.120
LIFE SATISFACTION	1.573	124	.118

TABLE 5: EXAMINATION OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE EXPRESSION OF SLEEP QUALITY DIMENSIONS AND LIFE SATISFACTION [TABELA 5. ISPITIVANJE RODNIH RAZLIKA U IZRAŽENOSTI DIMENZIJIA KVALITETA SNA I ZADOVOLJSTVA ŽIVOTOM]

According to the results, it can be concluded that the quality of sleep decreases with age ($r = .230$, $p < 0.01$), that more sleep disorder

ders occur ($r = .186$, $p < 0.05$), and dysfunction occurs during the day ($r = .224$, $p < 0.05$) and more frequent use of drugs ($r = .338$, $p < 0.01$).

		Age
SLEEP QUALITY	r	.230**
	p	.010
	N	126
SLEEP LATENCY	r	.042
	p	.639
	N	125
DURATION OF SLEEP	r	.041
	p	.648
	N	126
SLEEP EFFICIENCY	r	-.135
	p	.132
	N	126
SLEEP DISORDERS	r	.186*
	p	.037
	N	126
DYSFUNCTION DURING THE DAY	r	.224*
	p	.012
	N	126
USE OF DRUGS	r	.338**
	p	.000
	N	126

TABLE 6: CORRELATION BETWEEN SLEEP QUALITY AND AGE [TABELA 6. KORELACIJE IZMEĐU KVALITETA SPAVANJA I STAROSTI]

Based on Pearson's correlation coefficients shown in the table, it can be concluded that there is no statistically significant correlation between sleep quality and work experience (Table 7.).

	Work experience
--	-----------------

TABLE 7: CORRELATION BETWEEN SLEEP QUALITY AND WORK EXPERIENCE [TABELA 7. KORELACIJE IZMEĐU KVALITETA SPAVANJA I RADNOG ISKUSTVA]

SLEEP QUALITY	r	.031
	p	.728
	N	126
SLEEP LATENCY	r	-.086
	p	.338
	N	125
DURATION OF SLEEP	r	.005
	p	.952
	N	126
SLEEP EFFICIENCY	r	-.107
	p	.231
	N	126
SLEEP DISORDERS	r	.025
	p	.784
	N	126
DYSFUNCTION DURING THE DAY	r	.029
	p	.743
	N	126
USE OF DRUGS	r	.167
	p	.061
	N	126

TABLE 7: CORRELATION BETWEEN SLEEP QUALITY AND WORK EXPERIENCE [TABELA 7. KORELACIJE IZMEĐU KVALITETA SPAVANJA I RADNOG ISKUSTVA]

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Railway workers have somewhat more specific working circumstances than employees in road and air transport. Drivers, for example, are usually alone in their cabs, and while driving they are usually focused on speed and movement (Branton 1979), but also on controlling various dynamic forces, upcoming terrain, traffic signs and communication. Shifts on the railway are usually of an irregular schedule, starting in the early morning hours and, often, the distance between them is very short (Hak & Kampman 1981; Ingre et al., 2000). Sleep conditions can also be very unfavorable, and rest of

poor quality (Hak & Kampman 1981; Ingre et al., 2000). Such conditions can lead to drowsiness during work. Railway development infrastructure and its functionality can, in themselves, be a disruptive factor for efficient operation. Thus, for example, the relatively necessary slowness of large transports of goods (oil, agricultural products) causes monotony in work, and thus the risk of drowsiness in the executor of work. The following discussion of the results, in large part, confirms the findings obtained from employees of foreign railways.

The results showed that the regression model that makes up the dimensions of sleep quality statistically significantly explains 39.49% of the variance of the criterion variable life satisfaction. The multiple correlation coefficient indicates a high correlation between the model and the criteria. Of the predictors that make up the examined regression model, the greatest individual contribution to the prediction of the criterion variable life satisfaction has the predictor of dysfunction during the day, followed by sleep disorders and sleep duration. The negative correlation between these variables leads to the conclusion that poorer quality of sleep, ie the presence of dysfunction during the day, sleep disorders and shorter sleep duration are associated with lower life satisfaction.

To examine sociodemographic factors, we used t-test (gender, and work experience). It was obtained, first of all, that men and women differ with regard to the expression of the basic research variables. It was found that there are statistically significant differences in the expression of sleep quality, sleep latency, sleep disorders and dysfunction during the day. The results suggest that in all dimensions where there are statistically significant differences. Women achieve higher results, which indicates a poorer quality of sleep for the females. There are many studies that show a higher rate of sleep problems in women (Zhang & Wing, 2006). Different explanations of these differences can be given. First, the higher prevalence of affective disorders in women compared to men (Arber, Bote, & Meadows, 2009). Some other research refers to biological differences in sleep physiology between the sexes (Lindberg, Janson, Gislason, Bjornsson, Hetta, and Boman, 1997). The results of a study conducted in the Netherlands on the general population older than 50 years showed that women have a significantly poorer quality of sleep, they need more time when falling asleep and use sedatives more often, compared to men. In addition, women have disorders related to the onset and maintenance of sleep (Mid-

delkoop, Smilde-van den Doel, Neven, Kamphuisen, & Springer, 1996). In terms of sleep quality and age, our results coincide with the aforementioned Dutch study, which showed that the number of nocturnal awakenings increased significantly with age, in a subsample of men. Our findings represent an extension of epidemiological studies in the general population that suggest that sleep disorders are common in the elderly population, by linking reduced sleep quality to dysfunction during the day and more frequent use of medications.

What is a bit surprising is that there was no connection between the quality of sleep and the work experience, having in mind that the length of work experience is in proportion to the age of life. We found the explanation for such a result in the distribution of work experience in the sample was not normal, so the differences between subjects could not be detected. The comparison of groups was also made with regard to the expression of life satisfaction. There were no statistically significant differences, when it comes to life satisfaction, which indicates that, when it comes to railway employees, some more basic factors are related to basic psychophysiological functions, such as sleep quality, have priority in the self-perception of railway employees in terms of satisfaction with their own lives.

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МИОДРАГ Б. МИЛЕНОВИЋ

НЕБОЈША М. МИЛИЋЕВИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НИШУ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
ДЕПАРТМАН ЗА ПСИХОЛОГИЈУ

МИНА П. ДИМИТРИЈЕВИЋ

ХЕРМОНДС СФИ, ГЕТЕБОРГ, ШВЕДСКА

РЕЗИМЕ

КВАЛИТЕТ СПАВАЊА И ЗАДОВОЉСТВО ЖИВОТОМ
ЗАПОСЛЕНИХ НА ЖЕЛЕЗНИЦИ

Циљ спроведеног истраживања био је да се испитају односи између квалитета спавања и задовољства животом. Основна хипотеза била је да ће димензије квалитета и квантитета спавања бити статистички значајни предиктори задовољства животом, код запослених на Железници Србије. Испитано је укупно 126 радника који раде на различитим радним местима: диспечер, радник на информацијама, благајник, машиновођа и кондуктер. Испитаници су се разликовали према полу, годинама старости и годинама радног стажа. Основне варијабле истраживања опе-

рационализоване су Питсбуршким индексом квалитета спавања (The Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index – PSQI; Buysse et al., 1989) и Скалом задовољства животом (Satisfaction Life Scale – SWLS; Diener et al., 1985). Резултати су показали да се на основу регресионог модела који чине модалитети квалитета спавања могу статистички значајно објаснити: критеријумска варијабла – задовољство животом ($R^2=.40$, $p<0.01$). Највећи појединачни допринос предикцији критеријумске варијабле има предиктор дисфункционалност у току дана ($\beta=-.42$, $p<0.01$), затим поремећаји спавања ($\beta=-.22$, $p<0.05$) и трајање сна ($\beta=-.22$, $p<0.01$). Испитивање разлика с обзиром на неке социодемографске варијабле показало је да жене показују лошији квалитет спавања, а да годинама опада квалитет сна, да се јавља више поремећаја спавања, што узрокује дисфункционалност у току дана и чешћу употребу лекова.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: квалитет спавања; задовољство животом; запослени на железници.



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PARENTING STYLES OF ADOLESCENTS' PARENTS IN KOSOVO AND METOHIJA³

ABSTRACT Based on the summary of the findings of research on parenting styles, which was conducted on the sample of adolescents living or studying in Kosovo and Metohija, the paper aims to present predominant parenting styles and foresee further development of certain traits analysed in adolescents. Furthermore, not only does it aim to specify the direction of certain surveys on this issue in the future but also put forward recommendations relating to organizing prevention and intervention programmes intended for parents and adolescents. After gaining an insight into the findings of surveys presented (conducted between 2012 and 2019), the following predominant parenting style stood out among the adolescent respondents (more than 2200 adolescents, i.e., high school students and undergraduates aged between 16 and 24): the cold parenting style is prevalent in fathers in every survey presented, while the warm parenting style is prevalent in mothers, in addition to the cold parenting attitude. The research on parenting styles has yielded certain correlations and differences, as well as the findings highlighting the possibility of predicting development of specific traits in adolescents depending on parenting styles. The conclusions are

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arrived at have contributed to producing recommendations on how future surveys are to be organized and conducted.

The recommendations relating to working with parents are as follows: organizing educational seminars for parents for the sake of their familiarizing with and learning about quality parenting styles. These educational seminars should involve acquisition communication skills with the aim of more effective communication and better relationship between parents and adolescents. Moreover, providing families with counselling is recommended with a view to strengthening capacities for cooperation with parents in terms of their parenting styles and child care. It is of paramount importance to exert influence on fathers, whose education would enhance the level and quality of their involvement in parenting. Involving parents in further research is imperative, with the aim of comparing the findings relating to parents' standpoints and their children, and examining the relation among parenting styles, age, and a range of family variables.

KEYWORDS: parenting styles; parents; high school students; undergraduates.

INTRODUCTION

There are diverse terms in literature describing parents' treatment of their child (children): parenting attitudes, parenting styles, parenting actions, etc. Relationship between them can be outlined through a hierarchical model, with parenting actions at the bottom of it, followed by parenting attitudes, and parenting styles at the top of it (Matejević, 2007). Therefore, the term 'parenting style' is the most appropriate one, as it encompasses parenting actions, parenting attitudes, as well as relationship between parents and their children. The formation of parenting style begins quite early, and lasts throughout entire childhood and adolescence (Todorović, 2005). It is defined as a relatively consistent way of parental behaviour, which establishes relationship with children (Matejević, 2007), thus comprising the essence of parenting, and preserving its consistency (Todorović, 2005).

The majority of papers by researchers in Serbia (Genc, 1994; Mihić et al., 2006; Kodžopeljić et al., 2008) predominantly deal with a two-dimensional parenting style model, i.e. Schaefer's model (Schaefer, 1959, according to Piorkowska-Petrović, 1991; Matejević, 2007), which comprises two dimensions: the affective dimension (emotional relationship between parents and children with the positive-negative poles: warm and cold parenting style) and the controlling one

(psychological and physical freedom of children allowed, as well as their independence, with the poles: permissive and restrictive parenting style) (Schaefer, 1959, according to Piorkowska-Petrović, 1991; Matejević, 2007). The combination of extreme poles of the two dimensions yields four parenting styles: warm-permissive, cold-permissive, warm-restrictive and cold-restrictive parenting style. Each of the aforementioned parenting styles affects children, development of their personality, independence and relationship with their parents (Čudina-Obradović & Obradović, 2006; Matejević, 2007; Kodžopeljić, 2009; Opsenica-Kostić, 2012). In 1967, Baumrind (1968) reassessed Schaefer's model and defined the three parenting styles: authoritarian (strict), authoritative (democratic) and permissive (lenient). The authoritarian parenting style entails strict parental control, less warmth, strict and domineering behaviour, where children are expected to be obedient, which corresponds to the cold-restrictive parenting style in Schaefer's model (Matejević, 2007). Authoritative parents make demands and establish clear rules and guidelines for conduct, explaining the reason for rules to children. Parental authority exists, atmosphere in the family is warm, democratic, and emotional, and children have a sense of belonging and feel they are appreciated by their parents, which corresponds to the warm-restrictive parenting style in Schaefer's model (Matejević, 2007). The permissive parenting style entails warm and emotional relationship with children, devoid of rules and discipline, children's whims are excessively gratified, and parents are incapable of maintaining control over children's behaviour. This style corresponds to the warm-permissive parenting style in Schaefer's model (Matejević, 2007). In the course of research conducted later, Baumrind added *uninvolved parenting style* to her parenting style model (Baumrind & Thompson, 2002), which implies complete indifference to children's needs, children are left to their own devices, firm boundaries and rules are non-existent, including warmth of the family. This corresponds to the cold-permissive parenting style in Schaefer's model (Matejević, 2007).

This paper reviews the findings of research on parenting styles conducted from 2012 to 2019 on the sample of more than 2200 adolescents (high school students and undergraduates), aged between 16 and 24, of Serbian nationality who live or study in Kosovo and Metohija. In all reviewed surveys, where adolescents evaluated parenting styles of their parents, Schaefer's model was applied, which was operationalized through score on Parenting Style Evaluation

Scale (Kodžopeljić, 2009). Baumrind's parenting style model, which was operationalized through score on PSDQ – Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire, was also used (Robinson et al., 2001). The research reviewed aimed at determining a predominant parenting style, predictive power of parenting styles with regard to predicting: authoritarianism, satisfaction with family and life, self-concept, interpersonal orientation, ethnocentrism, personality traits, self-efficacy and personal well-being in adolescents. The data were examined using descriptive statistics, correlation and regression analysis, and t-test.

REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section of the paper will outline the research conducted by the authors, beginning with the first research on this issue conducted in 2012 onwards to the most recent one, conducted in 2019.

The research conducted by Pavićević (2012) aimed at determining the relation between parenting styles of parents and authoritarianism of adolescents (N=242), using the Authoritarianism Questionnaire (Mihić et al., 2009). The findings have indicated that a predominant parenting style of both parents was cold-restrictive and that there was a positive correlation between the cold-restrictive parenting style of father and mother with authoritarianism of adolescents. Based on the findings obtained, it all points to the conclusion that parents who sternly impose rules offering no explanation and insist on their children's blind obedience, may conduce to development of inflexible attitude in adolescents—tendency toward not re-evaluating actions and demands of an authority—which makes them extremely obedient and hyper-adjusted.

The research conducted by Pavićević and Tomović (2012) aimed to determine a predominant parenting style, as well as correlation and differences in parenting styles vis-a-vis gender of adolescents (N=122). The findings have shown that the predominant parenting style of both parents was cold-restrictive, and that male adolescents, unlike female ones, evaluated their fathers as colder and more restrictive. The findings obtained have led us to the conclusion that restrictions and prohibitions imposed by parents on adolescents sometimes might be experienced as a reflection of their

parents' coldness and control, whereas the differences obtained in terms of gender were expected, in accordance with previous research and the process of gender identity development (Opačić et al., 1995). In the course of this process, male adolescents display a tendency toward espousing their father's value system (positive identification), whereas female adolescents tend to do the opposite (negative identification).

The survey carried out by Pavićević and Krstić (2013) strove to examine the correlation between parenting styles and adolescents' satisfaction with family (N=212), correlation with their family's economic circumstances and differences in terms of gender. The findings have shown that adolescents perceive fathers as cold-restrictive, whereas mothers are perceived as warm-restrictive, and that male adolescents, unlike female ones, perceive their fathers' parenting style as colder. Furthermore, the findings have indicated that the more warm-permissive parents are, the more satisfied adolescents will be with their family.

The survey undertaken by Pavićević and Minić (2014) examined the correlation between parenting styles and certain aspects of adolescents' self-concept (N=179) using the Self-Concept Examination Scale, the so-called Self-Bezin Scale (Bezinović, 1988). The findings have shown that adolescents perceive their parents as cold-restrictive. The affective dimension of parenting styles proved to be a significant predictor of self-concept vis-à-vis control dimension. Flexibility in behaviour, establishing rules and making demands for their obedience are less significant to the development of self-concept in adolescence as compared to emotional involvement and acceptance from parents. Parenting styles of fathers proved to be significant predictors of self-concept as compared to parenting styles of mothers, and the warm parenting style of both parents is more striking in families living in straitened circumstances. The findings obtained are important bearing in mind the fact that father's continued presence, competence, and emotional involvement is closely connected with more favourable conditions for development- the family atmosphere, the family dynamics (Mihić, 2005; Mihić et al., 2006; Zotović et al., 2008), and child development (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004).

The survey undertaken by Pavićević and Petrović (2016) aimed to assess the effects of parenting style in a family on development of ethnocentrism in adolescents (N=345) using the Ethnocentrism Evaluation Scale (Šram, 2010). The findings have demonstrated that

adolescents perceive their parents as predominantly cold-restrictive. Parenting styles of mothers are more significant predictors of ethnocentrism. The findings obtained can be explained as the result of specific style of upbringing in Kosovo and Metohija, such as predominantly patriarchal culture (Zlatanović, 2012, Milovanović, 2014), which implies peculiar lifestyle, specific ideology and value system, with distinct differences as to how fathers and mothers treat their children. (Trebješanin, 2008). Fathers advocate work ethics, discipline and non-permissiveness, they are serious-minded and reserved to children, whereas mothers spend more time with children, taking care of them, and exerting stronger influence on their development and attitudes.

The survey conducted by Pavićević and Stojiljković (2016) examined the predictive power of parenting styles in predicting interpersonal orientation—certain aspects of philanthropic and misanthropic orientation—in adolescents (N=238) using the Interpersonal Orientation Scale (Bezinović, 2002). It was found that the perceived restrictive parenting style of mothers accounts for 5% variance of need for people as an aspect of philanthropic orientation, which reflects adolescents' tendency to counterbalance their discontent with relationship with their parents by seeking support and advice from their peers. Also, the perceived warm-restrictive parenting style of mothers accounts for 8% of need for friendship. This kind of parenting practice is conducive to development of an energetic, gregarious, self-confident, and brisk child who is achievement-oriented (Mitić, 2011). The emotionally aloof and cold parenting style of mothers represents an important predictor of distrust and accounts for 11% variance of distrust, whereas the warm parenting style of mothers leads to less inclination of respondents toward social isolation (15% variance), as aspects of misanthropic orientation. Recurrent family conflicts are among the factors causing problematic behaviour and anxiety in social interaction (Mc Hale et al., 2000, according to Mihić et al., 2006). Cold and emotionally aloof parents cause their child to feel solitary and shun company (Mitić, 2011), to be hostile toward social environment, prone to conflicts, unhappy and unstable (Matejević, 2007), to be unresponsive, distrustful, inclined to alienation (Majstorović et al., 1999; Matejević, 2007) and dissatisfied with themselves (Kodžopeljić et. al., 2008).

The survey conducted by Pavićević and Stoševski (2019a) examined the predictive power of parenting styles in predicting adoles-

cents' interpersonal orientation and satisfaction with lifestyle (N=175) using Bezinović's Interpersonal Orientation Scale (IO) and Penezić's Life Satisfaction Scale, 2002. The findings have shown that parenting styles account for 28,1% variance of philanthropic orientation in adolescents, while the restrictive parenting style of fathers and low-level permissive parenting styles of mothers were singled out as significant predictors. This creates the impression that strict control of fathers causes adolescents to seek support and advice from their peers and thus counterbalance their unsatisfactory relationship with their father. Also, parenting styles account for 40, 3% variance of adolescents' misanthropic orientation, and one of the significant predictors is the restrictive parenting style of mothers. The restrictive parenting style of mothers causes a child to feel solitary (Mitić, 2011), hostile toward social environment, prone to conflicts, unhappy and unstable (Matejević, 2007). Parenting styles of both parents account for 20% variance of adolescents' satisfaction with lifestyle, and one of the important predictors is also mother's restrictive parenting style. When mothers exert less control over their children, adolescents will display a higher level of satisfaction with their lifestyle.

The survey conducted by Pavićević and Stoševski (2019b) examined the predictive power of evaluated parenting styles in predicting adolescents' personality traits (N=175) using Personality Inventory NEO PI R (Đurić-Jočić et al., 2004). The findings have shown that the restrictive parenting style of mothers is a significant predictor of neuroticism (32% variance), openness to experience (25, 5% variance) and conscientiousness (17% variance) in adolescents. A parent whose parenting style is restrictive imposes many rules and prohibitions upon a child, sternly expecting them to be obeyed, and administering punishment in case of violation of rules. This kind of environment is conducive to arousal of profound, conflicting emotions, maladjustment to new circumstances and lack of resistance to stress (Đurić-Jočić et al., 2004). The findings have indicated that the cold parenting style of fathers gives rise to adolescents' extroversion (28% variance), whereas the warm parenting style of fathers gives rise to adolescents' openness to experience (25% variance). It is precisely this cold emotional relationship fathers have with their children that can cause a child to feel and express the need for excitement and encouragement, the need for company involving a large number of people, the need for experiencing positive emotions (joy, love and excitement)

(Đurić-Jočić et al., 2004), so that children could counterbalance cold emotional relationship their fathers have with them. The affective dimension of parenting style of fathers (warm and cold) facilitates adolescents' openness to change, versatility, creativity, experiencing intense emotions and tolerance.

The survey undertaken by Pavićević (2019) examined the predictive power of parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative and permissive) in predicting self-efficacy of adolescents (social, academic and emotional). High-level authoritativeness and low-level permissiveness of fathers, as well as high-level authoritativeness of mothers are significant in terms of predicting social (19,9% variance) and emotional (16,9% variance) self-efficacy of adolescents. Parenting styles account for 24,4% variance of academic self-efficacy, and no dimension of parenting styles made a statistically significant contribution. When parents are perceived as supportive parents who explain reasons behind their demands and expectations, rules, relationship between behaviour and its consequences, and reasons why abiding by rules is important, and who are emotionally close to their children at the same time, adolescents will achieve both social and emotional self-efficacy (Egeland et al., 1993).

The survey conducted by Pavićević and Stojiljković (2019) strove to examine the predictive power of parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative and permissive) in predicting adolescents' subjective well-being (N=270). It was found that the authoritative parenting style of both parents accounts for 20% variance of adolescents' subjective well-being. Authoritative parents develop emotionally close relationship with their children, being supportive and respectful of their children's opinion and personality, thereby enabling them to develop positive affectivity, positive outlook on life or subjective well-being (Matejević & Todorović, 2012).

CONCLUSION After reviewing the above-mentioned surveys, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- Four surveys found that the cold-restrictive parenting style is predominant in both parents, and one survey found that fathers' parenting style is cold-restrictive, whereas mothers' parenting style is warm-permissive.
- Male adolescents, unlike female ones, perceive their fathers' parenting style as colder.

- The cold-restrictive parenting style might be conducive to very marked authoritarianism in adolescents.
- The warm-permissive parenting style enhances adolescents' satisfaction with their family.
- Parenting styles of fathers are more significant for the development of adolescents' self-concept as compared to mothers' parenting styles.
- Parenting styles of mothers are more significant for the development of adolescents' ethnocentrism as compared to parenting styles of fathers.
- The cold-restrictive parenting style of mothers conduces to misanthropic interpersonal orientation of adolescents, whereas the warm-permissive parenting style of mothers conduces to philanthropic one.
- The warm parenting style of mothers causes adolescents to feel more satisfied with their lifestyle.
- The restrictive parenting style of mothers might be conducive to neuroticism, openness and conscientiousness of adolescents, while the cold parenting style of fathers gives rise to extroversion, and the restrictive parenting style of fathers gives rise to adolescents' openness.
- Authoritative parents might contribute to adolescents' experience of self-efficacy and subjective well-being.

It is strongly recommended that further research on parenting styles should be focussed on the examination of the relationship among parenting styles, age, and a range of family variables. Furthermore, involving parents in research to be conducted in the future is also recommended, with a view to obtaining data on parenting styles of parents themselves and comparing the findings with the perception of their children. Also, practitioners are advised to organize educational seminars for parents to learn about adequate parenting styles and more effective communication, with the aim of improving the relationship between parents and their children. Families should also receive counselling for the purpose of strengthening cooperation capacities with parents regarding their parenting style and care for children. (Mihic et al., 2009). Exerting influence on fathers is of the essence, so that their continued presence, competence, and emotional involvement could enhance the conditions for children's development, family atmosphere, as well as the family dynamics (Grubor et al., 2009).

The findings obtained should be interpreted considering the relatively specific sample in view of age and residence. Namely, the sample in the surveys reviewed consisted of adolescents living in Kosovo and Metohija where the traditional family still persists, with the gender distribution of household- and care work. Mothers have a central role as child carers expected to „rear them very well”, and they are the ones who are supposed to set limits, impose prohibitions and control, whereas fathers serve a key role as breadwinners, which implies that they are less involved in child care. It is important to emphasize that the respondents live in a limited and frequently hostile social environment, which prevents them from satisfying their basic need for safety. Also, what should be taken into consideration is the specific quality of the respondents' development during adolescence, which is, among other things, characterized by rebellion against authority, pressing need for forging their own identity and a sense of uniqueness, which is sometimes combined with their fierce resistance to everything adults believe is worthwhile, and this can lead to identity crisis and confusion of roles (Todorović, 2005).

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МИЉАНА С. ПАВИЋЕВИЋ

ЈЕЛЕНА Љ. МИНИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
КАТЕДРА ЗА ПСИХОЛОГИЈУ

РЕЗИМЕ

ВАСПИТНИ СТИЛОВИ РОДИТЕЉА АДОЛЕСЦЕНАТА
НА КОСОВУ И МЕТОХИЈИ

У раду настојимо да приказом истраживања васпитних стилова родитеља, која су рађена на узорку адолесцената који живе или студирају на Косову и Метохији, укажемо на доминантни васпитни стил родитеља и предвидимо даљи развој неких карактеристика код адолесцената које су обухваћеним истраживањима испитиване. Такође, циљ нам је да укажемо на смер неких

будућих истраживања ове проблематике и дамо основне препоруке за организовање превентивних и интервентних програма намењених родитељима, али и адолесцентима. Након увида у резултате приказаних истраживања (спроведених од 2012. до 2019. године) као доминантан васпитни стил родитеља испитаних адолесцената (више од 2.200 адолесцената тј. средњошколаца и студената, узраста од 16 до 24 године) издвојио се: хладно-ограничавајући васпитни стил као доминантан васпитни стил код очева у свим приказаним истраживањима. Код мајки поред хладно-ограничавајућег, издваја се и топло-ограничавајући васпитни стил. Увидом у истраживања васпитних стилова добијене су одређене корелације и разлике, као и резултати који указују на могућност предикције развоја одређених карактеристика адолесцената у зависности од васпитних стилова родитеља. Закључци који су проистекли из увида у истраживања, омогућили су конципирање одређених препорука за практичан рад и организовање неких будућих истраживања.

Препоруке за рад са родитељима односе се на: организовање едукације родитеља с циљем упознавања, али и усвајања квалитетнијих васпитних поступака. Едукацијом би требало обухватити и аспект комуникацијских вештина са циљем ефикасније комуникације и побољшања односа родитељ-адолесцент. Затим, препорука је организовање саветодавног рада са породицама, са циљем јачања капацитета за сарадњу са родитељима на плану васпитања деце и бриге о њима. Нарочито је важно организовање саветодавног рада са очевима, како би се повећао квантитет, али и квалитет њихове укључености у васпитању адолесцената. Када је у питању наставак истраживања, сматрамо значајним укључити и родитеље у истраживање, како би се омогућило поређење резултата из угла родитеља и њихове деце, тј. адолесцената, затим испитивање односа васпитних стилова и узраста, као и низа породичних варијабли.

Кључне речи: васпитни стилови; родитељи; средњошколци; студенти.



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PEDAGOGY

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NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE TEXTBOOKS OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

ABSTRACT. Starting from the argument that foreign language teaching represents a suitable context for introducing national symbols of different countries, but also the learners' own country, the role of textbooks of English as a foreign language in development and empowering the national identity of students in lower primary school was examined. With regards to different conceptualisations the national identity was operationalised in 11 categories: religion, customs and tradition, national feelings, language, symbols and features, solidarity and togetherness, cultural heritage, important people, geography terms, family and general information. The research was performed through the method of theoretic analysis and the method of content analysis. The units of analysis are: a) sentences of basic text in textbooks, b) sentences of additional information content, and c) image content. The research included English language textbooks for lower prima-

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ry school licensed in the Republic of Serbia (N=12). Research results indicated that textbooks generally do not contribute to forming and empowering of national identity of students in lower primary school, especially with regards to categories: national feelings, historic subjects, language, family, solidarity, and togetherness.

KEYWORDS: national identity; English language textbooks; global identity; content analysis; students of lower primary school.

INTRODUCTION

Due to the significance that is attributed to pedagogy, education, and educational systems in the formation of the national identity, in promotion and nurturing national values, goals and norms of behavior, significant number of foreign theoretic discussions and studies is dedicated to examination of the influence of educational content on national identity of children and students (Barrett, 2005; Barrett & Davis, 2008; Köroğlu & Elban, 2020; Philippou & Klerides, 2010; Pöllmann, 2008; Rapoport, 2009; Tartakovsky, 2011). However, studying national identity in pre-school and school age is an overlooked researched field of domestic researchers, especially pedagogists and the creators of educational policy.

National identity is usually defined as a collection of notions and emotions that reflect the relation of an individual towards the nation (Barrett & Davis, 2008), as a part of social identity that reflects self-notion and self-distinction of an individual as a part of a certain national group characterized by joint historic and cultural background, values and beliefs (Brubaker, 1994). It is defined as a perceived congruence of the concept of self-identity and the concept of nation (Hodgins et al., 2015). Whether treated as a subjective or social, i.e. collective construction, national identity includes the following distinctive components: a) subjective belief of an individual to belong to a certain nation; b) the sense of national belonging; c) attitudes and emotions toward the nation; d) stereotypes on typical characteristics and features of people who belong to their own national group and other national groups; e) experience of inclusion and self-perception as similar to other members of the national group; and e) the willingness and readiness of an individual to internationalise the national culture, values and behavior norms (Barrett, 2005; Phinney, 1990).

In order to comprehend the specificity and complexity of national identity in the context of education, the fact that it is a social and politically constructed phenomenon must be considered. Being one of multiple identities obtained by an individual due to the involvement in a national group and identification with it, its specificity is reflected in it as an instrument of political and ideological indoctrination.

According to the plurality of meaning in which the concept of national identity is used, the starting theoretic hypothesis of this paper is that forming and building national identity denotes the life process, which is built and reconstructed continuously through the interactions and engagement of individuals in social, cultural and educational practice and institutions. The development and empowerment of national identity is influenced by numerous factors: programme framework and teaching content, teachers with formed social and political attitudes, values and ideologies, various pedagogical beliefs and approaches etc. (Hand & Pearce, 2009, 2011; Sant & Hanley, 2018).

Deriving from the thesis that foreign language teaching is recognized as a suitable context for introducing national symbols of different countries, but also the learners' own country and identity (Köroğlu & Elban, 2020; McVeigh, 2004; Priyanti, 2019; Turnbull, 2017), in this paper, the analyses of the textbooks used in teaching English as a foreign language in lower primary schools in Serbia from the perspective of their contribution to development and empowerment of national identity was conducted, from the theoretic and empiric aspect. Language teaching includes introducing and learning various cultural values in certain sociolinguistic, cultural, and ideological dimensions, and by its nature, textbooks in foreign languages are ideologically conceived due to their promotion of dominant culture and values (Wang, 2016).

Numerous authors advocate the thesis that learning English as a global language would promote students' global identity, contribute to development of intercultural awareness, i.e., development of awareness on the existence of the global community that exceed national borders, but does not deny the significance of states nor nations (Köroğlu & Elban, 2020). Furthermore, certain authors point out great possibilities in English language teaching for developing national identity and accepting universal values. Opposing attitudes are also present on increasing English language hegemo-

ny and on the negative influence on national identity of individuals from non-English-speaking area (McVeigh, 2004).

The questions on the relations between teachers' political perception on nation and national identity and their pedagogic decisions and approaches in practice came in the focus of consideration. (Sant & Hanley, 2018). Generally, four different pedagogical approaches in national identity education within discourse on civic nationalism: avoiding, promotion, rejection, and problematisation (Hand & Pearce, 2009, 2011). Within the first approach, teachers tend to avoid certain subjects on national identities guiding discussions and work with students to a safer territory. Another pedagogic approach means active promotion of national identities. In the third pedagogic option teachers reject promotion of messages and values incorporated in the national identities. In the fourth pedagogic approach, problematization, teachers present national identity as an open or controversial point and invite students to discuss about it.

RESEARCH ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In a qualitative study Koroğlu and Elban (2020) researched to what extent textual and visual elements of English language textbooks in state high schools in Turkey promote national and global identity. The data showed that the analyzed high school textbooks, except in the 10th grade, include more elements of global identity than elements of national identity. In accordance with studying English as a global language the study results show that textbooks in foreign language teaching teach students in global identity, but have significantly less influence in national identity development and promotion. It was determined that the most prominent elements of national identity in the analyzed English language textbooks include the notion of national history, national symbols, institutions, and structures, while global identity is dominantly promoted through universal values and intercultural interaction.

Priyanti (2019) conducted a qualitative analysis of the most represented and widely accepted textbook of English as a foreign language (EFL – English as a Foreign Language) in state schools in Indonesia from a standing point of its contribution to students'

identity development. In the context of this study, the author highlighted that the choice and ways of presenting cultural and social values in the textbook influence the way students perceive their own cultural values with regards to projection of discursively represented values. For example, the textbook which was analyzed for the purpose of this study shows and promotes the community of English-speaking world, neoliberal work ethos as the key of financial and professional success of famous people and puts feminism and individualism as values. Other socio-cultural values, nations, races, artifacts or products outside English-speaking countries are rarely mentioned and almost always casually. Despite the received results, Priyanti (2019) considers foreign language learning and usage should not endanger own cultural identity and other social identities of individuals. On the contrary, learning English as a foreign language should enable students to know themselves better, to understand their own culture and other cultures, to adapt their own cultural identity and bring it closer to the new culture and language.

Numerous studies confirmed ideological background and nature of textbooks in foreign languages (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; according to: Wang, 2016; Lee, 2009).

Through extensive review and analysis of foreign language textbooks it was determined that they are not a neutral tool in forming and transforming knowledge, but they always serve the interests of certain groups, forming students' understanding of social reality in a way that is proclaimed by a dominant, interest group (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015; according to: Wang, 2016).

The study conducted by Wang (2016) shows that textbooks of Chinese as a foreign language mostly include content and topics related to Chinese moral and civic education. Focusing on linguistic knowledge, cultural elements and ideology orientation, the content of the analyzed Chinese language textbook, is frequently irrelevant, or of no special interest to international students. In that way, education in Chinese language for international students is burdened with ideology and elements of Chinese national identity. The author suggests the use of open discourse in foreign language textbooks to enable greater participation of students in teaching practice and develop an intercultural understanding of cultural content within the curriculum.

Turnbull (2017) examined the perspective of Japanese students on positive and negative influence of education in English language

on Japanese national and cultural identity. The findings suggest that one third of students consider the results of learning English as a foreign language in lowering Japanese national identity and weakening the feelings towards Japanese culture. Apart from the stated, the students identified Japanese language as a fundamental element of Japanese identity and expressed the wish for its continuous use in the context of studying English as a foreign language, despite the fact that it is conflicted with the guidelines of educational policy. The findings suggest the need to design English language teaching and learning as a support to Japanese identity.

The content analysis of textbooks of English as a foreign language in South Korea finds they positively promote western art and culture, while other, non-west cultures are consistently marginalized (Lee, 2009). The content of textbooks given in this study subtly and evidently glorifies western cultural groups, illustrates disregarding national and cultural groups that do not possess a lot of capital, do not enjoy a high rank in South Korea, which supports the argument that the observed dichotomy among societies and communities is founded upon capital, power, privileges, and unique manifestations of globalization, and not the geographical location.

METHODOLOGY

Upon the knowledge on the importance that foreign language textbooks can have on the cognition of global community and global identity, but also on self condition and national identity, a general research goal was defined: *examine to what extent textbooks of English as a foreign language contribute in forming and empowering national identity with students of lower primary school*. The aim of the research is operationalised through two scientific-research tasks: 1) establish the content share on national identity in English language textbooks for the first, second, third and fourth grade of primary school; 2) examine the representation and the ability to develop various categories of national identity in English language textbooks for lower primary school.

The independent variable is represented by basic textual, additional informational and visual content of the analyzed textbooks, while dependent variable is national identity, i.e. the categories of national identity (*religion, custom and tradition, national feeling, language, symbols and characteristics, solidarity and togetherness, cultural*

heritage, important people, national geographic concepts, family and the category general information). The research is based upon the implementation of methods of theoretic analysis and content analysis. The units of analysis are: a) sentences of basic text, b) statements, i.e., sentences of additional information material and c) visual (pictorial) elements of content in a textbook; All units under analysis are separately classified in the belonging categories of national identity.

The research sample is random and is consisted of 12 English language textbooks licensed in the Republic of Serbia for the academic year 2020/21, three publishing houses for the first four grades of primary school (Data Status – Smart Junior 1–4, Klett – Playway to English 1–4, Freska – Smiles 1–4).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

THE SHARE OF NATIONAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS FOR THE FIRST, SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH GRADE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL

As suggested in Table 1 there is almost no evidence of the share of national content in English language textbooks for the first grade of primary school. The textbooks being exclusively pictorial, the identification of categories of national identity was possible only in the visual media domain. However, pictorial national identification is present in only two examples of one publisher. One picture in the category *customs and traditions and symbols and characteristics* makes the share of 0.20% of total textbook content of one publisher. Namely, within the topic Food, two integrated pictures are shown—traditional food in Serbia and the flag of the Republic of Serbia which is exclusively in purpose of national identification.

In the second grade, also, (Table 2) elements of national identity were not found in the basic content, while only one publishing house in additional information domain included content regarding Serbian national identity in categories *general information, customs and traditions, cultural heritage, and persons*. Their total share within additional information content is 12.94% and is in the textbook of this publisher in the range from 1.17% to 8.23%.

General information refers mostly to personal names typical for Serbian region and the name of the Republic of Serbia; *cultural heritage* is recognized on one example of Children Museum; and *impor-*

tant people, also an example of a female athlete from Serbia. The example is classified in the category *customs and tradition* and was marked as false. Namely, the claim that Mother's Day is celebrated in Serbia is false. According to the accompanying text, the assumption is that it was meant to be Women's Day. Mother's Day is a national holiday in the USA celebrated on 9th May, while Women's Day is an international holiday celebrated on 8th March and is dedicated to all women.

Visual national content representation is in the range from 0% to 2.13% (Table 3). The most recorded units are in the category of *symbols and characteristic* (Serbian flag), followed by category *customs and tradition* (national dish, national costume). *Cultural heritage* is represented by a photo of Children's Museum, *important people* with a photography of a female athlete, and *geographic concept* through the map of Europe, Asia and Africa with the Republic of Serbia marked on the map. The pictures are in the purpose of clarification to the information parts of the textbook.

Likewise, in the third grade (Table 4), national content is not incorporated in the basic part of the text. Only in the additional information material some elements of national identity can be recognized, therewith a dichotomy was observed in the representation of the evidenced categories, except from the category *general information* which is present in the textbooks of two publishers. Visual content mostly accompanies the evidenced descriptions in additional information material.

General information are related to introduction (national names, the name of the country, capital, address, dialing codes, city transportation); within the category *customs and traditions* one, however, false example of traditional Serbian costume was recorded—red shoes do not complement the shown and described national costume from Šumadija. In the textbook published by Freska there is a visual representation of a sportswoman Ivana Španović (*famous people*) and national toponyms, mountain Avala, the city of Belgrade are just noted in text.

Textbooks for the fourth grade of primary school are slightly different with regards to the representation of elements of national identity in the basic content by only one publisher (Table 5). The most units under analysis were registered in the *general information* category (personal name and surname, the name of the country, typical architecture), and significantly fewer in *customs and tradition* and *religion* (with the example of St. Sava, School Slava Celebration).

The share of national content in the additional information material of the three publishers is in the range of 0% to 17.91%. Most of the examples were found in the category *general information* (mostly repetition of the content from previous grades), however some examples were registered in categories *geographic concepts* (the Kalemegdan Park, Sava and Danube rivers, Silver Lake, Resava Cave, Guča), *symbols and characteristics* (Serbian flag, national currency), *cultural heritage* (the Kalemegdan fortress), *famous people* (singer Željko Joksimović) and *customs and traditions* (national costume, the Guča festival). The descriptions in the informative material are mostly accompanied by visual forms in categories *symbols and characteristics*, *customs and tradition* (national costume). The pictorial religious content (the The Temple of Saint Sava, slava bread and the icon of St. Sava) are recorded in a text titled St. Sava's Day by only one publisher.

The visual content of national character is still unacceptably rarely represented in English language textbooks (from 0% to 1.59%). In fourth grade textbooks, viewed as a whole, slightly more identity categories were incorporated (*religion, customs and tradition, symbols and tradition, cultural heritage and famous people*) than in the textbooks for other three grades, however, there is no compliance in the representation of the mentioned categories with different publishers.

Viewed in general there can be no justification neither for the representation level, dispersion, continuity, nor the way of development of the notion of national identity in English language textbooks in lower primary school (Table 6). Accordingly, national identity as a multidimensional construct is not recognized. Low index of representation of national content can, in a qualitative sense, be questioned—false information, often repetition of identical content from grade to grade by the same publishers.

THE REPRESENTATION AND WAY OF DEVELOPMENT OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS FOR LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL

General opinion is that total participation of national identity content in English language textbooks in lower primary school is marginal, almost negligible (Table 6). In the basic text, no national identity categories were found in any of the analyzed textbooks, except for one publisher and in one text (one example) in the fourth-grade textbook. It was proved that categories *national feel-*

ings, historic topics, language, solidarity and togetherness and family are not represented in textbooks whatsoever, either in additional information content or as pictorial material. Neither of the categories represented possesses any visible developmental line. Thus, for example, the category *religion* was recorded in only one fourth grade textbook and partially in the basic text and in part as pictorial within the topic Holidays—and that is celebrating School Slava Celebration, St. Sava;

Category *customs and tradition* is, in the basic text, identified only in the fourth grade and with only one publisher, where the tradition on celebrating school slava celebration is being explained. None of the Serbian customs is included in the textbook content. Visual forms referring to tradition are found in the textbooks for all four grades, but by only one publisher; they are mostly connected with traditional Serbian dishes and national costumes.

It is interesting that national *symbols and characteristics* are represented exclusively by a picture or description of a flag in additional information material, but not in the basic text; National anthem and coat of arms are not a subject of interest for textbook authors (adaptation); The description of the Serbian flag is found in the third and fourth grade, which is understandable due to students' age and the characteristics of the subject, however it should certainly be a compulsory content for all the publishers. Pictorial content is introduced from the first grade by only one publisher. The picture of the national flag is in the purpose of national identification, connected to the background, food, prominent athletes, and national costume.

General information is represented in additional information material from the second grade (in the third by only one publisher) are mainly connected to introduction (country of origin, city, address, personal names). False information is recorded, which was explained earlier. Pictorial content is related to wild animals (second grade) and means of transportation (third grade)—all by one publisher.

Category *cultural heritage* is present with the example of the Children's Museum in Belgrade (second grade, one publisher) and Kalemegdan fortress (fourth grade by the same publisher), both in description and in picture.

In the category *famous people* three examples in total were found with two publishers – two sportswomen and one singer of popular

music; therefore, there are no famous people in science, art, culture.

When speaking on *national geographic notions* toponyms referring to the city of Belgrade are recorded (with two publishers), Kalemegdan Park, the Sava and Danube rivers (fourth grade, one publisher), Silver lake, Resava Cave (fourth grade, other publisher, all in one text), Avala mountain (third grade, one publisher), as well as geographic position of Serbia on the map of Europe and Asia (second grade with one publisher).

On the whole, it is evident that different publishers differently size the notion of national identity. It was shown that one publisher has no national identity content, whereas: a) Data Status gives examples within additional information content including general information, cultural heritage, personality, custom and tradition (second grade); general information (third grade) and general information and cultural heritage (fourth grade). Therefore, there are no examples considering religion, national feelings, historical topics, language, symbols and characteristics, solidarity and togetherness and family. Regarding the textbook as a visual media, no pictures of national significance were found in the first grade. Whereas, in the second grade, pictures of the flag were found (five), and one picture regarding general information of important people and national geographic notions. Illustrations of categories customs and traditions, symbols and characteristics, general information were recorded in the third grade, and in the fourth grade only the category symbols and characteristics. Pictorial content is mainly referred to additional information, therefore it is understandable to have similar division of the noted categories of national identity, except for the category symbols and characteristics; b) only in the third and fourth grade textbooks of Freska publisher the categories of national identity were observed in the domain of additional information: general information (five), important people (four) and geographic term (two) are found in the third grade; and general information (four), geographic term (four), customs and tradition (one) in the fourth grade of primary school. National pictorial content of the first and second grade are related to customs and tradition, symbols and characteristics. In the third grade the category *people* is introduced (one example), and in the fourth *religion* (two). This publisher is special in the way that it is the only one which explains the school slava celebration in Serbia in the basic textbook content, which comprises the categories customs and tra-

dition, religion, and also the category general information (Serbian names, surnames, architecture).

CONCLUSION The research findings indicate that, as a whole, English language textbook for lower primary school are not adapted to the region they are intended, since there is minor representation of the national significant content, i.e. there are textbooks which content concept absolutely does not comprise the national identity of the textbook consumers, therefore one cannot advocate the developmental categories of national identity. Moreover, wrong information was registered considering Serbian national characteristics. Thus, only global identity is being nurtured, which was pointed out in the previous research (Lee, 2009; Priyanti, 2019). The obtained results are in favor of the idea that English language textbooks promote universal values, like mutual respect, understanding, empathy, and openness towards diversity (Köroğlu & Elban, 2020), in order to significantly support the development of students' national identity.

It is obvious that different publishers differently handle the national identity categories, and that authors' copyright allow the possibility of incorporating content of national significance in all the thematic parts. There can be a more dimensional representation of national identity categories. E.g., while talking about art it is possible to name eminent Serbian painters, occupations such as Serbian scientists, artists, athletes; the context People from different parts of the world should incorporate Serbia and its customs and traditions, and family holidays should include family holidays in Serbia.

The personalization of English language content is in question in almost all the categories of national identity, except for the category of *general information* and *geographic terms*. Lower primary school students will not be able to clarify their religious identity, family customs and traditions, specific national script (Cyrillic), national feelings, name the national anthem, coat of arms, list the most important events in history, point to the importance of solidarity and togetherness and clarify the importance of cultural heritage and important people for Serbian national identity.

In our opinion, it is necessary to actualize the issue of national identity in textbooks for lower primary school, to standardize the dimension of the content of national significance (scope, depth, continuity, and dynamics) in the curricula, in lower, as well as in

higher primary school. The performed textbook analysis showed that the examined components of national identity are insignificantly present, which can equally be attributed to the programme framework, hidden curriculum and educational policies within which the analyzed textbooks were created and approved for the use in lower grades of primary school.

In the focus of the analyses were the sentences of the basic text and additional informational content of the textbooks, as well as the visual content, therefore it is difficult to provide the final answers and determine to what extent and how textbooks of English as a foreign language influence identity development of students of lower primary school. Deriving from the assumption that textbook is not the only media to reproduce and re/construct national identity, the focus of further research should be aimed at examining of the use of textbooks in teaching practice, especially towards understanding the way teachers and students comprehend and understand national identity and the importance of educational content for development and nurturing one's own national identity. The curricula and textbooks are subject to teachers' decision and ability to interpret, thus the teachers' perception and teaching experience will probably influence the way the educational content that implies the terms of national identity, national connection, and identification is interpreted and presented to the students (Hand & Pearce, 2009, 2011; Pöllmann, 2008). The obtained results, further suggest the necessity of development of critical thinking on the issues of national identity with all the participants in education system, but especially with the direct participants in education and pedagogy.

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APPENDIX

THE RECORDED CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY/PUBLISHERS	CUSTOMS AND TRADITION (F AND %)	SYMBOLS AND CHARACTERISTICS (F AND %)	OTHER CATEGORIES (F AND %)	TOTAL SHARE OF VISUAL CONTENT OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE (F AND %)
Freska N= 337	1 0,10%	1 0,10%	0 0%	2 0,20%

TABLE 1: THE SHARE OF VISUAL NATIONAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THE FIRST GRADE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL

THE RECORDED CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY/PUBLISHERS	CT (F AND %)	GI (F AND %)	CH (F AND %)	P (F AND %)	OC (F AND %)	TSNC (F AND %)
Data Status N= 85	1 0,17%	7 8,23%	2 2,35%	1 0,17%	0 0%	11 12,94%
Klett N= 0	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Freska N= 0	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

TABLE 2: THE SHARE OF NATIONAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THE SECOND GRADE OF REGARDING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Key: CT – customs and tradition, SC – symbols and characteristics; GI – general information, CH- cultural heritage; P – people; GT – geographic terms; OC – other categories, TSVC – total share of national content regarding additional information

THE RECORDED CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY/ PUBLISHERS	CT (F AND %)	SC (F AND %)	GI (F AND %)	CH (F AND %)	P (F AND %)	GT (F AND %)	OC (F AND %)	TSNC (F AND %)
Data Status N= 422	0 0%	5 1,18%	1 0,23%	1 0,23%	1 0,23%	1 0,23%	0 0%	5 2,13%
Klett N= 433	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Fresca N= 412	2 0,48%	2 0,48%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 0,97%

TABLE 3: THE SHARE OF VISUAL NATIONAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THE SECOND GRADE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL

Key: CT – customs and tradition, SC – symbols and characteristics; GI – general information, CH- cultural heritage; P – people; GT – geographic terms; OC – other categories, TSVC – total share of national content

THE RECORDED CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY/ PUBLISHERS	CT (F AND %)	SC (F AND %)	GI (F AND %)	CH (F AND %)	P (F AND %)	GT (F AND %)	OC (F AND %)	TSNC (F AND %)
a) Data Status N= 115	3 2,60%	1 1,86%	7 6,08%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	11 9,57%
a) Klett N= 0	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
a) Freska N= 104	0 0%	0 0%	5 4,80%	0 0%	4 3,84%	2 1,92%	0 0%	11 10,58%
b) Data Status N= 558	2 0,35%	2 0,35%	2 0,35%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	6 1,08%
b) Klett N= 454	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
b) Freska N= 409	0 0%	3 0,73%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0,24%	0 0%	0 0%	4 0,98%

TABLE 4: THE SHARE OF NATIONAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THE THIRD GRADE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL REGARDING: A) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND B) VISUAL CONTENT

Key: CT – customs and tradition, SC – symbols and characteristics; GI – general information, CH- cultural heritage; P – people; GT – geographic terms; OC – other categories, TSVC – total share of national content

THE RECORDED CATEGORIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY/ PUBLISHERS	R (F AND %)	CT (F AND %)	SC (F AND %)	GI (F AND %)	CH (F AND %)	P (F AND %)	GT (F AND %)	OC (F AND %)	TSNC (F AND %)
a) Data Status N= 546	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
a) Klett N= 589	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
a) Freska N= 442	1 0,22%	2 0,45%	0 0%	7 1,58%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	10 14,93%
b) Data Status N= 113	0 0%	1 0,88%	0 0%	10 8,84%	2 1,76%	2 1,76%	2 1,76%	0 0%	17 15,04%
b) Klett N= 0	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
b) Freska N= 67	0 0%	1 1,49%	3 4,47%	4 5,97%	0 0%	0 0%	4 5,97%	0 0%	12 17,91%
c) Data Status N= 439	0 0%	0 0%	3 0,68%	0 0%	2 0,45%	2 0,45%	0 0%	0 0%	7 1,59%
c) Klett N= 449	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
c) Freska N= 437	2 0,45%	2 0,45%	2 0,45%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	6 1,37%

TABLE 5: THE SHARE OF NATIONAL CONTENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS OF THE FOURTH GRADE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL REGARDING: A) BASIC TEXT, B) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND C) VISUAL CONTENT

Key: R - religion, CT - customs and tradition, SC - symbols and characteristics; GI - general information, CH- cultural heritage; P - people; GT - geographic terms; OC - other categories, TSVC - total share of national content

PUBLISHER/ GRADE	FIRST GRADE	SECOND GRADE	THIRD GRADE	FOURTH GRADE	TOTAL
Data Status N=3378	0 0%	20 2,12%	17 1,47%	24 2,18%	63 1,86%

TABLE 6: TOTAL SHARE OF NATIONAL CONTENT WITH DIFFERENT PUBLISHER IN LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL

Klett N=2830	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Freska N=3199	2 0,59%	4 0,47%	15 1,53%	16 1,54%	37 1,16%

TABLE 6: TOTAL SHARE OF NATIONAL CONTENT WITH DIFFERENT PUBLISHER IN LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL

ДАНИЈЕЛА Н. ВАСИЛИЈЕВИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У КРАГУЈЕВЦУ
ПЕДАГОШКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

МАРИНА Ж. СЕМИЗ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У КРАГУЈЕВЦУ
ПЕДАГОШКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

БРАНКА М. АЏИЋ

ОШ „НАДА МАТИЋ“, УЖИЦЕ (СРБИЈА)

РЕЗИМЕ

НАЦИОНАЛНИ ИДЕНТИТЕТ У УЏБЕНИЦИМА ЕНГЛЕСКОГ КАО СТРАНОГ ЈЕЗИКА

Полазећи од тезе да настава страног језика представља погодан контекст за упознавање националних обележја других држава, али и сопствене државе, разматрана је улога уџбеника енглеског као страног језика у развоју и снажењу националног идентитета ученика млађег школског узраста. У складу са различитим концептуализацијама, национални идентитет је операционализован у 11 категорија: религија, обичаји и традиција, национална осећања, језик, симболи и обележја, солидарност и заједништво, културна баштина, важне личности, географски појмови, породица и опште информације. У истраживању су примењене метода теоријске анализе и метода анализе садржаја. Јединице анализе су: а) реченице основног текста уџбеника; б) реченице додатног информативног садржаја; в) сликовни садржај. Истраживањем су обухваћени уџбеници енглеског језика млађих разреда основне школе лиценцираних у Републици Србији (N=12). Резултати истраживања су указали да уџбеници углавном не доприносе формирању и снажењу националног идентитета ученика млађег школског узраста, посебно у домену категорија: национална осећања, историјске теме, језик, породица, солидарност и заједништво.

Кључне речи: национални идентитет; уџбеници енглеског језика; глобални идентитет; анализа садржаја; ученици млађег школског узраста.



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HISTORY

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ON ANCIENT CULTS FROM THE SOUTH OF THE PROVINCE OF DALMATIA² *(A few examples from east Herzegovina)*

ABSTRACT. Statues that testify about the religiousness of the Roman citizens exist in east Herzegovina (south of the province of Dalmatia) as well as in all areas within the Roman Empire. The spiritual life of the citizens from the south of the province of Dalmatia (east Herzegovina) reflected in the respect for a significant number of cults. The religion of an ancient man from east Herzegovina is represented, above all, by modest archeological findings and epigraph statues. It manifested itself in the respect for a significant number of cults that relied on Illyrian tradition, Roman and oriental deities.

KEYWORDS: ancient cults; epigraph statues; the Roman Empire; the province of Dalmatia; east Herzegovina.

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After the Roman conquest of the east coastline of Adriatic Sea and its inland at the beginning of the 1st century AD, the Roman merchants, colonists and soldiers came to this area bringing all the achievements of the Roman civilization. The civilization permeated thought the locals in various ways and using various means. According to Pliny, the Romans were the most religious of all the people. The citizens respected always and everywhere the set cult rituals, offered sacrifices and directed their prayers to the union between men and gods in old Rome, which, consequently, led to a significant number of found and preserved sacrificial alters, votive inscriptions, reliefs and sculptures. The temples and sanctuaries were preserved as well as inscriptions testifying on their existence. Statues that testify about the religiousness of the Roman citizens exist in the area of east Herzegovina as well as in all areas which were within the Roman Empire (Plin. NH VI 56; Imamović, 1975/1976, pp. 13–26; Medini, 1976, pp. 185–207; Imamović, 1977, pp. 118–200; Bojanovski, 1988, p. 68).

The interest for the research and study of cult statues on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The biggest number of papers on the aforementioned problems was published in the Gazette of the National Museum in Sarajevo from 1888 till today. The scientific research focused on the aforementioned problems is ongoing even today because it was conditioned by new findings and thanks to that fact, the research could be more specific about the cults of individual deities (Radimsky, 1891, p. 191, pic. 47; Truhelka, 1892, p. 364; Patch, 1897, p. 644, pic. 8; Patsch, 1900, pp. 170–171; Patsch, 1902, pp. 317–319 pic. 15; Sergejevski, 1934, p. 25, pic. 37; Imamović, 1977, pp. 131, 146–147, 278–280, 362–363 pic. 92, 364, no. 96, 384–385, no. 130; 388–389, no. 36, 456, pic. 239, 456–457, pic. 240; Škegro, 1997, pp. 90 no. 30, 32; Šaćić, 2011, pp. 42–44, 46–47, 109–115, 139–140, 142–143, 146–147, 149; Marić, 2013, pp. 34–38).

The respect for Roman gods in the south of the province of Dalmatia as well as the absence of local cults resulted in early romanization. The Illyrians held on tightly to their old gods and cult rituals, but accepted those Roman deities which by their features were similar or identical to theirs. The locals, sapped by the romanization, accepted (partially) with time the respect for the Roman deities. These alignments of views on cults are known as *interpretation Romana*, which means that a local deity was named after a corresponding Roman deity (Rendić-Miočević, 1955, pp. 5–40;

Rendić-Miočević, 1967, pp. 139–156; Medini, 1976, p. 185; Medini, 1984, pp. 19–26; Bojanovski, 1988, p. 68). It is believed that this process started in the 1st century BC. The best example of *interpretation Romana* is the cult of a local god of woods and nature called *Vidasus* who became the Roman god called *Silvanus* in Dalmatia. It can be assumed that these processes affected greatly the dying away of the locals' tradition (Rendić-Miočević, 1955, pp. 5–40; Imamović, 1975/76, pp. 13–26; Imamović, 1977, pp. 118–200; Medini, 1984, pp. 19–26; Rendić-Miočević, 1989, pp. 461–521; Љубомирковић, 2016, pp. 181–205).

Given the fact that there are not enough archeological and epigraph sources to testify on the religion of the people in east Herzegovina, we can learn more about it using analogy with neighboring areas. The Romans were tolerant with the religion and cults of the people they took in the Empire and did not forbid the respect for locals' deities. They only asked of them to recognize and respect the cult of Capitoline Triad, i.e., Jupiter, Juno and Minerva as the three most important deities in the Roman pantheon (Rendić-Miočević, 1955, pp. 5–40; Medini, 1976, p. 185; Imamović, 1977, pp. 118–200; Medini, 1984, pp. 19–26; Rendić-Miočević, 1989, pp. 461–521).

The basic materials used for collecting data about the religion of the population in the south of Dalmatia are sacrificial alters with votive inscriptions and iconographic representations on statues (Mayer, 1932, p. 110; Mayer, 1942, p. 187; Rendić-Miočević, 1955, pp. 5–40; Paškvalin, 1963, pp. 127–128; Raknić, 1965, pp. 85–86; Гарашанин, 1967, pp. 180–182; Medini, 1976, pp. 185–187; Imamović, 1977, pp. 118–200; Марић, 2003, pp. 9–18, 87).

The most respected deity in Rome and all the regions where the Romans lived was the supreme and main deity – Jupiter Capitolinus (*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*). Every Roman settlement in the south of Dalmatia worshipped his cult. The damaged inscription dedicated to this deity can be found on the fragment of sacrificial alter which was found in Crkvine, Hodovo, Stolac (Sergejevski, 1934, pp. 24–25 no. 37; Imamović, 1977, pp. 362–363 pic. 95; Šačić, 2011, pp. 146–147). The preserved part of the text goes: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [- - -]oi / [- - -] / [- - -]* (ILJug 1910).

The second inscription mentioning Jupiter Capitolinus was found in Trijebanj, Stolac (Radimsky, 1891, p. 191, pic. 47; Truhelka, 1892, p. 364; Imamović, 1977, pp. 362–363 pic. 92; Šačić, 2011, pp. 147–148). Its text goes: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [- - -] (?) / P(ublius) Ael(ius)*

Se[ve]/rus l[ib(en)]s / p(osuit) (CIL III 12776). The dedicant's name is *Aelius*, which leads to the conclusion that his ancestors or he alone became Roman citizens during Hadrian's rule (117–138) or Antoninus Pius's (138–161) (Radimsky, 1891, pp. 191, pic. 47; Truhelka, 1892, p. 364; Imamović, 1977, pp. 362–363, pic. 92; Šačić, 2011, pp. 147–148).

The third inscription with Jupiter Capitolinus was found in Oklade, Stolac (Patsch, 1900, pp. 170–171 pic. 1; Imamović, 1977, pp. 130–131, 362 pic. 94; Škegro, 1997, p. 90 no. 32; Šačić, 2011, p. 149). Its text goes: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iul(ius) Hercu(lanus) / be(ne)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) / I Ital(icae)* (CIL III 14631). A consular beneficiary whose name is *Iulius* is found with the inscription. A. Šačić thinks he is a stranger because this family name was more common with the population from Gallia (Šačić 2011, 149), where Jupiter was a highly worshipped deity and was equated with local deities (Imamović, 1977, p. 131; Šačić, 2011, pp. 146–147, 149). The statue dates to the end of the 2nd century (CBFIR 487). E. Imamović assumes that every municipium on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina had one temple dedicated to Jupiter. Even though there is not solid evidence, it can be assumed that there was such a temple on the territory of Diluntum municipium. The connection between the structure of the municipium and the cult of this deity on the territory of east Herzegovina is best reflected in the fact that Jupiter's sacrificial alters were found only in Diluntum (Imamović, 1977, pp. 130–131. Уп. Šačić, 2011, p. 144).

However, besides Stolac, one sacrificial alter dedicated to Jupiter was found in Cerići near Konjic as well (Patsch, 1902, pp. 317–318 sl. 14; Imamović, 1977, p. 364, sl. 96; Šačić, 2011, pp. 44, 109–110; Marić, 2013, p. 34). Its text goes: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Petroni(us) / Maximin(us) / et Severus* (CIL III 14617, 1). The statue dates to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century and his dedicants were Petronius Maximus and Severus (Šačić, 2011, pp. 44, 109–110). K. Patsch saw the name *Petronius* as praenomen (Patsch, 1902, p. 318), while Šačić, with every right, emphasizes that it is about a non-Empire nomen. As for the dedicant's cognomen, *Severus* can be found among the people of oriental descend while cognomen *Maximinus* among the people of Italian descend (Šačić, 2011, pp. 44, 109–110).

An epigraph statue dedicated to Mars was found on the territory of Stolac, near the military barracks (Truhelka, 1892, p. 350 no. 2; Patsch, 1900, p. 171; Imamović, 1977, pp. 388–389, no. 136; Škegro,

1997, p. 90 no. 30; Šačić, 2011, pp. 42–43, 142–143). The inscription goes: *Marti Aug(usto) / T(itus) Ael(ius) Firmi/nus b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito) l(ibens)* (CIL III 8431= CBFIR 485). Its dedicant was Titus Aelius Firminus, a consular beneficiary from XIV *Gemina* legion. Mars's name is attributed by *Augustus*, which occurs often on votive statues dedicated to this deity (Patsch, 1900, pp. 170; Imamović, 1977, pp. 146–147; Šačić, 2011, pp. 42–43, 142–143). A sacrificial alter has been dated differently in modern historiography. A. Šačić puts the inscription in the 2nd-3rd century (Šačić, 2011,4 pp. 2–43, 142–143). K. Patsch thinks the sacrificial alter was being built between Septimus Severus's rule (193–211) and Gordian I's (from 22 March 238 to 12 April 238) (Patsch, 1900, p. 172). The publishers of the corpus of beneficiaries' inscriptions decided to put it in the 2nd century (CBFIR 485).

The confirmation of the respect for the cult of the goddess Iuno can be found on a votive statue in Potoci near Mostar (Patsch, 1904, pp. 38–39 no. 6; Patsch, 1904, pp. 270–271 fig. 142; Imamović, 1977, pp. 384–385, pic. 130; Šačić, 2011, pp. 44–45, 139–140). Its text goes: *Deae Iuno/ni sancta(e) / aram posu/it Iunia / Varena* (ILJug 1742 = AE 1906, 0185). The dedicant of the sacrificial alter was a female person of Italic descend, Iuna Varena. Her nomen *Iunia* is relatively rare in the western Balkans. Cognomen *Varena* is Italic and therefore it is possible that the person moved to the valley of the Neretva River. It is believed that *Iunia Varena* invested her own money into the erection of the statue, which points to the conclusion that certain women in the ancient times experienced certain social and economic independence (Šačić, 2011, pp. 44–45, 139–140).

Oriental cults, besides the Roman ones, can be found in the south of Dalmatia. LJ. Zotović observes, guided by archeological materials, that the oriental religion appears in the Roman provinces with the romanization at the same time. She states that the military was not the main means used to spread Mithraism, but slaves and then the freed who worked as customs officers and thus spread the cult of the Persian deity (Zotović, 1973, p. 133). E. Imamović explains the existence of oriental cults in Rome as the result of more superior position of the East compared to Rome. He thinks that the followers of these cults should be sought among the people who worshipped these as their national cults (Imamović, 1977, pp. 277–286). By providing a comprehensive survey of Mithra's statues in Dalmatia, V. Gabričević sees the penetration of oriental cults into these regions

as historic necessity, i.e., process. He concludes in the end that the spread of these cults in the West must not be seen as the result of the arrival of huge number of oriental peoples and the spread of their national tradition (Gabričević, 1953, p. 144; Gabričević, 1954, p. 37). V. Paškvalin says that the spread of oriental cults contributed significantly to economic, social and political circumstances in the Roman Empire. He thinks that they were spread by soldiers, slaves and merchants (Paškvalin, 1963, pp. 146–147). The cult of Mithra was the most present cult of all the oriental cults in Dalmatia. M. Garašanin thinks that it was spread by soldiers, slaves and the freed and thus implemented by the locals (Гарашанин, 1967, p. 190). G. Lipovac Vrkljan sees the emergence of Mithraism in Dalmatia as the consequence of the romanization in urban centers, highly trafficked areas and centers of the Roman administration (Lipovac-Vrkljan, 2001, pp. 125–140, 158–163). J. Medini thinks that Mithraism developed in the coastal area of Dalmatia under the influence of lower social classes of oriental descend (Medini, 1976, pp. 185–207). K. Patch and R. Marić think that the cult of Mithra was brought to Rome in the 1st century BC by the prisoners who Pompey brought after the war with pirates in 67 BC. Mithraism is spreading at that time among European provinces. It is probable that at the same time, or a bit later, Mithra's followers emerged in the south of Dalmatia (Patch, 1897, pp. 629–656; Марић, 2003, p. 89).

Four Mithra statues were found in Herzegovina in the area of the Neretva River upstream (Imamović, 1977, p. 452 no. 237; Šačić, 2011, pp. 46, 111–115; Marić, 2013, pp. 35–38). The text of the first one, from Potok near Mostar, goes: *Deo S/oli Invicto / Meter[ae] (!) Aur(elius) Maximinus / Flavi(us) Marcellinus / Flavi(us) Marcellus*. It is followed by a graffiti: *Romanus / Marcianus [- - -] IV / [- - - p/ini[us] II ficus X* (ILJug 112 = AE 1906, 0184). K. Patch says that this votive statue is the example of a primitive form of provincial epigraph due to the fact that it was not made in some stonemason's workshop but by one of three men who are mentioned on the statue (Patch, 1904, pp. 35). The authors of the graffiti signed themselves as Roman and Marcian. These two names are rare in the territory of east Herzegovina and it is assumed they belonged to the freed. Graffiti are one of the forms of artistic expression of the Roman lower social classes, which is for A. Šačić a proof that the people who built this votive statue were from lower social classes. The graffiti was damaged, but Šačić deciphered words *pinus* (pine) and *ficus* (fig) as religious symbols of Mithra (Šačić, 2011, pp. 45, 139).

A votive statue found in the 19th century in Konjic is also dedicated to the oriental deity Mithra. Its text goes: *Deo Soli Inv[ict]o Meter[ae] (!)* (CIL III 14617). The names of the dedicants are not stated and therefore it is possible that the statue and the entire sanctuary were built with the money from some community (Patch 1897, p. 636; Imamović, 1977, p. 454 no. 238; Šačić, 2011, pp. 46, 111). The text was carved on the arch placed above the relief showing the cult of Mithra. It is one of the most beautiful relief statues found in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The name of the deity is written as *Meteras*, which was also the case with the statue from Potok near Mostar. It is believed it is a local occurrence which is typical only for the Neretva River upstream. The statue is from the 4th century (Imamović, 1977, p. 278–280; Šačić, 2011, pp. 46, 111).

A simpler structure appears on a third Mithra votive statue from Konjic. The statue was made following the model of votive are dedicated to the Roman deities (Patch, 1897, p. 644, pic. 8; Imamović, 1977, p. 456, pic. 239; Šačić, 2011, pp. 46, 112–113). Its text goes: *S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / V[e]tur(ius) / Lucius / v(otum) s(olvit)* (CIL III 14222, 1). A. Šačić says that a mistake crept in and the provincial stonemason carved a letter F instead of a letter E (Šačić, 2011, pp. 46, 112–113). A personal name (*praenomen*) cannot be found in the inscription while the family name (*nomen*) *Veturius* is very rare in Dalmatia. Therefore, it is believed that *Veturius Lucius* was an immigrant to the valley of the Neretva River. The statue is from the 4th century (Šačić, 2011, pp. 46, 113).

The cult of Mithra was found in Lisičići near Konjic. A votive statue with a relief plate and an inscription was found there (Patch, 1902, pp. 318–319, pic. 15; Imamović, 1977, pp. 456–457, pic. 240; Šačić, 2011, pp. 47, 114–115). Its text goes: *L(ucius) Antonius Menander Aphro/disieys (!) (i)nvicto / Aug(usto) v(otum) f(ecit)* (CIL III 13859 = ILJug 1748). The relief shows Mithra killing a bull. The dedicant *Lucius Antonius Menander* was from *Aphrodisieus* in *Caria*. His cognomen *Menander* is Greek and his nomen *Antonius* is from a distinguished Roman plebeii family of *Antonius*. He was probably a freed man who got his nomen from his previous owner. Stating the place of origin was very common among the freed. Given the fact that a word *Aphrodisieus* was carved in Greek with epsilon instead of a Latin U, it is assumed that the stonemason was a foreigner or *Lucius Antinius Menander* was a dedicant and a stonemason for the statue at the same time. The statue is from the 4th century (Imamović, 1977, p. 456; Šačić, 2011, pp. 47, 114–115).

The tombstones from the south of Dalmatia often had iconographic representations of the god Attis, in short underarm chiton, with his legs crossed, wearing a hat and leaning against a cane. He is iconographically closely related to the cult of Mithra. However, one more deity, very similar to Attis, can be found on tombstones from this area. Its pose is similar, but it is naked and it has wings with a torch in the hand. It is believed it is the genius of death (Вулић, 1941/1948, p. 138, no. 303; 140, no. 307; Гарашанин, 1967, p. 191).

Mosaics and frescoes from Panik (Bileća) are highly significant in the late Empire due to preserved symbolic representations of then unrecognized Christianity. This location, which is the part of the inland area of Adriatic Sea, recognized Christianity early, which proves the strong influence of the East (Čremošnik, 1974, pp. 243–247). During the research (from 1957 to 1967) in the valley of the Trebišnjica river, the remains of the Roman ruins in Crkvine in Panik were studied. A luxurious villa was discovered. The villa was consisted of few construction complexes and had an agricultural settlement in immediate vicinity, on Dračevo side. The remains of mosaics and frescoes from the 3rd and 4th centuries were found in the luxurious villa. In the age when Christianity was not recognized by the state, Christian symbols were hidden under pagan representations which had the same or similar messages. One of the most present symbols is the representation of Orpheus, partially preserved on a mosaic in the north wing of the construction complex of U building where the rooms for social gatherings could be found. The very room, where the representation of Orpheus can be found, is basically shaped as a cross, which sets it apart from all the other rooms. The picture of Orpheus surrounded by animals is partially preserved. His head is damaged, but the fragments of the Phrygian cap are visible. He was represented in a green tunic with a red belt, draped in a red cape and turned right with the lyre in his right hand. A string of crosses is visible on his right arm's sleeve. There are a snake and a bull to Orpheus's right side and fragments of some animal's legs to his left side. The fields surrounding Orpheus represent a leopard, a billy goat and a bird. It is believed that he symbolizes God as the shepherd of his flock. The representation of Muse visible on the mosaic before the representation of Orpheus can be categorized as Christian as well. She has feathers on her head and it is assumed that symbolizes Orpheus's knowledge and wisdom, as a personification of Jesus Christ (Čremošnik, 1965,

pp. 174–175; Čremošnik, 1974, pp. 243–247; Čremošnik, 1976, pp. 65–70).

The frescoes in Panik show traces which point to Christian symbols. It is about parts of a naked figure of some deity with two right hand's fingers raised. Given that this gesture is frequent in early Christianity and characterizes blessing, it is believed that this representation carries the message of Jesus Christ, the teacher and the ruler of the world. The representations on mosaics and frescoes from the tomb in Panik can be described as illusionistic style, which appeared in the Roman painting from the 3rd century (Čremošnik, 1974, pp. 243–247; Čremošnik, 1976, pp. 65–70). A small church built in the 6th century above the construction complex points to the early presence of Christianity in the area of Panik. A medieval graveyard was formed around it (which influenced the name of the complex – Crkvine) (Popović, 1973, pp. 347–363).

CONCLUSION The paper presents data on ancient cults from the south of the province of Dalmatia (east Herzegovina). The corpus was comprised of data on religiousness of the people in the south of the province Dalmatia collected from sacrificial alters with votive inscriptions and iconographic representations on statues. These findings have a significant historic value due to the fact that they describe more precisely the religion of the people from the areas of east Herzegovina in ancient times.

The statues that testify on religiousness of the Roman citizens exist in the areas of east Herzegovina as well as in all areas within the Roman Empire. We learn about the religion of an ancient man from east Herzegovina, above all, from modest archeological findings and epigraph statues. It manifested itself through the respect for the cults that relied on Illyrian tradition, Roman and oriental deities. The Roman cults emerge with the romanization of the province, first in urban centers where the Roman lifestyle is most visible and present. The locals, sapped by the romanization, accepted (partially) with time the respect for Roman deities. These precise cult alignments are known as *interpretation Romana*, which means that a local deity was replaced by the name of a corresponding Roman deity. The Illyrian gods were gradually replaced through the process of romanization by the Roman ones and therefore they can be found on the statues under their Roman names. For example, Vidasus was a local god, but was replaced by the Roman Silvanus. Epigraph statues from urban centers from the south of province of Dalmatia

(Hodovo near Stolac, Oklade near Stolac, Trijebanj near Stolac, Potoci near Mostar, Lisičići near Konjic, Panik near Bileća) testify on Roman and eastern cults which were worshipped at the time. It can be said that the oriental cults, incorporated with the Roman religion, were integral part of the Roman culture for the people in the south of Dalmatia (east Herzegovina). These cults were not independent, but, just like local cults, became integral part of the polytheistic religious system of the province.

ABBREVIATIONS	AE	L'Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'Antiquité romaine, Paris 1980.
	CIL	Corpus Inscriptiones Latinarum, Berolini 1873.
	GZM BiH	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo 1891, 1892, 1897, 1900, 1902, 1904, 1953, 1955, 1963, 1973, 1976.
	ILJug	Šašel, A. et J., (1963). Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia Inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt. Ljubljana: 5, Narodni muzej Slovenije. Šašel, A. et J., (1986). Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt. Ljubljana: Situla 25, Narodni muzej Slovenije.
	VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split 1932, 1942.
	WMBH	Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina, Wien 1904.

SOURCES	L'Année épigraphique, (1980). Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'Antiquité romaine. Paris.
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ГЛИГОР М. САМАРЏИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
КАТЕДРА ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

РЕЗИМЕ

О АНТИЧКИМ КУЛТОВИМА СА ЈУГА ПРОВИНЦИЈЕ ДАЛМАЦИЈЕ
(НЕКОЛИКО ПРИМЈЕРА ИЗ ИСТОЧНЕ ХЕРЦЕГОВИНЕ)

У раду се презентују подаци о античким култовима на југу провинције Далмације. На подручју источне Херцеговине (југ провинције Далмације) као и у свим подручјима која су била у саставу Римског царства налазе се споменици који свједоче о религиозности римских грађана. Духовни живот становника на југу провинције Далмације (источна Херцеговина) огледао се у поштовању значајног броја култова. Религију античког човјека источне Херцеговине познајемо, прије свега, по скромним археолошким налазима и епиграфским споменицима (Јупитер Ка-

питолски, Марс, Јунона, Митрин култ). Она се манифестовала кроз поштовање значајног броја култова који су се ослањали на илирску традицију, римска и оријентална божанства.

Кључне ријечи: антички култови, епиграфски споменици, Римско царство, провинција Далмација, источна Херцеговина.



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MINING MARKETPLACES: EXPONENTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL SERBIA

ABSTRACT. The paper follows the formation and the rise of mining marketplaces in Medieval Serbia and their contribution to the urban development of the country. In addition to mining marketplaces in Serbia, there were others as well, but the mining marketplaces experienced the highest rise and the greatest urban development. Present urban elements bear witness to the fact that that they were modern elements in those times. Their rise was discontinued, as well as the development of Medieval Serbian state in the middle of the 15th century.

KEYWORDS: mining marketplaces, the Middle Ages, urban settlements, development, Serbia.

MARKETPLACES AS SETTLEMENT TYPES

Marketplaces are settlements characterized by trading which constantly took place, usually on certain days of the week. Because of the activity, which was not a prevailing one in the beginning and was running along with agriculture, such settlements were soon termed marketplace(s). It is interesting to notice that the word 'trg'

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(marketplace, square), which designates these settlements, comes from the Slavic word (*tr'g'*), which means goods for sale – exchange. This noun was used to designate goods meant for sale during the whole period of the Middle Ages, while in modern languages—Serbian and most of the other Slavic languages—new terms are in use now. In the Middle Ages, this term also came from Serbian to Albanian as '*trëgu*' and is used today to designate a space where trade with goods takes place on certain days. For such a space, the Serbian language today uses the term '*pijaca*' (market), which was obviously derived from the Italian language. Many other meanings connected with the process of trade i.e., the exchange of goods and means derived from the noun '*trg*' (merchandise, goods). These are as follows: trade as a process and a walled trade as a process and walled space where exchange takes place, market – a synonym for trading, walled space, tradesman – a participant in the process of exchange, square – a place in the center of the settlement where there crossroads are and, finally, a type of settlement which is significantly characterized by trade. In the beginning, marketplaces as settlements in Medieval Serbia were not different from other surrounding settlements in the country, whereas their urban characteristic was determined, primarily, by its economy stream (Zarković, 2017, pp. 9–12, 157–162; Ćirković & Mihaljčić, 1999, pp. 737–739; Mišić, 2010).

FORMATION OF MARKETPLACES

It is unknown when the first marketplaces were formed in Medieval Serbia. Their formation must have taken place, surely, in the early Middle Ages, even though they were first mentioned in the contract dating from 1186 signed between the Serbian Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja and Dubrovnik (Mošin et al, 2011, p. 47). Marketplace Drijeva, which was on the river Neretva, near its confluence into the Adriatic Sea, was mentioned on this occasion. Tradesmen from Dubrovnik were trading their goods using this marketplace in the western parts of Serbian lands and with Bosnia as well, which at that time was just starting to gain some independence.

Originally, they were formed in the places with favorable geographical area, on the crossroads and in the vicinity of buildings that could provide them with protection. Due to its favorable position, it attracted tradesmen selling their goods to occasionally

gather together. Places where tradesmen occasionally met were not necessarily settlements but could be just some convenient spots. When the settlements were in Primorje, they were more of an urban character, while in the continental part of the country they were villages. Their shared characteristic was favorable geographical position on the crossroads. Importance of the marketplaces was noticed by Stefan Nemanja (1168–1196), and from his time onwards we could follow the phenomenon and the formation of some settlements of this type by using the data.

Lack of historical sources is the reason why the other marketplaces were not mentioned until 1198, when the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja, monk Simeon at the time, founded the Monastery of Hilandar on the Holly Mount of Athos and donated it an estate which would support its existence. The estate was located at the very boundary of Southern Serbia, in the vicinity of Prizren (Zarković, 2007, pp. 209–223). It is named Hoča metochy in the documents consisting of 9 villages, four apiaries, two vineyards, 170 Vlach families (herdsmen) and income from Zeta (Zarković, 2002). Hoča, the largest village in metochy, was named after the monk Simeon who established a marketplace there (Mošin et al, 2011, p. 69). As it was formed within the monastery estate, it belonged to the church and was used by the church estate to sell its surplus of goods, but also to provide necessary merchandise. Access to the marketplace was free for everybody, not only for the inhabitants of that monastery estate and tradesmen. Tradesmen and their goods were protected. For all the goods that were not from the monastery estate but were sold there, taxes were paid, which as a rule belonged to the ruler. However, the ruler, in this case and all the other similar cases concerning the monastery estate, would renounce the contribution in favor of the church i.e., the monastery. The monk Simeon, the former Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja, decided to form a marketplace within the monastery probably because of the awareness of the significance and benefits such places brought both to the owner (the monastery) and the whole environment, and the country itself, as well. This example of Stefan Nemanja was followed by his successors on the Serbian throne which is why there was hardly any monastery with no marketplace within its estate. With the development of Serbia, monasteries began to get marketplaces outside their estates, primarily in the urban places. At the end of the independence of Medieval Serbian state, the church and monasteries frequently received monetary

contributions from the marketplaces which were not under their authority, and were in the large urban centers. In that way, monasteries and the church received guaranteed income, instead of unreliable practice of tax collection, even from the marketplaces jeopardized by the Turks.

Similar to marketplaces, in churches and monasteries, both in the open space and in the rural and urban settlements, there were Panajurs (derived from Greek, παναγορος) which looked like fairs and trade fairs, but differed from them as they were organized during Church festivals (Ćirković & Mihaljčić, 1999, pp. 488–489; Bojanin, 2005, pp. 138–139). They were held once or twice a year and were under the authority of the church or monastery which organized them. The aforementioned institutions collected the tax on the goods sold and punishment for the offences.

In Medieval Serbia—in its central part where the domestic influence was dominant, apart from the monastic ones—there were also marketplaces in the old ancient settlements, on the crossroads and caravan stations, and, of course, the mining marketplaces as well.

FORMATION OF MINING MARKETPLACES

Unlike monastery marketplaces which are formed by 'the rulers's grace' and intervention, mining marketplaces in Medieval Serbia are formed on different bases: spontaneously, like the old ancient places and village marketplaces, but conditioned by the ore resources. While formation of monastery marketplaces is related to agriculture and agricultural production, there is mining production and trade in mining in this matter. While agriculture was suitable for the population due to its simplicity, mining was a complex production process which required great knowledge and skill, both in finding and digging the ore out, even more so in its processing and obtaining the metal. Mining marketplaces in Medieval Serbia were created with the arrival of Saxon miners in the middle of the 13th century. The Saxons came to Serbia during the reign of King Uroš I (Nemanjić), after a huge invasion of the Mongols which took place during 1241/42. There are two theories on the conditions under which they arrived but they are still a great puzzle: 1. The Saxons accepted the invitation from King Uroš, who was, thus, following the example of Hungarian King Bela IV, who conducted colonization of his country with abandoned places due to the Mongol

invasion; 2. The Saxons came to Serbia of their own free will, running away from the area of Transylvania in Hungary (Dinić, 2003, pp. 479–481). They decided so because of relatively unremarkable suffering of Serbia and because it was far from the center of the Mongol state. There is a possibility of a middle variant in which both parties came to the agreement that fulfilled the shared wish. This is confirmed by the privileges which Saxons got, and which could not be possible without a mutual consent. Whatever happened, with the Saxon arrival the formation of settlements with a different economy stream from the surrounding rural places began to occur.

Until then, it was not known that there were mining marketplaces (settlements) in Serbia, although the remains of the old mining works from the Roman times were visible and well known. This is also certified by the St Steven's Charter by King Milutin from 1316/17, in which he mentioned 'the old holes' (Kovačević, 1890, p. 3).² Those were the remains of the old mining work which flourished during the period between the 1st and 3rd century, during the Roman rule on the Balkan Peninsula (Ćirković et al, 2002, pp. 11–17). It is interesting to note that the miners the Romans brought from Asia Minor made their contribution to the development of mining in Serbia during the ancient period (Dušanić, 1971, p. 242–261). A similar situation occurred with the arrival of the Saxons in the mid-13th century. The Saxons made contribution to the mining production by introducing new methods of finding, digging, and melting the ore, as well as turning to the exploitation of precious metals, primarily silver. An important product of Serbian mines in the Middle Ages was also glam silver, silver with large admixtures of gold (*argento de glama, argento indorato*). These precious metals were dug out with led-zinc ores which Serbia had in large quantities.

The first mine and the first mining marketplace found in the documents was Brskovo on the river Tara (Kovačević, 1891, pp. 1–16). The first mention of the Saxons in this mine and the mining marketplace dates back to 1254, but the latest studies have proved that the data on Brskovo as a marketplace is some ten years older, dating exactly back to the times when the Saxons came to Serbia (Sindik, 1981, pp. 53–66; Sindik, 1987, pp. 29–35; Sindik, 2008, pp. 305–309). Later on, the mention of the Saxons will always be related

² The holes (rupe) are a medieval term which indicated the place where the mine was dug. The adverb old indicates the works from earlier Pre-Slavic time.

to some of the mines; some of the mining settlements were even called Saxons in the documents. The reason for this is that the term lost its ethnic meaning in time and adopted the meaning of the profession. The term Saxon in the middle of the 14th century certainly became a synonym for a miner, just as the terms Latin and Vlach became synonyms for tradesmen and herdsmen. Such terminology was also used after conquering of Serbia by the Turks, who called the old mining law '*Kanun-i-Sas*' (Spaho, 1913, p. 134; Skarić, 1935, pp. 1–24; Skarić, 1939).

Places where the mining marketplaces were formed are contrary to the principles of the formation of village and monastery marketplaces; they were formed in the center of mining production, not in the favorable geographic places and the crossroads. Such places were on the mountains, often difficult to approach and with unfavorable climatic conditions. Yet, these places had the fastest development owing to their rich productivity.

DEVELOPMENT OF MINING MARKETPLACES

Another mining marketplace (the '*eternal second one*' – as called by professor Hrabak) (Hrabak, 1984, p. 12), formed after Brskovo, was Rudnik, on the mountain bearing the same name. This mining marketplace was formed in the last two decades of the 13th century, the first significant mention dates from 1293, and is related to the abdication of King Dragutin (1282) and dividing of the country with his brother Milutin (Dinić, 2003, pp. 557–558). Namely, King Dragutin thought that his fall from the horse and a seriously wounded leg was '*God's punishment*' for his clash with his father and the violent arrival on the throne and decided that withdrawal from the throne would be a moral act. He was given the northern part of the country to govern which he enlarged, as Hungarian king, his father-in-law, gave him the territory all the way up to the Sava and the Danube rivers together with Belgrade. It seems that he brought a group of Saxons with him, who continued to deal with mining in Rudnik and also in the area of Podrinje (Petrović & Bulić, 2009, pp. 43–62; Radičević & Cicović, 2016, pp. 161–171; Radičević & Ječmenica, 2016, pp. 9–19).

Relations between the two brothers, King Dragutin and King Milutin, went through different phases: from the cordial ones, followed by mutual aid in military campaigns against their enemies, to

open conflicts. The state of economy in a divided country was developing independently of the political situation. This is certified by a number of new mines which appeared at the beginning of the 14th century. They were mentioned in a letter to Pope Benedict XI from 1303, in addition to the two already known mining marketplaces (Brskovo and Rudnik), Gračanica (i.e., Janjevo), Rogozno and Trepča (Theiner, 1968, p. 408). Besides, at the end of the second decade of the 14th century, Novo Brdo was formed, the richest and the most significant mine and mining marketplace of Medieval Serbia, in the first half of the 15th century and the whole Balkan Peninsula.

At that time, a number of mining marketplaces coincided with the number of the Roman Catholic parishes in the continental part of Serbia, which speaks volumes about the original inhabitants and miners, but also the fact that these settlements had been formed somewhat earlier, before the first mention and formation of the parishes. The veracity of the sources cited in relation to a number of mines is confirmed by the writing of an anonymous travel writer from the Western Europe who traveled across Serbia in 1308, as well as a file written by the archbishop of Bar (Guillaume Adam) from 1332 (Živković et al, 2013, p. 122; Mošin, 1977, pp. 597–620).³ In the descriptions they claim there were seven mines, i.e. five mines in Serbia. A continuous rise in the number of mines, from the first formation of the mine and mining marketplaces during the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century, was evident. Such growth and development tendency lasted until the middle of the 15th century and fall of the Serbian lands under the Turkish power. About thirty mines were known in those times, two thirds of which were mentioned in the 15th century (Ćirković et al, 2002, p. 96).

Newly-formed mines appeared in the same area where some other mining works had already been performed, either Medieval ones, or the remains of the mine digging from the Roman times. In that way mining areas (basins) which consisted of a large number of mines were formed. The most important mining area of Medieval Serbia is the Kopaonik one. This area is located on the mountain of

³ The paper from 1332 was attributed to Pseudo Brocard or Guillaume Adam. The second one used to be the Archbishop of Bar (1324–1341), "*Primas of Serbia*", under whose jurisdiction Roman Catholic parishes were in Serbia. That right was discredited by the Bishop of Kotor who complained to the Pope after which Clement VI wrote a letter that he sent to the emperor Dušan. On the struggle for jurisdiction under Roman Catholics of Serbia read more in Mitrović, 2011, pp. 289–305.

Kopaonik and its surroundings. The very name of the mountain is derived from the verb '*kopati*' (to dig) and designates a place where ore was dug. The name of this mountain in the documents written in foreign languages, which comes from the metal obtained by digging the ore, is Srebrena (Silver) mountain. In the documents written in Latin it is called *Mons Argentum*, in Italian it is *Monte Argento*, while in the Turkish language it is *Gümiş Dag*. Even today one part of this mountain is called Srebrenac in the Serbian language.

The second significant mining area was Novo Brdo. It was located somewhat south of Kopaonik area, in its immediate vicinity, which is the reason why a certain number of scientists considers both areas as one. The main marketplace and the mine were in Novo Brdo, a settlement inhabited by eight to ten thousand people. The wealth of the mine in the surroundings of Novo Brdo affected its faster development, which led to it becoming the largest mine and marketplace in the Balkans (Jovanović et al, 2004).

The third mining area was Podrinje and was located in the middle stretches of the river Drina, on both its riverbanks. This mine area was divided between Serbia and Bosnia, while the most important place in it was the town of Srebrenica with about 3.500 inhabitants, which belonged to the Serbian Despotate since 1411 (Kovačević-Kojić, 2010, pp. 19, 107). Although the mines in this area existed since the first half of the 14th century, they became important only after the first Serbian-Turkish conflicts and the retreat of the population from the south towards the north.

Apart from these large mining areas, there were also some other ones which, due to small mines, borderline and peripheral position, distance from Primorje (Maritima) and the lack of historical sources were not observed enough. Those are, in the first place, areas south of Belgrade (from Avala to Rudnik) and in Eastern Serbia.

Each of the mentioned mining areas had several mines and marketplaces formed around the ore resources. However, it should be noted that there were marketplaces formed owing to their favorable position, but they developed owing to the mining production and trade. The most important one was Priština, a marketplace in the central part of the Kosovo plain, halfway between the Kopaonik and the Novo Brdo mining areas. This city, according to some parameters, kept pace with Novo Brdo and Srebrenica and had 2.000 – 2.500 inhabitants (Zarković, 2019, p. 17). Similar to its neighboring town in the way of formation, the marketplace of Vučitrn also developed.

One of the rare mining marketplaces which was deserted even before the fall of Serbian lands under the Turkish rule was Brskovo. Formation of new mines richer in ore, in more favorable places, in the vicinity of other mines and important settlements made Brskovo fall behind. That process lasted for a long time and ended with the abandonment of Brskovo which is mentioned as such in the document from 1433 (Ćorović, 1934, p. 48). The other mines and complete Serbian Medieval mining began to die out with the arrival of the Turks, although mining production did not cease immediately. Having realized the importance of mining, the Turks tried to adopt it to suit their needs and war economy. However, the decrease in the number of qualified miners affected it adversely and despite some motivating measures being taken, many mines reduced or completely stopped their production. Final termination of mine digging occurred during the Great Viennese War (1683–1689), after which a great number of Serbs emigrated and joined the Austrian army that retreated over the Sava and the Danube rivers.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The development of mining marketplaces was spurred and conditioned by economic activities in the places of their formation (Kovačević-Kojić, 1970, pp. 257–263; Kovačević-Kojić, 1972, pp. 167–176). The main activity conducted by a large number of inhabitants of these settlements was digging the ore and its processing into metal. However, in order to make this activity successful a whole chain of accompanying professions was necessary. All of them made their contribution to the urban development of Medieval Serbia.

It is important to note that the urban development was not even in all parts of Medieval Serbia and could be divided into three zones: *the coastal*, in which towns with the Roman population and influence of Adriatic and Mediterranean towns – communes⁴ were prevalent; the *southern* one with towns which were formed and developed under the influence of Byzantium; and the *central* one where our Serbian influence is predominant (Dinić, 2003b, pp. 681–

⁴ Owing to the similarities in the development, H. Pirenne named these towns *Mediterranean commonwealth* (Pirenne, 1974³, p. 4).

682). Mining marketplaces were formed and developed almost exclusively in the central zone, whereas they could not be found in the coastal one, and only few of them were found in the southern zone, which made their influence on urban development in these parts almost non-existent. In the southern zone, only the marketplace of Kratovo stood out. Although its beginnings go back to the 14th century, it became noticeable only during the Turkish rule, probably because it was the first mine which fell into their hands (1395).⁵

It is necessary to emphasize one more fact significant for the urban development of Medieval Serbia. There was an opinion spread among experts that Medieval Serbia had no urban (town) settlements. The reasons for such an opinion were manifold, and the main one was the fact that the Serbs on their arrival to the Balkan Peninsula did not move to the towns they conquered from Byzantium. They began to decay, which is confirmed by extraordinarily developed terminology in the Serbian language used for abandoned settlements, which affected topography as well—on the territory of Serbia there are more than 140 identified toponyms for the abandoned settlements (Živković, 2000, pp. 116–117). In addition, specific terminology present in the Old Serbian language should be mentioned. Namely, the term for a town, which in modern Serbian language designates a larger urban settlement had a completely different meaning in the Middle Ages. This term comes from the Slavic root – from the noun 'ograda' (fence) and denoted a walled space in the Middle Ages which was used to designate a fortress and fortified (fenced) settlement, but also meant a monastery with large walls, even corral for livestock (Zarković, 2017a, p. 429).

Such an opinion was conditioned by the situation from the beginning of the 19th century – from the times of formation of modern Serbian state for its fight for liberation from the Turks. The reformer of the Serbian language, an important collector of the folk sayings and the participant of the First and Second Serbian uprising against the Turks, Vuk Karadžić noted down that the Serbs lived in villages, while the Turks lived only in towns (Ćirković, 1992, p. 14). The nineteenth century gave birth to many scientific disciplines, and in that time in Serbia, after a longer break, history was renewed as a science. Vuk Karadžić's claim which, generally speaking, was true as it reflected the then state formed during the centuries of

⁵ Matschke (2002, p. 119) does not believe in the possibility that enthusiasm of mining in the Balkans after the arrival of Saxons was also in the Byzantium.

Turkish occupation, influenced the above-cited opinion. It is, however, only partly true; the Serbs did not settle in the towns on their arrival and that lasted only for a couple of centuries but did not last throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. This is confirmed by the three charters by the Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer (Boulgaroktonos) from 1019–1025 in which he names all large town settlements by their Slavic name, rejecting their former ancient names. Thus, Basil II refers to ancient Viminacium as Braničevo, Singidunum – Belgrade, Nais – Niš, Arsa – Ras, Margum – Moravisk, Horeu Margi – Brodarisk, etc. (Novaković, 2003, pp. 82, 84–85, 88–89, 98; Ostrogorski, 1955, pp. 57, 61–63, 66–67). It is evident that the Slavic names occurred due to the changes of ethnic structure in the towns. In some cases, noun changes are minor and came as a result of adaptation of the previous name (Niš, Ras), in other cases they were drastically changed and bore no resemblance to the previous, ancient name (Beograd, Braničevo). Vuk Karadžić's opinion reflects the situation from the times under the Turkish rule, when the Serbs were expelled from the towns into the villages.

The opinion on the absence of the towns in the continental part of the Balkans can be found in the writings of some Medieval travel writers as well. Thus, Anonym in his travel writing from 1308 says: "Preterquam in Maritima Regione dicta, ubi sunt sex ciuitates, *in toto regno prefato non est aliqua ciuitas* (italics B. Z.). Sunt tamen in eo multa castra, fortalicia et magne uille de trecentis et quadringentis domibus de lignis et asseribus edificatis sine aliqua clausura" (Živković et al, 2013, p. 122). The same opinion on the absence of towns in the continental part of Serbia came from the East and was uttered by the Byzantine pretender to the emperor's throne John Cantacuzene VI, who in 1342 met the Serbian King Dušan. The meeting was held in Priština, where there was one of the royal courts for Serbian rulers. Priština, which was one of the three largest towns in Serbia, was called κώμη – unfortified village by Cantacuzene (Barišić & Ferjančić, 1986, p. 387). Such an attitude of the travel writer from the west and emperor's pretender from the East illustrates unequal criteria for defining the towns, that is what they saw in Serbia was not in accordance with the appearance of towns in their countries.

Although only partly true, as it reflects the situation in the times before the forming of the Serbian state, or the personal attitude, the opinion on the absence of urban settlements in Serbia was accepted and has prevailed to this day in certain individuals and in some historiographies (Hösch, 2008, p. 25). However, this does not

correspond to the truth. Formation of some thirty marketplaces during the two centuries (middle of the 13th to middle of the 15th century) illustrates that those settlements had a dynamic development which made significant contribution to urbanization. Although these settlements, most often, did not look like the towns from the west or Byzantium, there is no doubt that they had urban characteristics. In order to avoid falling into the trap of defining towns, we started with something that clearly differentiates urban settlements from the rural ones, an economic orientation. Whereas in villages the only profession is agriculture (apart from rare crafts), there are mining, trade, crafts, and various offers and services in the urban places (Kovačević-Kojić, 2007, pp. 337–342). In such a classification, mining marketplaces are exclusively urban settlements.

Their urban character is confirmed by other properties such as: number of citizens, their multinational, multicultural, multireligious character, specific administrative organization, monetary economy, number and variety of professions, and so on.

The exact number of inhabitants living in the settlements in Medieval Serbia is not known. However, one could make assumptions regarding the number of inhabitants for some of them. Calculations done on the basis of the number of houses and their size determined that the largest settlements were the mining marketplaces Novo Brdo, Srebrenica, and Priština. We have already said that Priština was not a mining settlement, but that it used to be a marketplace where trading of mining products took place. Settlements whose development was influenced by their rulers' privileges and interventions, such as monastery marketplaces or the capitals such as Kruševac, Belgrade, and Smederevo, did not succeed in reaching that level of development. Even some old towns inherited from Byzantium, such as Prizren, Lipljan, and Niš, could not keep up with the development of mining marketplaces and began to die out, as tradesmen avoided them.

Those defining traits of modern urban settlements—a variety of population, both in terms of ethnicity and culture, education, religion and many other aspects—were present in those mining marketplaces (Zarković, 2014, pp. 193–206). The original inhabitants were Saxon miners, but were soon joined by tradesmen from numerous maritime communes: Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, Budva, Ston, Split, and particularly Dubrovnik. There were inhabitants from Italian, Hungarian, Greek, Bulgarian, and naturally Serbian towns, who

quickly took over mining and smelting works from the Saxons. One part of the Serbs started trading and tried to gain Dubrovnik citizenship, hence in their documents we find that they are 'those who call themselves inhabitants of Dubrovnik'. From the third decade of the 15th century a large number of Greeks could be found in mining marketplaces. They had to run away from the Turkish invasion and found refuge in Serbia. They were supported by Irina, wife of the despot Đurađ Branković (ruled 1427–1456), who was descended from the famous Greek family of Kantakouzenos. A shared characteristic of all the inhabitants of mining marketplaces, regardless of their different ethnic origin, is urban solidarity and identification with a community they were part of. It is recorded that Dubrovnik citizens fiercely defended Serbian towns from Turkish raids, Novo Brdo, in the first place. The best example is an inhabitant of Novo Brdo, Martin Segon, writer and theologian from Bologna, the last bishop of Ulcinj, who was aware of his origin and the position of the Roman Catholic Bishop, and who wrote a tractate on the ways the West should attack the Turks (*Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi*).⁶

The characteristic of Mediterranean communes and the towns of Western Europe is autonomy. In Serbia, the towns did not have the autonomous status, but certain autonomy was present in the mining marketplaces. Autonomy was reflected in the fact that these settlements had certain administration from their very founding. In the administration of the marketplace, apart from representatives of the central authorities (kefali, duke) there were also local representatives. The most important one was the *prince*, who was chosen from the most distinguished inhabitants, and was approved of by the ruler. The prince had, along with other local clerks, certain administrative and judicial functions. An important authority and distinguished representative of the local self-government was the *committee of purgar* made up of 12 members. The very term 'purgar' is not of Slavic origin but comes from German *Bürger*. In Serbian documents, it is translated as *citizens*, and in the Italian ones as *borghesani*. A member of the local self-government was 'putal' i.e., 'telal' who announced important news in the marketplace.

Towns in the West received charters of liberty from their rulers. We are not familiar with the fact that Serbian towns were awarded with a similar document by their rulers. There is an indication that

⁶ Read more in Pertusi, 1981.

Belgrade had a charter, but it is not known, nor are its provisions. Town charters were mentioned during the reign of Emperor Dušan but only those for the cities which he conquered from Byzantium. It is considered that he only verified the value of the charters already awarded by the Byzantine rulers. The most similar to town charters is *The Law of the Novo Brdo town*, which despot Stefan Lazarević, together with *The Law on Mines*, awarded to Novo Brdo in 1412. While *The Law on Mines* was a technical law which regulated the production process in the mines and smelters, *The Law on Novo Brdo* proscribes obligations and rights of the inhabitants and the management of the mining marketplace. In older literature, this act was called the statute and was related to similar acts of maritime communes. However, this was a law, as the title says, not a statute. The difference lies in the fact that the statute is a reflection of autonomy which the citizens themselves adopt at the assembly, while the law is established by the ruler, who “with his mercy” passes it and is able to limit certain rights. Thus, *The Law on Novo Brdo*, although it made a breakthrough in terms of autonomy, was not like that in reality. The laws of other marketplaces have not been preserved, nor is it known that they ever existed, except in the case of Srebrenica, but it is not preserved and its articles are also unknown.

The urban character of mining marketplaces is confirmed by the presence of a considerable number of craftsmen living in them, but also in their immediate vicinity. All of them produced craft products intended for the market of the mining marketplace. Thus, in Novo Brdo during the thirties of the 15th century, there were 54 craftsmen in total and 28 more in the surroundings. The most numerous craftsmen were blacksmiths (12 in the settlement itself and 11 more in the surroundings), then tailors (14–6), goldsmiths (4–4), shoe makers (5–3), furriers (4–1), butchers (5–0), and others (Kovačević-Kojić, 2007, p. 374).

A similar situation was also recorded in other mining marketplaces, albeit with a smaller number of craftsmen. Thus, in Srebrenica, in a longer period from 1413 to 1459, there were 70 goldsmiths, 47 tailors, 21 clothiers, 14 butchers, 12 furriers (Kovačević-Kojić, 2010, pp. 59, 65–66). In Trepča, the presence of 42 craftsmen, mostly goldsmiths (27) and furriers (5), was recorded (Milutinović, 1993, p. 236). Almost the same number was recorded in Priština – 41 craftsmen, the most numerous of whom were goldsmiths (18), furriers (8), tailors (6), bakers (3), carpenters (2), and others (Kovačević-Kojić, 2007, p. 76). These are only recorded craftsmen, but cer-

tainly there must have been other craftsmen, who never made their mark in the documents. A large number of goldsmiths is noticeable which speaks volumes about the trade of precious metals.

Mining production included a great number of various professions, which required good training. Certain professions required literacy, such as: *urborar* (collectors of 'urbor' – ruler's taxes in the mines), 'hutman' (the leader of a group which exploits ore), he was helped by a *dijak* (a scribe), custom officer (tax collector on the sold goods), tradesmen, nomic (scribes, notaries), and others. There were also schools, private and parish owned, and there was more than one vicar. That is why the mining marketplaces became centers of literacy, too. In Serbia, such an activity was exclusively in the domain of the church before the second half of the 14th century. Writers began to spend more time in the marketplaces. Thus, in Novo Brdo, in the first half of the 20th century, Dimitrije Kantakuzene, Vladislav Gramatik, Martin Segon, Konstantin Mihailović wrote their works (Zarković, 2015, pp. 957–960, 964).

Life in the mining marketplaces involved problems that persisted in urban settlements. A great number of inhabitants required a considerable quantity of food, thus it occasionally lacked. In order to solve this issue, the town authorities made certain decisions. It was proscribed that the miners, because of their importance for the life of the town should have priority in terms of supplies. The prince was monitoring the sale and nobody could purchase anything unless the miners were supplied with food (Radojčić, 1962, p. 53). The price for most important life essentials was set by law.

Although these measures were effective, there were still poor people in the marketplaces. The widows found themselves in the worst situation, thus *The Law of Novo Brdo* had a regulation on certain benefits for this category. One part of the inhabitants dealing with trade did not have the initial capital and borrowed from the lender. Some of them were not able to return the borrowed sum, and were taken to prison and pushed into debt slavery. When this phenomenon grew rampant, despot Đurađ proscribed a regulation in 1432 prohibiting the creditors from taking more than one third of debtors' income. At the same time, Dubrovnik government advised its citizens acting as creditors to be humane to debtors and to avoid their public arrest and imprisonment (Spremić, 1994, p. 685; Zarković, 2016, pp. 45–55).

An increase in the population, gruesome living conditions, unhealthy vapors from the mines and the smelters caused people's

health to deteriorate. It seems that the town management kept people under increased surveillance during major infection epidemics, but it is not known if they spread among the population of mining marketplaces to a greater extent. Still, health problems were occurring. Thus, the tradesmen from Srebrenica in 1435 complained to despot Đurađ about a bad health situation blaming numerous smelters for it. They claimed that they were the cause of death of many good people and asked for the smelters to be removed out of the town (Kovačević-Kojić, 2007d, p. 219).

Owing to the development of mining marketplaces, certain Serbian Orthodox metropolitan churches were based in them. Thus, the old Lipljan diocese, the heiress of ancient Ulpiana, was moved to the monastery of Gračanica, and then to Novo Brdo (Jovanović et al, 2004, p. 124; Janković, 1985, p. 187). Emperor Dušan's Code in its article 7 allowed the presence of the proto-vicars in all the marketplaces and towns. They were the elders over the other vicars of the Orthodox Church and ensured that there was no converting of Orthodox believers into the Roman Catholics. Proto-vicars were present in the marketplaces of Novo Brdo, Trepča, Priština, Skopje, Kratovo, and Štip. In the mining marketplaces, there were also Roman Catholic parishes over which the Archbishop of Bar and the bishop of Kotor disputed before the Pope. Regarding this matter, Pope Clement VI wrote to the Serbian Emperor Dušan at the beginning of 1346.

CONCLUSION Mining marketplaces in Medieval Serbia are urban settlements which experienced the highest and fastest development. In the course of the two centuries of their existence (middle of the 13th to middle of the 15th century) their development was speeding up. Economic conditions, that is, ore resources and presence of precious metals, made their contribution to it. Development of these settlements was accelerating even during daily wars with the Turks in the course of the first half of the 15th century. The fall of Serbia under the Turkish power put an end to this development, which is defined using a phrase 'a discontinued rise'. During their existence, mining marketplaces surpassed other urban settlements in many respects. Urban elements experienced the highest form of their development in the marketplaces themselves. Life in these settlements did not differ from living conditions in other urban places in the Balkans. However, the elements of autonomy which began to

develop did not reach the level which free towns in Western Europe had. That situation was described as an 'unrealized autonomy'.

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БОЖИДАР В. ЗАРКОВИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
КАТЕДРА ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

РЕЗИМЕ

РУДАРСКИ ТРГОВИ – НОСИОЦИ УРБАНОГ РАЗВОЈА СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ СРБИЈЕ

Урбани развој средњовековне Србије значајније је започео средином XIII века доласком рудара Саса. Њихово насељавање у Србији још увек није најјасније, дилема је да ли су дошли на позив краља Уроша I (Немањића) или су у Србији нашли уточиште бежећи пред налетом Монгола 1241/1242. године. Због њиховог умећа у експлоатацији руде од српских владара су добили привилегије, које су им омогућиле да слободно живе, исповедају своју веру, уживају судски имунитет у међусобним споровима и имају сопствену организацију у местима која насељавају. Долазак Саса поклапа се са поменом првих рудника у Србији. Убрзо број рудника значајно расте, а привреда у Србији доживљава на-

предак. Знатан привредни успон осетио се за време владавине краља Милутина (1282–1321) и стално је напредовао, све до пада српских земаља под турску власт средином XV века.

Доласком у Србију Саси се колективно насељавају у близини постојећих насеља и трагова старог рударства, које је на овим просторима имало значајно место још у време римске владавине. У Србији се и пре доласка Саса вадила руда, али примитивним методама. Допринос Саса био је у томе што су донели напредне методе експлоатације руде и што су рударство усмерили према племенитим металима. Појачана рударска експлоатација довела је до отварања нових рудника и рударских насеља и до ширења постојећих. Тај процес је захтевао укључивање нове радне снаге, која је долазила из локалног српског становништва. Временом термин Сас је изгубио етничко значење и њиме се означавају сви они који су укључени у рударску производњу. На исти начин насеља у којима су у почетку живели претежно Саси, а временом и рудари других нациналности, почињу да се називају саским. Ова насеља у почетку се мало разликују од околних села, али документа их бележе као саске градове, иако изгледом не личе на урбана насеља Западне Европе или Византије. Овим термином се означавају рударска насеља, која се називају градовима због тога што се разликују од оних у окружењу. Разлика у односу на друга насеља била је у томе што су имала другачију административну управу и привредно усмерење у односу на аграрно окружење. Ова насеља имала су најбржи урбани развој у средњовековној Србији. Осим рудара различитих специјалности у њих се све више усељавају и људи других, пратећих занимања, пре свега брoјне занатлије, али и радници услужних и разних помоћних делатности. Сви они живе по правилима својих еснафа, што је требало ускладити ради бољег функционисања насеља.

Кључне речи: рударски тргови; средњи век; градска насеља; развој; Србија.



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THE FIRST RECORDS OF PRINCE VLADIMIR IN SOURCES

ABSTRACT. The paper attempts to answer the question of the first records of Prince Vladimir in historical sources. Up to now it has been considered that he was first mentioned in the work "A Synopsis of Byzantine History" by John Skylitzes. However, Henri Grégoire and Raoul De Keyser indicate that the prince was mentioned in "The Song of Roland" ("La Chanson de Roland") as *rei flurit*, i.e., as the Blessed King. This epic originates from the spring of 1085 in Salerno, which was under the Norman rule at the time. This author agrees and supports the thesis by identifying a great number of concepts which refer to the Balkans (geographically, ethnically). It is believed that the Normans obtained information about the Balkans and Prince Vladimir while they held Dyrrhachium from 1081 to 1085.

KEYWORDS: The Song of Roland; Prince Vladimir; Dioclea; The Chronicles of the Priest of Dioclea; Dyrrhachium.

Reliable dating and interpretation of historical sources is extremely significant for gaining knowledge on historical events and personages as well as the representation of them at the time when these sources appeared. The further into the past the topic of scien-

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tific research is, the fewer the sources are, the scarcer the data and the more comprehensive the critique of the sources during the verification of data should be. The question of the first records of the Prince of Dioclea Vladimir can be studied through the comparative analysis of medieval history, epic poetry, chronicles, church books and topography.

When we refer to the first mention of Prince Vladimir, we should stress that the topic of our study is the first records of Prince Vladimir which have reached us but we are also interested to find out which data the sources bring and how they are related to other data which have survived. The most significant historical source on Prince Vladimir is “The Chronicles of the Priest of Dioclea” (“The Chronicles...” further in the text), the only source offering data on his whole life and the origin of his cult. Some data on Vladimir as a ruler come from the Byzantine chronicler John Skylitzes (Ἰωάννης Σκυλίτζης), who lived in the 11th century, i.e. Bishop Michael of Devol, who wrote amendments to Skylitzes’ text. The prince is also mentioned in “The Book of Boril” (or “Boril Synodic”), compiled in 1211, while he was first mentioned as Saint Jovan Vladimir in the Menaion, dating from the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century.

It is uncertain what time “The Chronicles of the Priest of Dioclea” dates from (Кунчер, 2009, p. 138).² However, dating this document is important to determine the time when the data about Prince Vladimir, which must have existed by that time, were included in it. Namely, “The Chronicles...” itself specifically refers to the existence of *librum gestorum* on Vladimir, which was added to “The Chronicles...” in its abridged form (Кунчер, 2009, p. 138). Most authors say that “The Chronicles...” dates from the mid-12th century or a few decades later (Кунчер, 2009, pp. 25–26).³ Exceptionally, only a few authors connect its origin to a later period. Mijušković, who disqualifies it as a historical source and qualifies it as a work of literature, thinks it derives from the 14th century (1988, pp. 12–88). Živković believes that the work was written in two parts, the first one originating from the end of the 13th century, and the other – from the beginning of the 14th century (Кунчер, 2009, pp. 339–378). According to Solange Bujan, “The Chronicles...” was written in the

² In literature it is also referred to as the Bar genealogy (Радојчић, 1936, pp. 1–28).

³ These pages give a detailed list of the authors who date “The Chronicles...” to this period, so they won’t be repeated here.

17th century – in 1601 by Mavro Orbini (2011, pp. 65–80). Consequently, the earliest dating of “The Chronicles...” is the mid-12th century.

Another work having an abundance of data is *A Synopsis of Byzantine History* by John Skylitzes, which has to be mentioned along with the work of Michael of Devol, who didn't write his piece as an individual work but as an amendment to Skylitzes' (Thurn, 1973, pp. 353–354, 359; Ферлуга, 1966, pp. 117–118). Recent literature states that Skylitzes' work originates from the end of the 11th century, while Michael of Devol's interpolation from the beginning of the 12th century (Пириватрић, 2018, p. 16, 21), i.e., 1118 (Јововић, 2017, pp. 22). Skylitzes writes that Vladimir, whose title he did not mention, ruled over Tribalia and the neighbouring areas of Serbia and that he was Emperor Samuel's son-in-law. He says that Vladimir was a just, calm and virtuous person. While he was the ruler, the situation in Dyrrhachium was peaceful. This sentence was amended by Michael of Devol, who states the name of Samuel's daughter, Theodorites. Further in his text, Skylitzes says that Vladimir trusted Ivan Vladislav's promises sent to him through David, Archbishop of Bulgaria, resulting in him losing his life by the order of Emperor Ivan Vladislav. On the other hand, Michael of Devol says that the archbishop was not David but John.

St Jovan Vladimir was mentioned in Boril's Synodic, i.e., the Synodic of the Bulgarian Emperor Boril, written in 1211. Namely, in the church service held once a year, on the first Sunday of the Easter fast (the Sunday of Orthodoxy), the patrons of Orthodoxy were mentioned. All Bulgarian rulers were mentioned in the Synodic, starting with Michael (Boris) in the 9th century all the way to Samuel, Gavril Radomir, *Vladimir* and the last one Ivan Vladislav (Божилов et al., 2010, pp. 311, 333). From all these sources it can be concluded that the oldest source on Prince Vladimir – the Holy King Jovan Vladimir was the work by John Skylitzes from the 11th century.

However, we believe that there is an even older source which mentions Prince Vladimir. Namely, during the 1930s, Henri Grégoire and Raoul De Keyser indicated that Prince Vladimir was mentioned in “The Song on Roland”.⁴ They thought that he was King Flurit, *rei Fluri*, mentioned in Verse 3211. They believed that the Normans learnt about him during their stay in Dyrrhachium (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, p. 298). They stated that there were no allusions whatsoever to the conflicts related to the period from

1096 to 1099, i.e., the First Crusade, and that this led them to conclude that the epic must have originated from the period before that, i.e., that the oldest version of “The Song on Roland” dates from the spring of 1085 in Salerno, a city significant for the Normans (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 300–301). Norman soldiers gained knowledge about the Balkans during the First Norman Invasion of the Balkans in 1081–1085 (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 287). Božidar Kovačević also believes that the description of Baligan's army gives 'a vague memory' of the combats of Normans with Byzantium from 1081 till 1085 (1940, pp. 396–397; 1960, pp. 486–488).

When mentioning King Vladimir, apart from the title, the author of “The Song of Roland” also mentions the land that it rules over in Verse 3208 – the land “Dès Chériant entres qu'en Val-Marchis“, i.e. “From Cheriant to Val-Marchis”. Grégoire and De Keyser believe that “Cheriant” is the same as “Charzanes”, mentioned by Anna Komnene, i.e., that this term refers to the river Arzen (1939, pp. 297). In Albanian this river is called the Erzen today (Theotokis, 2014, p. 24). It flows from southern to central Albania. Its source is south of Tirana, then it turns to the south, north of Elbasan, but still south of Tirana. Then it continues to flow towards Dyrrhachium, but at that point it turns and flows into the Adriatic Sea just above Dyrrhachium. The other term, the other border which determines the land ruled by Vladimir is “Val-Marchis”. These authors think that the term “Val” refers to the river, while the term “Marchis” refers to the river Morača (1939, pp. 279, 298). The river Morača springs west of Kolašin, goes down to the south, passes through Podgorica and flows into Skadar Lake (Радовановић & al., 1974, p. 69). This would mean that the state ruled by Vladimir stretched from the river Arzen in the south to the river Morača in the north. In the west most probably was the Adriatic Sea, while the eastern borders were not mentioned.

Of course, we can pose the question how we can be sure that this mention refers to Dioclea and Prince Vladimir, or this part of Europe at all, since “The Song of Roland“ is about the defeat of Charles the Great on August 15th 778 on his way back from the Iberi-

⁴ Literature refers to this work as both a poem and an epic. We will refer to it as an epic. Henri Grégoire (1881–1964), Belgian historian and linguist, expert in Byzantium, member of The Royal Academy of Science, Letters and Fine Arts of Belgium (<https://www.peoplevisions.com/henri-gregoire/>), Raoul De Keyser, librarian of the Royal Library of Belgium, Grégoire's son-in-law (- 1945), killed by the Nazis (News from Belgium, Volume 5, 14th July 1945, p. 171).

an Peninsula, while Roland, to whom this epic is dedicated, is a hero and knight of Charles the Great. So, “The Song of Roland” talks about a completely different part of Europe.

Beside pointing out that Flurit was Prince Vladimir, Grégoire and De Keyser point to a series of other terms, like toponyms, peoples related to the Balkans, which make it more probable that Flurit was Prince Vladimir indeed. Since the connection of this epic with Dyrhachium has been established, we are going to discuss all the terms which are related to either Dyrhachium or Prince Vladimir.

The greatest number of the terms related to the Balkans, which we are interested in, was mentioned when the composition of Baligan's army was given, the army which fought the war against Charles the Great (Драшковић, 1981, pp. 111–113).⁵

The terms related to the geography, ethnicity and states are mentioned there. In respect to geography, many cities, capes, rivers and lands are mentioned. First, the city Butrinto (“Butentrot“, Verse 3220) on the Adriatic coast across the island of Corfu was mentioned (Brault, 1997, p. 196).⁶ The next one was “Jericho“ in Verse 3228, which is sometimes connected in literature with the city of the same name in the Holy Land, which would mean that the epic must have been written after the Crusades (Brault, 1997, p. 196). However, Jericho, city in Epirus, was also mentioned by Anna Komninos in her *Alexiad*, which could be another proof what this was the same city mentioned in “The Song of Roland”. Today this city is called Orikum and is situated deep in the Bay of Vlorë. The people of Kanina (i.e. the people of “Canelius“ in Verses 3269 and 3238) were also mentioned, which definitely refers to the people of the city of Kanina. The city of Kanina was mentioned in the First Ohrid Epistle of Basil II in 1019 (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 270–278; Brault, 1997, pp. 197, 198; Коматина, 2016, p. 95).⁷ Then, two capes were mentioned: Pali (as “Balide“ in Verse 3230 and “Baldise“ in Verse 3255), which are situated north of Dyrhachium, and the cape of Glos (as “Gloz“ in Verse 3230 and “Galosa“ in Verse 3255),

⁵ All the terms from the epic in their original form are quoted as presented in Grégoire and De Keyser, since we did not have the original available.

⁶ Brault presents an English translation which is not always identical to the original used by Grégoire and De Keyser.

⁷ Grégoire, De Keyser 1939, pp. 270–274, 275–278; Brault 1997, pp. 197, 198; Komatina 2016, p. 95. The provinces of Jericho and Kanina, together with the province of Dioclea, are mentioned in the chrysobull of the Byzantine emperor Alexius III Angelos to the Republic of Venice in 1198 (Komatina 2016, p. 85).

which is situated south of Dyrrhachium (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 279–280; Brault, 1997, pp. 197, 199). Beside the river Arzen, which we have already located, the river Vojuša (“Val Fuit“ in Verses 2238–3239) (Brault, 1997, p. 197), which flows into the Adriatic Sea northwest of Valona (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 278–279), was mentioned. The mention of Little Prespa, lake mentioned as “malp'se“ in Verse 3253 and as “Malpreis“ in Verse 3285 (Brault, 1997, pp. 199, 200; Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 296, 313) is particularly significant because Samuel's court was on the island within the lake (Ђекић, 2017, pp. 37–38, 40, 44–46).

Ethnically, the Serbs were mentioned as “Sorbres“ and as “Sorz“ in Verse 3226. These two terms are considered by Grégoire and De Keyser to be synonymous. Among other people, we will mention Slovs (“Esclavoz“ in Verse 3225) and Greeks (“Gros“ in Verse 3229), who are not difficult to identify judging from the form of the terms. The mention of “Blos“, i.e. “Blas“ in some manuscripts, in Verse 3224 is considered the first mention of the Vlachs in the literature of Western Europe (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 287, 290–291; Brault, 1997, p. 197). One people was described as *Samuel's people* (“la gene Samuel“) in Verse 3244 (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, p. 287, 291).⁸ The epic mentions other peoples too: *Hongrois*, *Bulgares* and *Romains* (Verses 2922 and 2923). The term *Hongrois* definitely refers to the Hungarians, the term *Romain* to the Byzantians, while the term *Bulgares* is self-explanatory (Ђрашковић, 1981, p. 102). The fact that *Samuel's people* was separately mentioned, and *Bulgarians* separately, indicates that the author knew the situation in the Balkans extremely well, i.e., that he knew the ethnical differences between these two empires pretty well, although Samuel claimed his entitlement to the Bulgarian Empire and became Emperor based on that. We need to mention that the epic also mentions the toponym “la terre d'Ebire“ in Verse 3995, which refers to the territory of Epirus (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 298–300). That this description of Baligan's army refers to Robert Guiscard's campaign to Dyrrhachium in 1081, as Grégoire and De Keyser claim, can be supported by the verses saying that the people of Kanana came through the Val Fuit, i.e., through the river Vojuša (Verses 2238–3239) (Brault, 1997, p. 196). That the people of Kanana crossed the river Vojuša, since Kanina was situated south of it, means that they

⁸ Radojičić translates it as “narod Samuilov“ [eng. “Samuel's people“], Kovačević as “Samuilov puk“ [eng. “Samuel's mass“], (1967, p. 30; 1940, p. 395; 1960, p. 485).

had to move northwards, i.e., towards Dyrrhachium, which confirms the hypothesis that “The Song of Roland” is related to Robert Guiscard's campaign to Dyrrhachium (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, p. 279).

Baligant is considered to be George Palaiologos, Byzantine commander who fought against Robert Guiscard. It is believed that the name Kanabeus refers to Emperor Alexis I Komninos, George's brother-in-law, but the epic, unaware of family relationships, turns him into his brother (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 294–295). The epic also mentions Malprimes as Baligant's son. Marvix, commander of the Byzantine fleet, who took Bari from the Normans in 1066, was recognized as Malprimes (Grégoire & Keyser, 1939, pp. 296–297). This proves that apart from the knowledge about the 1081–1085 wars, the authors of the epic were familiar with the sources from earlier periods as well. Beside the author's contemporaries, among the historical personages from the Balkans, only Samuel and Vladimir were mentioned by the author, as we have already shown.

Grégoire and De Keyser say that the form “Flurit” was created because the Normans found the name Vladimir exotic, so they changed it into Flurit. That Flurit refers to Vladimir was also supported by Radojčić. He says that the Bulgarian researcher Tomov wrote in the dictionary of “The Song of Roland” that the term *flur* (*flore*) symbolized heavenly bliss. Thus, *Flurit* in Old French, close to the Romance language, would also mean 'blessed' in Dioclea. This epithet, with the same meaning, is mentioned in “The Chronicles...” as well – “*beati Vladimiri*” – the blessed Vladimir. This shows that already at that time, before 1081, Prince Vladimir had his cult and his saintly epithet – blessed (Кунчер, 2009, pp. 138–139; Радојичић, 1967, pp. 30–32).

Grégoire and De Keyser believe that the Normans found out about Vladimir during their stay in Dyrrhachium (1939, p. 297). The question is why Prince Vladimir was so important for Dyrrhachium that the Normans must have heard about him. The answer to this question can be found in “The Chronicles of the Priest of Dioclea” and John Skylitzes's work.

“The Chronicles...” says that the Bulgarian Emperor Samuel gave Vladimir “*totamque terram Duracenorum*”, i.e. “the whole territory of Dyrrhachium” (Кунчер, 2009, p. 130; Мијушковић, 1988, p. 127). This does not mean, however, that he had power over the city of Dyrrhachium itself. This fact has been disputed due to another story related to Vladimir and Cossara – the story about Ashot and

Miroslava. Namely, Samuel gave one of his daughters to Ashot (just as he gave the other to Vladimir) and gave him Dyrrhachium to rule. Ashot took the side of Byzantium and surrendered the city to it. However, “The Chronicles...” mentions the territory of Dyrrhachium – not the city itself but its region (Ђекић, 2018, p. 24, 33). That Vladimir ruled the region of Dyrrhachium can be concluded from what Skylitzes writes: while Vladimir ruled Tribalia and Serbia, the situation in Dyrrhachium was calm (Ферлуга, 1966а, pp. 117–118). According to Pirivatrić, Skylitzes says that at the time of the conflict between Emperor Samuel and Emperor Basil, Vladimir did not take sides nor did he actively take part in the conflict (Пириватрић, 1998, p. 115). This refers to the period from 1005, when Dyrrhachium was again under the power of Byzantium (Коматина, 2012, p. 172). However, this still was not a reason enough to make Prince Vladimir, who ruled the region of Dyrrhachium, well known and mentioned about 70 years after his death, making the territory under his rule well-known too.

Namely, “The Chronicles...” quotes that after he had murdered Vladimir and allowed Cossara to take his body to Krajina and bury it there, the newly-crowned Bulgarian emperor, Vladimir’s killer, Vladislav decided to take Vladimir's land and the city of Dyrrhachium. During the siege Vladislav was visited by an angel – Prince Vladimir dressed as a knight. Having recognized him, Vladislav called for help and tried to run away. However, the angel caught and killed him “corpore et anima.” Vladislav, who ordered that Vladimir be killed during a lunch, was killed at a dinner, becoming, as “The Chronicles...” says, “ut anelus Satanae efficeretur” (Кунчер, 2009, pp. 136–139; Ђекић, 2018, p. 71).

Vengeance is banned in both the Old and the New Testaments.⁹ So, the angel appearing as Vladimir could not be vengeful. His role in this act must be of a different kind. He killed Vladislav not to revenge himself but to protect the city of Dyrrhachium from the one who was going to conquer it. In this way, he became the protector of the city of Dyrrhachium! Earlier he had already protected his own people when he surrendered to Samuel on Mount Oblik in order to save his soldiers' lives (Кунчер, 2009, pp. 136–139). With Vladislav's death, Dyrrhachium was protected from infidels and the angel of Satan. This was done by the one who, while ruling the

⁹ In the Old Testament: III Moses, 19, 18. In the New Testament: Gospel According to Matthew 5, 38–40. Furthermore, God promises punishment to those who take revenge: The Cry of Jeremiah, 3, 60, 64.

region, had earlier been on good terms with Dyrrhachium. Furthermore, those relationships must have been more than good since he became the patron of Dyrrhachium. Otherwise, the murder of Vladislav, committed by an angel of God in the image of Vladimir, could not be understood nor explained. This refutes the view that Vladimir was buried in the vicinity of Skadar and that his relics were taken to the south at the beginning of the 13th century (Ђекић, 2018, p. 71).

We can ask where the authors of “The Song...” obtained their data about Prince Vladimir from. We can assume that there must have been a literary work through which the Normans learnt about him while they were in Dyrrhachium. What can prove this assumption? First, the only persons from the Balkans mentioned in the epic who were not the contemporaries of “The Song...” were Samuel and Vladimir. Both perished about 70 years before the epic was written. At that time, there were a lot of historically more significant personages than Vladimir, such as Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976–1025). The authors of the epic knew about Samuel's court at Mala Prespa. It must be admitted that it is surprising that Mala Prespa, rather than Velika Prespa, Ohrid or Skadar Lake, which were far bigger and better known, was mentioned. This fact can only be explained if they knew that Samuel's court was there, the fact mentioned in the story about Vladimir. That Samuel was well-known to the authors of the epic can also be supported by referring to ‘Samuel's people’ as different from the Bulgarians, as we have shown. Besides, they mentioned his saintly epithet – the blessed, which they turned into his name. This also shows that the saintly cult of Vladimir existed. Using the title ‘king’ next to his name, i.e. calling him “rei Flurit“, also indicates that the title of ‘prince’, which he had most likely had, was replaced with the superior title of ‘king’, which was later recorded in literature. It is considered that he was made king in 1070s, when the Prince of Dioclea Michael was proclaimed king (Ђекић, 2018, p. 32).

Thus, they could know these data only if they had read the hagiography of Vladimir or some similar work, where Samuel, his people and especially Mala Prespa were mentioned. That work must have been kept and read in Dyrrhachium, the patron of which Vladimir had already become.

Does literature accept this view of Grégoire and De Keyser? Božidar Kovačević agrees that the description of Baligant's army “vaguely reminds” of the combats of the Normans with Byzantium

from 1081 to 1085 (1940, pp. 396–397; 1960, pp. 486–488). Đorđe Sp. Radojčić also supports their opinion in several of his papers. He believes that the epic mentions the Slovs, Serbians, Samuel's people and finally King Vladimir as *Flurit*. We have also mentioned his view how Vladimir became *Flurit*, i.e., what *Flurit* means. He agrees that the epic was written in 1085 in Salerno, while the Normans could have heard about Vladimir during their stay in Dyrrhachium (1967, pp. 27–32) Then he develops their idea about Samuel's people in a separate paper (1971, pp. 111–117). Radojčić indicates that Grégoire and De Keyser connect Vladimir to Florimon through a novel written by Emon de Varen. In this work Florimon is the son of a Dyrrhachium duke who marries the niece of the Bulgarian king Kamdiobras. The king's court was on the island of Celée (Radojčić, 1965, pp. 528–535). Radojčić will quote these two researchers once again – referring to their belief that Vladimir was *Flurit*, that the name means 'Blessed'; he will also discuss Florimon, the time of the origin of "The Chronicles..." and the like (1967, pp. 2). Next, we should mention Antonije Farčić, who quotes these two researchers in his paper on the life of Saint King Vladimir, proving that Vladimir really had the king's title, as he was referred to in "The Song on Roland" (1969, pp. 73–79). Finally, in his paper "St Jovan Vladimir in Literature and Tradition of the Serbian People in the 20th Century", Božidar Zarković reminds of Grégoire and De Keyser's views and their influence on the historiography of Serbia (2016, pp. 228–229).

How are these data related to those presented in other sources? "The Chronicles..." does not state the borders of Vladimir's state but does mention some geographical terms which refer to the territory under his rule. The first one is the *župa* (district) Oblik (Tarboš), stretching south of Skadar Lake along the right bank of the river Vojana (Кунчер, 2009, p. 126–127; Живковић, 2006, p. 68; Мишић, 2014, p. 22). We have already explained the term 'the Dyrrhachium region'. Tribalja and Serbia refer to the Serbian state. The term *Krajina* is mentioned as the place where Cossara took her dead husband's body and buried it in the Church of St Mary "tulitque denique corpus eius et asportavit in loco, qui Craini dicitur, ubi curia eius fuit, et in ecclesia sanctae Mariae recondidit." Apart from the fact that *Krajina* was a bordering area, it is not possible to determine its precise position (Ђекић, 2018, pp. 46–47). Therefore, it can be assumed that the border went from Skadar Lake to Dyrrhachium.

The epic says that the river Morača, which flows into Skadar Lake, was the northern border. As we have said, the river Arzen flows into the Adriatic Sea north of Dyrrhachium but it springs south of Dyrrhachium, near Tirana. Thus, the data in “The Chronicles...” and in the epic are almost identical. As there is no evidence that the author of “The Chronicles...” read and quoted data from the epic, this can only mean that the data presented in these two sources are valid. This would also explain why “The Chronicles...” says that Prince Vladimir was buried in Krajina. The area around Elbasan would really be a bordering area.

In the end, we can conclude that “The Song of Roland” presents valid data on Vladimir. First, it proves that Vladimir had become a saint with the title 'blessed' before the epic was written, that he became king for the sake of making the royal crown of King Michael sacred, and that the territory under his rule could be identified and that it, roughly speaking, matches the territory mentioned in “The Chronicles...”.

Judging from the data analyzed by Grégoire and De Keyser, as well as Kovačević, Radojčić and this author, we can conclude that “The Song of Roland” is the oldest source on Prince Vladimir.

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БОРЂЕ Н. ЂЕКИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НИШУ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
ДЕПАРТАМАН ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

РЕЗИМЕ

О ПРВОМ ПОМЕНУ КНЕЗА ВЛАДИМИРА У ИЗВОРИМА

Рад настоји да одговори на питање првог помена кнеза Владимира – Светог краља Владимира у историјским изворима. До сада се сматрало да је то учињено у делу Кратка историја Јована Скилице (Ιωάννης Σκυλίτζης, XI век). Међутим, Анри Грегора и Раул да Кајзер доказују да се кнез спомиње у *Еју о Роланду* који је настао у пролеће 1085. године у Салерну, тада под влашћу Нормана. *Еју* га спомиње као "rei Flurit", који је владао "Dès Chériant entres qu'en Val-Marchis", односно од реке Аоос (Војуша) до Мораче. Поред тога, поменути аутори своју тезу поткрепљују идентификовањем великог број појмова који се односе на Балкан (географски, етнички), што нас наводи да прихватимо њихову претпоставку као исправну. Постављајући питање како је аутор *Ејуа* дошао до података о краљу Владимиру, налазимо одговор у чињеници да су Нормани боравили у Драчу од 1081. до 1085. године и да је краљ Владимир био заштитник Драча. Назвавши га "rei Flurit", што значи Блажени краљ, указује на то да је његов

култ већ успостављен, да је стекао епитет "блажени" и да је од кнеза напредовао до краља. Сви наведени подаци указују да је *Ей о Роланду* најстарији извор у коме се помиње кнез Владимир – Свети краљ Владимир.

Кључне речи: *Ей о Роланду*, кнез Владимир, Дукља, *Лейоџис њоџа Дукљанина*, Драч.



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THE ROLE OF RELIGION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

ABSTRACT. At the very end of colonial rule, UK established Islam and Christianity in Nigeria as the two dominant religions with the middle belt region of Nigeria as the battle ground. Before their final departure, they secured and formed several ethnic and religious lines, which in the postcolonial era were used by political elites as a way to fight for state power. As such, on the basis of the abuse of political and religious elites, and on the basis of ethnic, religious and regional divisions, a deeply fragmented Nigeria as we know it today emerged. With colonial domination, sudden transitions, the power of society was destroyed to such an extent that it became incapable of regulating human passion. The situation is further heated by leading elites who manipulate religious identity, where as a result appears that the north of Nigeria, mostly Muslim, tends to Islamize the whole Nigeria, and the south, mostly Christian, strives to defend Christianity and the constitutional secularism of the state. In such a situation, religion, instead of calming passions and tensions, thanks to its leaders, opens the way to conflict, violence, extremism, and, finally, terrorism. The central understanding of the formation of the identity of religion and its transformation from conflict to violence is the rise of religious extremism throughout the country. Extremist groups show significant intolerance towards members of their own and other religions, react to social, economic and political crises of Nigerian politics, of course in religious terms, which later leads to conflicts. The integration of religion into Nigerian politics, which we can thank the colonial

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rulers, is one of the leading problems and it is precisely this that stands behind religious violence and political instability in the country.

KEYWORDS: religion; fundamentalism; religious conflicts; ethno-religious identity; Nigeria.

RELIGION AS A LEGITIMIZER OF POWER

The author's previous work often characterizes religion as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and it is extremely complex. It is simply because every religion declares its belief to be the only fair one and the only true one. Every religion has the goal of spreading the faith and protecting the religious identity, so as a logical sequence of events, a reflexive defensive attitude of the members of one religion appears. Usually in such moments, an individual or a group does everything in the name of God or by God's order, frequently using violence, which at some point produces an even more extreme form of action, religiously based terrorism. The role of religion in Nigeria is the role of the legitimizer of power. The ongoing conflicts of power and tensions over political leadership, where religion fuels political divisions, became clear in 2001 when a Christian was appointed as chairman of Jos or protests following the victory of presidential candidate Goodluck Jonathan. Such religious differences act as a fertile ground for political insults and feelings of exclusion, but also as domination of the opponent.

The amalgamation from 1914 made no sense and is often the foundation of the infamous relationship between the two leading regions of Nigeria. Northern Nigeria, which is divided into several states and three geopolitical blocs today, has remained largely Muslim. It used to be the center of the Sokoto Caliphate and today its Muslim population, especially those whose ancestors were part of the Caliphate, mostly look to the Middle East and therefore the wider Muslim world for solidarity and socio-political example. The South, an ethnically diverse region that today consists of many states, is largely Christian. The main sociopolitical influences are West and traditional African. These differences have been a source of political disagreement and suspicion between the two regions since colonial times, and if we add that each of the regions contains ethnic and religious minorities that have conflicts with ethnic and religious majorities it becomes clearer why political, sectarian crises and violent riots arise.

In Nigeria's national politics, Christian concerns about Muslim domination over the national political space with the accompanying fear that more politically dominant Muslims will use their privileged influence to Islamize national institutions and impose Islamic Sharia law on non-Muslims date back to colonial times. Muslims, especially those from northern Nigeria, have tried to cope with what they consider to be tireless Westernization, and have sporadically sought refuge in parochial religious reforms.

Poor management of national resources and also the abuse of multi-ethnic and multi-religious coalitions of sequent rulers since independence have impoverished and denied opportunities to most Nigerians. As a result, religious rhetoric, which accuses members of other religious communities, and proposals for religious reform as solutions to society problems have found their way among the masses. The progress of socio-economic and political problems has deepened the social gap and triggered extremist and violent riots, such as the Islamist terrorist campaign of Boko Haram, which killed and maimed both Christians and Muslims. The adoption of the Sharia criminal justice system by the states of northern Nigeria, i.e., the Muslim majority between 2000 and 2002, was the culmination of a new politicization of religion. Once Sharia was introduced, it only intensified the fear of Christians that they would be persecuted and their freedoms guaranteed by the Nigerian constitution extinguished. Christian communities in the affected countries protested and their protests were fueled by the rhetoric of Christian politicians and leaders. Clashes broke out between the Christian and Muslim communities, during which thousands of individuals were killed, property destroyed and many thousands displaced. Sharia has been a turning point in Nigerian politics for decades. In 1978, when many Muslim delegates from northern Nigeria tried to extend sharia beyond family law at a constitutional conference, which led to a protest by Christian delegates. The compromise of the state with a majority or significant number of Muslims led to the establishment of Islamic courts, but use of Sharia law was limited to inheritance and family law. After that, religion became the main topic of national political debates, with each religious community becoming more defensive.

In northern Nigeria, conflicts between Muslim, largely ethnic Hausa and Fulani groups—and therefore the Christian and traditionalist communities—became everyday life. Christian ethnic groups in southern Nigeria have been drawn into these religious

conflicts, and their members in the cities of northern Nigeria are often targeted by Muslim sectarians, while Muslims from northern Nigeria have sometimes been the target of revenge killings in southern Nigeria. The British colonial policy of indirect power, the system of divide and rule, created a sharp ethno-religious differentiation among Nigerians. Such British policies have made religion and ethnicity as prominent markers of identity in Nigeria and pushed exclusive identity politics into the political arena.

As a result of such events, in northern Nigeria, minority ethnic groups, largely Christian, have positioned themselves and they keep trying, in every way, to position themselves against the Muslim majority of Hausa-Fulani. Since colonization laid the foundations for the use of identity politics as a means of accessing political and economic resources, religious differences have further fueled political crises and opened the door to major national conflicts. A classic example is the civil war in which the federal government destroyed the Biafran separatist movement through pogroms, blockades, and starvation, and from this tragic episode of Nigerian history, religious animosities and even deeper divisions in the society grew.

After independence, religious and ethnic rhetoric, corruption, and incompetent leadership made the policy of religious and ethnic exclusivity more attractive. The root of this general division of society, that is, the ethnic-religious division of society, can again be attributed to the period of British colonial rule. To be precise, European missionaries sought to convert the central and southern regions of Nigeria to Christianity, while the northern ones were left intact. The reason for this colonial policy is explained by many authors such as Grams and Barnes by the fear of the British. In particular, the British did everything possible to prevent the emergence of an education system in the north that could jeopardize British control.

EDUCATIONAL GAP

Under the veil of protection of Islam, Lugard² banned missionary activities as well as the establishment of schools in northern Nigeria, while at the same time, he approved colonial subsidies to some schools in Lagos, and even some Muslim ones. And the goal was obvious, to slow down the modernization of the more populous Islamic north and thus strengthen the British administration in that area. Thanks to this educational policy, the south, due to its

earlier contact with Europeans, is at the forefront of Western education, which additionally opens the way to the already destabilizing inequalities of the Nigerian nation.

The country is not only divided educationally, religiously, and ethnically, but because of the different cultures of Christianity and Islam, people differ mentally and emotionally. The rift deepened further when wealthier Nigerians from the south sent their children to the UK for education. Regional disparities among people have grown, especially in terms of access to education and higher education. In the south, people were relatively 'enlightened' because they had access to education, which leads to concrete knowledge, while, for example in northern Nigeria, until 1936 they still used slaves. It was in such a deeply divided cultural environment that one of the leading Islamic organizations known as Boko Haram came on the scene with the desire to slow down the progress of pro-Western education, abolish the Nigerian government and establish sharia as the only valid law in all Nigerian territory. Religion has always had an important place in Nigeria and Nigerian politics; thanks to colonial rulers, the intensity of religious identity in Nigeria is considered one of the highest in the world (Paden, 2008).

Christian and Muslim identities were the foundation of religious differentiation and conflict, where Nigerian Muslims were much more likely to manifest or articulate religious identities than Christians. At the heart of this religious identity lies the deep distrust that each group feels towards the other. The majority of Christians in the country (62%) say that they have little or no faith in people from other religions. A similar percentage of Muslims in Nigeria (61%) say they trust people from other religions little or not at all. (Ruby & Shah, 2007).

ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

What should be clear to us is that ethnicity and religion rarely act independently, instead they interact with each other, with the addition of other variables such as regional affiliation, in a complex and sometimes conflicting way. Precisely because of situations like

² Sir John Frederick Lugard, was a British soldier, mercenary, explorer of Africa and colonial administrator, governor of Hong Kong (1907–1912), last governor of the protectorate of southern Nigeria (1912–1914), first high commissioner (1900–1906) and last governor (1912–1914) of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the first Governor General of Nigeria (1914–1919). For his services in Nigeria in 1901, Lugard received the title of knight.

this in Nigeria, the term ethno-religious identity was coined to encompass the tendency in which the boundary between ethnicity and religion merges in moments of conflict and violence. The central understanding of the formation of the identity of religion and its transformation from conflict to violence is the rise of religious extremism throughout the country. Extremists of all religions react to the social, economic and political crises of Nigerian politics, but in religious terms.

There is an emergence of fundamentalist movements that the author Karen Armstrong defines as “ [...] defeated forms of spirituality that arose in response to perceived crises” (Bursać, 2018, pp. 1–9). These movements occur within religions—Christianity, Judaism, Islam—hence, this term is used for the most conservative wings within these religions, and today this term is usually used to mark a religious group that is intolerant and prone to violence. When we talk about Islamic fundamentalism, we must emphasize that it is under the influence of Christian fundamentalism, concept of jihad, or holy war, which is a classic proof of this statement. The same concept existed in Christianity only it was called the Crusade and it happened in another time period.

Apart from representing a spiritual struggle in Islam, we are increasingly seeing jihad in a much more dangerous form—a defensive-conquest war. So Islamic fundamentalists believe that they must return to the original Islam, because only in that way can there be a renewal of Muslim power and its further progress and strengthening. In addition, they believe that more Islamic-oriented states and of course societies must be formed. They base their claims primarily on historical oppression, occupation and injustice, for which they blame the "infidel West".

For these reasons, they are considered obliged, according to the defensive reflex mentioned previously, under the pretext of obligations under the Qur'an and Islamic Sharia law, to defend their religion and country.

“America and its allies are killing us en masse in Palestine, Chechnya, Kashmir and Iraq. Muslims have the right to retaliation. The 9/11 attacks were not aimed at women and children, the real targets were American symbols of military and just power. What the United States is going through today is insignificant compared to what we have been going through for decades. Our nation has been humiliated and despised for more than eighty years” (Esposito, 2008, pp. 69–73).

That is why there is and will always be a conflict between East and West, between Islam and Christianity, just because both religions are extremely sensitive to so-called imperialist impositions.

The East believes that capitalism and liberal democracy are the greatest evils of today, while the West believes that authoritarian and illegitimate regimes should be stopped—and that difference creates conflicts. When we talk about Nigeria, both Christianity and Islam have contributed to the development of the country, but on the other hand, they have opened the way to conflicts and violence in the country. Islamic movements such as Maitastin, Izala, the Muslim Student Society, but also Christian movements such as the Pentecostals appeared. Both Muslim and Christian fundamentalists seek to expand their base of followers, through preaching and converting followers of other religions, often through stereotyping, preaching hatred, distortion, misrepresentation, and misinterpretation of different religious texts thus contributing to deepening differences and promoting intolerance among different religious groups. Since returning to democratic rule in 1999, after nearly three decades of military rule, ethno-religious conflicts have recurred frequently in Nigeria. While some of these conflicts were of lesser intensity and mere war of words, others erupted in the form of extreme and violent conflicts. Religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims in northern Nigeria as well as similar conflicts in other parts of the country over the years have left thousands of dead, wounded and also left many homeless. As we see every fundamentalism has a dose of religiosity in it, or we can say, every religion has its fundamentalists, so violence and conflict are nothing new, but their ability to incite new unrest, anger, mistrust, tension, and ultimately feelings of hostility is worrying. When we talk about religiously based extremism, we must also mention the term fundamentalism, which is often confused with extremism.

FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism is characterized by exceptional versatility, i.e., presence in all segments of human existence, starting with religion, politics, philosophy. In religion, fundamentalism is most often associated with Islam, to be more precise, it refers to Iran under Khomeini and later to many other Islamic countries. In politics, fundamentalism refers to the bearers of some political beliefs, of

course derived from various alternative movements, that advocate and strive to achieve their radical demands (Bursać, 2018). In philosophy we remember Hans Albert who sees fundamentalism as any position that is opposed to 'fallibilism', the belief that every convention, assertion, or method could, in principle, be fallible in relation to significant situations (Kalekin & Karlheinz, 2007).

Fundamentalism comes from the Latin word 'fundamentum' which translates as basis, hence a generally accepted definition according to which fundamentalism is a way of thinking in which certain principles are considered essential truths, which regardless of their content and connotation have inviolable authority. An interesting definition was given by Martin Rizebrot, who defines fundamentalism as an urban movement directed primarily against the disintegration of personalist, patriarchal notions of order and social relations and their replacement by depersonalized principles (Riesebrodt & Reneau, 1998).

How fundamentalism is defined and interpreted depends to a large extent on one's perspective. From a modern, secular point of view, fundamentalists are reactionaries, they are a radical group of people who are trying in every way to take power into their own hands and bring society back to the dark age of oppression and intolerance. These fundamentalists are above all deceived, intimidating, and even evil. Proponents of modernization do not see themselves as these fundamentalists. Instead, they consider themselves good, reasonable people, lovers of freedom and human rights. Of course, from their own point of view, because they think more clearly and value empirical evidence and individual rights, the modernists can see that fundamentalists are wrong. On the other hand, fundamentalists and their sympathizers are wary, and they are afraid of the Western version of modernization and change, believing that it is precisely this modernism that destroys social communities, ties and values. Fundamentalists respond to these changes with a sharp "no" and when they do so out of their beliefs, modernists characterize them as fundamentalists and if they do so out of religious beliefs then they are religious or religious fundamentalists.

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

In order to get acquainted with the basics of fundamentalism, more precisely religious fundamentalism, we must rely on the historical context, which is very important for this topic. The root of funda-

mentalism lies in American Protestantism in the so-called militant evangelism of the 1920s, more precisely in the debate that developed between the fundamentalists and of course the modernists of that time. The question that now arises is if any fundamentalism is automatically religious, because it is often associated with religion. Certainly not.

The problem that arises here is very clear – fundamentalisms interfere, often political fundamentalism acts as a religious one, but in its essence, it is not, while on the other hand we have the option that religious fundamentalism very often seeks power and influence primarily in politics but also in the state. Therefore, we must always strive for a distinction – what is religious and what is political in this topic (Bursać, 2018). When we talk about religious fundamentalism, the first thing that comes to mind is Islam, in agreement with Simeunović (2009), who says that attributing to Islam the status of the only major religion that gives birth to fundamentalism, extremism and violence is unfair. Although fundamentalism is rightly most often mentioned in connection with Islam, there is not a single major religion, including very tolerant Buddhism, that has not been marked by its fundamentalism, and many of them by extremism (Brasher, 2001). So, as we see, fundamentalism is a complex and ambiguous phenomenon that is extremely difficult to define conceptually but also terminologically. Although all fundamentalist groups and movements differ in many ways, they are characterized by similarity. As part of a major Fundamentalist Project implemented by Marty and Appleby at the University of Chicago, they learned that there are nine features that are common to most religious fundamentalist movements. The first five are ideological and the remaining four are organizational features: (Marty & Appleby, 1994).

- Reactivity towards the marginalization of religion
- Selectivity in terms of tradition and scriptures of religion
- Dualism – the Manichean struggle of good and evil
- Absolutism and infallibility
- Millenarianism and messianism
- Selected membership
- Sharp boundaries – towards the outside world
- Charismatic and authoritarian leadership
- Behavioral provisions – clearly prescribed lifestyles.

To understand the impact of religion on the emergence of violence, extremism and terrorism, we need to clearly define what “religion” is and how it works in the context of this discussion. There is no generally accepted definition of religion, but religion can be generally described as a set of beliefs and views of the world in relation to a higher, holy being.

“For some, it is the kind of feeling (experience) that is not subject to logical or moral judgment. It is a "mystical" feeling of unity with infinite reality, the experience of infinity, the feeling of absolute dependence, the experience of everything in the world as God's work, the feeling of divinity in the soul, the experience of unity with God, encounter with divinity, the sacred and the like” (Tillich, 2009, p. 11).

It is this inaccuracy in the definition of religion that creates an obstacle in understanding the religious manifestation of political violence. From the sociological aspect, religion provides help in understanding oneself as well as one's own attitude towards others. In other words, it can be personal and collective, defining the difference between ‘I’ and ‘you’, as well as ‘we’ and ‘they’. Jonathan Fox (2012) suggests that religion fulfills four important social functions:

- Providing a meaningful framework for understanding the world
- Providing rules and standards of conduct that link individual actions and goals into a meaningful framework
- Connecting individuals to a larger whole, sometimes providing formal institutions that help define and organize that whole
- Ability to legitimize certain actions and institutions

When considering what religion is and what role it plays in different societies, we must keep in mind that sacred texts are often the basis for religious beliefs, and the interpretation of sacred texts by members of a particular religious group will generally indicate that text as its foundation. Thus, all religions have their accepted dogma and belief system, which followers must accept without question and as such represent a latent source of conflict and can lead to inflexibility and intolerance towards other beliefs. After all, if it is the word of God, how can anyone question it. At the same time, script and dogma are often vague and open to interpretation. Therefore, in most cases, there is a conflict over the interpretation whose interpretation is more accurate, a conflict that cannot be

resolved in the end because there is no arbitrator, which further leads to deeper conflicts.

Most members of different religions are moderate or self-satisfied, while on the other hand we have extremists who are motivated and want to express their interpretation of God's will, who contribute to the escalation of conflict because they often use radical measures as necessary to achieve their goals. Fundamentalists in religion are often driven by dissatisfaction with the modern as well as the marginalization of religion in modern society and do everything to bring religion back to the center. We have a classic example with Islamic fundamentalists who often link the spread of Western materialism to the rise of gambling, alcoholism and generally loose morals, so there is a need to 'purify' the society. As we see in almost every heterogeneous society, religious differences can serve as a source of potential conflict. Since individuals are often ignorant of other religions, there is a potential tension, but it does not necessarily mean that there will be a conflict. Religion is not essentially conflictual, but like ethnicity or race, religion serves as a very good way to distinguish oneself or one's group from another and may result in conflict. During various crises, whether they are social, political, economic, members of certain groups can in a short time perceive extremists as those who bring progress and peace. In such situations, group identities are even more strongly shaped, which reinforces the signal to extremists that a religion is threatened by another religion which is diametrically different. The feeling of oppression is then attributed to that current enemy, and radical expressions or interpretations come to light more and more, and then religion, which is a source of peace, thanks to the colonial division of society, along religious and ethnic lines, is a source of conflict and hostility.

RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

Religious intolerance has been identified as the main source of religious conflicts in all multi-religious societies that exist in the history of mankind, so Nigeria is no exception. That religious intolerance, that hostility towards other religions, as well as the inability of religious adherents to harmonize between theories, as well as the different political philosophy of the leading religions in Nigeria are the leading causes of religious conflicts. This fact is sup-

ported by ignorance of beliefs and teachings about another religion, as well as provocative actions that harm the religious sensibilities of people of other faiths, whether they are intentional or unintentional. Thus, religion in Nigeria has become a platform for socio-political articulation, and a means of spreading the already existing division in Nigeria.

For example, the agitation to create more states and local governments from the late 1960s to the early 1990s usually inspired Nigeria's various ethnic minorities to free themselves from either the Muslim or Christian leadership to which they belonged. This type of struggle often took on religious characteristics. The accelerated process of globalization and democratization, deepening economic crises and social inequality, reviving neoliberal ideology, trying to implement market reforms, diminishing state legitimacy and capacity have helped collapse the nation-building project in postcolonial Africa, especially Nigeria. Some authors state that the very nature of the federal government and the struggle for greater state powers contribute immensely to ethnic and religious conflicts. The relationship between religion and political life in Nigeria is not always obvious. There have been serious forms of violence between Christians and Muslims in the country. Some of them are related to long-term tensions between ethnic groups, while on the other hand we have new tensions caused by the movement or migration of the population outside their traditional homes. Thus, due to the colonial heritage, we have a 'mixing' of cultures but not their homogenization. More precisely, thanks to the colonial heritage, Nigerian society is polarized by religion, political parties, ethnicity, ideologies, social classes, and as such opens the way to antagonistic group relations. Despite the obvious and important role of religion in Nigerian society, it is necessary to analyze other alternative roots of political and other types of violence, because religion in Nigeria usually serves as a projector of strength, identity and unifier of different groups and is not a cause of conflict but a radicalizing factor. Therefore, religion is a reliable variable that with other factors that affects its final form and can lead to violence (Keddie, 1983). There is no society, whether primitive or civilized, without one form of religion or another. This religious inclination of man largely explains his life and even man's existence, which is often faced with some unpleasant experiences, that are the result of man's belief and existence. In modern society, one of the leading threats to human existence is the problem of terrorism, especially

when it arises under the influence of religious radicalism. The Nigerian experience of what can be called terrorism in the name of religion is most clearly reflected in the actions of the terrorist organization known as Boko Haram. Due to the religious rift in which half of the population is Christian and half Muslim, as well as the large population, we can say that the Nigerian nation is more problematic than any other country in recent years in the sub-Saharan African region. In the last four decades in Nigeria, we can count more than twenty major religion-related crises that have shaken the nation.

Classic examples are the conflicts of the Maitatsin sect that began in the late 1970s in Maiduguri and spread to other parts of the region; and other religious crises, including some religious unrest, such as the case of the Ombatsa group in the state of Nasarawa and other inter-tribal wars or violence committed under the influence of religion, which left traces of tears and agony in many people. These crises in many cases begin as social, ethnic or political misunderstandings and eventually lead to violent interethnic and religious conflicts from which various extremist organizations emerge.

There has always been a history of religious violence, especially in the northern states of Nigeria. The genesis of these religious conflicts can be linked to 1986, that is, the decision of the then military government of Nigeria, according to which Nigeria became a member of the organization, better known as the Islamic Conference. Thanks to this development, two powerful groups emerged—Jamatul Nasril Islam (Society for the Support of Islam) and the Christian Association of Nigeria. With the strengthening of these groups, the country was thrown into unrest. On the one hand, the Christian Association of Nigeria appealed to all Christians to oppose the Islamization of the country. On the other hand, Jamatul Nasril Islam is sponsoring a campaign against the domination of the Christian minority over the Muslim majority. The situation further escalated after Nigeria returned to democracy in 1999, allowing all states in northern Nigeria to adopt Islamic Sharia law as their official state law.

The key question that should be asked is why the religious violence is gaining so much momentum in the north unlike other regions of Nigeria. The most impressive answer to this question was given by Ayuk and Emeka (2012), who blame the lack of education, profitable employment and mass poverty, which unfortunately have become a characteristic of the states in the north of Nigeria.

The North becomes a base of idlers, who become leaders of fanaticism and arrogance. But we must not forget that unemployed restless young men are not only a characteristic of the north but also of the south of Nigeria. What we are interested in is why only in the north of Nigeria did youth without jobs take over religious terrorism and bloodshed as their calling. Perhaps the answer lies not in the present, but in the past of northern Nigeria (Ayuk & Emeka, 2012). In northern Nigeria, there is a history of violent Islam that dates back to 1804, more precisely to the jihad of Sheikh Usman dan Fodio, who then occupied the entire northern kingdom of Hausa and Ilorin.

Due to the lack of economic opportunities and the slow progress of education in this part of Nigeria, the achievements of Usman Dan Fodio are highly esteemed and respected and these young men may be trying to follow the same path that Dan Fodio followed centuries earlier. This path has two directions: it either leads to the emergence of extremist and terrorist organizations, or it becomes a process of leading the state, local self-government, the police, and socio-political life in general, covered by the veil of religion. Such a society, which is insufficiently educated, religiously divided, is the subject of constant conflicts that eventually lead to violence. Since independence, religion is an instrument of political manipulation and serves as one of the ways to approve as much state funds as possible and so gradually, overcomes the desire to ensure peace and full coexistence as well as national transformation in Nigeria. Inter-religious relations have in most circumstances been limited by the acute level of religious hatred, intolerance, and violence since the end of the Cold War. Since the 1990s, Nigeria has become more and more divided along religious lines and open confrontations through religious messages have become fierce. Therefore, religion, which is emotionally driven, is often, at the slightest provocation, transformed from an instrument of peace building into an instrument of violence. These are some (not all) classic cases of religious conflicts in Nigeria that we encounter and that have been documented as religious in the literature: (Isaac, 2012; Jegede, 2019).

- Conflict among Muslims in Sagam, Ogun State over religious misunderstanding, July 1, 1999;
- Retaliation for the Sagam incident in Kano, July 22, 1999;
- Conflict between Christians and Muslims in the state of Kvara, December 20, 1999;

- Riots over the introduction of Sharia in Kaduna, February 21–22 2000;
- Religious riots in Aba, February 28, 2000;
- Religious riot in Kano, October 12, 2001;
- Religious crisis in Kaduna, November 16, 2002;
- Religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Numan town, June 08, 2004;
- Religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Maidu-guri, February 18, 2006;
- Religious violence between Muslims and Christians in the city of Jos, November 28, 2008;
- Muslim Fulani overnight attack on a Christian village Mazah, July 17, 2010;
- Islamists attack on Christians in Maikatako, January 2014; and
- Islamists attack on three churches in Borno, July 2014.
- Some authors have linked religious violence to the way preachers and their followers treat other religions (Stephen, 2006). While on the other hand we have authors who reject this claim and accuse infidel individuals of violent religious motives (Mamdani, 2002).

Be that as it may, it is obvious that religious rhetoric or propaganda has often been used to effectively gather support for establishing a collective consciousness for the work of some political ideas that may ultimately promote violence. Nnoli (1980) best described the power of religion. According to him, religious differences have a great potential for division among people. Throughout history, these differences have been the basis of tension, animosity, and even war. Many times, a certain fanaticism is associated with people of different religions, which negatively affects mutual trust when such relationships exist. This is because religion tends to define what constitutes appropriate social behavior. When this definition is networked with another, normal relationships become difficult (Nnoli, 1980).

CONCLUSION In Nigeria, religion, instead of keeping people together and promoting peace, did the exact opposite, alienating people and paving the way for conflict. However, some people in southwestern Nigeria, especially Yoruba, had an extremely small number of conflicts related to religion, because they invested all their differences in

culture and perhaps because practically all people in this region profess Christianity. In any case, both Islam and Christianity increased their influence, thus changing the already established norms and value systems of the domicile population. Both religions came to these areas with diametrically different cultural orientations as a spectrum of their civilizations. Islam came with an Arab cultural orientation and civilization, just as Christianity came with a Western cultural orientation and civilization. Different cultural orientations as well as different civilizations defied the existence of autochthonous social and cultural value systems, which led to a serious collision, embodied in Huntington's famous work as the 'clash of civilizations' (Huntington, 2011). Historically, the history of human existence has been woven from the process of colonization and recolonization. More than two-thirds of countries in Africa, which Huntington classified as 'African civilization', have been colonized by Arab-Islamic or Western Christian civilizations in various historical epochs. There is ample evidence that in different periods of attempts to conquer African nation-states, the colonial conquerors encountered strong and fierce resistance. The resistance that existed then continues the struggle to protect indigenous civilization today and is often referred to as an act of fundamentalism. Africa, because of the obvious religiosity expressed by Africans, is often defined as 'notoriously religious', and as such has used religion in its original cultural formation to help people understand themselves, interpret the world, and pursue social collective goals. Thus, religion becomes an intertwined cultural fabric of life and a great driving force that governs the behavior, interaction and actions of people.

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БОРИС Љ. БУРСАЋ

НАРОДНА СКУПШТИНА РЕПУБЛИКЕ СРБИЈЕ, БЕОГРАД

РЕЗИМЕ

УЛОГА РЕЛИГИЈЕ И ЊЕН УТИЦАЈ НА СУКОБЕ У НИГЕРИЈИ

Пред крај колонијалне владавине, Британија је успоставила ислам и хришћанство у Нигерији као две доминантне религије са средњим појасом као дојним тлом. Пре њиховог коначног одласка, осигурали су и оформили неколико етничких и религијских линија, које су у постколонијалној ери користиле политичким елитама као начин борбе за државну власт. Као таква, на

темељима злоупотребе политичких и верских елита, етничким, верским и регионалним поделама настаје дубоко фрагментирана Нигерија какву данас познајемо. Колонијалном доминацијом, наглим транзицијама, моћ друштва је била срушена до те мере да је постало неспособно да регулише човекову страст. Ситуацију додатно загревају водеће елите које манипулишу религиозним идентитетом где се као резултат јавља да север Нигерије већином муслимански тежи исламизацији целе Нигерији, а југ већински хришћански тежи одбрани хришћанстава и уставне секуларности државе те религија уместо да смири страсти и тензије, захваљујући својим лидерима отвара пут конфликта, насиља екстремизма и на крају тероризма. Централно схватање формирања идентитета религије и његове трансформације из сукоба у насиље је пораст верског екстремизма у целој земљи. Екстремистичке групе показују значајну нетолеранцију према припадницима сопствене и других религија, реагују на социјалне, економске и политичке кризе нигеријске политике, наравно у верском погледу, што касније води у сукобе. Интеграција религије у нигеријску политику, што можемо захвалити колонијалним владарима, један је од водећих проблема и управо она стоји иза верског насиља и политичке нестабилности у земљи.

Кључне речи: религија, фундаментализам, верски сукоби, етно-религијски идентитет, Нигерија.



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AN ADDITION TO THE STUDY OF CRIME OF ISIJA FERATAGIĆ²

ABSTRACT. This paper discusses the crimes against the Serbs of Mitrovica and the surrounding area, committed by the Albanian criminals, among whom Isija Feratagić stood out. His atrocities significantly affected the position of the Serbian population and often led them to leave their households and emigrate to the Kingdom of Serbia. Turkish authorities were often uninterested in preventing the Albanians incidents, and military interventions mostly escalated into a conflict between the army and the Albanians. Such a situation had a negative impact on the lives of Serbs, not only in Mitrovica and its surroundings, but also in the entire province of Kosovo. The Serbian people in Old Serbia, with the support of the Government from Belgrade and the representatives of Russia, sent complaints to the Turkish authorities and the Sultan in Constantinople countless times, as well as to the representatives of the great powers. Under their influence, the Porte was forced to accept the implementation of reforms. Isija Feratagić, who in his actions was guided by personal interests and the lowest impulses, was pushed into the background and is no longer found in the reports of the consuls.

KEYWORDS: Serbs, Albanians, Isija Feratagić, Mitrovica, crimes, Turkish authorities.

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The weakening of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century had a negative effect on the position of the Serbian population in the province of Kosovo. The actions of the Albanians, who were in close contact with the Turkish authorities, also contributed to the bad situation. That period of the history of Serbs in the area of Old Serbia was marked by numerous gatherings and organizations of the Albanians, their mutual conflicts, greed and struggle for supremacy. The further course of events and the influence on the actions of the Albanians was mainly a consequence of the Greco-Turkish war and the loss of Crete (Зарковић, 2014, pp. 123–135). Frustrated by the outcome of the war and its role in it, the Albanians decided to take a more intensive approach to protecting the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Many of them returned from the war with weapons and became more active in the province of Kosovo, committing atrocities at every turn and invading the territory of the Kingdom of Serbia (Зарковић, 2015, p. 80). The result of the war was largely reflected in the feudal lords who were worried about their financial situation, so they decided to organize and hold a meeting in Peć at the beginning of 1899.³ The Albanians had great support from Austro-Hungary, which presented itself as the only one capable of protecting their interests in the Balkans in the event of the disintegration of the Turkish rule. That is why, through Hadži Mula Zeka from Peć, the chairman of the gathering, and Riza beg Kruezi from Đakovica, it tried to link the interests of Albanians circles from Old Serbia and Macedonia to the politics of Vienna. Austro-Hungary became the main protector of the Albanians from the province of Kosovo and encouraged them to spread powerlessness, oppose the Turkish authorities and confront the Serbs (Батаковић, 1991, pp. 93–94).

The activities of the Albanians intensified and were accompanied by more frequent and stronger attacks by their outlaws. At the end of January of the same year, an oath (*besa*) was established at the assembly for the entire province of Kosovo, and it was decided to stop the public killings. Despite this fact, the Serb population continued to be exposed to various atrocities and killings. The fines came to the fore, followed by various pressures, which influenced the increase in the number of emigrants who found refuge in Serbia. The entire province of Kosovo had become a training ground for daily Albanians actions directed against Serbs, both those who

³ About the Albanians gathering in Peć in detail: Зарковић, 2015, p. 79–92.

lived in rural areas and those in cities. All the villages, all the towns and small cities in Old Serbia, inhabited by Turks and Albanians, as well as mixed areas, had numerous thugs who stood out for their crimes. One of those, among others, who influenced the events in Mitrovica and its surroundings, was Isija Feratagić.

The event in Mitrovica, which followed immediately after the gathering in Peć, reflected the situation and the mood of the Albanians in the entire province of Kosovo. The main actor was Isija Feratagić, on whom the fate of the Serbian population in the city and its surroundings depended. On the evening of January 26, 1899,⁴ four Christians from Mitrovica, two of them in disguise, went to a friend's house. Tirče Sotirović, Vlach from Kruševo, Ljubomir N. Marković and Gligorije Kostić from Peć and Dimče the tailor from Veles lived as singles in a house that was 200 to 300 steps away from the place where the gathering was held. On the way, they were intercepted by a police patrol led by *onbaşı* (corporal) Mehmed. Although he knew them, his suspicion was fueled by disguise, so he led them to *kaymakam* (mayor). During the time when they were staying in the building of the *hućumat* (municipal building), the *onbaşı*, in order to gain importance, spread stories around the city that soon reached the Mitrovica Mohammedans. There were two versions: first he said that he caught disguised Chetniks from Serbia with bombs that they intended to throw in the mosque and burn the whole town, and then he stated that he caught some Serbs wearing veils with the idea of entering harems and scaring women. Such stories provoked anger among Mitrovica's Mohammedans, who, led by Isija Feratagić, broke into the *kaymakamat* building and killed Gligorije Kostić. The other three fled upstairs and managed to escape death thanks to the *kaymakam* (mayor) who handed them over to the army for safekeeping. Gligorije Kostić was killed in the cruelest way, by Isija firing six bullets, crushing his head, and then the others shot and stabbed him until his brain and broken ribs were ripped open. The anger of the Albanians led by Isija Feratagić and the brutal murder of Kostić caused dissatisfaction and fear among the Serbian population, especially the fact that the murdered man was not buried according to Orthodox customs. *Mutasar-rif* from Priština did not allow the Orthodox priest to perform the funeral service in the church, but the deceased was buried without the presence of any Serbs.

⁴ The dates are provided according to the old calendar, as stated in historical sources.

Isija Feratagić was dissatisfied with the outcome because three Serbs survived, and thanks to the messengers, he managed to gather around 3,000 armed Albanians in Mitrovica the next day, who demanded that the *kaymakam* hand over the prisoners to them. Otherwise, they threatened to massacre Serbs in and around the city. The situation in Mitrovica was tense, so the Priština *mutasarrif* arrived in the town on the same day. The next day, January 28, the *vali* arrived with reinforcements. His stay in the city was marked by negotiations with the leaders of the Albanians, who were gathering in Priština.⁵ As the result of these negotiations, the *kaymakam*, who protected the Christians, was dismissed which to some extent satisfied the dissatisfied Mohammedans (Peruničić, 1985, p. 340). After leaving Mitrovica, the *vali* entrusted the maintenance of order to the local Albanians tyrants, among whom Isa Boljetinac was in the lead. With *vali*'s departure, the army withdrew from Mitrovica. Their departure from the city influenced the Albanians to organize and gather in groups that controlled the situation in the town. The situation was more serious than expected, and according to the opinion of the Consul of the Kingdom of Serbia in Pristina, Svetislav Simić, there was a possibility that it could be transferred to other parts of the Kosovo *vilayet* (province), because some Mitrovica residents left their homes and left the city. The Turkish authorities were powerless before the Albanians who did not intend to give up their demands and threatened to slaughter the Serbs. Consul Simić believed that the Mitrovica event should not be pushed into the background, but exploited in favor of earlier complaints. He was also of the opinion that Kostić's murder and Albanians' attitude towards the Serb population and the Turkish authorities were closely connected with the decisions of the assembly in Peć.⁶

The situation in Mitrovica and the event initiated by Isija Feratagić required additional engagement of the Turkish authorities and

⁵ Archives of Serbia (= AS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (= MID) Political-Educational Department (= PPO), 1899, line 173 (III), Pov. № 60, Consul M. Kurtović – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, February 7, 1899 (This document has not been preserved in its entirety); Archives of Serbia (= AS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (= MID) Political Department (= PO), 1899, roll 201, A/21, fasc. And, dos. III, Consul S. Simić – Minister of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, January 31, 1899; AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21 fasc. And, dos. IV, Pov. № 42, Consul S. Simić – S. Lozanić, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, February 17, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 330, 337–339; Јагодић, 2009, p. 56.

⁶ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 27, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, February 2, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 341.

influenced the Sultan to decorate the Kosovo *vali* and the Priština *mutasarrif*. In Constantinople, more care was taken to calm down the situation, which was in line with the Sultan's February orders; not much attention was paid to the fact that those orders were not carried out in practice by the authorities, but by the leaders of the Albanians. Mitrovica was full of armed Albanians, who, when they meet an army patrol on the street, mockingly ask if they are sorry that they also carry weapons, urging them to take it from them, if they are sorry (Јагодић, 2009, p. 57 Peruničić, 1985, p. 380). The armed Albanians who walked freely around the town caused fear and unrest among the Serb population. The resulting situation led them to send a request to Sultan Abdul Hamid in mid-February 1899. The members of the church municipality, led by the president, Archpriest Jovan Simić and several citizens, clearly pointed out the insecurity and misfortunes that befell them, especially emphasizing the event in which Gligorije Kostić died. Their fear was justified, personal and property security was endangered, because the Albanians who caused the riots and committed the crime went unpunished and continued to walk around the city.⁷ The army was sent to Mitrovica, but the situation did not improve. The Albanians and the Turks from Mitrovica often gathered and made agreements, which reminded the Serbs of an unpleasant event. Wealthier Serbs fled the city, and others who were unable to leave found themselves in a precarious situation and in constant fear. In a report sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, Consul Svetislav Simić, based on the information received from his commissioner, described the situation in the following words: "No two Serbs can be seen anywhere"⁸. The situation in Mitrovica was transferred to other parts of the province of Kosovo. The killings were more frequent and caused fear, even among the Turks, of their consequences, while the Serbs, in fear, stopped all activities and closed their shops. Turkish authorities tried to restore order and issued an order for a six-month prison sentence for any individual who came to town with a knife and armed, but Mitrovica Serbs continued to fear a possible massacre. The fear was intensified by the fact that the *vali*, returning to Skopje, left the town in the trust of Isa Boljet-

⁷ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Transcript of the application of the members of the Municipality and the citizens of the town of Mitrovica to Sultan Abdul Hamid, Mitrovica, 15 February 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 357.

⁸ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, № Pov. № 28, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, February 5, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 361.

inac⁹ and Ferhat Alidragić, well-known villains. The Mitrovica event best illustrates the nature of the relationship between the Turkish authorities and the Albanians, as well as the weak foundation on which the public order in the province of Kosovo rested. For these reasons, the Serbs had in mind that an incident could be caused at any moment, which would culminate and lead to a real massacre. Fearing for the future and security of the Serbian population, Consul from Pristina Svetislav Simić believed that the European and Serbian press in Belgrade did not pay attention to the Mitrovica event and that the public was informed about it only from Turkish sources.¹⁰

Promises coming from the Turkish side that order would be restored did not yield results on the ground. While the reaction of the *vali* was expected, the Albanians did not stop persecuting the Serbs. One of those persecuted was Jerotije Jorgić, an old man from Mitrovica who was sentenced to two years in prison without any guilt during the operation of the military court in the -80s. Poor prison conditions left consequences to his health, so he had to stop his shoemaking business and open a retail store. The trade brought him a solid income, but after the Mitrovica event in January, he had to close the shop, which was located in a beautiful place. The reason for the closure was Isija Feratagić, who, although without any trade, intended to open a meathouse. Feratagić demanded that he hand over the shop to him, but Jorgić said several times that he had nowhere to go and that his house was just behind it. Not wanting to listen to any excuse, Feratagić remained persistent in his intention and first tore off Jorgić's mustache in front of a Turk, and then, threatening with a knife, demanded that he hand over the shop to him. The blackmailed man managed to escape and went to the village of Boljetin with the intention of seeking the protection of Isa Boljetinac. As he did not find him in the house, he went to Vučitrn with the same goal to beg for the help, through Jerga Ćamilović, from the Albanians from the tribe of Madžuni. When that did not work out for him either, he extended his trip to Priština, where the Serbian consul advised him to try again and seek the help of Boljet-

⁹ Until the famous Mitrovica event, Isa Boljetinac was considered a friend and protector of the Serbs, but later he became a villain by whose hands many innocent people died (Зарковић, 2021, p. 431).

¹⁰ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 36, Consul S. Simić – S. Lozanić, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, February 10, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 363–365.

inac.¹¹ While Jerotije Jorgić was staying in Priština, his wife and children complained to the *kaymakam* in *hućumat*, who promised them help. In order to fulfill his promise, he called Isija Feratagić and demanded that he not touch Jorgić. Although he made a promise to *kaymakam*, Feratagić spoke loudly in the bazaar: „If I had known he was calling me for that, I would not have gone to him.”

Isija Feratagić's only occupation was harassing Serbs, so he immediately found a new victim. The next in line was Dušan Sterđević, a goldsmith from whom he demanded to pay him five liras in gold, otherwise he threatened to kill him. Pressed by Feratagić's threats, Dušan went to Skopje. After that, *kaymakam* was faced with new complaints presented by Trifun Popadić and Milutin Sterđević. They were promised help in the conversation, but on the condition that they do not bow to either side. In Mitrovica itself, the Turks were divided into two groups: one was led by Ali Draga's sons, to whom Isa Boljetinac also belonged, while the other approved of oppression and was gathered around Isija Feratagić. The consul from Priština was of the opinion that the first side was more favorable for the Serbs at that time, and he was thinking of organizing a visit of prominent Mitrovica Serbs to the *vali*, in which they would acquaint him in detail with the crimes of Isija Feratagić. At that moment, it was obvious that the authorities were powerless and indecisive to take any action against Feratagić and other oppressors.¹²

The protection that the influential Albanians provided to Serbs in numerous situations until then was lacking, and the number of armed criminals in Mitrovica was increasing. Thus armed, they passed freely by the police patrol and made the town even more insecure for life. Compared to Vučitrn, Mitrovica has become a place where daily oppression took place in the plain view of the authorities and the army. The Albanians did not respect any decisions of the authorities, as evidenced by the fact that Isija Feratagić, without anyone's approval, released some Turkish young men who had been arrested a few days earlier. Familiar with these events, Consul Svetislav Simić decided to realize the idea that representatives of Serbs from Mitrovica visit the *vali* in Skopje.¹³ At his insist-

¹¹ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/10, Pov. № 62, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, March 11, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 379–381.

¹² AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/10, Pov. № 86, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, March 29, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 396–397.

¹³ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/10, Pov. № 62, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, March 11, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 379–381.

ence, the delegation led by the seventy-year-old archpriest Jovan Simić traveled to the *vali*. In addition to the archpriest, the members of the deputation were: Janićije Slavković, a priest from Mitrovica, Milutin Sterđević and Raka Krstić, merchants. They were joined by Dušan Sterđević, a goldsmith, and Jerotije Jorgić, also traders, who suffered great terror from the Albanians villains. With the recommendation of the Russian consul Viktor Mashkov, they presented the problems they faced every day, especially those that came from Isija Feratagić. The *vali*, as many times before, promised to settle the situation in Mitrovica, warning them not to mention their visit to anyone.¹⁴ Although the army was deployed in the town, the Albanians obviously had the control. In the first half of 1899, there were three infantry battalions, a cavalry squadron and one artillery battery in Mitrovica. The majority of the army was housed in a beautiful and spacious barracks on the plateau above the town, while the other part was located on the border and around the town. Weapons, ammunition and other military equipment were distributed from Mitrovica to Novi Pazar, Prijepolje, Sjenica, Bijelo Polje, Peć, Đakovica, and Berane.¹⁵

In the conversation with the delegation of Mitrovica Serbs, the governor (*vali*) did not give any concrete promise, except for the remark that he was acquainted with all the events in the city. He emphasized that he had plans to restore order and suggested that the victims pay the criminals the requested amount, which would be reimbursed later. However, he did not order that five lira be paid to them at that time in the name of a fine to Isija Feratagić. It was clear to the Serbs that the governor was not ready to take decisive steps, contrary to earlier stories. He claimed that he would calm down the Albanians with the help of the army, but he was contradicted by the fact that troops had already been deployed in the city. According to the Serbian consul from Priština, all that was needed was the determination of the authorities to arrest and punish Isija Feratagić and other criminals according to the law. However, it was obvious that the *vali* was not ready to take such a step that would lead to a conflict with members of Feratagić's *fis* (tribe) and the rest of the Albanians. In that case, an authorization was needed to take energetic measures, which he did not have from Constantinople.

¹⁴ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/10, Pov. № 91, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, March 2, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 378–379.

¹⁵ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/10, Pov. № 74, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, March 24, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 383.

Precisely in that fact lies the cause of such behavior and favoring of the Turkish authorities towards the Albanians, whose victims were the Serbs.¹⁶

After the return of the delegation of Mitrovica Serbs from Skopje, the pressure on the local population did not stop. With the help of local tyrants, the police authorities extorted a statement from the prosecutor that there was peace in the town and that no one was disturbing them. Jerotije Jorgić was summoned to *hućumat* with a request to sign and certify the offered statement, but he refused. However, his decision was followed by pressure from the well-known tyrant Isija Feratagić, and then by one police officer, which resulted in stamping the already written statement. For Consul Svetislav Simić, such pressure was a plan for establishing order, which the governor talked about in a conversation with the Mitrovica delegation. That is why he advised Jorgić to take the first train to Skopje and introduce the *vali* and the Russian consul to the forced extortion of signatures.¹⁷ Frequent complaints from the Serbian side, as well as the visit of the consul from Priština, influenced the *vali*, for the first time, since he performed that duty, to visit the places in Kosovo where the tyranny of the Albanians culminated. His visit was also a consequence of the protests sent directly to the Sultan, as well as the press in Serbia, which more often wrote about the position of Serbs in Kosovo.¹⁸

Turkish authorities promised to stop the anarchy, which was gaining momentum. However, the actions of their representatives on the ground were in complete contradiction with the promises. This is clearly shown by the case of Dimitrije Nedeljković, who was often harassed by Isija Feratagić. Due to the frequent complaints of the endangered, the police were sent to protect him. Although they were accommodated in his house, instead of preventing violence and capturing Feratagić, the police, with the help of Vučitrn *aghas*, forced Nedeljković to reconcile with him. In addition, they suggested to him to pay 16 liras, entertain Isija nicely and take him as the guardian of his household.¹⁹

¹⁶ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 94, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, April 5, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 416.

¹⁷ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 103, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, April 9, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 421–422.

¹⁸ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 130, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, April 30, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 432.

An aggravating circumstance for the Serb population was the collection of fine in the amount of ten percent, which was mostly taken in rich villages. It was collected by the strongest instigators of the anarchic state, who appointed people without any moral scruples to take the monies. They tried to collect as much as possible from *reaya* (oppressed people), because they themselves benefited. In the villages of Mitrovica, this money was collected by Isija Feratagić, whose actions reflected on the economic side of the Serb *čifčijas* (land beneficiaries) and brought them into an unenviable financial situation. It was another type of pressure on the Serb population of Mitrovica and the surrounding area.²⁰

Economic pressure was accompanied by other atrocities. Women and girls were attacked by Albanian villains. An event that took place in mid-September 1901 in Mitrovica was recorded. The outlaws, Mehmed Mustafić, the son of the Mitrovica chief Mustafa Aga, Isija Feratagić and two other Albanians tried to rape and convert a Serb woman in her house. This crime was prevented thanks to the quick reaction of the neighbors and the security patrol that clashed with the attackers. Mehmed Mustafić was killed in the conflict, whose father, accusing the authorities, together with Šaban Kopriva gathered about 1,000 Albanians and threatened to attack the city. The gathered mass was opposed by the army led by the Mitrovica military commander Šemsi paša, and after a minor conflict, the attackers fled. Mustafa aga, Isija Feratagić and Šaban Kopriva first fled to Drenica, to the village of Prekaze, from where they went in different directions. The first went to Đakovica *kaza*, the second to Lab, while the third was not known where he took refuge. Šemsi paša went after the tyrants to Drenica, and then to Peć *kaza*. In this military action, he arrested some villains, among them Šaban Kopriva, and destroyed several towers. However, he did not have the authority from Constantinople to fully use force, but the order to treat the rebels more moderately. The attitude they had towards the Albanians in the capital influenced the release of all those arrested, and Mustafa Aga, Isija Feratagić and Šaban Kopriva were no longer prosecuted (Јародић, 2009, p. 71; Стојанчевић, 1994, p. 219).

¹⁹ AS, MID PPO, 1900, line 22 (II), no number, Excerpt from a report from Priština, 22 January 1900; Same, Pov. № 60, Consul S. Avramović – S. Novaković, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, March 13, 1900.

²⁰ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 335, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, September 13, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 495.

In September 1899, by a general agreement of the Mitrovica leading citizens, a decision was made that weapons may not be carried in the town. At the beginning of the same year, after the murder of Gligorije Kostić, the reputation of the government, which more visibly favored the Albanians, declined. Due to the fear of major incidents, a policy of concessions was pursued, even in those situations when it was a matter of minor incidents. Although the decision to ban the carrying of weapons in Mitrovica was in force, it was not possible to restore the old situation.²¹

Until the beginning of 1899, the relations between Mitrovica's Mohammedans and Serbs were not so bad, but since then the intolerance of the former towards the latter had become unbearable. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Mitrovica began to develop rapidly thanks to the railway that started from Thessaloniki. The entire trade of the northwestern part of the province of Kosovo took place through Mitrovica, where representative offices of numerous companies were opened, which led to the formation of a strong colony of traders who arrived from other places. One of the most numerous trade and craft colonies consisted of the people of Peć, who, in addition to searching for new jobs and income, fled from Metohija where the tyranny of the Albanians was unbearable. One of the most prominent Serbs in Mitrovica at that time was Đorđe Sterđević, a goldsmith, a member of the numerous trade and craft colony of Peć inhabitants. Although he was born in Peć, as a child he moved to Prizren, where he learned the craft of goldsmithing and developed his business. His son Dušan also joined the business, and he moved to Mitrovica in 1895 due to pressure from the Albanians.²² Đorđe was characterized by courage and determination not to retreat before the Turkish and Albanians tyrants. The traits that adorned him aroused the hatred and intolerance of fanatical Mohammedans. Abdurahman, a tobacconist from Mitrovica, owed a small sum of money to Sterđević, which he demanded several times. At the request to return the money, there was a conflict between the two in Abdurahman's shop. Not wanting to settle the debt, Abdurahman responded with curses and utter-

²¹ AS, MID PO, 1899, roll 201, A/21, Pov. № 347, Consul S. Simić – V. Đorđević, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, September 29, 1899; Peruničić, 1985, p. 505.

²² AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, PP № no number, consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, June 29, 1901; Ibid., PP № 446, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, June 1, 1901; Секулић, 2005, p. 262.

ing derogatory words, he began to pluck Đorđe's mustache. The assailant retaliated with a blow and filed a lawsuit in *hućumat* the next day. The fact that Đorđe had the courage to resist the Turk offended many tyrants, especially Isija Feratagić, who had intended to kill his son two years earlier. On October 9, 1901, exactly at noon, while the bazaar was full of people, Feratagić visited Sterđević in his shop. Without any reason, he fired one bullet from a martini gun from close range, followed by three shots from a revolver. He walked calmly out of the shop and, after kidnapping a horse from a Mohammedan trader, he headed in the direction of the *hućumat*, fired several times and provoked the police (*zaptieh*) to arrest him. A patrol of five soldiers, led by *zaptieh onbaşı* Mehmed, was a few steps from the place of the murder, but did not react, which enabled the killer to escape. It seemed as if the police had served Feratagić to escape from the city. Isija took refuge in his tower, and after a few hours, a *yüzbaşı* came, but did not arrest him. Two days later, accompanied by ten of his men, Isija attended a wedding in the village of Vinarce and no one was looking for him. Isija Feratagić was not satisfied only with the murder of Đorđe, but his men ambushed his son Dušan, who was staying in Pazar. The return in the late evening saved Dušan from certain death, because the conspirators withdrew, thinking that he would not come that day.²³

The murder of Đorđe Sterđević left a strong impression and enthusiasm among the Turks of Mitrovica, and Isija was praised, calling him 'bizim arslan' (our lion). They used this opportunity to declare their loyalty to the Sultan and take revenge on *kaymakam*, certain officials of the *hućumat* and on *yüzbaşı* towards whom they showed intolerance, considering them the main culprits who demanded that the famous villains of Mitrovica and its surroundings be called to Constantinople. That is why they immediately sent a statement to the Sultan stating that the situation was bad and they accused *kaymak* for that. The cunning of the Mitrovica Turks and the statement resulted in the change of *kaymak*. The situation in the city was aggravated by the return from exile of Šaban Kopri-va, Šerif Kučica and Elez aga Mustafić.²⁴

Isija Feratagić fled with his men in the direction of Kolašin, and the authorities did not even try to capture them. It was obvious that

²³ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 315, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, October 13, 1901.

²⁴ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 315, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, October 13, 1901.

the Turks did not even think about his arrest. In the meantime, Mitrovica was visited by the representative of the representative *mutasarrif*, Ahmed paša, and the mufti of Priština. Although their appearance among the Serbs instilled hope that order would be restored, they did not take any measures to prevent anarchy and bring Isija to justice. After the visit of the representatives of the Turkish authorities, two chiefs from the Albanians Feratagić *fis*, Ram Ljutan from Drenica and Redžep Prekaza from Prekaze, came to Mitrovica. On behalf of the whole of Drenica, they offered the Sterđević family compensation for the blood of the murdered Đorđe in the amount of 1,100 dinars in gold. They also visited the *hućumat*, insisted that the *majlis* gather and stated that they would bring Isija to the bazaar, provided that no one was prosecuting him. They justified their demands by explaining that it was not Feratagić himself who killed Đorđe, but the entire Drenica *arnautluk*. The demands of the two citizens of Drenica were not accepted in the *hućumat*, but it was requested that the killer be brought. The conditions set by the *hućumat* provoked a reaction from Ram Ljutan, who replied indignantly: "Even if he came, he would be followed by a thousand of us, so let us see what you will do to him".²⁵

The crime that happened provoked a reaction from the Turkish authorities, who sent Hamdi paša and Alai Beg, the commander of the gendarmerie from Skopje, to Mitrovica. While they were in the city, Isija Feratagić was seen in Vučitrn on October 17 as armed, on a white horse and accompanied by several of his supporter walks around freely. Consul from Priština Sima Avramović stated that Feratagić is charged with several murders, including those of Bećir aga Ćorović, Malić beg Prizrenac, *zaptieh yüzbaşı*, two dismissed soldiers from Sjenica, Gligorije Kostić and Đorđe Sterđević. Despite these allegations, Isija Feratagić continued to threaten Dušan and other Serbs not to press charges against him otherwise he promised that they would suffer the same fate as the murdered. This attitude of his had a foothold among Turkish officials with whom he was in close contact. Mehmed *onbaşı* is cited as support, whose words after Sterđević's murder additionally encouraged Feratagić. He addressed the murderer in the language of the Albanians: "Aferim, our hero! You whitewashed our cheeks for killing such an infidel!"²⁶ The close cooperation between the Turkish authorities and the villains of Albanians is reflected in the later decision of the Kosovo

²⁵ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 283 (IV), Pov. № 326, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, October 25, 1901.

governor, who told Sterđević's widow that he was not allowed to arrest the killer. Justifying himself, the governor granted her a monthly pension and promised to provide free education to the son of the murdered man.²⁷

The connection between Turkish officials and Albanian villains did not shake the Serbs, who continued to complain. They wrote a letter to the Kosovo *vali* and Mitrovica military commander Šemsi paša, and the Serbian municipality wrote a complaint to the Sultan, which was sent to Constantinople through the consul in Priština. The reaction from the Serbian side influenced Mehmed Aga Ćami- lović, the president of the municipality in Mitrovica, to telegraph together with the *mufti* and several village *mukhtars* (stamps) to the Kosovo governor and emphasize that "the murdered Đorđe was an immigrant and was not a good man". Almost at the same time, a meeting of Turkish champions from Mitrovica was held in the house of Elez aga Mustafić, at which it was said that other respectable Serbs should be killed as well.²⁸

The Serbs who, due to the nature of their work, had to leave the city daily, felt insecure on the roads. Among the many who found themselves in trouble was Trifun Popadić, a merchant from Mitrovica. It seems that his only guilt was the connection with the Russian consul Viktor Mashkov from Skopje, who baptized his daughter. Just at that time, Mashkov sent a report to his embassy in Constantinople, in which he emphasized that the Albanians oppressors, among them Isa Boljetinac and Isija Feratagić, are still at large. The engagement of the Russian consul led Feratagić to take revenge and he saw Popadić as the right opportunity. The words he uttered during the attack point us to this kind of thinking: "Let the Russian consul save you now".²⁹ The carriage driver Rista Stanković testified at the consulate in Priština before Nastas Nastasijević about the unpleasant meeting with Feratagić and the capture of Popadić. He mentioned that Trifun Popadić was taken in the direction of the vil-

²⁶ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 324, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, October 19, 1901; Peruničić, 1988, p. 110; Секулић, 2005, p. 263.

²⁷ AS, MID PPO, line 28, PP. no. 2891, Consul M. Kurtović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, November 1, 1901; Јагодић, 2009, p. 146.

²⁸ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 324, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, October 19, 1901.

²⁹ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, no. 2903, Consul M. Kurtović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, November 1901.

lage of Prekaze, in the Drenica district. The Albanians hit him with rifles about ten times along the way. Upon his arrival in Mitrovica, Rista went to the *hućumat* and told everything to Šemsi paša, who swore in front of him that he would "catch Isa either alive or dead". Petar Popadić, the brother of the captured Trufun, to whom some things, a *fez* (cap) and a coat, were handed over, informed the consul in Priština about Feratagić's intentions. He stated that the villain demanded that he be forgiven for the murder of Đorđe Sterđević and promised to release Trifun after that.³⁰ In the meantime, the captured Popadić from Prekaze wrote to Živko Frtunić about the intentions of the Albanians to capture several more prominent Serbs from Mitrovica and Vučitrn. His findings came true because Isija Feratagić's company tried to capture Stojan, Prokopije Topalović's son, but he managed to escape and save himself.³¹

Šemsi paša was determined to deal with Isija Feratagić and his supporters, but he was afraid of the reaction of the Albanians from Drenica, ready to clash with the army. That is why he came up with the idea to hire Zejnul aga Šišković, the most prominent Albanians champion from Vučitrn and the richest in Kosovo, to peacefully free Popadić from captivity (Peruničić, 1988, p. 7). Feratagić granted the request of the respectable citizen of Vučitrn because he knew that his affection was in his favor and enabled him to continue staying in Mitrovica and avoid surrendering to the Turkish authorities. Therefore, on November 24, 1901, he released Popadić, who came to Vučitrn accompanied by his men, from where he went to Mitrovica.³²

Isija Feratagić's expectation that the capture of Trufun Popadić would acquit him of the guilt for Sterđević's murder was not fulfilled. That is why he came up with the idea to catch the priest Arsenije Božović from Pridvorica, Kosta Jeremić from Brnjak, Milenko Đurić from Crepulja, and Zeko Vuksanović from Strmac. He was convinced that capturing respectable people would absolve him of guilt for the crimes he had committed. The plans of Isija Fer-

³⁰ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 323, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, November 4, 1901.

³¹ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 344, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, November 23, 1901; Peruničić, 1988, p. 119.

³² AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 346, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, November 26, 1901; Peruničić, 1988, p. 120.

atagić and his men instilled fear in the Serb population of the Mitrovica area.³³

The tyranny continued and demanded greater involvement of Serbian diplomacy. At that time, the Serbian population of the province of Kosovo saw the only salvation in the Kingdom of Serbia, and that is why they addressed the Government in Belgrade with requests that its representatives in Constantinople work more actively to suppress oppression. On August 14, 1902, Prime Minister Mihailo Vujić ordered the Serbian ambassador to Constantinople, Sava Grujić, to ask the Turkish authorities to take energetic measures to improve the situation and restore order in the province of Kosovo. The Serbian demands were as follows: to disarm the Albanians or allow Serbs to arm themselves, reinforce garrisons with troops from remote parts of the Empire, ready to take harsh measures, remove incompetent ones and appoint energetic officials to establish the rule of law with the use of the army, arrest and punish of the Albanians criminals, among whom was Isija Feratagić. The Serbian demands were supported by Russia because they were not in contradiction with the established agreement signed with Austria-Hungary in 1897.³⁴

Russia planned greater engagement in the protection of the Serbian people in Old Serbia, so it decided to open its consulate in Mitrovica. This decision caused even greater dissatisfaction among the Albanians, whose leader Isa Boljetinac publicly said that he would kill the Russian consul. The determination of Boljetinac to persevere in his intention was noticed by Austro-Hungarian agents who claimed that in that way a great service would be done to the Sultan. They also said that Russia should not be feared and that the murder of its consul would not provoke a great reaction. The Austro-Hungarians had a great influence on the ground, which encouraged the Albanians to commit new crimes. Mustafa Aga, the father of the murdered Muhammad and Elez Aga, a prisoner in Skopje, gathered 1,500 people and threatened to damage the railway between Vučitrn and Mitrovica, demanding the release of his son

³³ AS, MID PPO, 1901, line 28, Pov. № 356, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, December 18, 1901; Peruničić, 1988, p. 125.

³⁴ AS, MID PPO, 1902, line 26 (XIII), PP Br. 3051, Minister of Foreign Affairs – to the Embassy in Constantinople, Belgrade, August 14, 1902; Diplomatic Correspondence of the Kingdom of Serbia, 1933, no. while. 180, p. 263–266, no. while. 181, p. 266–270, no. while. 183, p. 272–273; Ђоровић, 1992, p. 25; Самарџић, 1989, p. 263; Јагодић, 2009, p. 336.

from prison. At the same time, Isija Feratagić forced Mitrovica's archpriest Jovan and prominent Serbs to ask the governor to release him from guilt for the murder of Đorđe Sterđević.³⁵ About five hundred Albanians from Drenica came to the aid of Mustafa Aga. They caused a breakdown on the railway, so Šemsi paša was given the task to deal with them and catch Mustafa Aga, Isija Feratagić and Šaban Kopriva, but he did not succeed. The first escaped to the Peć *kaza*, the second went to Lab via Vučitrn, while the third escaped in front of the army. Šemsi paša managed to capture only the brother of Isija Feratagić and Šerif Kučica and escorted them to Skopje.³⁶

The tyranny of Isija Feratagić and other oppressors reached its peak at the beginning of the 20th century. The situation forced Serbs to complain to the Turkish authorities, the Government in Belgrade, but also to the representatives of foreign countries. The poor position of the Christian population led to greater engagement of the great powers, which were guided by personal interests. Their engagement forced Porta to accept the implementation of certain reforms and to deal with the opponents of the new situation. The first to be hit were the tyrants who committed a large number of murders. One of them was Isija Feratagić, who lost his primacy among the Albanians, and Isa Boljetinac imposed himself as the leader. The political issues related to the opening of the Russian consulate in Mitrovica and the implementation of the reform action pushed Isija Feratagić into the background, who, due to personal motives and the lowest interests, has long influenced the position of the Serbian people in Mitrovica and its surroundings.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES Archives of Serbia – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Department
Archives of Serbia – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political and Education Department

PUBLISHED SOURCES Diplomatic correspondence of the Kingdom of Serbia, book one. (1933). Belgrade: State Printing House of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.
Peruničić, B. (1985). Letters of Serbian consuls from Pristina 1890–1900. Belgrade: Narodna knjiga.

³⁵ AS, MID PPO, 1902, line 26 (XIV), Pov. № 128, Consul S. Avramović – P. Velimirović, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, August 30, 1902.

³⁶ AS, MID PPO, 1902, line 26 (XV), Pov. № 140, Consul S. Avramović – M. Vujić, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Priština, September 12, 1902.

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ВЕСНА С. ЗАРКОВИЋ

ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРПСКУ КУЛТУРУ – ПРИШТИНА / ЛЕПОСАВИЋ

РЕЗИМЕ

ПРИЛОГ ПРОУЧАВАЊУ ЗЛОЧИНА ИСИЈЕ ФЕРАТАГИЋА

Слабљење Османског царства крајем XIX и почетком XX века негативно се одразило на положај српског становништва Косовског вилајета. Лошој ситуацији доприносили су и поступци Арбанаса који су били у тесној спрези са турским властима. Сва села, све вароши и варошице у Старој Србији, насељене Турцима и Арбанасима, као и мешовите средине, имале су бројне насилнике који су се истицали по својим злоделима. Један од таквих, поред осталих, који су утицали на збивања у Митровици и околини, био је Исија Фератагић. Конзул из Приштине Сима Аврамовић је наводио да се Фератагићу ставља на терет неко-

лико убистава међу којима и Бећир аге Ђоровића, Малић бега Призренца, заптијског јузбаше, два отпуштена војника из Сјенице, Глигорија Костића и Ђорђа Стерђевића. Поред убистава, он је свакодневно претио Србима, прогонио их, уцењивао, глобио, пресретао на путевима и заробљавао. Његова злодела су их неретко доводила у ситуацију да, под притиском, напусте своја огњишта и пронађу уточиште у Краљевини Србији.

Турске власти су често биле незаинтересоване да спрече арбанашке изгреде, а војне интервенције су углавном прерастале у сукоб војске и Арбанаса. У немогућности да даље подносе терор Срби из Митровице су више пута слали жалбе мутесарифу, валији и Порти. Због сличних проблема исто је реаговао и српски народ широм Старе Србије, који је уз подршку Владе из Београда и представника Русије небројано пута упућивао жалбе турским властима и султану у Цариграду, као и представницима великих сила. Под њиховим утицајем Порта је била приморана да прихвати спровођење реформи. Исија Фератагић који се у свом деловању руководио личним интересима и најнижим поривима потиснут је у други план, а водећу улогу у овом крају преузео је Иса Бољетинац.

Кључне речи: Срби, Арбанаси, Исија Фератагић, Митровица, злочини, турске власти.



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CLOSURE OF SERBIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN SHKODRA IN 1934

ABSTRACT. After signing the treaties of Tirana, Albania became the representative of Italy for the Balkans. The activities directed toward the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were determined by Yugoslav and Italian relations, which were rather tense at that period. General negation of Yugoslav presence in Albania was evident in the area of education, and as a result, Serbian schools were closed in territories predominantly inhabited with Serbian people, under the pretext of carrying out reforms. The example of the Serbian elementary school in Shkodra best reflects the effects of Albanian education policy regarding ethnic minorities.

Archives of Yugoslavia, department of the Ministry of Education, contains the file (pages of documents) related to this school. This paper is based on the mentioned file, as well as available general literature on Yugoslav Albanian relations.

KEYWORDS: Serbian elementary school in Shkodra, Albania, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, education policy.

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In the 1930s, the relations of Yugoslavia and Albania deteriorated after Albania was proclaimed kingdom, and Ahmed Zogu became King of Albanians (King Zogu I). Such a title put in a claim to Yugoslav territories inhabited by Albanians. The Yugoslav side observed the course of events calmly, considering this as the logical sequence of events after signing the treaties of Tirana. These treaties, signed in 1926 and 1927, resulted in Italian protectorate over Albania, but also a stronger pressure on Yugoslav Kingdom (Аврамовски, 1986, p. 25–28; Милак, 1987, p. 41–42; Павловић, 2001; Krizman, 1975, p. 51; Велојић, 2016, p. 145–147). Albanian external politics clearly showed that their attitude towards an eastern neighbour would be determined by the relations of Yugoslavia and Italy. During the second Balkan Conference in Constantinople 1931, Albanian delegation submitted a memorandum on unfavourable status of Albanian national minority on the territory of Yugoslavia. In response to this memorandum, the Yugoslav delegation stated that Balkan Pact should prevent the influence of big countries on certain states, which openly criticised Italian influence in Albania (Аврамовски, 1986, p. 51). The Albanian side itself, however, was not delighted with those pacts, and they did not renew them upon their termination. In 1930, there were several newspaper articles in Albanian press, fiercely condemning Italian allies, which were presumed to have been instigated by the official circles.² After failed assassination of King Zogu in Vienna in 1931,³ the relations with Yugoslavia were further undermined, since its government was held responsible for it.⁴

Impaired Yugoslav-Albanian relations affected both position and status of the ethnic minorities, especially Serbian minority on the territory of Albania. Albanization of Serbs was done systematically, mostly through education policy, which called for closure of schools in foreign languages. Since a lot of Serbian population lived in Shkodra and the vicinity, there was a Serbian elementary school in the city, founded in 1828 (more detailed: Протић, 1914). The school was under jurisdiction of the local clerical-school community, holding tight connections with the eparchy of Prizren. The closest ties of

² *Извештаји Министарства иностраних послова Краљевине Југославије*, I, (Извештаји), p. 12.

³ *Британци о Краљевини Југославији*, II (Британци), p. 13.

⁴ Investigation confirmed the assassins were followers of Zogu's opponent Fan Noli (Велојић 2016, p. 145–146).

orthodox population in Shkodra were with Montenegro, due to border vicinity, so that more teachers came from those areas.

Between two world wars 'Sveti Sava' school in Shkodra was a part of clerical school autonomy, although it was dependent on state politics. The aspirations of Albanians were to affirm the newly formed state, together with Albanian orthodox church, which would take all clerical power over orthodox population in Albania. Considering the national and ethnic setting of the school, it became the focus of Yugoslav state and was monitored by the consulate in Shkodra, which resulted in sending a number of teachers from Yugoslav Kingdom.

Serbian schools in Albania, particularly the one in Shkodra, were supervised by the school official from Podgorica. However, due to pressure from the Albanian government, the official was suspended. Supervision of Serbian schools in Albania was clearly regulated in 1930 by acts of Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs:

„The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the honour to inform that the Royal Embassy in Tirana considers that supervision of our schools in Shkodra and Vraka should be done, as until now, by the Royal Consulate in Shkodra, to which the principals of the mentioned schools are to submit reports on events, activities and achievements in these schools, particularly at the beginning and end of the school year. The Consulate in turn is to forward these reports to the Ministry of Education. Supervision by the Consulate should be carried out in a discreet way, considering special position of those schools, which completely excludes total and normal supervision, carried out by our educational authorities in our territory“⁵

The letter above clearly points out the inability of normal supervision of activity in Serbian schools, even by the Consulate. The situation was particularly complicated after closing Greek schools (45 out of 75 in total), after complaints that Greek teachers held connections with the nationalist league *Epirotes*. Two Greek teachers were then convicted to 12 and 8 years in prison, under the aggravating circumstances of practising espionage and informing their Ministry of Army of Albania.⁶

⁵ Архив Југославије (АЈ), фонд 66 Министарство просвете Краљевине Југославије, ф. 7, Министарство иностраних послова Министарству просвете одељењу за основну наставу, пов. бр. 5239 од 22. марта 1930..

⁶ *Ibid.* Посланство Краљевине Југославије у Тирани Министарству иностраних послова, политичком одељењу, пов. 1374 од 17. јула 1930.

The ambassador in Tirana called for balance and tactfulness in view of possible closure of Serbian schools following the Greek scenario. The teacher Vuk Stojković was mentioned in this aspect, who unadvisedly let his photograph be published in the paper *Vreme*, even though he was an Albanian citizen.⁷

The case of teacher Stojković posed an additional burden to Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, after an anonymous letter was sent to the Minister of Education assistant. The letter accused the teacher of espionage, although he was held in high esteem by the military circles in Yugoslavia. The letter states the following:

„Indeed, he came across certain information, which he delivered to our military command and thus convinced them of his patriotism, however, he deceived our military officers by asking questions in an indirect way, and in some cases, they entrusted him with aspirations and intentions of our army. These intentions and plans were passed on to Albanian and Italian intelligence services by the teacher's wife, for which activity he was paid in gold. It is known that he already received more than 800 gold coins, which he used to build a house in Podgorica and invest in the bank under a different name, so that he would not be discovered“.⁸

This affair reached the Consul in Shkodra, so the teacher and his wife were promptly sent off. However, owing to military connections, especially in bordering areas, no investigation was carried out.⁹

Despite an incriminating spy affair, Vuk Stojković was considered a citizen of the Kingdom of Albania. Being an Albanian citizen meant only a formality, because Yugoslav educational authorities made an effort to employ only verified staff as teachers. In this way, teachers remained within Yugoslav Ministry of Education. Female teacher Vasilija Čerenković, e.g., was willing to relocate to Shkodra if she was to remain the employee of the Ministry of Education. In addition to salary received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, she regularly received extra teaching fees. She further demanded that her years of work as a teacher in Shkodra be entered into her pension contributions, and to get promotion in Yugoslavia.¹⁰ Besides a

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* The letter to Minister of Education assistant .

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Начелство среза Бококторског Краљевској банској управи Зетске бановине пов. бр. 1436 од 2. јула 1930.

regular salary and pension contribution, this job also included a benefit of a monthly income provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was not stated to what purpose the Ministry would pay fees to employees of other ministries without direct advantage, so this raises the question about the purpose of sending teachers from Yugoslavia to Albania and if they were meant to do other jobs apart from teaching.

The number of teachers in this school exceeded that of students. In September 1930, the school manager Haralampije Andrić claimed that 10 students attended the first grade, while there were 19 students in the second, 18 in the third and 10 in the fourth, respectively.

Accordingly, two classes were formed, therefore two teachers were enough, although there were four of them.¹¹ Besides a small number of pupils, there were other reasons for a limited number of teachers. The status of Serbian schools in Albania from 1928 got rather delicate, making it difficult to hire new staff. Any increase in number of teachers led to suspicion of Albanian authorities, which was not in the best interest of Serbian minority. According to Yugoslav consul in Shkodra, the number of teachers was sufficient and well-qualified to ensure teaching and successful school activity. The consul himself pointed out the difficulties Serbian schools came up with after decision of Albanian authorities from 1929, stating that teaching should be done in Albanian, following the curriculum of Albanian primary schools, where Serbian would be used one lesson per day as mother tongue and two lessons of History and Geography.¹²

Despite conducting most teaching in Albanian, the principal and the teachers did their best to provide the best education possible in approved Serbian lessons. Books had to be procured from the territory of Yugoslav Kingdom via official channels exclusively, in order not to raise suspicion of Albanian authorities. School management used the Consulate in Shkodra to address the Embassy, and requests were forwarded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This Ministry in turn, sent the request to the Ministry of Education, so the books were sent to Albania, upon approval. For

¹¹ *Ibid.* Извештај конзулату Краљевине Југославије у Скадру пов. бр. 7 од 10. септембра 1930.

¹² *Ibid.* Писмо југословенског конзула у Скадру Министарству иностраних послова, политичком одељењу пов. 882 од 10. септембра 1930.

the school year 1931/32, textbooks were shipped from Yugoslavia, as follows:¹³

Alphabet book.....	60 pc.
Religion for 3rd grade	30 p
Religion for 4 th grade	30
Reading book for 1 st grade	30
Reading book for 2 nd grade	30
Reading book for 3 rd grade	30
Reading book for 4 th grade	30
Serbian Grammar for 3 rd grade	30
Serbian grammar for 4 th grade.....	30
Biserni Venac reader for 1 st grade	40
Biserni Venac reader for 2 nd grade	40
Illustrated stories	40
Majčino krilo, rhymes and stories for children	40
Illustrated fables and stories	40

The number of pupils did not change much in the following period. The school consisted of three groups in four grades and two groups of kindergarten. The number of pupils per group can be presented in this way:¹⁴

First grade: enrolled grade: 8 boys, 6 girls, total 14

left school: – boy, 1 girl, total 1

attended grade: 8 boys, 5 girls, total 13

repeated grade: 1 boy, 1 girl, total 2

completed grade: 7 boys, 4 girls, total 11

Second grade: enrolled: 8 boys, 13 girls, total 21

left: 2 boys, 1 girl, total 3

attended: 6 boys, 12 girls, total 18

repeated: – boys, 1 girl, total 1

completed: 6 boys, 11 girls, total 17

Third grade: enrolled: 9 boys, 6 girls, total 15

left: 2 boys, 1 girl, total 3

¹³ *Ibid*, Управа школе конзулату Краљевине Југославије пов. бр. 8 од 19. августа 1931.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, Управа основне школе у Скадру конзулату Краљевине Југославије пов. бр. 4 од 29 јуна 1931.

attended: 7 boys, 5 girls, total 12
repeated: 1 boy, – girl, total 1
completed: 6 boys, 5 girls, total 11

Fourth grade: enrolled: 3 boys, 4 girls, total 7
left: 1 boy, – girl, total 1
attended: 2 boys, 4 girls, total 6
repeated: – boys, 1 girl, total 1
completed: 2 boys, 3 girls, total 5

Two groups of kindergarten consisted of 18 and 12 children, respectively.

The report from the following year shows that there were newcomers to the school, but also that several old pupils left, which made the number of pupils in grades 2, 3 and 4 different compared to the previous year:¹⁵

First grade: enrolled: 8 boys, 10 girls, total 18
left: 1 boy, 2 girls, total 3
repeated: 2 boys, 1 girl, total 3
completed: 5 boys, 7 girls, total 12

Second grade: enrolled: 9 boys, 5 girls, total 14
left: 1 boy, 1 girl, total 2
repeated: – boys, – girls, total -
completed: 8 boys, 4 girls, total 12

Third grade: enrolled: 8 boys, 4 girls, total 12
left: – boys, – girls, total -
repeated: 1 boy, 1 girl, total 2
completed: 7 boys, 3 girls, total 10

Fourth grade: enrolled: 8 boys, 4 girls, total 12
left: – boys, – girls, total -
repeated: – boys, – girls, total -
completed: 8 boys, 4 girls, total 12

The report did not take into account the difference in the number of pupils, therefore the reasons of leaving school were not mentioned.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Извештај о раду школе преослеђен Министарству иностраних послова од 3. јула 1932.

The attitude of Albanian government concerning Serbian schools, predicted, as quoted, compulsory education in Albanian. The Ministry of Education issued an order in 1930 that school enter pupils' names into register without the ending 'ić', which was followed by change of the school name and imposed new stamp with Albanian emblem (Димић, 1990, p. 920). Besides, there were attempts to impose Albanian teachers as well. Albanian government attempted to position their teacher, a Muslim at school, so as to get better perception of the activities carried out by the principle and staff.¹⁶ After supervisor's protest, the teacher was withdrawn, but a new one, a Catholic was employed, so the principal acting upon order of Yugoslav consulate, had to reject such a solution of staff. As explanation, insufficient number of pupils was given, and the new teacher could not form his class. Albanian education inspection put pressure on the principal, threatening strict measures for rejecting to fulfil the request of the Ministry of Education. After probable intervention of the Yugoslav embassy, the principal received the guarantee from the Head of compulsory education in Albanian Ministry of Education that a new teacher would not be accepted, due to reasons the school had already given. In the consul's opinion, the attempt of the Albanian government to remove the remaining privileges left in Serbian elementary school by hiring those teachers failed.¹⁷

However, Serbian school in Shkodra was closed for entirely different reasons. Namely, in this period relations between Italy and Albania got problematic, especially after Albanian government decided not to extend the treaty of Tirana from 1926, which led to suspension of Italian subsidies and loan payment and resulted in economic pressure on Albania.¹⁸

In order to diminish Italian influence, Albanian government decided to change Article 206 of its Constitution in 1933, which stated that teaching and education of Albanian citizens should come under exclusive authority of the state.¹⁹ As a result, private schools,

¹⁶ A year earlier a female Albanian teacher was hired, and another attempt by Albanian authorities to impose a teacher was prevented by intervening of the embassy in Tirana. *Ibid*, Конзулат у Скадру Краљевском посланству у Тирани пов. бр. 633 од 9. јула 1931.

¹⁷ *Ibid*. Југословенски конзулат у Скадру Министарству иностраних послова, политичком одељењу пов. 903 од 18. новембра 1932.

¹⁸ *Британци*, II, p. 158.

¹⁹ *Извештаји*, IV, p. 111.

73 in total, in Albania were closed.²⁰ These measures were primarily aimed at closing catholic schools run by Italian Jesuits and Franciscans, so as to reduce the influence of Italian culture in general (Димић 1990, p. 921).

At the same time, Albanian Ministry of Education passed a new education law, which came into effect in October 1934. According to this law, all educational staff had to be secular and funded by the Ministry of Education. Elementary education predicted obligatory teaching for all children aged 4–13, whereas young men aged 13–18, who did not complete elementary school were to attend courses, but without learning a foreign language, in order to prevent Italian propaganda in schools.²¹

According to Article 167 of the law, all buildings, including schools under foreign management, were taken over and submitted to the Ministry of Education for further use, which meant that Albanian government claimed the building and land of Serbian elementary school in Shkodra.²² Besides, the law predicted acceptance of emigrant children to state boarding schools, which included children of Albanians from the territory of Yugoslavia.²³ New Albanian educational policy enabled founding and assistance of schools outside Albania. Schools were planned in places with predominant Albanian population to teach subjects in connection with national culture²⁴ Such a procedure only made existence of schools on Yugoslav territory funded by Albanian government official.²⁵ In the following years, Albanian government endeavoured to educate as many young men from Kosovo and Metohija as possible, with the intention of spreading nationalism and irredentism in Albanian youth. After return to Yugoslavia, these men were to become the most prominent agitators of annexation of Kosovo and Metohija to Albania.²⁶ According to reports of Yugoslav military intelligence

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 112.

²¹ AJ, 66, ф. 7. Отправник послера у Тирани Министарству иностраних послера политичком одељењу пов. 1371 од 24. новембра 1934.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ *Ibid*, Interpretation of education law in Serbian, 1934

²⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁵ In previous years certain districts in Kosovo and Metochia were investigated, since there was doubt of existence of Albanian schools taught by Muslim teachers and funded by Albanian government. *Ibid*, Краљевска банска управа Вардарске бановине начелнику среза гњиланског пов. др. 151 од 13.02.1930.

²⁶ *Ibid*, Report on Albanian education policy from 1937.

groups, up to 1937, over 1,000 young men from Kosovo and Metohija were educated in Albanian military schools and returned to Yugoslavia. Besides, on instructions of Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, students from Albania got in touch with students of Albanian nationality, Yugoslav citizens, in order to spread propaganda²⁷ Thus, a strong intellectual nucleus of Albanian irredentism was created in Yugoslavia, maintaining close connections with Albania.

According to new legal norms, Serbian elementary school in Shkodra was closed, teachers were dismissed, and the pupils resumed their education in Albanian state schools. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslav Kingdom claimed that the advantage of stopping Italian cultural and religious influence far exceeded the damage done by closing schools (Димић 1990, p. 921).

The school in Shkodra was closed after Albanian Constitution was changed and the new education law was passed. These measures, although applying to all foreign schools in Albania, were brought with the aim to diminish Italian influence in culture and religion. Serbian school shared the destiny of 75 foreign schools that came under scrutiny of the state. However, it would be wrong to interpret closing of this school as collateral damage in Italian-Albanian conflict. Introduction of obligatory education in Albanian, imposing teachers of Albanian nationality to the school, correcting pupils' surnames for the official protocol, as well as changing the name of the school with the new stamp, were measures that Albanian government took over the years with the aim of national homogenization of Slovene population in Albania. Yugoslavia could only alleviate the consequences of such denationalization, by bringing pupils to attend schools to Yugoslavia, but this gave poor results. On the other hand, Albanian government, assisted by Italians, managed to attract a greater number of their citizens from Yugoslavia for education, after which they were sent back to find work as office clerks.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Document of intelligence department of Yugoslav military authorities on plans of Albanian Ministry of Education.

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ДАЛИБОР З. ВЕЛОЈИЋ

ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРПСКУ КУЛТУРУ – ПРИШТИНА / ЛЕПОСАВИЋ

РЕЗИМЕ

УКИДАЊЕ СРПСКЕ ОСНОВНЕ ШКОЛЕ У СКАДРУ 1934.

Српска основна школа у Скадру основана је 1828. године и била у надлежности црквено-школске општине. У периоду између двасветска рата школа је, иако је зависила од албанске др-

жаве, одржавала тесну везу са југословенским конзулатом у Скадру, а преко њега и са посланством у Тирани. Југословенске власти, тачније Министарство просвете и Министарство иностраних послова, водећи рачуна о томе да се превише не умешају у албанску унутрашњу политику, настојале су да школу опреме уџбеницима на српском језику, као и да обезбеде адекватан учитељски кадар. Пре свега, водило се рачуна о задржавању српског језика у школи, пошто је албанска просветна политика предвиђала извођење већег дела наставе на албанском.

Албанска политика подржана од Италијана, имала је за циљ културну и просветну интеграцију албанског друштва. Увођење наставе на албанском језику, наметање албанских учитеља, као и промена имена школе, резултати су такве политике националне хомогенизације.

Школа је укинута коначно 1934. године након измене албанског устава и доношења новог просветног закона. Да би сузбила италијански утицај, албанска влада одлучила је да настава и испитање албанских грађана пређе искључиво у надлежност државе. Само укидање иницирали су албанско-италијански конфликти, услед којих су све стране школе на територији Албаније укинуте, њихове зграде предате министарству просвете на коришћење, а просветни персонал отпуштен и замењен албанским. Југословенска држава могла је једино да ублажи последице ове денационализације довођењем ученика на школовање у Југославију, али је то дало слабе резултате.

Кључне речи: Српска основна школа у Скадру, Албанија, Краљевина Југославија, просветна политика.



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SCIENTIFIC VIEWS OF MILORAD EKMEČIĆ ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINS OF NAČERTANIJE: HIS GOALS AND INTERPRETATIONS

ABSTRACT. Researching for the needs of the doctoral dissertation on the topic “*Life and Work of Milorad Ekmečić (1928–2015)*”, we noticed that this distinguished Yugoslavian and Serbian historian, in one period of his career, had shown special interest in search for the true creator of “*Načertanije*” – unofficial foreign policy program of the Principality of Serbia. Starting from the principle that in historical science nothing is explored to the end, he tackled the issue with almost axiomatic claim that Ilija Garašanin is the author of this writing. Thanks to decades of research experience, extraordinary erudition and a good command of archive material and relevant literature he managed to perform critical scrutiny. He discovered data that shed a whole new light on the background of this document. He wrote about its historical meaning and goals, but also about different interpretations of the essence of “*Načertanije*”, which once had a non-scientific character. He thus gave another original contribution to our historiography.

KEYWORDS: Milorad Ekmečić; *Načertanije*; Illyrian movement; David Urquart; Adam Czartoryski; František Zach; Ilija Garašanin.

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Milorad Ekmečić is one of the biggest names in Balkan historiography of the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Creating for more than six decades he left behind an indelible scientific mark, as evidenced by more than 300 bibliographic items and several dozen generations of educated historians. Owing to a rarely seen enthusiasm he removed the decades of accumulated dust from extremely important sources of southeastern and central Europe, and he gave them the appropriate form and interpretation. His main area of scientific interest was the development of the national revival of the South Slavs, their interrelationships, their similarities and differences, as well as the influence of great forces on their shaping. A real example of this is his study of the conditions in which the foreign policy program known as “*Načertanije*” was created. Driven by a strong research curiosity he invested great efforts to find who the real inspirers, contributors and creators of this writing were, which had provoked numerous controversies from the day of its inception. The results of his study were extremely interesting. For example, he showed that the roots of the “*Načertanije*”, were intertwined with the Illyrian movement. In his work “*Church and the nation at the Croats*” (original: *Црква и нација код Хрвата*) claims that “the highest historical achievement of Croatian liberal Catholicism”, was manifested in the creation of the first Serbian national doctrine known as “*Načertanije*” (Екмечић, 2002, p. 122). On the pages of the same article, he underlined that many roman catholic priests from Dalmatia, Slavonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina participated in the making of manuscript, and later were Garšanin’s trustees in the implementation of the idea of the unification of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Serbia. He mentioned Matija Ban and Tomo Kovačević as the most prominent among them. “In general, the main historical contribution of liberal Catholicism was in inspiring political programs for the creation of a common Yugoslavian state with the Serbs and Belgrade as its capital.” (Екмечић, 2002, p. 122).

Ekmečić believed that any research endeavor should be aimed at reconstructing the history of the origin of the Serbian national doctrine in 1844. “We should start from the basic point that it was created within the goals of the Serbian revolution of 1804–1815, but that the Serbs did not formulate it in that period, rather than accepted and refined when it was developed by British and French diplomats in 1832.” (Екмечић, 2002, p. 99). He assigns the greatest role in creating this document to David Urquart, a controversial British diplomat. In his monumental work *Creation of Yugoslavia*

(original: *Стварање Југославије*), he writes that Urquhart, acting as the secretary of the British embassy in Constantinople, met with prince Miloš and then wrote reports, whose transcribed version was found among the papers of the Polish nobleman Adam Czartoryski; the folder also contained the documents on the basis of which “*Načertanije*” was later created (Екмечић, 1989, p. 225). According to Екмечић research, the Serbian foreign policy program was formed by a Scot (David Urquhart), a Czech (Frantiseh Zach) and a Pole (Adam Czartoryski), while Ilija Garašanin only shaped and formulated it (Екмечић, 1989, p. 224-228). In his mentioned work “*Church and the nation at the Croats*”, Екмечић says that Urquhart published all the essential ideas of “*Načertanije*” was even earlier in journals “*Portfolio*” and “*British and Foreign Quarterly Review*”, advising the Serbs that it was better not to cross the borders of the Ottoman Empire in their struggle for independence (Екмечић, 2002, p. 122).

Through his article “*Marginalities about Serbian–Bulgarian relations 1844–1851.*” (original: *Маргиналије о српско–бугарским везама 1844–1851.*) we learn that Urquhart advocated for the creation of the Danube Confederation in his work from 1837. – *La Turquie ses ressources, son organisation municipale, son commerce*, “under the protection of Austria” which would consist of Serbia (potentially united with Bosnia), Bulgaria, Moldova and Wallachia (Екмечић, 2000, pp. 232-279).

What is the historical meaning of these actions of Urquhart, in which both Zach and Czartoryski took part? According to Екмечић, their goal was to repel Serbia from Russia and the pan-Slavic movement through its westernization, which was equated with gaining independence. Creating a plan for the Serbian national movement for the coming decades, these famous foreigners of Serbian history believed that Serbia should be incorporated into the bloc of “Western Slavs” as opposed to Russian imperial pan-Slavism, which they identified with imperialism (Екмечић, 2002, pp. 112-116). Judging by the prints of material for the history of the creation of “*Načertanije*” from the Polish, British, French, Austrian, Russian and Yugoslavian archives, Urquhart worked on it devotedly even before the end of the Greek National Revolution (1821–1830).² Екмечић formulated a thesis about the fear of the great western powers saying that the Serbs could become “Russian horsemen” on the warm seas,

² According to Екмечић testimony, the mentioned documents “are destroyed at the beginning of the civil war in Sarajevo at 1992.” Translated by the author.

which had obviously come to the fore again. In his last synthesis *Long Movement between Slaughter and Plowing* (original: *Дуго кретање између клања и орања*), he enigmatically drew the thought that in the year of the official creation of “*Načertanije*” (1844.) the same idea came to the Greeks “*Μεγάλη Ιδέα*” (Eng. “Great idea”), and the Italians “*Speranze d’Italia*” (Cesare Balbo) making them the two fateful drafts of national doctrines. He did not clarify whether there was any connection between these plans or whether it was a mere coincidence (Екмечић, 2007, pp. 218–220). Through the text of the article “*European Background Načertanije by Ilija Garašanin from 1844*” (original: *Европска позадина Начертанија Илије Гарашанина из 1844.*) he stated that of these three great national doctrines, two “historically failed” and the third, the Italian, won through the rise of the ideas of the catholic forces in European development (Екмечић, 2002, p. 117).

It should be pointed out that Екмечић was especially concerned with the ideological draft of Cesar Balbo from 1844. and its long-term influences on European, Yugoslav and Serbian history. In his work “*Balkan policy of Austro-Hungary after the Berlin Congress*” (original: *Балканска политика Аустро-Угарске после Берлинског конгреса*) he pointed out that Balbo’s plan was in fact a strategic minimum to which all Catholic and non-Catholic western states should adhere. What did such a foreign policy program mean? Екмечић showed that, as Cesare Balbo predicted, the Italian national unification would take place and had to be fulfilled as a vow of all civilized countries – which did not include Russia – to find a place under the sun for the maintenance of the Habsburg monarchy and when its “posthumous bell starts ringing, with the fall of the Italian and German provinces” (Екмечић, 2007, p. 145). Publishing a translation of this writing as a special attachment to the collection of works “*Dialogue of Past and Present*” (original: *Дијалог прошлости и садашњости*)³ Екмечић presented the essence of Balbo’s idea, which implied the necessity that “Austria replaces Italian and German provinces with Turkish ones” (Екмечић, 2002, p. 229). Following one of Екмечић theses, these desertions of Habsburg penetration on the European southeast dated back to the time of Eugene of Savoy, and only continued during the 19th century. Based on his translation, we can conclude that Balbo’s writing had its own, cultural-racist dimension saying, that Slavic peoples cannot be “civilized”

³ Екмечић, 2002, pp. 229–234.

without the Germanization of their areas. His thoughts regarding the colonization of German settlers on the fertile Slavic fields: "It's not a utopia that Germany should leave Eastern Europe. The opposite of that is to think that utopia can be created on east without Germany" (Ekmečić, 2002, p. 234). He obviously held the position that civilization among the Slavic peoples should be carried out by the Germans — Prussian Germans to Poland, and Austrians to the Balkans.

Ekmečić proved that the Habsburg court co-opted the manuscript as their historical program from 1866, when they finally lost the provinces during the war with Prussia and Italy. Then, to his knowledge, a definite decision was made not to allow Serbian national unification at any cost. He claimed that the decision was made on to the possibility of the Serbian liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which would fundamentally threaten the existence of the Habsburg state existence (Ekmečić, 2007, p. 145). Therefore, Serbian "Načertanije" came into conflict with the Habsburg version by Cesare Balbo, and the Serbian national movement became the mortal enemy of "Black and Yellow Monarchy".

In general, it seems to be the most expedient judgment about the most important Serbian foreign policy plan of the 19th century that Ekmečić presented in *Creation of Yugoslavia* through the words that the "Načertanije" was not the fruit of Ilija Garašanin's ingenuity, nor his advisor Frantisek Zach, nor the activities of prince Adam Czartoryski, but that it was "squeezed juice of the Serbian historical experience of the struggle for an independent and democratic state from the time of Prince Miloš and the conflict with Russian diplomacy in 1833. (...) this was the result of verified connections with representatives of the surrounding national movements" (Ekmečić, 1989, p. 479). He believed that only ignorance of the true nature of the origin of that document determined a part of historians "to assess it as a source of Greater Serbian hegemony" (Ekmečić, 2002, p. 122).

It should be noted that Ekmečić found that the "Načertanije" the so-called "greater Serbian goals" were not of recent date, but had a deep root that stretched back to the 1860s when French diplomacy aided the creation of Party of Rights in Croatia with the aim of catholic expansion. According to his research, the evaluation of "Načertanije" as a "project of Greater Serbian hegemony", had starting then, with the denial of its declared goal – the creation of a free Yugoslav state with Serbia as its Piedmont (Ekmečić, 2002, p. 98).

Yet, the real misunderstandings in scientific circles about the nature of “*Načertanije*” emerged only when the German political ideology after 1930 began to accuse Serbia of being responsible for the 1914 war, which was tied to its entire national policy. Ekmečić believed that the German attacks on Serbia and its national doctrine were assisted by the last Austro-Hungarian governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Stjepan Sarkotić, through writing of the preface to the German protocol of the process of Banja Luka from the First World War (Екмечић, 2002, p. 98). “Under such circumstances scientists have made a mistaken assumption that it was Czartoryski in 1843 offered to the Serbian government one Polish project of Yugoslavian unification, and Garašanin made of that a Serbian project in 1844. What Czartoryski offered was not a Polish draft, but a broad program of Serbian gathering, that was leading to a broader Yugoslavian, which was created by Miloš Obrenović in 1833. From the Serbian program of Yugoslavian unity, Garašanin kept his meaning, but rejected Polish trust in the historical power of Croatian liberal Catholicism, as the basis of the real policy of a one state.” (Екмечић, 1989, p. 484).

“*Načertanije*” was also marked as ‘apple of discord’ between Croatian and Yugoslavian oriented “representatives of the muse Clio” during the Second World War.⁴ In the period of socialist Yugoslavia, there was real flood of new-old assessments of “*Načertanije*” as “one of the sources for the greater Serbian aggression”, it was a part of the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Ekmečić said that the assessments of Croatian historians Mirko Grmek, Marko Djidara and Neven Simac about “*Načertanije*” as an ideological draft of ethnic cleansing with the aim of creating a Greater Serbia (Grmek et al., 1993), “represented the cracking of the dam where irrational flood of similar writings around the world had led to the evaluation every word of the scientific research part of a conspiracy born in 1844.” (Екмечић, 2002, p. 98).

Speaking of the famous term ‘Greater Serbia’, it is worth noting that Ekmečić dealt with it especially in his work “*The Notion of a Greater Serbia according to World Models*” (original: *Појам Велике Србије према светским узорима*), that was presented at an international scientific conference of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade at the end of October 2002. In his view, ‘Greater

⁴ Here, Ekmečić cites the example of Petar Šimunić's book “*Načertanije: Secret document of Serbian national and foreign policy*” (original: “*Načertanije. Tajni spis srbske nacionalne i vanjske politike*”) (Šimunić, 1944).

Serbia' presented a legitimate idea of the rights of the Serbian people to gather within its political borders all the provinces in which the Serbian people live. As in all other European models, this did not mean that only countries where the Serbian people live in the ethnic majority, so they would be already statistically entitled to it, this considered also those border zones where they lived as a significant ethnic group, although not the majority by a number. That indicates the aspiration to unite all ethnic areas of one nation, with the strategic encirclement of its borders, that, this is the basis of every sovereign state. He points out that a true understanding of the term „Greater Serbia“ should always be observed in relation to historical standards of German and other European nations, He pointed out that the true understanding of the term 'Greater Serbia' should always be viewed in relation to the historical standards of German and other European nations, because it is one of the motives for the development of the Serbian past, which was European - conditioned from the beginning, experiencing ups and downs, as well as the final decline.

Studying the problems of the historical meaning of the first Serbian foreign policy doctrine, Ekmečić proved the correctness of his statement made in his work *Creation of Yugoslavia* - that nothing important happened in the Balkans without the direct or indirect participation of the great powers. In the mentioned book, in addition to the unpublished documents from the Yugoslav and European archives, he used the writings of one of the authors to build his views of "Načertanije", David Urquhart,⁵ to build his views, but also classics of Serbian historiography such as the works of Čedomilj Mijatović⁶, Milan Milićević,⁷ Dragoslav Stranjковић,⁸ Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić,⁹ Vojislav Vučković.¹⁰ He also consulted foreign literature, mostly of Polish provenance.¹¹ In his later works he dealt with this question including several more of his works which have been in the meantime created,¹² but also arguably the most complete study of it - *Book of Načertanije* (original: *Књига о Начертанију*)

⁵ Urquart, 1835.

⁶ Мижатовић, 1892.

⁷ Милићевић, 1893.

⁸ Стрњаковић, 1939.

⁹ Дурковић-Јакшић, 1968.

¹⁰ Вучковић, 1956.

¹¹ Batowski, 1939; Handelsman, 1949; Konarska 1971; Grzebieniowski, 1932-1933

¹² Екмечић, 1999, 53-111; Екмечић, 2000, 280-295.

by Radoš Ljušić.¹³ As a new contribution to the study of this topic, at the end of his work *European Background Načertanije by Ilija Garašanin from 1844* he added two attachments in English. The first is entitled *Projet de Memoir of the Serbian Government*, and the second (*David Urquart*): *The Affairs of Serbia*.

Based on thing said, we can conclude that Ekmečić, based on the original material and relevant historiographical literature, proved that “*Načertanije*” in fact, was not the fruit of Serbian political thought, but the work of three European diplomats and statesmen, who, out of their own interests, drew up a plan for Serbian national unification within the Yugoslav community. The entire history of this document was accompanied by numerous controversies, which Ekmečić, thanks to exhaustive archival research and reading volumes and volumes of books, successfully developed. The same is the case with malicious assessments and accusations against “*Načertanije*” which, according to Ekmečić were unscientific and served as an ideological justification for the expansion of other forces at the expense of Serbian interests. In his opinion, “the real opponents of the sober study of *Načertanije* are western generals, and not huge books that are written for their needs.” (Екмечић, 2002, 129). Despite the fact that, this document, “entered into all the preambles of the indictment against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, of all individuals charged with war crimes in the civil war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina of the International Court of Justice in the Hague, as well as the International Criminal Tribunal for war crimes in Hague”, his scientific view of “*Načertanije*” is clear: it was a doctrine whose ultimate goal was the creation of a Yugoslav state on the natural foundations of Serbian ethnic unification.

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¹³ Љушић, 1993.

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ЈОВАН Ј. АЛЕКСИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ

У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

КАТЕДРА ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

РЕЗИМЕ

НАУЧНА СТАНОВИШТА МИЛОРАДА ЕКМЕЧИЋА
ПРЕМА ПОРЕКЛУ „НАЧЕРТАНИЈА“, ЊЕГОВИМ ЦИЉЕВИМА
И ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЈАМА

Истражујући за потребе докторске дисертације на тему „Живот и дело Милорада Екмечића (1928-2015)“, запазили смо да је овај еминентни југословенски и српски историчар у једном периоду своје каријере показивао нарочито интересовање за одговора на питање ко је прави креатор „Начертанија“ – незваничног спољнополитичког програма Кнежевине Србије. Полазећи од принципа да у историјској науци ништа није до краја откривено, ухватио се у коштац са готово аксиоматском тврдњом о Илији Гарашанину као аутору овог списка. Благодарно вишедеценијском истраживачком искуству, вансеријској ерудицији и добром познавању архивске грађе и релевантне литературе успео да је стави под критичку лупу. Открио је податке који бацају сасвим ново светло на позадину настанка овог документа. Показао је да „Начертаније“ заправо није било плод српске политичке мисли, већ дело тројице европских дипломата и државника, који су из својих интереса сачинили план српског националног уједињења у склопу југословенске заједнице. Целу историју овог документа пратиле су бројне контроверзе, које је Екмечић, захваљујући исцрпним архивским истраживањима и ишчитавањем томова и томова књига успешно рашчишћавао. Исти је случај и са злонамерним оценама и оптужбама на рачун „Начертанија“, које су, према Екмечићевим оценама, готово по правилу биле ваннаучне и служиле као идеолошко оправдање за експанзију других сила на рачун српских интереса. Чини се да је најцелисходнији суд о најзначајнијем српском спољнополитичком плану 19. века изнео у *Сиварању Јујославије* кроз речи да На-

чертаније није плод домишљања Илије Гарашанина, нити његовог саветника Франтишека Заха, па ни делатности кнеза Адама Чарториског, већ да је то „исцеђен сок српског историјског искуства борбе за самосталну и демократску државу од времена сукоба кнеза Милоша са руском дипломатијом 1833 (...) резултат проверених веза са представницима околних националних покрета“. Својим оштроумним и акрибичним опсервацијама о историјском смислу и циљевима, али и о различитим тумачењима суштине „Начертанија“, подарио је још један значајан допринос овдашњој историографији.

Кључне речи: Милорад Екмечић, Начертаније, Илирски покрет, Дејвид Уркварт, Адам Чарториски, Франтишек Зах, Илија Гарашанин.



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LANGUAGE

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THE DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

ABSTRACT. This paper focuses on a diachronic study of compound adjectives found in the Old and Middle English texts of the Helsinki Corpus. The compound adjectives of both periods are analysed, and further classified into types on the basis of the word class their constituent elements belong to. The aim of the research is to follow the development courses of compound adjective types in the two language periods and to investigate what happened to them in Modern English. The comparison of the types results in the description of the character of these changes, illuminating which Old English types survived into the subsequent periods, which were lost from the language, and what were the new ones introduced in the Middle English period.

KEYWORDS: compound adjective; word class; corpus; change.

INTRODUCTION

Language change, as an on-going phenomenon, is characteristic of all languages, and the modern English language we know today results from over fifteen hundred years of development, influenced by various social, political, and cultural events which marked the

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history of Great Britain. The English language has changed significantly throughout its long history, and the most obvious changes are observed in the domain of its vocabulary—it has been estimated that 85% of Old English words of German origin were lost (Kas-tovsky, 2005). Linguistic reasons for these changes can be attributed to borrowing and different word-formation processes, and compounding takes an important part and effects the structure and outlook of the English word stock. Even though compounding has demonstrated a most productive potential in English word-formation, it raises many unresolved issues—the domain of diachrony, and morphological structure being some of them. Furthermore, not all parts of speech gained the same attention in research—adjectival compounds have been neglected in morphological studies in comparison to the most widely studied nominal compounds.

This paper focuses on a diachronic aspect of compounding—the description of compound adjective types in Old and Middle English, based on parts of speech their constituent elements belong to. The aim of the study is to describe the nature of development courses of compound adjective types during these two language periods, and to find out which Old English patterns survived into Middle and Modern English, and which ones died out of the language. Although compounds and elements they are composed of evolve in time and undergo changes occurring at all linguistic levels, in this work we will focus on changes affecting compounds only in terms of parts of speech their constituent elements belong to, with the aim to investigate language change affecting language inner structure, and how susceptible it is to change.

The research relies on the study of texts from the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus, the most thorough and relevant corpus representing English throughout its history. The compound adjectives analysed in this work were taken from the Old and Middle English texts of the Corpus, dating from 750 to 1150, and from 1150 to 1500, respectively.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The present influence of the English language is not a novel one—the language has been gaining and retaining influence over the centuries; however, apart from the influence, the centuries also brought countless contacts with a number of languages the speak-

ers of which visited or ruled over the territories related to the English language. As a result, over the long period of its existence, English has ‘changed substantially [...] reflecting the patterns of contact with other languages’ (Graddol, 2000, p. 2). Although it has, undisputedly, occupied the position of the global *lingua franca*, there are actually very few words which could be regarded as autochthonous within the vocabulary of the contemporary English language. Despite the fact that ‘hybridity and permeability’ of English, stemming from its openness, are regarded as ‘defining features’ (Graddol, 2000, p. 6), it is believed that these very traits make it, not only vibrant but also vulnerable. Furthermore, hand in hand with characteristics brought along with the mentioned contacts, English has kept evolving as a result of changes which are intricately connected with various linguistic processes and mechanisms developing at all linguistic levels.

Even though the language spoken at the outset (5-7 c.) of English language development is described as *primitive*, its successor, i.e., Early Old English (7-10 c.), along with Late Old English (10 & 11 c.) witnessed the introduction of the very first literary texts (Stumpf, 1970; Graddol, 2000). Relying on the fact that compounding has been found to be an inherent component, and a rather prolific device within the scopes of Old English poetry (Chapman & Christensen, 2007, p. 447), we could say that the language used for the stated purposes was by no means dull.

The linguistic device of compounding has always been a thought-provoking phenomenon for theorists addressing word formation processes. Applied from the very birth of the written word in English, and irrespective of the fact that 85 % of the language corpus used back in Old English is not a part of the language we speak nowadays, the process of merging words has been preserved intact (Baugh, 1951).

Much has been written about the process of compounding in linguistic studies and investigations ever since linguistics was founded as a science with its strict scientific method. It has been studied within various linguistic frameworks, and the classification was based on some of the linguistic considerations – semantic, syntactic or morphological (Lieber 2009). The complex layers belonging to different linguistic levels, and their intersections, make the study and the analysis of compounds challenging and, at times, elusive because compounds cannot be clearly positioned within grammar. They combine several complementing areas, such as syntagmatic

and paradigmatic relations, syntax and morphology, and both linguistic and non-linguistic, or pragmatic knowledge (Scalise, 2010, p. 2). As a result of these complexities, Algeo positions compounds between the area of lexis and grammar, and says that it is ‘part vocabulary, and part syntax’ (Algeo, 2007, p. 74).

Due to the complex nature of compounds, it is difficult to define them in a straightforward and precise way. Many linguists relied on word-based definitions, and the earliest of such kind was given by Morris: ‘Two or more words are joined together to make a single term expressing a new notion’ (Morris, 1873, p. 221). Hans Marchand also defined compounds using words to describe their constituent elements: ‘When two or more words are combined into a morphological unit we speak of a compound’ (Marchand, 1960, p. 11). Another very common concept used by linguists to define compounds was ‘lexeme’, and one of the examples illustrating it was the definition given by Matthews, who described compounding as a lexical process ‘by which a compound lexeme is derived from two or more simple lexemes’ (Matthews, 1974, p. 82).

Yet, somehow, these definitions cannot completely account for all compound characteristics and, thus, other criteria were often used in linguistic explanations—both syntactic and semantic considerations being very important, and, therefore, the definition given by Pyles attributes to a better understanding: ‘Putting two or more words together to make a new word with a meaning in some way different, [...]’ (Pyles, 1964, p. 276). In a similar vein, Scalise defined compounds as syntactic-semantic islands, perceived as conceptual units with a specific accent (Scalise, 2010, p. 6).

Anyhow, though omnipresent, almost palpable within the scope of word formation and very productive in languages like English or German (as well as in some clearly unrelated language, such as Hmong) (Yule, 2017, p. 172), compounding, as mentioned earlier, due to its rather vague characteristics, has not managed to lay down straight-forward guidelines on the manner in which we should approach it.

Namely, hardly could we find any accurate criteria for the recognition, i.e., formation of compounds (Lieber & Štekauer, 2009, p. 5), despite considerable effort and continuous research on the issue. In addition, it could be said that several microlinguistic disciplines joined forces to shed more light on the notion of compoundhood; it has been concluded that neither orthographic criteria (e.g., the implementation of a hyphen, seen as a prevailing mechanism for

some types of compounds in the contemporary English language (Jovanovic, 2005), nor headedness suffice, furthermore, they can differ ‘even within a single language’ and the English language is one of those *emitting* inconsistencies as regards the matter (Lieber & Štekauer, 2009, pp. 6-7).

Stress was also used as a means of differentiation—then again, in spite of a number of rules stating when to apply *Initial* or *Final Element Stress* pattern, i.e., left- or right-hand stress, the practice has still remained open to questions. In addition to orthographic, phonological, and morphological criteria, the mechanisms of semantics and syntax have also been applied with the goal of making a positive identification of compoundhood; their failure to do so, has led some theorists to the conclusion that, at least in English, ‘there is no such thing as a compound’ (Spencer, as cited in Lieber & Štekauer, 2009, p. 17).

Another much debated aspect of compounds refers to their classification, and various criteria have been proposed: grammatical relation between constituent elements, semantic and syntactic characteristics, parts of speech of a compound as a whole, and of its constituent elements, and headedness. The formal classification of compounds based on parts of speech, though with some drawbacks, has pragmatic values and clarifies the phenomenon of compounding from one perspective, contributing to creating a more comprehensive picture.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH RESULTS

The research focuses on the morphological analysis of compound adjectives found in the Old and Middle English texts of the Helsinki Corpus, dating from 750 to 1150, and from 1150 to 1500, respectively. The length of the texts varies: shorter texts are cited *in toto*, while the longer ones are fragmented, their length ranging from 2000 to 10000 words. The material of the Helsinki Corpus used in this work was obtained from Oxford Text Archive, and the authors searched the compounds in a traditional way, with no computational or search tools tool options.

The analysis of compound adjectives taken from the Corpus relies upon relevant Old and Middle English dictionaries: The Dictionary of Old English (DOE), which defines English vocabulary from 600 to 1150, giving a comprehensive account of words which ever

appeared in any type of texts of the Anglo-Saxon period, Bosworth-Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, and Hall's *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*; for the analysis of Middle English compounds we used *Middle English Dictionary*, in the electronic version, which covers vocabulary dating from 1100 to 1500, and *Bradley's Middle English dictionary*.

When a lexical item from each period was defined as an adjectival compound, it was classified into a certain type on the basis of the parts of speech their constituent elements—determinant and determinatum—belong to. Subsequently, these types were compared and the development courses were described at different levels: adjectival compound types which died out of the English language; adjectival compound types which survived into Middle and Modern English; and the emergence of new patterns in Middle English. The research aims not only at describing these types and changes in different language periods, but, also, at examining the number of examples found for each type, which provides a better insight into their productivity.

Since this study examines formal properties of compound adjectives, it does not include phrasal formations which exemplify syntactic conversion and adjectives coordinated with the conjunction 'and'.

OLD ENGLISH ADJECTIVAL COMPOUND TYPES

The total number of compound adjectives found in the Old English texts of the Corpus amounts to more than 200. The morphological analysis based on the parts of speech their constituents belong to shows that Old English compound adjectives can be classified into 11 subtypes. The following table shows the types of compound adjectives found in the Corpus, and the number of examples found for each type:

TYPE	EXAMPLE
noun+adjective (80)	<i>goldhwæt</i> 'greedy for gold' < <i>gold</i> , n. 'gold' + <i>hwæt</i> , adj. 'quick, active'
adverb+adjective (33)	<i>ofermicel</i> 'over much, excessive' < <i>ofer</i> , adv. 'above, over' + <i>micel</i> , adj. 'great'

TABLE 1: COMPOUND ADJECTIVE TYPES IN OLD ENGLISH

adjective+adjective (30)	<i>druncengeorn</i> 'intoxicated, drunken' < <i>druncen</i> , adj. 'drunk' + <i>georn</i> 'eager, desirous'
adjective+noun (30)	<i>caldheort</i> 'cold-hearted, cruel' < <i>cald</i> , adj. 'cold' + <i>heort</i> , n. 'heart'
adjective+past participle (13)	<i>frumcenned</i> 'first-born, eldest' < <i>frum</i> , adj. 'first, original' + <i>cenned</i> , past participle of the verb <i>cennan</i> 'to bear, bring forth'
adverb+participle (5)	<i>dunestigende</i> 'descending' < <i>dune</i> , adv. 'down' + <i>astigende</i> , present participle of the verb <i>astigan</i> 'to go, come, step'
noun+present participle (4)	<i>foldhrerende</i> , adj. 'earth-stirring, trading the ground' < <i>folde</i> , n. 'the earth, ground' + <i>hrerende</i> , present participle of the verb <i>hrēran</i> 'to move, shake, stir'
number+adjective/ noun (4)	<i>fewerscyte</i> 'four-cornered, square' < <i>fewer</i> , number 'four' + <i>scyte</i> , n. 'shooting'
past participle+noun (3)	<i>collenferhð</i> 'fierce-minded, bold of spirit' < <i>collen</i> , past participle of the verb <i>cellan</i> 'to swell' + <i>ferhð</i> , n. 'soul, spirit'
adverb+noun (3)	<i>oferhleodor</i> 'not hearing, inattentive to sound' < <i>ofer</i> , adv. 'above, over' + <i>hleodor</i> , n. 'hearing'
noun+noun (2)	<i>calcrod/ calcrand</i> 'round of hoof' < <i>calc</i> , n. 'shoe' + <i>rond</i> , n. 'border, edge'

TABLE 1: COMPOUND ADJECTIVE TYPES IN OLD ENGLISH

(1) The most productive type of compound adjectives is represented by a noun as the determinant and an adjective as the determinatum, and the relations between them are of various kinds, and the following examples show some of them: *ðragbysig* 'occupied for a time' < *ðrag*, n. 'a time, season' + *bysig*, adj. 'busy'; *beaduscearp* 'battle-sharp, sharp in fight' < *beadu*, n. 'battle, war' + *scearp*, adj. 'sharp'; *deofolseoc* 'devil-sick, possessed with a devil' < *deofol*, n. 'devil' + *seoc*, adj. 'sick'; *firwetgeorn* 'very inquisitive, curious' < *firwet*, n. 'curiosity' + *georn*, adj. 'eager'; *nædderfah* 'spotted like a snake' < *nædre*, n. 'serpent, snake' + *fah*, adj. 'coloured'. The last compound adjective shows that the determinant can have a slightly changed form when used as an independent morpheme.

(2) Another productive type of compound adjectives consists of an adverb as the determinant and an adjective as the determinatum. There are 33 compound adjectives of this type found in the Corpus, and the following examples illustrate the structure adverb + adjective: *ælmehtig* 'almighty' < *æl*, adv. 'all, wholly, completely' + *mehtig*, adj. 'mighty, powerful'; e.g. *efenfela* 'equally many so many, as many' < *efen*, adv. 'exactly, just' + *fela*, adj. 'much, many, a great

number'; *forðsnoter* 'very wise' < *forð*, adv. 'forwards, still' + *snoter*, adj. 'wise'; *forehalig* 'very holy' < *fore*, adv. 'before, in advance of' + *halig*, adj. 'holy'; *sundorwis* 'speacially wise' < *sundor*, adv. 'separately' + *wise*, adj. 'wise'; *ymbhidig* 'careful, anxious, feeling anxiety' < *ymb*, adv. 'about, by' + *hygdig/hydig*, adj. 'disposed, minded'; *eaðhylde* 'satisfied, contended' < *eaðe*, adv. 'easily' + *hylde*, adj. 'inclined'.

Other productive types of Old English compound adjectives contain adjectival determinant, and the following structures are found in the Corpus:

(3) adjective + adjective, e.g., *brunfag* 'of a brown color' < *brun*, adj. 'brown' + *fag*, adj. 'coloured, dyed'; *earmcearig* 'wretched and sorrowful' < *earm* 'poor, miserable' + *cearig* 'sorrowful, wary'; *ealdwerig* 'vile of old' < *eald*, adj. 'old' + *werig*, adj. 'tired, exhausted'; *eacencraeftig* 'exceedingly strong' < *eacen*, adj. 'increased, great' + *cræftig*, adj. 'skillful, powerful'. From the statistical point of view, the research shows that the pattern adjective + adjective was common, despite Blake's statement that it was 'thinly represented' in Old English (Blake, 2006, p. 443).

(4) adjective + noun, e.g., *gamolfeax* 'with hoary locks, grey-haired' < *gamol*, adj. 'old, aged' + *feax*, n. 'hair, the locks'; *glædmod* 'glad-minded, cheerful' < *glæd*, adj. 'shining, bright' + *mod*, n. 'heart, mind, spirit'.

There are about 30 compound adjectives belonging to this type found in the Corpus. The commonest determinatum is *mod*, which is differently treated in dictionaries. In the DOE it is treated as an independent morpheme, while in Bosworth-Toller's Dictionary it is defined as a suffix, used in 'composition of adjectives'.

(5) adjective + past participle, e.g., *wohbogen* 'bent, crooked' < *woh*, adj. 'bent, crooked, not straight' + *bogen*, past participle of the verb *bogan* 'to bend, to bow'.

Notwithstanding the small number of compound adjectives found in the Corpus representing other six types, the examples illustrate morphological characteristics of the period and are indicative of the potential the language had at the time, and how it evolved. The following examples illustrate the types:

(6) adverb + present/ past participle type, e.g., *eðbegete* 'easily got, prepared' < *eð*, adv. 'more easily' + *begete*, past participle of the verb *begete* 'to seize, obtain'; *feorrancumen* 'come from a far, stranger' <

feorran, adv. 'afar, at a distance' + *cumen*, past participle of the verb *cuman* 'to come'.

(7) noun + present participle, e.g., *landhæbbende*, adj. 'owning land' < *land*, n. 'land' + *hæbbende*, present participle of the verb *habban* 'to have, possess'; *bordhæbbende*, adj. 'bearing shields, equipped with shields' < *bord*, n. 'shield' + *hæbbende*, present participle of the verb *habban* 'to have, possess, hold, keep'; *cnihtwesende*, adj. 'being a boy, as a youth' < *cniht*, n. 'boy' + *wesende*, present participle of the verb *bēon* 'to be'.

(8) cardinal number + adjective/ noun – this type is not described in the literature, probably due to the adjectival function of the cardinal number in the position of the determinant. Only four examples are found in the Corpus: *feowerfete*, adj. 'four-footed, quadruped' < *feower*, cardinal number, used as an adjective, meaning 'four' + *fete*, adj. 'having feet of a certain kind, provided with feet' (the second element *fete* is described as an adjectival suffix, used to form parasyntetic compounds (the DOE), and in Bosworth's Dictionary it is described both as an adjective and a suffix); *fiðerfete* 'four-footed' < *fiðer*, 'four' + *fete*, adj. 'provided with feet, footed' (on the other hand, the morpheme *fiðer* is defined as a prefix in Bosworth-Toller' Dictionary, used in the formation of compounds); *seofonnihte*, adj. 'seven days old' < *seofon*, number (with adjectival function) + *nihte*, n. 'seven days'.

(9) past participle + noun, e.g., *blandenfeax* 'having mixed or grizzly hair, grey-haired' < *blanden*, past participle of the verb *blandan* 'to mix' + *feax*, n. 'hair'; *bolgenmod* 'enraged in mind' < *bolgen*, past participle of *belgan* 'enrage oneself, irritate oneself' + *mod*, n. 'heart, mind, spirit'.

(10) adverb + noun, e.g., *eaðmod* 'humble, obedient' < *eaðe*, adv. 'easily, readily' + *mod*, n. 'heart, mind, spirit'; *oferhlyd*, adj. 'over-loud, noisy' < *ofer*, adv. + *hlyd*, n. 'sound'.

(11) noun + noun, e.g., *weamod* 'angry, wrathful' < *wea*, n. 'woe, misery' + *mod*, n. 'heart, mind, spirit'.

The analysis of compound adjectives found in the Corpus reveals types which are not defined in the cited studies. These types are: adverb + noun, adjective + noun (the research shows that this type was relatively productive compared to other types), noun + noun, adverb + participle, cardinal number + adjective/ noun, and past participle + noun.

MIDDLE ENGLISH ADJECTIVAL COMPOUND TYPES

There are 65 compound adjectives found in the Middle English texts of the Helsinki Corpus, and on the basis of the parts of speech their constituent elements belong to they can be classified into 8 subtypes. The Table 2 shows these subtypes, and the number of examples found for each:

TYPE	EXAMPLE
Noun+adjective (23)	<i>fot-lome</i> , adj. 'lame in the foot' < <i>fot</i> , n. 'foot' + <i>lome/lame</i> , adj. 'lame'
Adverb + adjective (11)	<i>ouer-cold</i> , adj. 'too cold' < <i>ouer</i> , adv. 'over' + <i>cold</i> , adj. 'cold'
Adj+adj (9)	<i>bayblak</i> , adj. 'brown-black' < <i>bay</i> , adj. 'reddish brown' + <i>blak</i> , adj. 'black'
Adjective+noun (9)	<i>mildheorte</i> , adj. 'merciful, kind' < <i>mild</i> , adj. 'kind, mild' + <i>heorte</i> , n. 'heart', from OE <i>mildheort</i>
Adjective/ adverb + Past Participle (7)	<i>neue-boren</i> , adj. 'recently born' < <i>neue</i> , adv. 'newly, for the first time' + <i>boren</i> , past participle of the verb <i>bēren</i> 'to carry, bear'
Noun + noun (3)	<i>goddfriht</i> , adj. 'god-fearing' < <i>god</i> , n. 'god' + <i>friht</i> , n. 'fear'
Noun + Past Participle (2)	<i>gat-tothed</i> , adj. 'having teeth set wide apart' < <i>gat</i> , from <i>gate</i> , n. 'gateway' + <i>tothed</i> , past participle of the verb <i>tothen</i> 'to develop or grow teeth'
Numeral + Past Participle (1)	<i>foure-cornered</i> 'four-cornered, rectangular' < <i>foure</i> , numeral 'four' + <i>cornered</i> , past participle 'angular, pointed', from <i>corner</i> , n

TABLE 2: COMPOUND ADJECTIVE TYPES IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

(1) The most productive type, almost a third of the total number of compound adjectives analysed from the Corpus, consists of an adjective as a determinatum, modified by an adverb, and the following examples illustrate the type: *nidthearf*, adj. 'necessary, needful' < *nid*, n. 'need' + *thearf*, adj. 'in need, poor'; *thredbare*, adj. 'worn-out, shabby' < *thred(e)*, n. 'fabric' + *bar*, adj. 'bare'.

Other common structures contain an adjective either as a determinant or determinatum, and the following types can be described:

(2) adverb + adjective, e.g., *over-gret*, adj. 'excessive in size, too great' < *over*, adv. 'over' + *gret*, adj. 'great'; *thurh-drie*, adj. 'completely dry' < *thurh*, adv. 'thoroughly, completely' + *drie*, adj. 'dry'. The commonest determinant is *ouer/ over*, and only two compounds

consist of the adverb *thurgh* and an adjective. The adverbs usually have the intensifying function.

(3) adjective + adjective, e.g., *dereworth/ derewurthe*, adj. 'excellent, valuable' < *dere*, adj. 'excellent, noble' + *worth*, adj. 'worth, valuable'; *sothfast*, adj. 'real, actual' < *soth*, adj. 'true, accurate, correct' + *fast*, adj. 'stable, secure'. The first adjective modifies the second one, providing an additional and subtle meaning to the determinatum.

(4) adjective + noun, e.g., *dreri-mod*, adj. 'sad at heart, dejected' < *dreri*, adj. 'sorrowful, sad' + *mod*, n. 'mind, personality, heart'; *neighhonde*, adj. 'near in space and time' < *neigh*, adj. 'near' + *honde*, n. 'human head, person, individual'.

(5) adjective/ adverb + Past participle, e.g., *flat-crowped*, adj. 'evenly cropped' < *flat*, adj. 'even, flat, smooth' + *crowped*, from *croppen*, vb. 'to trim, cut'; *welcome*, adj. 'welcome' < *wel*, adv. 'wel' + *come/ cume*, from the past participle of the verb *comen* 'to come'. This form is probably created under the influence of Old French *bienvenue* n., *bienvenu*, past participle.

The last three types were not so common, but, still, witness the existence of morphological structures in Middle English period:

(6) noun + noun, e.g., *milfoil*, adj. 'thousand-leaved' < *mil*, n. 'thousand' + *foil*, n. 'leaf'; *tholemod*, adj. 'patient, long-suffering' < *thole*, n. 'patience, forbearance' + *mod*, n. 'mind, heart'.

(7) noun + Past participle, e.g., *kinebern*, adj. 'of royal birth' < *kine*, from OE *cyning*, n. 'king' + *bern*, past participle of the verb *beren* 'to carry'.

(8) cardinal number + Past participle – only one example was found in the Corpus representing this type – *fourcornered*.

The research casts light on new patterns for the creation of compound adjectives, which are not defined in the referred studies: adjective + noun (9), cardinal number + past participle (1), noun + noun (3), and adverb + adjective (11). On the other hand, Bradley (1955) defines two more types: verb base + noun, and verb base + adverb, but he does not give any example to illustrate the type.

DISCUSSION

If we compare the types of compound adjectives found in Old and Middle English, we can identify both quantitative and structural changes. First of all, the total number of compound adjectives found in the Middle English texts of the Corpus (66) is considerably smaller than the number of compound adjectives found in the Old English texts (207)—the decrease in the number during the Middle English period is even sharper if the total number of the analysed words from both periods is to be considered. This finding also confirms the overall tendency related to a considerable decrease in the productivity of compounding as a morphological process during the Middle English period. It is also in compliance with the development of compound nouns, the number of which even more sharply declined in the Middle English period, with the ratio of almost 4:1 (Gavranović, 2015, pp. 59, 62).

Secondly, the analysis of the adjectival compound structures of both periods reveals several development tendencies: (1) more than a half of the Old English types for the creation of compound adjectives survived into Middle English; (2) some Old English types no longer produced compounds adjectives in Middle English; (3) some new structures were introduced in Middle English.

The Table 3 shows these types in both language periods illustrated by examples found in the corpus, and their counterparts in Modern English, if existent at all (represented either as the same adjective, with different spelling conventions, or the same type with a different example, if the OE or ME compound adjective did not survive into Modern English).

TYPE	OLD ENGLISH	MIDDLE ENGLISH	MODERN ENGLISH
noun + adjective	beaduscearp	nidthearf	homesick
adverb + adjective	ofermicel	ouer-cold	overcold
adjective + adjective	ealdwerig	bayblack	blue-green
adjective + noun	caldheart	mildheorrte	short-term
adjective/ adverb + past/ present partici- ple	frumcenned/ eðbe- gete	neue-boren	newborn, quick-wit- ted

TABLE 3: THE DEVELOPMENT COURSES OF COMPOUND ADJECTIVES TYPES

noun + noun	weamod	goddfriht	part-time
noun/ adjective + present participle	cnihtwesende	/	breath-taking
past participle + noun	bolgenmod	/	/
adverb + noun	oferhlyd	/	/
cardinal number + adjective/ noun	seofonnihte	/	five-week
cardinal number + past participle	/	four-corned	four-cornered
noun + past participle	/	kinebern	sun-dried

TABLE 3: THE DEVELOPMENT COURSES OF COMPOUND ADJECTIVES TYPES

(1) The most productive types of both OE and ME period were noun + adjective. What strikes most is approximately the same percentage represented in both periods: about a third of the total number of all compound adjectives found in the Old and Middle English texts of the Corpus belongs to this type. Other types consisting of an adjective as one of the constituent elements (adjective + adjective, adjective + past participle, adverb + adjective, adjective + noun) also produced many compound adjectives in both periods. The proportion of types and the total number of compounds is approximately the same in both periods. The last type (noun + noun) was marginal in both periods.

The morphological analysis of Modern English compound adjectives includes several classifications, among which two types are defined as the commonest: one comprising an adjectival element (mainly being the head of the compound) and the other belonging to other lexical classes, such as noun, adverb, verb or other adjective, and another, defined as participial formations, composed of present or past participle as the right-hand constituent being preceded by a noun, adjective or an adverb. The description of Modern English compound adjectives proves the productive power of the surviving Old English patterns and the morphological possibilities they involve.

(2) The marginal Old English types showed three possible development courses:

- a. they did not survive into Middle English, and were never revived again in the English language. They showed the potential for the creation of compound adjectives only in Old English,

and then died out. These types are: past participle + noun and adverb + noun.

b. OE types were no longer used to form new compound adjectives in Middle English, but they were revived again in the Modern English period. Such types are: noun/ adjective + present participle, past participle + noun, adverb + noun, and cardinal number + adjective.

c. even though marginal in Old English, they survived in both Middle and Modern English, and still exist and show a potential for new adjectival compound formations.

(3) The analysis of compound adjectives and the comparison of the existing types of the two periods show that there were some new structures introduced in Middle English: cardinal number + past participle, and noun + past participle, which survived into Modern English and are used today for the formation of new compound adjectives.

The main focus in this research was to determine structural types of compound adjectives throughout history, and to define changes occurring within these types. What strikes as a very common characteristic of these changes is the loss of compounds themselves (the number in Middle English period proves it), but what remained unchanged are the types—even though the words were lost from the language, the patterns used to form these compound adjectives still existed and produced new lexical items.

CONCLUSION Diachronic investigations greatly contribute to a better understanding of language phenomena, attributing to a more comprehensive insight into various linguistic aspects. However, a finite and conclusive description is difficult to attain in any linguistic endeavour, particularly those focusing on languages which existed in the past, as are Old and Middle English. This study did not aspire to give a survey of all possible types of compounds which existed in these two language periods, but to investigate as many structures as they were found in the Helsinki Corpus, and to draw concluding remarks related to language change.

What strikes as the most obvious result of the research is of quantitative nature – the study of Old and Middle English compound adjectives found in the Helsinki Corpus is in the compliance with the overall tendency of the use of compounds in Middle English, which was in decrease compared to Old English. Even though

the total number of Middle English words in research is considerably bigger than the number of the Old English ones, the number of Old English compound adjectives is more than three times bigger than the number of Middle English compound adjectives.

The analysis of the described adjectival compound types reveals several development courses: while the most productive types retained their potential for word formation in Middle and Modern English, the majority of marginal old English patterns went out of use. However, there were some Old English types which survived, but Old English compounds belonging to these types died out, and without a comparative analysis of these patterns one may come to the wrong conclusion that these types were new in Middle English. Finally, completely new patterns were introduced for formation of compound adjectives, and they survived into Modern English.

Although compounding in Middle English lost its productive power from the earlier period, it continued to enrich the vocabulary, and the analysis of the development of compound adjective structures shows that not only did the most productive types from Old English survive into Middle English, but they also continued to be more productive than other patterns in the subsequent language periods. The research supports the fact that despite the big Romance influence after the Norman Conquest, English preserved its original Germanic roots thanks to its inner structure – the findings support the characteristic of language change that the most susceptible to change are words, while the inner structure of language remains stable even after centuries of its development.

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РЕЗИМЕ

ДИЈАХРОНИЈСКИ АСПЕКТ МОРФОЛОГИЈЕ СЛОЖЕНИХ ПРИДЕВА

Језичка промена представља важно обележје свих језика, и дијахрона проучавања знатно доприносе целовитијој слици описа језичких феномена и њиховом бољем разумевању. Енглески језик какав познајемо данас настао је као последица вишевековног развоја на свим нивоима језичке структуре, и на његову промену утицали су не само унутрашњи језички природни процеси већ и бројни спољашњи – друштвени, политички и културолошки фактори.

Овај рад се бави дијахронијским истраживањем сложених придева у староенглеским и средњоенглеским текстовима Хелсиншког корпуса, најрелевантнијег и најодухватнијег дијахроног корпуса енглеског језика. Прикупљени материјал је анализиран, а потом су сложени придеви описани и класификовани према врсти речи којој припадају њихови саставни елементи. Типови сложених придева оба периода су упоређени да би се утврдило које промене су се одиграле током староенглеског и средњоенглеског периода. Овај рад за циљ има да прати развојне токове сложених придева током ова два језичка периода, и да истражи развојне токове типова сложених придева. Резултати истраживања показали су да су промене које су се одиграле двојаке – квантитативне и структуралне. Најочигледније промене тичу се броја сложених придева који је знатно мањи у средњоенглеском језику, упркос већем броју речи које припадају староенглеском делу Корпуса на којем је истраживање вршено. Упоредна анализа структуре сложених придева указује на неколико развојних тенденција: најпродуктивнији типови из староенглеског периода и даље су представљали најзаступљеније начине грађења сложених придева у средњоенглеском периоду; неки типови су ишчезли из језика, а неке нове структуре се почеле да се користе тек у средњоенглеском периоду. Важан резултат овог истраживања указује и на примере структура које су наставиле да постоје и у средњоенглеском периоду, али су староенглески сложени придеви који су настали према тим обрасцима ишчезли из језика, тако да би без дијахроног приступа проучавању ови староенглески обрасци могли бити занемарени. Резултати овог истраживања показали су да, упркос снажном романском

утицају у средњоенглеском периоду, главни обрасци грађења сложених придева задржавају своје германске корене, што потврђује став да се унутрашња структура језика теже мења.

Кључне речи: сложени придев; врста речи; корпус; промена.



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NORMALITY AND NORMALCY: A CASE OF *-ITY/-CY* DOUBLETS IN THE BNC

ABSTRACT. Corpus-based research into derivational morphology can explain how affixes function, answer questions about their productivity and its relation to their synonymy, and clarify the rivalry between certain affixes and their semantic distinction. The aim of this research is to establish the similarities and differences between the nouns *normality* and *normalcy* by contrasting the suffixes *-ity* and *-cy* they contain in the British National Corpus (BNC). The focus is on the collocates which precede the nouns and the sources in which they appear. The attempt is also to understand what characterises the suffixes and their distribution. By focusing on *normality* and *normalcy*, we examine how lexical items behave in an electronically-stored corpus and whether a strong connection between meaning and form manifests itself in different word patterns highlighting different aspects of meaning.

KEYWORDS: corpus-based research; derivational morphology; *normality* and *normalcy*; suffixes *-ity* and *-cy*; BNC.

INTRODUCTION

Corpus-based research into derivational morphology can explain the rivalry between affixes and answer questions about their semantic distinction in English. This can be explored through the

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function of affixes, their productivity and their synonymy. Baeskow (2012, pp. 7–8) analyses the suffixes *-ness* and *-ity* using different types of corpora, including electronic, to demonstrate that a theoretical approach to word-formation called *distributed morphology* is flawed, because “it presupposes that suffixes lack inherent semantic information and conceals that the distribution of suffixes in morpho-syntactically similar contexts may be semantically determined”.

Synonymous suffixes are not solely studied via online electronic corpora. Research into derivational morphology which pertain to words ending in *-ity* often compare it to its semantic relative and synonymous pair member *-ness*. The research can also be focused on the suffixes in a diachronic setting, on the corpora which was originally printed in form. Riddle (1985) exposed a semantic distinction between *-ness* and *-ity*, where “*-ness* tends to denote an embodied attribute or trait, while *-ity* tends to denote an abstract or concrete entity”. This is evidenced by the analysis of semantic pairs, such as *ethnicity* vs *ethnicness*, or *reality* vs *realness*. Colour words and most ethnic names, she shows, take *-ness* as a nominal suffix. Part of the same paper is research into the history of the two suffixes explaining how their usage began to diverge because of lexical diffusion. Romaine (1985) examines *-ness* and *-ity* from a diachronic perspective, their productivity and variability in word-formation patterns, suggesting a pluralistic methodology to morphological analysis which would avoid such dichotomies as diachrony and synchrony.

Corpus-based research can bring into correlation frequent word patterns and meaning of affixes. Word patterns are defined as “all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning” (Hunston & Francis, 1996, p. 37). For instance, word patterns in a study on the prefixes *un-* and *non-* forming adjectives *unmarried* and *non-married* researched in the British National Corpus (henceforth the BNC) (Jevrić, 2019a) demonstrated the difference in the origin of the prefixes, their meaning, and words that they commonly collocate with. These all explain why *non-married* appears in sources in the BNC which concern statistics, since *non-* is stripped of its negative meaning, but, instead, has an absence of the meaning it is attempting to negate.

Contrary to most research on *-ness* and *-ity*, there is no comparison between the suffixes *-ity* and *-cy*, to our knowledge, because

there do not appear to be any cases of *-ity/-cy* doublets. Plag (1999, 2003) touches upon the subject by bringing *-cy* into the discussion on *-ness* and *-ity*, and dedicates a separate section on *-cy/-ce* under *nominal suffixes*. Bauer (1983, p. 222) points out that the suffixes *-cy* and *-ce* are no longer productive, representing “loans from Latin or French rather than genuine cases of English word-formation”. While the online searches of rare instances such as **formalcy* or **primalcy* as variations of *formality* and *primality* can be found, they are, at least for now, to be dismissed as linguistically unacceptable. One case of *-ity/-cy* doublets, however, is found in the nouns *normality* and *normalcy*.

All four major dictionary publishers, Cambridge, Oxford, Collins Cobuild and Macmillan record *normalcy* as a word, but vary in their description. Cambridge and Oxford offer it as an American equivalent to *normality*, showing that *normality* is still used as a word alongside *normalcy* in AE. In Collins Cobuild and Macmillan *normalcy* is provided simply as an alternative to *normality*, and it is also given in example sentences. Macmillan does not clarify whether there is any distinction between the two nouns. Collins Cobuild provides identical definitions for both nouns. Invariably, *normality* is in these four sources defined as “the state or being normal”, or “a situation in which everything is normal”.

Searching through the online Cambridge Dictionary the prefix *-ity* is defined as being “added to adjectives to form nouns referring to a state or quality”. If compared to *-ness*, *-ity* is more likely “to develop institutionalized meanings which amount to more than just the quality lexicalized in the adjective base” (Adams, 2001, p. 32). In practice this would mean that *religiosity* is not just the quality of being religious, but also affected or excessive religiousness, Adams explains. The prefix *-cy* is not registered. The Oxford Dictionary defines both suffixes as indicating to quality or state of what you are given. Collins Cobuild gives a more detailed description of the suffixes. The suffix *-ity* is added to adjectives (including those replacing *-ious*, like *tenacious* – *tenacity*) to describe state, quality, or behaviour specified by the adjective. The suffix *-cy* is used to form nouns from adjectives that end in *-t*, *-tic*, *-te*, and *-nt*, indicating state, quality, or condition. In Macmillan neither suffix was found.

In the *Cambridge Dictionary of Grammar* (Carter & McCarthy, 2006, pp. 476–477) *-ity* is found with *-ty*, in tabulated suffixes which form nouns, and exemplified with nouns such as *similarity*, *casualty*, etc.

Other suffixes in the same table include *-age*, *-al*, *-ant/-ent*, *-ance/-ence*, *-arium/-orium*, *-dom*, *-ee*, *-ar/-er/-or*, *-ie/-y*, *-hood*, *-ism*, *-ist*, *-let/-ette*, *-ment*, *-ness*, *-ary/-ery/-ory*, *-(r)y*, *-ship*, *-sion/-tion/-xion*, and *-ation*). The suffix *-cy* is not listed to form nouns or any other word class.

If we look at the origin of the suffixes, the Dictionary of Etymology describes the Latin suffix *-ity* as an abstract noun forming suffix added to adjectives. It denotes a state or condition, usually meaning “the quality of being what the adjective describes”. The suffix *-cy* is described as an abstract suffix denoting quality, its Latin, and ultimately Greek origin is stated, and its Old English corresponding suffixes *-ship* and *-hood* are provided. Bases ending in *-al* do not normally attach themselves to *-cy* to form a noun. The root of *normality* and *normalcy* is also Latin in origin.

We can see that corpus-based research aided by dictionary usage may be utilized to evaluate the properties of suffixes and their role in the formation of nouns. Furthermore, it can also assist in understanding their function in meaning differences between words which appear to be synonymous.

METHODOLOGY

The subject of this research is the comparative analysis of collocations with words containing suffixes *-ity* and *-cy* which form the nouns *normality* and *normalcy*, and the collocates which precede them. Noun patterns highlighted by electronic data can distinctly elucidate the modification of nouns through collocates. The aim of the research is to establish the similarities and differences the nouns have concerning their meaning, especially relating to the occurrence of suffixes and their distribution.

The corpus includes collocates which precede *normality* and *normalcy*. The reason for focusing only on the preceding collocates is that arranging those to the left of the noun “shows the various ways in which the noun is modified” (Hunston & Francis, 1996, p. 37). The collocations in question are, therefore, *window collocations* (see Lindquist, 2009; Jevrić, 2019a, 2019b for *adjacent collocations*). This is consistent with the concept of a *collocational span*, where any collocate which precedes or follows a particular word is subject to analysis, with a general agreement about limiting the span to four or five collocates. The analyst can decide to curtail the span, depend-

ing on the methodology parameters and what the analyst wishes to investigate.

The two nouns do not undergo the process of lemmatisation, since they are both uncountable nouns, although there is one occurrence of *normalities* in the corpus: “what survives when all the outward *normalities* of life are stripped away” (CCN²). As a rule, nouns in singular and plural would be analysed separately as lexemes, with the overall conclusion about the nouns as lemmas (see Pearce, 2008; Jevrić, 2017).

The corpus is collected by using the option *list* in the BNC³, thus providing the searched word and the number of its occurrences in the corpus. By clicking on the generated word, the resulting concordances are shown, with *normality* and *normalcy* clearly emphasized. Their collocates are then grouped based on their word class and meaning.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Normality appears in the BNC 332 times, while *normalcy* appears only 15 times⁴. Following an amended version of the guidelines of Hunston and Francis (1996, pp. 56–57) on the classification of main noun patterns, the first pattern to identify is **n to N**, where *normalcy* collocates with *return to* three times. *Return* also appears as a verb two times in **v N**. We find *normalcy* collocating with *of* in **n of N**: *vestige of normalcy*, *lineaments of a normalcy*, *facade of [affluence or] normalcy*, *political economy of normalcy*. Two results follow the pattern of **n for N**: *statistical tests for ‘normalcy’*, and *call for “normalcy”*.

Only *normality* is found to co-occur with adjectives in **adj N**. Their number is given in brackets if it exceeds more than one: *abandoned*, *apparent*, *approximate*, *assumed*, *biological*, *bourgeois*, *brisk*, *central*, *chaotic*, *contextual* (2), *domestic*, *established*, *false*, *heterosexual*, *modern*, *oppressive*, *physical*, *placid*, *psychological* (2), *relative* (2), *relentless*, *sad*, *seeming*, *semantic* (2), *sentence-internal*, *sexual*, *similar*, *social* (2), *suburban*, *syntagmatic*.

² CCN is a code used for marking documents in the BNC.

³ An interface was used to access the corpus. Available online at: <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>.

⁴ Number 13 is missing, so the BNC mistakenly gives 16 concordances with *normalcy*, instead of 15.

Normality is most commonly preceded by the preposition *of*, in a pattern **n of N**. Examples of nouns before *at*, *for*, *from*, *towards*, and *with* were also found. Nouns which precede the prepositions are grouped based on their meaning: *achievement of*; *appearance of* (2), *pretence at*, *semblance of* (5); *bounds of* (2), *limits of*, *lower limits of*, *upper extreme of*, *upper limit of* (3); *breakdown of*; *concept of* (6), *notion of*, *notion of*; *context of*; *contrast with*; *creation of*, *constructions of*; *criteria of*, *criterion for*, *conditions for*; *conviction of*; *difference of*; *definitions for*, *definitions of*; *desirability of*; *development into*; *form of* (2), *kind of* (3), *types of*; *departure from*, *deviation from normality*; *effort at*; *fetishism for* (2); *hold on*; *image of*, *photographic negative of*, *vision of*; *impression of*; *index of*; *insistence of*; *judgments of*; *lack of*; *members for*; *model of*, *prototype of*; *null of*; *one of*; *order of* (2); *patterns of* (2), *pattern of*; *path towards*; *period of*; *problem with*; *questions of*; *relation to*; *reversal of*; *return to* (10); *reinforcement of*; *sort of* (2); *set of*; *sign of*; *stamp of*; *standard of*; *surface of*; *test for*, *test of*; *thread of* (2); *tones [of elsewhere]*, *of*; *view of* (3); *world of* (5).

The noun *normality* is preceded by another noun in the pattern **n N**: *every day*, *prewar*, *routine*, [*rule of*] *thumb*, *surface*. Examples of an **adv prep N** pattern are: *back to* (3), *nearer to*, *lower on*, *outside of*, and *far from* [everything, From]. And, there is one example of **adj prep N** – *representative of*.

Verbs which collocate with *normality* in **v N**, are given in their infinitive form: *achieve*, *acquire*, *approach* (2), *assign*, *define*, *demonstrate*, *desire*, *destroy*, *ensure*, *extol* [the virtue and], *know*, *like* (2), *mark*, *maximise*, *overlook*, *override*, *portray*, *question*, *register*, *reject*, *recover*, *represent*, *restore* (4), *stress*, *support*, *tolerate*, *utilise*. Patterns with verb followed by prepositions are also found with *normality*: *advance towards*, *argue for*, *cling [desperately] to*, *count as*, *cut off from*, *depend upon*, *deviate from*, *hold on*, *hope with*, *look at*, *obsess with*, *regard as*, *return to* (13)⁵, *revert to*, *shift into*, *think of*.

The patterns *normality* and *normalcy* share are: **n to N**, **n for N**, **n of N** and **v N**, while **adj N**, **n N**, **adj prep N** and **adv prep N** are found only with *normality*. Since function words are “often not particularly informative with respect to the node word” (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2009, p. 933), if we closely examine lexical words which precede the shared prepositions, as well as the **v N** pattern, we notice that *normality* and *normalcy* share only *return*, both in its noun and verb forms.

⁵ The number of *return to* includes examples such as: *return to* [London and], *return* [C-Wing] *to*, and *return*, [slightly dazed,] *to*.

Apart from patterning, the sources in which *normality* and *normalcy* could seem relevant. The concordances with *normalcy* occur in the corpus in texts categorized under prose, social sciences, both academic and non-academic, academic texts which deal with politics, law and education, arts under non-academic humanities, and a newspaper report. We also have two examples of *normalcy* occurring in political speeches in the Hansard corpus, which contains almost every speech uttered in the British Parliament from 1803–2005.

The written part of the BNC corpus finds *normality* in poetry, prose, arts under humanities, both academic and non-academic, religion, advert, biography and miscellaneous, medicine, academic and non-academic, newspaper (with emphasis on various topics, tabloid, sports, arts, report and social), academic and non-academic source of natural and social science, academic and non-academic sources of politics, law and education, magazines, commerce and television news scripts. *Normality* in spoken language is detected in the recordings from the fields of conversation, meeting, classroom, lectures in social science, arts, and commerce, and a broadcast discussion.

Considering that *normality* surpasses *normalcy* in frequency, the sources in which the two nouns appear greatly differ in variety. *Normalcy* was found only in the written part of the corpus, while *normality* also appears in speech corpus. All categorised sources with *normalcy* match the categories with *normality*, except one (the textual speeches of the Hansard corpus), which was originally spoken, and then textualised. Areas which seem to be particularly associated with *normality* are prose, biography and medicine. In summary, unlike the case of *non-married* and its propensity for statistical sources, there does not seem to be a significant difference between sources in which the two nouns appear in the BNC.

If we compare concordances with *normality* and *normalcy*, there does not seem to be a difference in meaning: “throughout their school life totally cut off from *normality* and ordinary life” (FTX) and “People who visit always seem astonished by the *normalcy* of the life of the vast majority of the people” (HHV). Both words appear under quotes, challenging the ideas of *normality* and *normalcy*: “‘*Normality*’ is a nebulous concept” (CRS) and “It shows a return to ‘*normalcy*’ in its ending” (GW4).

Concerning the word-formation rules of *-ity* and *-cy*, Plag (2003, p. 91) explains how all adjectives ending in the suffixes *-able*, *-al* and

-ic can take -ity as a nominalizing suffix, such as *available*, *eventual*, *public* producing *availability*, *eventuality*, *publicity*. Words which are formed with this suffix are described to denote quality, state or property, and are derived from Latin adjectives (the exception being *oddity*, which is Germanic in origin (Adams, 2001, p. 32). Clearly, *normal* falls into this category. Conversely, he describes -cy as productively attaching itself to adjectives that end in -ant/-ent or -ate (Plag, 2003, p. 88), such as *vacant*, *frequent*, *literate* producing *vacancy*, *frequency*, *literacy*.

The Dictionary of Etymology tracts the first usage of *normality* to 1833, describing it as a “character or state of being in accordance with rule or standard”. *Normality* is older than *normalcy*, which is dated to 1857 and refers to the meaning used in geometry, a “mathematical condition of being at right angles”. The popularity of *normalcy* is attributed to the U.S. president Warren G. Harding who, in 1920, used the slogan ‘return to normalcy’ during the presidential campaign, which caused him to be called out by the Democratic party for his language incompetence⁶. Two concordances from the same source in the BNC, *The Americas*, actually reference Harding’s slogan: “Harding’s election appeal was a call for “*normalcy*”: “America’s present need is not heroics, but healings; not nostrums but *normalcy*” (EWG). This leads us to deduce that the occurrence of *normalcy* is simply an anomaly, a case of a mistake becoming widely accepted over time. More so when bearing in mind that an Internet search of *normality* using the exact match search operator surpasses *normalcy* by only 4,1 million results. We can argue that the same kind of anomaly occurred with *preventive* and *preventative*, though separate research would be needed to prove the claim.

The occurrence of *normality* and *normalcy* as doublets is also explained by the idea of linguistic *blocking*. Blocking refers to the appearance of a particular word blocking another word from taking its place. Those word-forms are regarded as synonymous. Thus, the existence of *presumption* prevents **presumal*, or *mutton* prevents **sheep meat* from appearing (Rainer, 2016).

Summarizing Rainer’s work *Towards a Theory of Blocking*, Plag (2003, pp. 64–65) differentiates between *token-blocking* and

⁶ In a newspaper article on the origins of *normalcy* the author references a mathematical dictionary from 1855 as the year when *normalcy* was mentioned for the first time. The author explains that Harding’s choice of *normalcy* was due to his use of an old version of Webster’s unabridged dictionary where *normalcy* was found, but not *normality* (Zimmer, 2020).

type-blocking. He states that token-blocking requires not only *synonymy*, but also *productivity* and *frequency*, in order to take place. Productivity means that if a word cannot be potentially formed, it cannot be said that it was blocked by a competing word, for instance, the examples of *management* and **manageal*. Regarding frequency, a synonymous word-form has an unlikely chance to co-exist, if it is infrequent compared to its synonymous counterpart.

Type-blocking is illustrated with competing suffixes *-ness*, *-ity*, and *-cy*, with *-ness* as a more general suffix used in a variety of domains, and *-ty* used in more restricted domains. If one suffix is added to a base from the same group of suffixes, it makes other suffixes unacceptable. This makes *decency* acceptable, but not *decentness* or even **decentity*. If we apply the rules of *type-blocking*, *normality* should block the occurrence of *normalcy*. Plag (2006, p. 127), however, argues that this rule is intrinsically bad, as there are cases of attested doublets such as *expectance* and *expectancy*, or *exclusiveness* and *exclusivity*. *Normality* and *normalcy* also belong to the same category of attested doublets.

Also, a speaker's preference for one doublet member over the other may simply be a matter of psycholinguistics and it is related to how words containing a particular affix are stored and processed (Plag, 2003, p. 66). More frequent words in the mental lexicon block its rare, irregularly formed counterparts from being used, while at the same time allow for the presence of irregular forms. In the case of *normality* and *normalcy*, *normality* is part of individual speakers' mental lexicon, while *normalcy* is that to a far less degree. That is, at least, what the BNC tell us. *Normality* is significantly more frequent in the corpus and it is blocking *normalcy* from being used, whereas *normalcy* still appears in the corpus. Additionally, no two mental lexicons are alike, and neither is the speakers' grammar or their understanding of morphological processes (Romaine, 1985, p. 454), which can also account for the existence of the two nouns.

CONCLUSION Using an electronically-stored corpus to compare two seemingly identical lexical items can help us establish whether there is a strong connection between meaning and form, and whether that relationship manifests itself in different patterns highlighting different aspects of meaning of *normality* and *normalcy*. When competing derivational suffixes are found with the same root, the aspects of their features, their function and distribution can be brought

into correlation with the semantic distinction of the nouns and the word patterns they constitute.

Analysing the BNC, we found no meaningful difference between *normality* and *normalcy* regarding the collocates which precede them, or the sources in which the nouns appear⁷. The range of collocates and sources grows wider simply because *normality* is more numerous. These differences exist irrespective of one of the nouns being formed through chance or a lack of linguistic prowess. The research confirmed the occurrence of *normalcy* to be an anomaly.

Linguistic blocking did not, however, restrict *normalcy* from forming and gaining a strong presence in today's English. Despite what the BNC research results revealed about the nouns and their morpho-syntactic properties, and the restrictions those properties entail, some forms of words can define those restrictions. Although this research is not devised to answer the question about why *normalcy* is gaining a strong presence in today's English, we would suggest that the usage of irregularly formed words can thrive simply due to ease of use. Namely, *normality* is a four-syllable word, illustrating a stress shift to the second syllable. *Normalcy* is a three-syllable word, with no stress shift, and therefore easier and quicker to pronounce, especially given the tendency in American English to simplify or shorten words. This is evocative of Romaine's results about speakers choosing "the form they felt surest of being able to pronounce" (Romaine in Adams, 2001, p. 147). Another conjecture would be how speakers feel about these words, i.e., whether the words have a positive or negative connotation, which could affect their choice of words. There is also the matter of speakers' familiarity with these words, which takes us back to the question of the mental lexicon. All these conjectures warrant separate research.

We could even argue that *normalcy* is not ill-formed, if we draw a parallel with Plag's examples of *decency* and *decentness* (Plag, 2006, p. 127). While *decentness* is listed in a dictionary and also found through a Google search, *decency* is claimed to still be avoided on the grounds of token-blocking. Google's search of *decency* resulted in about 26 million, while *decentness* has around three hundred thousand results. In contrast, an Internet search showed that the number of occurrences of *normalcy* is closely approaching that of

⁷ Conversely, sermons and fiction were found to be "favourable environments for names of qualities in *-ness*, whereas nouns in *-ity*, often more specific in meaning, are more likely to be encountered in scientific and medical texts" (Cowie in Adams, 2001, p. 149).

normality. The mechanism of type-blocking did not stop *normalcy* from forming, moreover, what transpired was that the synonymous form of *normality* appears to be increasing in current discourse.

It is evident that the BNC does not mirror present-day English. This study into derivational morphology using the BNC posits itself as a diachronic study, while in the current climate of the Corona pandemic English studies could focus on the comparison between the commonly used expressions *return to normality* or *return to normalcy* in terms of their prevalence in public discourse.

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ТАМАРА М. ЈЕВРИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ

СЕДИШТЕМ У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

КАТЕДРА ЗА ЕНГЛЕСКИ ЈЕЗИК И КЊИЖЕВНОСТ

РЕЗИМЕ

NORMALITY И *NORMALCY*: ПРИМЕР ДУБЛЕТА *-ITY/-CY*
У БРИТАНСКОМ НАЦИОНАЛНОМ КОРПУСУ

Корпусно истраживање деривационе морфологије може објаснити како функционишу афикси, одговорити на питања о њиховој продуктивности, о вези између продуктивности и синонимних афикса, као и разјаснити ривалство које постоји између одређених афикса и њихове семантичке разлике. Циљ овог истраживања је да се утврде сличности и разлике између именица

normality и *normalcy* у Британском националном корпусу контрастирањем суфикса *-ity* и *-cy*. Фокус је на колокатима који претходе именицама и изворима у којима се оне појављују, што нам помаже да разумемо шта карактерише те суфиксе и њихову дистрибуцију. Усредсређујући се на именице *normality* и *normalcy*, испитујемо како се речи понашају у електронском корпусу и да ли се веза између значења и форме манифестује у различитим обрасцима речи који могу да открију различите аспекте значења.

Кључне речи: корпусна истраживања; деривациона морфологија; *normality* и *normalcy*; суфикси *-ity* и *-cy*; Британски национални корпус.



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LITERATURE

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THE RISE OF FEMINISM IN THE WORKS BY HENRY JAMES: SOME NARRATOLOGICAL INSIGHTS

ABSTRACT. James' fiction crosses many of the artificially imposed borders and often deals explicitly with social changes and their consequences, for example, the emerging role and power of women in society. James was among the first American writers to introduce feministic issues into his works. This paper explores the theme of feminism in "The Turn of the Screw", "The Jolly Corner" and *The Bostonians* emphasizing that in the latter James raises the problem of possibility for women of their simultaneous self-realization in family, at work, and in social life. This is still one of the most burning issues in feministic writing thus making James relevant in the 21st century. Analysing *The Bostonians* and shorter works by Henry James, the paper demonstrates that the writer pays a lot of attention to the issues of female personal freedom and self-realization determined by the loyalty to the institution of marriage. James depicts the growing tendency of alienation and misunderstanding between men and women, underlined in his short works and *The Bostonians*.

KEYWORDS: Henry James; feminism; gender roles; gender studies; narratology; narratological analysis.

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The works by Henry James do not allow simple categorization or interpretation: they are claimed by both English and American Literature, and various researchers reveal in them characteristic features of Psychological Realism, late French Realism, and Naturalism. Indeed, James' fiction crosses many artificially imposed literary borders, and often deals explicitly with various social changes and their consequences, such as the emerging role and power of women in society at the turn from the 19th to 20th century. Henry James' interest in this theme is widely reflected in his art, both in short works and in the novels. This paper focuses on James' "The Turn of the Screw" (1898) and "The Jolly Corner" (1908), which explore the topic of women's position in society, especially as it parallels other important social issues, and it also studies the development of this theme in *The Bostonians* (1886), demonstrating that James was among the first writers to raise as a question the possibility for women to achieve simultaneous self-realization in family, at work, and in social life. This is still one of the most burning issues in feminist writing today and it allows James' fiction to continue to have powerful and pressing resonance in the 21st century.

Henry James is one of the most important representatives of Psychological Realism, alongside Fyodor Dostoevsky and Edith Wharton. Psychological realism, which focuses on the motivations and internal thoughts of characters to explain their actions, became popular in the 19th and early 20th centuries. There is often a larger theme in Psychological Realism texts, with the author expressing an opinion on a societal or political issue through the characters. Henry James often expresses his opinion on the theme of women and their role in society in his writing. This theme is closely connected to his exploration of family relationships, romantic desires, and small-scale power struggles within a family or society. The close interaction of all of these themes is the peculiarity of his creative method. The strength of James' best realistic works lies in the harmony and balance between the presentation of a passionate female identity and the detached judgment about characters and society, which is a fundamental feature of Realism. The very source of Realism in his works lies in the presentation of gender roles attributed by the major social institutions and in the description of the idealized hero or heroine in these circumstances.

Let us have a closer look at the gender roles and stereotypes existing in both American and British Victorian society to analyze these works.

“Since Victorian society could be characterized as bourgeois and forcefully male-oriented, its doctrines were organized by—and for—men.... For if eighteenth-century English fiction is arguably gynocentric, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English society was emphatically not” (Poovey, 1984, p. ix).

One of the most important prerequisites for the model woman in the nineteenth century was a dutiful, obedient character. The woman had to abandon all the aspirations for the professional achievements, self-realization or development of talents. No professional education and instruction, except housekeeping skills (including home budget management), could distract women from being devoted entirely to their homes. As Barbara Welter observes, “It was a fearful obligation, a solemn responsibility, the nineteenth-century American woman had—to uphold the pillars of the temple with her frail white hand” (Welter, 1966, p. 152). Instead of trying to realize her own dreams and ambitions, women had to dedicate themselves to supporting their husband's career goals, business, talents, etc. In other words, according to the gender roles of a wife, mother, daughter, strictly prescribed to them in the Victorian society, women had to abide within domestic realm and be satisfied with the things men were giving to them. A 19th century woman could not go into the world to satisfy her ambitions and aspirations, she could achieve that only through the institution of marriage that allowed her to raise up the social ladder and acquire a much-desired prestige in social hierarchy. Moreover, marriage was the only legitimate possibility that could ensure a woman the important economic and social benefits that men used to achieve through education, business, and culture. Thus, confined to the gender roles as wife, mother, and household governess, women's existence was balancing between power and neediness and confined to double standards accepted in the Victorian society, hypocrisy, etc. Already in the 19th century quite a few women were confused and uneasy with this situation. It was utterly unjust, that such “stereotypes, in fact, rigidly confined real women to prescribed roles: a daughter, a wife, a mother, a widow, as a virgin or a whore; every woman was defined by relationship—explicitly to man, implicitly to sexuality itself” (Poovey, 1984, p. 85).

According to the stereotypes of the Victorian society, the male protagonists are presented strong, confident and virile, in command of powerful positions, entitled to order, to be obeyed, to make honest money, (a woman is usually obliged to end up immoral if she

wishes to acquire money: naturally, it is then dishonest money), and to be in control of romantic seduction and conquest. The female characters, on the contrary, belong to the romantic heroine category, with health, vivacity and beauty, submissive to the will of Fate and men, and prone to succumbing to their own sentimentality.

Faithful to the principles of Psychological Realism, Henry James meticulously depicts gender restrictions and stereotypes of Nineteenth Century society, and places his female characters in these circumstances, carefully highlighting and analyzing their behavior and its motives.

Thus, most of the women in his fiction have far less freedom and mobility than men. Moreover, the typical woman's life is often marked by confinement that sometimes resembles imprisonment. For example, the nameless Governess in "The Turn of the Screw" was confined to the Bly household in the company of two children and the housekeeper, Mrs. Grose, without any right to go away or even to contact her employer. Such isolation and lack of control significantly resembles imprisonment.

Creating his heroes and heroines in "The Turn of the Screw," "The Jolly Corner," and *The Bostonians*, James, on the whole, observed the mainstream tendencies of Victorian literature. However, the signs of departure from these stereotypes towards a new representation of women's aspirations for more freedom and self-realization outside the family circles, are already clearly evident in these works.

Let us first focus on the traditional Victorian characteristics of the protagonists in these texts. In "The Turn of the Screw" the employer of the Governess, known only as Uncle, fits perfectly the abovementioned hero's literary stereotype of the 19th century. He was extremely rich and lived in a vast and imposing house in London. This rich, nice-looking gentleman in a powerful position is entitled to employ the Governess and to command her not to disturb him, hence sentencing her to take care of his niece and nephew in his Essex house by herself. In her turn, also, the Governess can be viewed as a classical example of a Victorian heroine: she is young, modest, inexperienced (read: innocent), and obedient to her patron. She is the youngest daughter of a poor vicar, hence, can be presumed to be very religious.

Likewise, in "The Jolly Corner," the male protagonist, Spencer Brydon, is also rich. He comes back to New York from Europe after a 33-year absence to take care of inherited real estate. He recon-

structs one of his inherited houses into apartments for rent, leaving untouched the Jolly Corner, the house of his youth. Like the patron in "The Turn of the Screw," Brydon is virile, overlaid "by the experience of a man and the freedom of a wanderer, overlaid by pleasure, by infidelity" (James, 2001, p. 560). The heroine of this story, Alice Staverton, on the other hand, is modest, patient, spiritual, intelligent, and faithful to her feelings for Brydon: an ideal example of a Victorian woman. Though they are not married, she supports him in his construction activities and praises him, as it is prescribed to all good wives to do in the Victorian epoch. Alice was: "so prettily flushing, at the time, for sympathy in his triumph, she had afterwards said to him (though to a slightly greater effect of irony) that he had clearly for too many years neglected a real gift. If he had but stayed at home he would have anticipated the inventor of the sky-scraper" (James, 2001, p. 560).

Another important feature of Victorian literature implemented in both of these texts is that both male heroes are involved in economic activities: Brydon is constructing his block of flats while the Governess' patron has in all likelihood had some business related to the colonies, (no mention is made of how he came into his wealth, but his brother is dead in India, which would indicate trade there).

It is at this point in both texts where a careful reader can see that any resemblance to classical Victorian literature has passed, and it is clear that something is changed in James' depiction of female heroines. In "The Turn of the Screw," the Governess performs her educational duties at Bly absolutely independently, without any male instructions or supervision. The young lady observes that before her life was too "small, smothered." Obviously, prior to this, she had not been entrusted with much autonomy to perform her tasks, even traditionally feminine ones, such as children's education was considered at that time. The Governess reveals: "It was the first time, in a manner, that I had known space and air and freedom" (James 1966, p. 14). The metaphor here clearly shows that the Governess is beginning to feel free from the stifling prescriptions and stereotypes of Victorian society and from typical male domination and control.

Analyzing Governess' relations both with her employer and with little Miles through the lens of 'silencing a female voice,' described by Mary Beard (2014), we discover that each tried to silence the Governess, in his own way. The employer strictly forbade her from contacting him for any reason, and Miles discredited everything

she used to say about his behavior by providing the opposite explanation about whatever she had said.

Even if the Governess breathes the air of freedom at Bly, the ghosts of the stifling Victorian society occasionally pay their visits to this part of Essex. Ghosts in this novella are a very powerful metaphor, rich in entailments and associations. The appearance of ghosts places this novella within the gothic genre, in which feminism was already a powerful and common theme. The origins of gothic literature date back to the 18th century, to Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1765), in which women took control over an originally male-dominated castle. Another prominent gothic novel, which also raises the theme of feminism in numerous aspects is *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818) by Mary Shelley. According to Diane Hoeveler, "the novel itself [was] appropriated as a sort of template by feminist critics with diverse approaches" (Hoeveler, 2004, p. 46). She also observes that having adopted Foucault's theories about power functioning in the society through "discourse systems,"

"feminists and critics working in the cultural studies have been interested in *Frankenstein* as a particularly potent discourse system, a manifestation of conflicted ideologies, working sometimes in league with its society's repressive attitudes towards women and sometimes arguing against society's negative stereotypes about the proper roles of mothers, daughters, servants, and friends" (Hoeveler, 2004, p. 49).

There are many episodes in the novel that attract attention of feminist critics. For example, there is a key episode, which emphasizes the importance of women and fear of the female body: Frankenstein's creation of a female mate and its destruction for the fear of procreation of the monsters. Indeed, "In *Frankenstein*, the Creature tries to force Victor to create a female companion for him. However, Victor realizes the dangerous consequences of this step: a new race that is completely hostile to humanity could emerge from this union. Hence, Victor prefers to leave the Creature to his sufferings to protect its future" (Boyarkina, 2020, p. 149).

Thus, by the time James was writing, the gothic, with its access to ghosts and other specters, had long since established itself as a place to work out gendered issues in society.

According to long tradition, ghosts represent spirits in search of revenge for the injustice they faced. In this respect, the ghost of the former governess, Miss Jessel, in "The Turn of the Screw," repre-

sents the victim of the rigid Victorian society, which did not tolerate any illegitimate (unsanctioned) sentimental (sexual) relations for women. Her ghost always appears with a sad and desperate face, not only to vindicate herself but also, in a feminist interpretation of the metaphor, to remind of the damage that rigid gender stereotypes in Victorian society caused to women. On the other hand, Jessel's ghost serves as a typical reminder that illegitimate relations, not sanctified by marriage, could lead to moral sufferings, illness and death. As with everything in this novel, the meaning of ghosts allows for more than one interpretation. It takes just a "turn of the screw" to change the angle and sharpness of the viewpoint, and the interpretation of the imagery becomes quite different, if not wholly opposite. Indeed, this novella is a real masterpiece of ambiguity, and this peculiarity of James' creative method keeps readers interested as it permits much deeper readings.

James' great artistic skill created this masterpiece of ambiguity, which allows meaning to change, depending on the point of view a reader chooses, like an optical illusion changes according to the angle at which it is viewed. Again, it takes just a "turn of the screw" to shift the imagery, namely if the ghost shifts from the position "visible to all" to the position "visible only to the governess," the entire meaning of the story is changed. From a sane, efficient, autonomous representative of the new emerging type of woman, taking care of children's education and protecting them from ghosts, the Governess becomes a wretched neurotic victim of the restrictive Victorian society, who hallucinates and sees ghosts. Though traditionally scholars defend either one or another version, it is more productive to consider these two interpretations not as alternative ones, but as inseparable, coherent, and complementary ones. The interpretation of the heroine's behavior as sane, devoted and courageous, aimed at protecting the children from corruption by the ghosts goes hand in hand with the interpretation of her behavior as an effort to break through the limitations of the gender restrictions of the Victorian society, since she is autonomous, efficient, and courageous.

However, as a true representative of Psychological Realism, James could not overlook the fact that these changes in the women's role in society were quite recent, and, hence, the influence of the old stereotypes and restrictions of Victorian society was still very palpable. Indeed, these restrictions suppressed many socially unrealizable women's desires and aspirations. Sigmund Freud has

clearly explained that suppressed desires (and not only sexual ones) cause neurotic states. In *Dora: An Analysis of a Case of Hysteria*, a paper published just three years after the publication of *The Turn of the Screw*, Freud (1901) explained the etymology of neurosis relevant to the case of the Governess. This fact, again, allows a rich variety of interpretations. For example, just one turn of the screw too much in the pressure of the society on the female soul, constraining a woman to bury her desires deeply and hide her aspirations for self-realization for the sake of appearances, and a seemingly sane woman becomes a hopeless, hallucinating neurotic. Or, though women try to get rid of harmful restrictions and suppressions of the Victorian society, its iron grip is perfectly perceivable and palpable, and at any moment can cause damage to a vulnerable, sensitive female personality.

A brief narrative analysis reveals that James skilfully constructs this ambiguity by means of a careful choice of imagery and narrative techniques, which actually should be considered early examples of the already emerging modernism. These techniques include an unreliable narrator, a manuscript at the basis of the story, a double narrative frame, an open ending, and ambiguous language. Modernists hold that language is an unreliable means of communication, and “The Turn of the Screw” demonstrates this persuasively. The language of the story told by the Governess allows such ample semantic lacunas that the meaning of the entire story can be changed to its complete opposite, one after the final exclamations of little “wretched” Flora, leaving Bly and the Governess, “Take me away, take me away – oh, take me away from her!” (James, 1966, p. 73).

This ambiguity, skilfully created by James, greatly contributes to the main message of the novella. The pressure of the Victorian society on the female personality forces women to suppress their aspirations and desires for more freedom and self-realization, which has a negative influence on their psychological wellbeing. Even with some positive changes evident in the gender roles (depicted by James in “The Turn of the Screw”), recently experienced pressure was still fresh in the memory, and its protracted influence might cause a nervous breakdown at any moment of a woman’s life, a possibility that James dexterously built into the novella.

Expertly crafted ambiguity is also a leading characteristic feature of “The Jolly Corner,” which allows for various interpretations of this ghost story. Not only we are left to wonder whether the female

protagonist saw the same ghost as the male protagonist did and what the meaning of this ghost apparition is, but the identity of this ghost remains ambiguous.

James' male hero in this text, Spencer Dryden, comes back to the United States to supervise the reconstruction of his "apartment-house." His psychological issues immediately come to the fore. He has a brief discussion with a man in charge: "He had found himself quite 'standing up' to this personage over a failure on the latter's part to observe some detail of one of their noted conditions, and had so lucidly argued his case" (James, 2001, p. 560). Soon he started to wonder what would have happened with his life and personality, if he hadn't left for Europe: "It was mere vain egoism [...], a morbid obsession. He found all things come back to the question of what he personally might have been, how he might have led his life and 'turned out', if he had not so, at the outset, given it up" (James, 2001, p. 564).

It is normal to wonder occasionally what could have happened if another decision had been made in life or another choice had been taken. However, for Spencer this questioning became an obsession, especially after Alice says, "If he had but stayed at home he would have discovered his genius in time really to start some new variety of awful architectural hare and run it till it burrowed in a gold mine" (James, 2001, p. 560). Spencer's reaction to Alice's words confirms the power they had over him.

"He had to remember these words, while the weeks elapsed, for the small silver ring they had sounded over the queerest and deepest of his own lately most disguised and most muffled vibrations" (James, 2001, p. 560).

These vibrations, deeply buried inside his soul, are also the feelings of guilt and fear. Fear of what other self he might have become in America: a greedy immoral aggressive man of success. On the other hand, Spencer feels guilty since he betrayed the expectations of his family, of Alice, and of that other self, thus depriving him of the possibilities to realize his talents and ambitions in America.

His obsession becomes so intense that he suspects, even feels, that his other self, his alter ego, who had never left America, secretly exists somewhere in the remote parts of "The Jolly Corner." Spencer's desire to meet his alter ego turn out to be so strong that it forces him to perform compulsive actions: every night he comes to "The Jolly Corner" in search of the presence of his alternative self.

Spencer presumably is hunting a ghost, and this fact places the text within the genre of gothic ghost story. At the same time, Spencer's behavior is suspiciously similar to the behavior of a schizophrenic suffering from a split personality, accompanied by obsessive states and obsessive-compulsive disorder. Moreover, according to the Freudian theory, and the concept of the "return of the repressed" emerging at that time, Spencer's hunt for his alter ego can be interpreted as his desire to reach his repressed unconscious. Again, James' remarkable skill in creating an ambiguous narrative makes legitimate any of these interpretations, which have certain characteristic features in common: Spencer's sensation of being split and his burning desire to get to know his missing part (his American twin), as well as to rid himself of his guilt, fear, and regrets.

At this point, the role of Alice in healing Spencer from his acute sufferings becomes very important, and the way she does it clearly demonstrates that she does not fit easily into the description of a typical Victorian female. The first difference is that (in the afternoon of her life) she was not married, while a typical Victorian woman was supposed to be married by her age. Second, she pursued a career in New York, of a delicate frugal professor. It is mainly due to the fact that Alice has very sane and clear ideas about Spencer and comprehends his confused feelings of guilt, regret, uncertainty, and his obsession with the alter ego, that the male protagonist finally finds peace within his soul and is healed from his obsessions. Brydon readily acknowledges this to Alice: "Ah, I've come to myself now – thanks to you, dearest" (James, 2001, p. 570).

Indeed, Brydon's ideas and feelings are very confused, and it is mainly due to Alice's cool reasoning and analysis that he manages finally to sort them out and find peace within himself. Brydon speculates about the possible influence remaining in America would have on his personality: "what would it have made of me? I keep wondering." (James, 2001, p. 564). He has mixed feelings about the possible outcome: ache, regrets, rage, curiosity:

"I see what it has made of dozens of others, those I meet, and it positively aches within me, to the point of exasperation, that it would have made something of me as well. Only I can't make out what, and the worry of it, the small rage of curiosity never to be satisfied" (James, 2001, p. 564).

The conversation between Spencer and Alice about a bud and a flower is an important metaphor of the confused mental state of the

former, which reveals his guilt and regret for the things he did or failed to do in the past. Spencer confesses to Alice:

“It is only a question of what fantastic, yet perfectly possible, development of my own nature I mayn’t have missed. It comes over me that I had then a strange alter ego deep down somewhere within me, as the full-blown flower is in the small tight bud, and that I just took the course, I just transferred him to the climate, that blithered him for once and forever” (James, 2001, p. 565).

The entailment² of the flower metaphor shows that, on one hand, Spencer allows the possibility that his personality would have fully blossomed, had he stayed in America. Hence, he has feelings of guilt and regret. However, the fear of his alter ego is also present in these speculations, as Spencer adds that this flower could have been “Monstrous above all! and ... quite hideous and offensive.”

With cool logic, which immediately establishes her at the same perceived intellectual level as the males, Alice indicates the illogical way of Spencer’s thinking: “You don’t believe that, ... if you did, you wouldn’t wonder. ... What you feel – and what I feel for you – is that you’d have had power” (James, 2001, p. 565). Alice intelligently finds the right words to reassure Spencer about his numerous doubts. Whatever decision he would have taken, to leave America or to stay, and whatever person he would become, she’d have loved him anyway. She adds: “How should I not have liked you?” (James, 2001, p. 565).

In this story, the female protagonist is clearly stronger than the male one, or at least she is his equal. Due to her intelligence, Alice manages to persuade Spencer with her rational reasoning that the scary ghost he saw has nothing to do with himself, it is not Spencer or his alter ego. Indeed, Spencer finally observes: “But this brute, with his awful face – this brute’s a black stranger. He is none of me, even as I might have been” (James, 2001, p. 570). And, even if it were so, Alice adds, she would have loved him the same. The wisdom and rationality of Alice, her ability to keep a cool mind, to comprehend and accept the existing circumstances marks a departure from the

² The notion of metaphorical entailment is closely related to the notion of conceptual domain, which Kövecses defines as follows: “A conceptual domain is our conceptual representation, or knowledge, of any coherent segment of experience...This knowledge involves both the knowledge of basic elements that constitute a domain and knowledge that is rich in detail. This detailed rich knowledge about a domain is often made use of in metaphorical entailments.” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 324)

traditional Victorian stereotype of a female. She explains to Spencer: “my mind, my imagination, has worked so over what you might, what you mightn’t have been to show you, you see, how I thought of you.” (James, 2001, p. 570). She adds about the ghost/alter ego: “And he isn’t – no, he isn’t – you!” (James, 2001, p. 571). Unlike Dorian Gray, who managed to physically destroy the deteriorated, scary portrait of his brute, corrupted alter ego, Brydon could not destroy his awful alter ego, this ghost that scared him so much, so Alice performs this task for him, cleverly separating Brydon’s ghost visions from his real self and pacifying him with his ghost experience. Indeed, as Elizabeth Troesch observes, “While Brydon is terrified and repulsed by his alter ego, it is Alice who accepts, and even ‘likes’ him. Alice sees and accepts both of his possible identities, assisting Brydon in re-assimilating both at the end of the tale” (Troesh, 2017, p. 189). According to the longstanding tradition, usually men are in the control of females’ bodies, minds, and their mental healing. In “The Jolly Corner,” James reverses these gender roles and is among the first writers to put the female protagonist in the position of healing a man’s obsessive states, or neurosis.

The theme of emerging feminism and the role of women in the society is further developed in *The Bostonians* (1886), which James conceived as the extensive social analysis of the American society. In the novel, he intended to depict the increasing feminist activities in the U.S., as he wrote to his editor Osgood:

“I wished to write a very *American* tale, a tale very characteristic of our social conditions, and I asked myself what was the most salient and peculiar point in our social life. The answer was: the situation of women, the decline of the sentiment of sex, the agitation on their behalf” (Matthiessen, 1981, p. 46–47).

In *The Bostonians* James focuses on the eternal themes of family, love, friendship, and woman’s destiny; he raises social, cultural, political, ideological and moral problems in the novel. Such polyphonic treatment of themes allows James to analyze the theme of feminism in various spheres and dimensions. Compared to his dealings with it in “The Turn of the Screw” and “The Jolly Corner,” James’ work on the problem of women’s emancipation reaches its zenith in *The Bostonians*; its treatment is quite modern and remains relevant in the 21st century. The key question of the novel – the possibility of self-realization in the family, in social activities and at work for

women – is left by James without any definite answer, which is emphasized by the open ending of the novel.

The Bostonians' publication received a mixed reception. Some critics even considered it a caricature on suffragism. Lucia T. Ames wrote about the novel, "It seems hardly worthwhile to take a trouble to issue a protest against this caricature" (Ames, 1886, p. 82). Other critics stated that James knew nothing about the fight for women's rights (Hicks, 1933, p. 113)³: a critique James himself acknowledged in a letter to his brother William, "the sense of knowing terribly little about the kind of life I had attempted to describe" (Lubbock, 1922, p. 115–116). However, such criticism only demonstrates that these scholars failed to perceive the rich polyphony of ideas skilfully interwoven by James in this novel. As a thoughtful observer with a deep psychological insight and attention to details, James depicted the situation in the American suffragist movement at its earliest stage, including both its weak and strong points, so that a careful reader could learn some important lessons from the novel.

Looking at the issue from a different angle, some elements of narratological analysis (Pavel 1985; Bal 1997; Rimmon-Kennan 2008) are useful to analyze the way the theme of feminism is constructed and treated in the novel. The central conflict in the novel is the fight between the Tarrantes, Basil Ransom and Olive Chancellor, each of them striving to get monopoly over the life and destiny of Verena Tarrant. For feminist analysis, it is fruitful to view this conflict through the lens of silencing a female voice, a longstanding tendency in the Western literature, which dates back to the times of *Odyssey*, according to Mary Beard (2014). This external conflict is greatly amplified by Verena's internal conflict, as she is torn between difficult choices: a professional career that includes speaking in public and friendship with Olive, or a traditional family with Ransom. The conflicts are local and are resolved in the novel: Verena is finally silenced by Ransom and when she "makes her choice" to marry him. The existential conflict, namely, women's dissatisfac-

³ Despite some researchers' claims that James knew nothing about suffragism, the writer was using not only literary sources relevant to feminism, but its historical figures as well. For example, William James attacked his brother for the use of Sara Peabody to create the personage of Miss Birdseye. (Lubbock, 1920, pp. 115–116). Robert Long suggests a possible prototype for Dr. Mary Prance. (Long, 1964, pp. 87–88) Howard Kerr holds that Cora Hutch and spiritualism influenced the figure of Verena Tarrant. (Kerr, 1964, pp. 190–222)

tion with their role in the society, remains unsolved due to the overpowering socio-historical conditions in the 19th century. This conflict is represented primarily through the actions, thoughts, and choices of Olive and Verena.

In the novel, James creates a subtle, romantic and somehow tragic image of the feminist Olive Chancellor. She is very clever, reads a lot and dreams of dedicating her life to feminism, fighting for women's rights, equality, freedom and happiness. However, she is too shy to speak herself and she does not like many of the people who are active in the suffrage movement. Olive dreams of a reliable friend, a companion to share her interest in feminism, which is why she becomes very attached to Verena, perceiving that she would speak publicly on this issue. However, this friendship ultimately brings suffering to Olive, since she means much less to Verena than Verena means to her. After experiencing many years of solitude, Olive was afraid to lose her new friend; however, the loss of Verena, and its associated sufferings strengthened Olive's spirit, and she dared to speak in Music Hall when Verena decided not to do so. Thus, using adept psychologism, James depicts the evolution of Olive Chancellor from a shy theorist to an active feminist by the end of the novel.

By contrast to Olive, Verena Tarrant is very beautiful, young, charming, and has an excellent memory. Upon their meeting, Olive was immediately interested in her, gradually became her friend, and invited Verena to live in her house and to dedicate herself to the cause of suffragism. Due to Verena's excellent memory, which made her a good student, Olive overestimated Verena's dedication to the case of women. The supreme target of their studies and preparations was Verena's speech in the Music Hall, which was to be the beginning of their triumphant feminist tour around fifty cities of America. Verena is sure that she finally found herself, that feminism is the vocation of her life, and that she wants to speak in public. However, she lacks a deep critical insight into suffragism, was not as ascetic as Olive, and does not hate all males, rather she readily accepts their courtship.

The peaceful state of Verena's soul is disturbed by Basil Ransom, who constantly criticizes feminism and the whole essence of her public speeches, trying to persuade Verena to abandon this "non-sense" and to marry him. Even if his reactionary views seem exaggerated, they were rather common at that time, according to Leslie Petty (Petty, 2005, p. 398). Ransom slowly manages to make her

doubt her destiny of feminism and her dedication to it. It happens because Verena did not stand firm in her convictions about the necessity to fight for women's rights; she did not come to her belief in women's rights by herself, she did not suffer for it, but it was partially imposed on her by Olive's insistence. Though Verena grew up in the family where her mother suffered from the behavior of her father, she did not perceive the injustice of such a situation and gender inequality, or the necessity to improve the women's conditions. Since her childhood, she has heard various reformers speaking, so she can talk the talk, but she reproduces these speeches without any critical analysis.

Verena suffers since she realizes that her doubts will hurt Olive very much. She slowly, but inevitably, falls in love with Ransom, hence she is torn between her love for Ransom and her dedication to Olive, and James, a true master of Psychological Realism, skilfully renders her sufferings in this matter. James provides many touching scenes and dialogue between Verena and Olive, discussing their common cause of feminism and their friendship. Finally, Verena makes her choice: she abandons the movement to marry Basil. However, she is too passive and submissive to make this decisive step by herself, so Basil meets her in the Music Hall right before her public speech, and, by muscular force, wrenches her away and takes her to New York, presumably to the altar. For many critics, this is one of the most sensational, and unexpected endings in American literature (Petty, 2005, p. 401). What they fail to see, however, is James' belief in the need to have personal experience with gender inequality as a required pre-cursor to achieving the personal convictions to fight for women's rights in a successful feminist struggle. With just one skilful finishing touch, James completes the picture of Verena's future life and her prospective sufferings due to the gender inequality in her marriage, as he thoughtfully comments on Verena's tears, leaving the Music Hall with Basil: "It is to be feared that with this union, so far from brilliant, into which she was about to enter, these were not the last she was destined to shed" (James, 1984, p. 433).

Olive and Verena represent two different trends in the feminist movement at its rise in America; the vectors of their development go in opposite directions. While Verena is finally silenced by her man and resumes the values of the Victorian society, abandoning the possibility of education, as well as the rights offered to her by suffragism, such as speaking in public, Olive continues her self-edu-

cation, suffragist activism, and wins her courage and voice: an important symbolic meaning.

While Olive is a reformer, Basil, a New York lawyer and a bankrupt planter from the South, is a reformer of reformers. His political views, including his attitude to women, are very reactionary and provincial, and look back to the past, not to the future. He is convinced that all women are second class creatures, are very boring, and even disturbing if they refuse the role prescribed to them by men: women exist to make men happy. He prefers that women do not think too much and do not try to govern the world. Basil is ambitious; he wants his views to become famous through publications but all the editors refuse his articles. Secretly he even dreams to run for presidency of the U.S. so that he could put his political views into practice, but at the moment neither his legal firm nor his writing brings him money. Since Basil has very rigid ideas about gender roles (husband must provide for his wife), he would not propose to Verena, but as soon as one publisher accepted his article, he immediately asked Verena to marry him.

In *The Bostonians*, James combines the traditions of late French realism and naturalism with Psychological Realism. He analyzes the development of his characters within their social milieu and circumstances to establish causal relations between their feelings, actions and thoughts. Though James acknowledges the importance of social conditions in the formation of human character, he leaves his protagonists the possibility of conscious choice, for which they respond for themselves and society. James pays great attention to the Tarrants, the most ironical, grotesque personage in the novel: Selah, a fake mesmeric healer, and his weak, suffering, and capricious wife, herself the daughter of Boston abolitionists. Selah's ridiculous desire to become famous in the press gives him the idea of using Verena's eloquence for this purpose, so he imitates the initiation of her gift by laying hands on her. Seen through the prism of males 'silencing female voices', Selah's gesture is also very symbolic. Once again, it demonstrates that men are in control of female voices and sometimes allow women to speak in public, but only if it suits male purposes (Selah's popularity in this case). The absurd and comic personage of Selah foregrounds the idea that such ridiculous and inconsistent men believe they can control female voices and their fight for equal rights.

In *The Bostonians*, James highlights the emerging tendency that women get less and less in a marriage; "wife" is no vocation for life.

This idea becomes more frequent in the family novels after this time period, as James was one of the first American writers to introduce these issues into the family novel. The main problem raised in *The Bostonians* – the possibility for women to have a simultaneous self-realization in family, at work, and in social activities – is still one of the burning topics in modern feminist writing.

Attentive reading of *The Bostonians* demonstrates both weak and strong points of American feminism at the turn of the century: its disunity, inhomogeneity, lack of strong personal convictions of the necessity to fight for women's rights and critical insights into feminist issues on behalf of some activists. The novel can teach 21st century feminist activists some important lessons: the necessity of strong unity between all social *stratums* involved in the struggle, the importance of personally experiencing gender inequality, and the need for personal conviction to struggle for change, as well as the necessity of education. Verena's example teaches that it is not possible to involve all stratums into the struggle for women's rights until they clearly realize the injustice of gender inequality and the necessity to fight against it.

Although "The Turn of the Screw" and "The Jolly Corner" are primarily Gothic novellas, where James on the whole followed gender stereotypes of the Victorian era, they can be also interpreted as a commentary on the emerging role and power of females in society. James empowered his female protagonists to depart from the norms of the Victorian era and to claim their own independence. "The Turn of the Screw" is a reflection of the changing times, as the Governess departs from a sheltered life to explore and experience life at the house of Bly, where, with very little mention of any authoritative male figures in the story, she is liberated from patriarchal society. Alice in "The Jolly Corner" helps Spencer to overcome his alter ego obsessions, feelings of fear, guilt and regret, mainly due to her wisdom, intelligence, and strong character: traits of a woman who does not fit easily into the Victorian gender stereotypes. In both novellas female protagonists occupy the positions previously available mainly to males.

The analysis of these works by Henry James, demonstrated that he paid a lot of attention to the issues of female personal freedom and self-realization resulting from society's loyalty to the institution of marriage (Boyarkina, 2008, 103). The growing tendency of alienation and misunderstanding between men and women, underlined in his short works and *The Bostonians* continues to be devel-

oped in contemporary American novels and short stories about women, their families, and their destiny.

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ИРЕН БОЯРКИНА

УНИВЕРСИТЕТ "САПИЕНЦА", г. Рим

ФАКУЛЬТЕТ ГУМАНИТАРНЫХ НАУК И ФИЛОСОФИИ

РЕЗЮМЕ

У ИСТОКОВ ФЕМИНИЗМА В ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯХ ГЕНРИ ДЖЕЙМСА:
НЕКОТОРЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ НАРРАТОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО АНАЛИЗА

Творчество Генри Джеймса ломает многие искусственно созданные стереотипы и зачастую затрагивают важные социальные изменения и их последствия, например, возрастающую роль и влияние женщин в обществе. Джеймс был одним из первых американских писателей, которые затрагивали в своих произведениях тему феминизма. Эта статья исследует тему феминизма в «Повороте винта», «Веселом уголке» и «Бостонцах» и подчеркивает, что в «Бостонцах» Джеймс исследует проблему возможности одновременной самореализации женщины в семье, на работе и в общественной жизни. Эта проблема по-прежнему остается одной из самых острых проблем в феминистической литературе и в наши дни; именно это делает творчество Джеймса актуальным и в 21 веке. Анализируя «Бостонцы» и новеллы Генри Джеймса, статья демонстрирует, что писатель уделяет много внимания вопросам женской личной свободы и самореализации, ограниченной преданностью институту брака. В своем творчестве Джеймс так же изображает растущую тенденцию отчуждения и непонимания между мужчинами и женщинами.

Верный принципам психологического реализма, Генри Джеймс скрупулезно изображает гендерные ограничения и стереотипы викторианского общества XIX века и помещает своих героинь в эти обстоятельства, тщательно изучая и анализируя их поведение и его мотивы. Таким образом, большинство женщин в его произведениях обладают гораздо меньшей свободой, чем мужчины. Более того, жизнь типичной женщины в тот период часто ассоциировалась с заточением, иногда напоминающим тюремное заключение. Например, безымянная гувернантка в «Повороте винта» была прикована к загородному дому в компании двух детей и экономки, миссис Гро-

уз, безо всякого права покидать дом или даже связываться со своим работодателем. Такая изоляция очень напоминают тюремное заключение, вернее, домашний арест. Создавая своих героев и героинь в «Повороте винта», «Веселом уголке» и «Бостонцах», Джеймс в целом соблюдал основные тенденции викторианской литературы. Однако, уже в этих произведениях просматриваются признаки отхода от этих стереотипов в сторону нового представления о стремлении женщин к большей свободе и самореализации вне семейного круга.

Внимательное чтение «Бостонцев» демонстрирует как слабые, так и сильные стороны американского феминистического движения на рубеже веков: его разобщенность, неоднородность, отсутствие сильных личных убеждений в необходимости бороться за права женщин, а так же отсутствие критического понимания феминистских проблем некоторыми активистами движения. Роман может преподать активисткам-феминисткам 21-го века некоторые важные уроки: необходимость прочного единства между всеми социальными слоями, вовлеченными в борьбу, важность личного переживания гендерного неравенства и необходимость личного убеждения в борьбе за перемены, а также необходимость образования. Пример Верены учит, что невозможно вовлечь все слои населения в борьбу за права женщин, пока они четко не осознают несправедливость гендерного неравенства и необходимость борьбы с ним. Эта статья демонстрирует, что, хотя «Поворот винта» и «Веселый уголок» – это, в первую очередь, готические новеллы, в которых Джеймс в целом придерживался гендерных стереотипов викторианской эпохи, их также можно интерпретировать как комментарий к зарождающейся новой роли женщин в обществе. Джеймс позволил своим главным героиням отойти от норм викторианской эпохи и заявить о своей независимости. «Поворот винта» – это отражение времени перемен, когда гувернантка пытается уйти от привычной жизни, чтобы исследовать новые возможности в загородном поместье работодателя, где почти не упоминаются какие-либо авторитетные мужские фигуры, то есть, она (условно) не окружена патриархальным обществом. Алиса в «Веселом уголке» помогает Спенсеру преодолеть навязчивые идеи его *альтер-эго*, чувства страха, вины и сожаления благодаря своей мудрости, интеллекту и сильному характеру: эти женские черты отнюдь не вписываются в традиционные гендерные стереоти-

пы викторианского общества. Примечательно, что в этих новеллах героини занимают должности, ранее доступные в основном мужчинам. Анализ этих работ Джеймса показал, что он уделял большое внимание вопросам личной свободы женщин и их самореализации, детерминированной преданностью институту брака. Растущая тенденция отчуждения и непонимания между мужчинами и женщинами, подчеркнутая в его новеллах и «Бостонцах», продолжает развиваться в современной американской литературе о женщине, ее судьбе и семье.

Ключевые слова: Генри Джеймс; феминизм; гендерные роли; гендерный анализ; нарратология.



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GENDER ROLE REVERSAL, FEMALE SOLIDARITY, AND FALLEN WOMEN IN OSCAR WILDE'S PLAYS

ABSTRACT. Wilde's plays *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *A Woman of No Importance*, *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *Salomé* all feature female characters and themes relevant to the domains of research of feminist literary theory, including relationships between men and women, marriage, the complexity of female characters, their treatment in literature, gender roles and how they are portrayed. This paper explores the themes of role reversal, female solidarity and fallen women with the aim of showing that Wilde's works were progressive for their time in terms of pointing out problematic societal expectations and norms.

In *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Wilde satirized the gender roles of the Victorian society and how men had power over women and their choices, while in the plays *A Woman of No Importance*, *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *Salomé*, the main characters are fallen women, a stereotype the Victorian society invented to mark women they considered impure. *A Woman of No Importance* and *Lady Windermere's Fan* are plays about the struggles of fallen women who made mistakes in the past and formed important friendships with other female characters, while the tragedy *Salomé* tells the tale of a woman who falls and dies as a consequence of her fall. Additionally, the paper will examine closely related themes, such as motherhood, sexuality, and negative gender stereotypes related to the one of the fallen women.

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KEYWORDS: Wilde; feminism; female characters; gender roles; sexuality.

Wilde's works have been studied for decades by scholars versed in various disciplines. Earlier, feminist literary critics have been focused mostly on female writers and male novelists whose works contain the topics of patriarchy and negative female stereotypes. Considering the subject matters of Wilde's plays, Wilde can be considered as very progressive and well-ahead of his time, which are the reasons why his works have been eagerly explored by feminist critics. Wilde's society plays *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *A Woman of No Importance*, *Lady Windermere's Fan*, and his tragedy *Salomé* address the issues of gender role reversal, female solidarity and fallen women. To substantiate this claim, the paper will explore these and other related themes, such as female sexuality, the topic of motherhood, and the negative stereotype of the angel in the house, by relying on the opinions of renowned feminist writers and critics, including Jane Marcus, Eleanor Fitzsimons, Helen Davies, Petra Dierkes-Thrun, Barbara Caine, and others. They have explored the feminist themes within Wilde's works, his female characters, their complexity and relationships with other characters in the plays, as well as the aforementioned themes this paper will deal with.

Today's literary feminist criticism deals with the same issues and more – the critics continue to explore works written by both men and women, how women are portrayed in their works, the different male and female relationships, the topics of patriarchy, sexism, sisterhood, motherhood, gender roles and gender stereotypes.

The Importance of Being Earnest is perhaps the most popular and most widely read of Wilde's plays. This society play revolves around marriage and satirizes Victorian conventions and the behaviour of both Victorian men and women. In the play, two women, Cecily and Gwendolen, are obsessed with the name Earnest, so the men who want to marry them, named Jack and Algernon, lie about their real names. Wilde portrays two genders similarly and the men and women are presented equally shallow—the women because they would only marry someone who bears a specific name, and the men who lie about their identities in order to marry these beautiful women.

Gwendolen is not a typical Victorian young woman and can be considered a variation of the New Woman. She is direct and unafraid of speaking her mind in front of men, as evident from the way

she speaks to Jack after her mother is gone. She encourages him to speak his mind, she talks about her own feelings openly and with no shame and even says that she wishes he showed his love towards her more openly in public (Wilde, 2004, p. 62). When Jack accidentally brings up marriage, Gwendolen is the one who takes initiative and tells him to propose to her and even criticizes him for taking so long to do it. In the essay "Parody, Paradox and Play in *The Importance of Being Earnest*", Burkhard Niederhoff (2011) points out: "Not only is Gwendolen in charge of the conversation, she even assumes that ultimate privilege of the male sex, the praise of the beloved's eyes" (p. 105). Gwendolen is similar to Cecily, who is also not afraid of voicing her opinions and is also obsessed with the name Earnest. Cecily is also creative, educated, well-read and prone to writing, and can also be considered a New Woman. She keeps a diary that she plans to eventually publish, and does not hesitate to deny Algernon access to it.

What is particularly important about the play is how both Gwendolen and Cecily assume the role of the man during their proposals. Wilde reversed the roles in the relationships by making his women characters do what would be considered masculine actions and display traits recognized as male. They take the lead, instructing Jack and Algernon how to propose to them. Additionally, Gwendolen and Cecily's relationship is intriguing because it undergoes several stages. At the beginning, they are jealous of each other because they consider the other a threat to their love life. During their first meeting, Cecily is quite rude to Gwendolen, pouring sugar into her tea even after Gwendolen said she did not want any, and cutting her a slice of cake after Gwendolen specifically asked for bread and butter. With smiles on their faces and, as Wilde puts it, "elaborate politeness" (Wilde, 2004, p. 114) they accuse each other of being immoral and promise to protect their Earnests:

Cecily. ... To save my poor, innocent, trusting boy from the machinations of any other girl there are no lengths to which I would not go.

Gwendolen. From the moment I saw you I distrusted you. I felt that you were false and deceitful. I am never deceived in such matters. My first impressions of people are invariably right. (Wilde, 2004, p. 114)

The reason for this conflict might have been Wilde's desire to satirize how easily even the most educated of women turned against one another when jealous. But he did not only illustrate unnecessary hostility between female characters: once it is revealed that

they have been lied to, Gwendolen and Cecily unite and form a type of sisterhood, offended by the treatment they have received from the men they love. In an essay about friendship and conflict between Wilde's women, Helen Davies (2015) writes about their relationship and the significance of female solidarity, which, according to her, "becomes a way of women to unite against the injustices perpetrated against them by men; it is an expression of shared experience and solidarity" (p. 170).

Wilde reversed the gender roles once again with Lady Bracknell's character. She takes marriage quite seriously, which can be seen in the way she interrogates Jack before approving of his and Gwendolen's marriage. Since her husband is ill, she takes it upon herself to do what was usually a man's task in the Victorian era – the questioning of the future son-in-law. It is worth noting that she gets a voice, while her husband does not. Michael Y. Bennet (2015) jokingly says that she is the one who "wears the pants in the house" (p. 5). It is not Lord Bracknell who commands his daughter and controls her, instead, it is his wife.

A Woman of No Importance is another play about the shallowness of the upper-class, Victorian norms and standards and morality. It may not be as witty and humorous as *The Importance of Being Earnest*, but it is just as compelling, with a fallen woman as the protagonist. In the essay "Feminism", where she examined the feminist themes within two of Wilde's society plays, Barbara Caine (2013, p. 291) stated that *A Woman of No Importance* is a play about the question of social purity and the sexual double standard and it has a surprising plot because the Puritan views in it win out over the libertarian ones: the character of the fallen woman triumphs over the man who seduced her, refused to marry her and left her to raise their son by herself.

Wilde himself called *A Woman of No Importance* "a woman's play", which it indeed is (Fitzsimons, 2016, p. 276). The female characters in the play dominate, with their presence and influence, the lives of the men around them. The two most important female characters are Miss Hester Worsley and Mrs. Arbuthnot, who do not belong to the upper-class Victorian society. Unlike Lady Caroline, Mrs. Allonby and Lady Hunstanton, who spend their time gossiping and manipulating, Mrs. Arbuthnot and Hester have no interest in doing anything questionable and speaking ill of people for their own amusement.

Hester is a young American Puritan girl, which immediately sets her apart from all the other women in the play, who are English. She is righteous and “a defender of women” (Fitzsimons, 2016, p. 136), however, she is not perfect. Although her views and behaviour appear more acceptable to the reader than the views of the Victorian women, in the beginning, she proudly supports the idea that children should pay for the sins of their parents. However, when Mrs. Arbuthnot’s secret is revealed, Hester changes her mind, realizing how wrong she was, a change that shows that she is not a one-dimensional character. She can be considered a feminist for she demands the same justice for both men and women. She says, “You are unjust to women in England. And till you count what is a shame in a woman to be an infamy in a man, you will always be unjust” (Wilde, 2007, p. 29). While she is interested in Gerald because he is hardworking and intelligent, the upper-class women have different standards when it comes to the man of their dreams, as is evident from the conversation where Lady Stutfield, Mrs. Allonby and Lady Hunstanton are discussing the Ideal Man:

Lady Caroline. The Ideal Man! Oh, the Ideal Man should talk to us as if we were goddesses, and treat us as if we were children. He should refuse all our serious requests, and gratify every one of our whims. He should encourage us to have caprices, and forbid us to have missions. He should always say much more than he means, and always mean much more than he says. (Wilde, 2007, p. 25)

In *Understanding the Victorians*, Susie L. Steinbach (2012, p.166) explains the difference between the positions of men and women in the Victorian era and how sex determined the role of a person. While men were part of the public sphere, participated in the worlds of business and politics, and were independent, women stayed at home, ran the households, raised the children, and were dependent. The difference between men and women does not stop there. There was a double standard regarding sexuality, and, while too much sex was considered unhealthy and immoral for both genders, there was a difference in moral standards prescribed for men and women. Were women to display sexuality and desire, they would be branded as “fallen” and be shunned from society. When it came to men, it was common for them, especially those of the upper-class, to have affairs, and there was no such term as a “fallen man”.

Regarding the ideal spouse, the view that the upper-class women in the play have on the Ideal Man can be compared to the Victorian

society's view on the ideal woman or the Angel in the House, who belonged to her husband, followed all the rules that society dictated and entered marriage pure. Just like the Ideal Man, this stereotype was contradictory — the woman only belonged in the domestic sphere and was to raise children, but it was expected of her to know how to manage the home budget. Additionally, this stereotype implied that women did not know anything about sexual intercourse, but were also expected to be ready when their husbands desired them. In a different conversation, Wilde mocked how the Victorian society viewed women as their husbands' property by reversing the situation in the play. Mrs. Allonby says,

“I don't think that we should ever be spoken of as other people's property. All men are married women's property. That is the only true definition of what married women's property really is. But we don't belong to any one.” (Wilde, 2007, pp. 22–23)

Mrs. Arbuthnot is an unconventional female character, different from all the other characters in this play and in *The Importance of Being Earnest*. She is the embodiment of the Victorian fallen woman: she was in a relationship with a man before marriage, so she believes that she is impure and lives a life full of regrets and anger, because the man she loved, Lord Illingworth, refused to marry her after they found out she was pregnant. The significance of Wilde making her character a fallen woman lies in the way the Victorian society shunned and treated fallen women. They were women who were once respected, but then they either turned to prostitution or had relations with men before marriage, actions which society did not condone. Steinbach (2012) writes that the Victorians used to divide women into “virtuous and vicious, innocent and fallen, wife and prostitute” (p. 244). Wilde deciding to make the main character of his play a fallen woman shows that he was ahead of his time, and by choosing not to condone her for sleeping with a man before marriage, it is possible that Wilde wanted to criticize the attitude society had toward fallen women and sex.

Regarding the character of Mrs. Arbuthnot, Peter Raby (Powell & Raby, 2013) speaks of her as “both a woman with a past, an innocent victim, and the centre of goodness and moral truth within the play” (p. 151) in his essay about Wilde's society plays titled “Wilde's comedies of Society”. Mrs. Arbuthnot is not a faultless Victorian woman — she admits that she made a mistake when she was younger and got involved with Lord Illingworth and she is also very possessive

and controlling of Gerald, her son. However, she is also a good mother and has raised her son to be good and hardworking. Mrs. Arbuthnot is not a perfect woman; instead, she is a real woman, with faults and convictions. When Lord Illingworth offers to finally marry her, she refuses, maintaining her dignity, similarly to how she refused the money Lord Illingworth's mother offered to pay her when she forbade her son from marrying her.

Hester and Mrs. Arbuthnot have much in common: they are righteous, they love Gerald, and they are different from the upper-class women in the play. Hester is an outsider and Mrs. Arbuthnot is a fallen woman and part of the middle-class. Being different from the other women, they find a friend in one another. Hester supports and does not condemn Mrs. Arbuthnot for the sins of her youth, while Mrs. Arbuthnot approves of Hester's love for her son and does not think of her less for being American. In an essay where she compared Wilde's, Ibsen's and Shaw's takes on the New Woman, Petra Dierkes-Thrun (2015, p. 88) says that "Wilde was quite serious about the idea of female solidarity" and that Hester's and Mrs. Arbuthnot's support and mutual respect are an important part of the play, which stands as an opposite to the shallow relationship the upper-class women have.

Female relationships and solidarity are also important themes in the play *Lady Windermere's Fan*. In a letter to an unknown addressee, Wilde admitted:

"The psychological idea that suggested to me the play is this. A woman who has had a child, but never known the passion of maternity (there are such women), suddenly sees the child she has abandoned falling over a precipice." (Kohl, 2011, p. 221).

At the centre of the play are two female characters: Lady Windermere, a happily married woman, and Mrs. Erlynne, a woman who is trying to get back into society after she was shunned years before when she left her husband and child for another man. It is revealed that Mrs. Erlynne is Lady Windermere's mother, but Lady Windermere never gets to know the truth. Mrs. Erlynne saves her daughter's marriage and life by not allowing her to make the same mistake she did in the past and disappears from her life forever.

Both of these female characters are not who they appear to be. At the beginning, Lady Windermere appears to be a stereotypical angel in the house, but everything changes when she starts suspecting that her husband is cheating on her and is ready to leave both

him and their child for another man. Mrs. Erlynne, on the other hand, is initially presented as a fallen woman and homewrecker, but at the end, she selflessly saves her daughter's marriage and prevents her from going through the shame that leaving your husband for another man brings.

Mrs. Erlynne is similar to Mrs. Allonby from *A Woman of No Importance* in the way she acts — she flirts and jokes with the men around her, and is not afraid of manipulating them. As a result of this, all women are jealous of her beauty and see her as a threat. She does not look her age, so she can fool everyone that she is in her twenties when she is actually in her forties. The Duchess of Berwick at one point says that she is “just a little too attractive” (Wilde, 2011, p. 21), while Dumby describes her as a sensible woman and says that a lot of wives objected to her coming to Lady Windermere's party (Wilde, 2011, p. 22).

When she finds out that her daughter has married a wealthy man, she decides to blackmail him for money in exchange for the truth not being revealed. While she blackmails Lord Windermere, she still cares about her daughter's wellbeing, enough to sacrifice her own reputation. The first time she displays genuine emotion is when she realizes that her daughter's marriage and life are in danger:

“I feel a passion awakening within me that I never felt before. What can it mean? The daughter must not be like the mother—that would be terrible. How can I save her? How can I save my child?” (Wilde, 2011, p. 24).

Although she wants to help her, she has no interest in being a mother to her daughter and part of her life. She is aware that Lady Windermere thinks that her mother is dead and has constructed an ideal image of her in her mind, and she does not want to break that illusion and shatter her daughter's heart. She tells Lord Windermere that she wants her daughter to cherish the memory of a dead and stainless mother, because if Lady Windermere knew that Mrs. Erlynne was a fallen woman, she might start hating her and shun her like society did all those years ago, or maybe even think of herself as impure because of her mother's mistake.

Dierkes-Thrun (2015) points out that just like Mrs. Arbuthnot, another fallen woman, Mrs. Erlynne gets a happy ending: “. . . after she has cleverly saved her daughter, who is still unaware of their biological connection, Mrs. Erlynne goes off to a promising new life

abroad with a doting rich husband, Lord Augustus, redeeming her both socially and morally” (p. 86).

Aside from making a fallen woman an important character in the play and redeeming her in the end, Wilde also included a, for the time, thought-provoking commentary on motherhood, something only New Woman writers dared write about in the Victorian era. By making Mrs. Erlynne a woman who has no desire in being a mother, Wilde showed that women like that existed, although society did not want to acknowledge it. Sos Eltis writes that “through Mrs. Erlynne, Wilde not only subverted all the conventions governing the behavior of the fallen woman, but dared to question the sacred status of motherhood as woman’s greatest ambition” (Eltis, 1996, p. 72). By redeeming her and giving both her and Mrs. Arbuthnot happy endings, it is clear that Wilde did not approve of the attitude society had toward fallen women, which makes him very progressive and way ahead of his time.

The character of Salomé is similar to Mrs. Erlynne — both are fallen women who use their charms to achieve their goals. Originally written in French, Wilde’s *Salomé* tells the biblical story of the eponymous princess, the daughter of Herod Antipas and Herodias, who requested the head of John the Baptist on a platter. According to Dierkes-Thrun (2015, p. 26), Wilde used Salomé to embody central fantasies and fears of Western cultural and philosophical modernity using erotic and aesthetic transgressions. Similarly, Joseph Donohue (2013) states that, in the play, “Wilde depicts perverse, inordinate, illicit and impulsive desire and its clash with ultimate authority” (p. 126). Amanda Fernbach (2001, p. 196) calls *Salomé* a postmodern play, saying that gender and sexuality in it are not fixed, but instead doubled, multiplied and shifted. The play was considered scandalous in Victorian society for three reasons: female sexuality was still a taboo, the act of Salome kissing the severed head and biting Jokanaan’s mouth alluded to cannibalism, and Jokanaan was a figure from the Bible and a saint.

Wilde’s vision of Salome differs to the one described in the Bible. The Salome from the Bible requested John the Baptist’s head because of her mother’s caprice, but Wilde’s Salome does not get manipulated. Instead, she wants Jokanaan’s head for her own reasons, be it anger, lust, or both. When speaking to Carrillo one evening, Wilde said the following about his vision of Salomé:

“For I cannot conceive of a Salomé who is unconscious of what she does, a Salomé who is but a silent and passive instrument Never ...

! Her lips in Leonardo's painting reveal the limitless cruelty of her soul. Her lust must be an abyss, her corruptness, as ocean." (Carrillo, 1979, p. 193).

That is exactly how he wrote her character in the play. Unlike the Salome in the Bible who never gets to speak and is a tool of her mother, Wilde's Salome is vocal, selfish, and most importantly, powerful. She is similar to some of the other female characters in Wilde's plays. As mentioned, Salomé and Mrs. Erlynne share a lot of similarities: not only are they both fallen women, they are also beautiful, charismatic and manipulate men for their own gain. Salomé also shares similarities with Gwendolen and Cecily — she voices her opinions and speaks to men openly, like they do. Like Gwendolen, who disobeys her mother and accepts Jack's marriage proposal without her mother's permission, Salomé refuses to comply with her step-father's orders and also refuses to be controlled by both him and her mother. She explicitly says, "I do not heed my mother. It is for mine own pleasure that I ask the head of Jokanaan in a silver charger. You hath sworn, Herod. Forget not that you have sworn an oath" (Wilde, 1947, p. 28). Like a typical *femme fatale*, her beauty is grand and dangerous — throughout the entire play, the characters are warned not to look at her. The Page of Herodias warns the young Syrian multiple times, while Herodias does the same, but to her husband:

The Page of Herodias. Do not look at her. I pray you not to look at her... Why do you speak to her? Why do you look at her? Oh! something terrible will happen. (Wilde, 1947, p. 5)

Herodias. You must not look at her! You are always looking at her! . . . There are others who look at her too much . . . You are looking again at my daughter. You must not look at her. I have already said so. . . I have told you not to look at her. (Wilde, 1947, p. 17-18)

Their warnings that something terrible will happen if Salomé looks back at them do not only foretell the tragic ending of the play and all the deaths that happen, but also speak of the important power that Salomé possesses. Alike Mrs. Erlynne, Salomé wields her beauty and charm in such a way that even the most obedient and powerful of men cannot resist her requests — she convinces the king's soldiers to let her see Jokanaan, she manipulates the young Syrian, Narraboth, into bringing Jokanaan to her and she even suc-

ceeds into convincing the king himself into killing Jokanaan and giving her his head.

Salomé meets her death not when rejecting Herod's advances or demanding Jokanaan's head – she gets crushed under the soldiers' shields when she bites the lips of Jokanaan's severed head, which is the moment her desire manifests in the physical form. Salomé states that she was a virgin before meeting Jokanaan, who changed her and took her virginity:

“What shall I do now, Jokanaan? Neither the floods nor the great waters can quench my passion. I was a princess, and thou didst scorn me. I was a virgin, and thou didst take my virginity from me. I was chaste, and thou didst fill my veins with fire.” (Wilde, 1947, p. 31)

She shamelessly displays her desire and sexuality, something Victorian women were not able to do. To earn Jokanaan's head, Salomé dances the Dance of the Seven Veils for Herod, a dance that is not described in the play, but is suspected to be sexual in nature. These are the reasons why some critics see Salomé as a positive feminist role model and a New Woman. Fernbach (2001, p. 213), says that she becomes a feminist by refusing to listen to Herod's orders and comply to the patriarchy she is living in, while in *Art and Anger: Reading Like a Woman*, Marcus (1988, p. 4) speaks of Salomé challenging the patriarchal religion by demanding Jokanaan's execution.

Since the play was never performed during Wilde's lifetime, he never got the chance to see it on stage and instruct the actresses that took on the role of Salomé on how to do the dance². However, there are accounts that hint at Wilde's vision of the dance, which, according to people who knew him, was sexual, which further contributes to Wilde's modernity. According to Carrillo, Wilde often cited Joris-Karl Huysmans' words about Salomé, in which she was described as almost naked, shedding her veils in the heat of the dance, covered only in jewels (Carrillo, 1979, p. 195). After Aubrey Beardsley finished the illustrations for the play, according to Toni Bentley (2002), Wilde sent him a copy of the original French edition of the play, along with the message: “For Aubrey: for the only artist who, besides myself, knows what the dance of the seven veils is, and can see that invisible dance” (p. 31). Later on, when working on the illustrations for the British edition, Beardsley titled the image of

² The play was considered blasphemous and was banned because Jokanaan's character was from the Bible, and Biblical characters could not be depicted on stage during the Victorian era (Marshall, 2007, p. 148).

the dance “The Stomach Dance”. The illustration depicts Salomé with a bare chest and loose and sheer bottoms, indicating Salomé shedding the seven veils.

Huyssmans words that Wilde often quoted, which describe an almost naked Salomé dancing passionately, and Wilde’s approval of Beardsley’s illustration of the dance confirm that Wilde envisioned the dance of the seven veils as sexual in nature. Wilde’s Salomé states her mind, makes her choices, and openly expresses her desire and sexuality, just like a New Woman.

The dance is not the only instance in which Salomé expresses her sexuality. Salomé’s desire is frightening — when she finally receives Jokanaan’s head, Salomé monologizes about finally getting the chance to kiss him, and so she does, tasting the blood on his lips:

Ah! thou wouldst not suffer me to kiss thy mouth, Jokanaan. Well! I will kiss it now. I will bite it with my teeth as one bites a ripe fruit . . . Ah! I have kissed thy mouth, Jokanaan, I have kissed thy mouth. There was a bitter taste on thy lips. Was it the taste of blood?... But perchance it is the taste of love.... They say that love hath a bitter taste.... But what of that? what of that? I have kissed thy mouth, Jokanaan. (Wilde, 1947, p. 31)

This monstrous act is what pushes Herod to order her execution. Since she bites his mouth and tastes his blood, the act is associated with cannibalism, necrophilia and vampirism. Richard A. Kaye puts her into the same category with Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Dracula and Dorian Gray, saying that the works they are in are terrifying metaphors for sexuality. “Degeneration, vampirism, syphilis, hysteria,” he says, “would seem to be the metaphors by which many late-Victorians thought of sexuality and the erotic self” (Kaye, 2007, p. 53). Anne Varty (1998, p. 146) describes her as a vampire stripped of humanity, something less and more than human at the same time. Similarly, Mario Praz (1978, p. 299) speaks of Salomé capturing Jokanaan’s lips in a vampire passion, while Mireille Dottin-Orsini (1994, p. 284) points out the similarity between Jokanaan’s beheading and a vampire’s bite on the throat.

Some critics see her as a cannibal. In *Performing Salome, Revealing Stories*, Clair Rowden (2013, p. 184) speaks of Salomé’s cannibalistic appetite that transgresses the sacred and the taboo. Indeed, Salomé says that she is hungry for his body and that wine nor apples can appease her desire, and compares Jokanaan’s voice to wine, his hair to a cluster of grapes, and his mouth to a pomegranate that she wants

to bite. In the article *Why Female Cannibals Frighten and Fascinate: The danger and appeal of the insatiable woman in Raw, Santa Clarita Diet, and The Lure*, Kate Robertson (2017) draws an interesting comparison between different female cannibals from movies and television shows, saying that the female cannibal captures the “ever-present social anxieties about gender, hunger, sex and empowerment”. She calls her an extension of the femme fatale, and explains that the shock and fear that the character of the female cannibal evokes is related to the societal expectations of women keeping their appetites under control. It is not certain whether Wilde had female empowerment in mind when he let Salomé bite Jokanaan’s lips, but he did allow Salomé to defeat Jokanaan, who treated her with prejudice.

It is arguable whether Salomé has won in the end or not. While she does die at the end of the play, she successfully manipulates Herod in front of all of his guests, obtains Jokanaan’s head and kisses his lips. Similarly, it is debatable whether she is a feminist icon or just the favourite sexualized instrument of the Decadents, however, it is undeniable that Wilde’s Salomé is not a silent tool of her mother and is a female character driven by her own motivations and desire.

Wilde’s female characters speak volumes of his modernity and progressiveness. Cecily and Gwendolen from *The Importance of Being Earnest* are variations of the New Woman, a name that was used to signify women who defied societal expectations and wanted to improve their position in society, alike feminists and women’s rights advocates who came after them. Gwendolen and Cecily, although shallow, are fond of reading and writing, and they speak to men openly and voice their opinions. Because of this, they do not fit the Victorian stereotype of the angel in the house, which described the ideal wife who listened to her husband without complains. What is more, by using the relationship these two young women have with their suitors and the marriage of Lady and Lord Bracknell, Wilde mocked the gender roles the Victorian society imposed upon men and women of the time and how the woman’s place was only in the domestic sphere.

Another way in which Wilde was ahead of his time are his female characters who are fallen women, two of whom are Mrs. Arbuthnot and Mrs. Erlynne, the main characters of the plays *A Woman of No Importance* and *Lady Windermere’s Fan*, respectively. Both of them are strong and multi-dimensional female characters who have suffered at the hands of the society that shunned them. What is most

important about their portrayals is how Wilde did not condemn them for being fallen. Unlike the Victorian society, which ostracized women who had relations with men before marriage and women who turned to sex work, Wilde did not mock and criticize his fallen women. Whether he intended to give his support to women being sexually liberated or not, it is undeniable that the ways in which Wilde portrayed and treated Mrs. Arbuthnot and Mrs. Erlynne's characters are positive. Additionally, in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Wilde provided a provoking commentary on motherhood, making a woman uninterested in being a mother the protagonist of the play. In the Victorian era, it was expected of women to want to be mothers, wives, and caretakers, since it was thought that they only belonged in the domestic sphere. Nowadays, women are more liberated, are members of all spheres, and have the opportunity to make their own choices regarding motherhood, which is why Mrs. Erlynne's character is revolutionary.

The play *Salomé* does not lack of progressiveness. The protagonist, the princess Salomé, is a woman who expresses her desire and sexuality in front of men and women alike. This fallen woman, who dies for her display of sexuality, speaks of her lust and uncovers her body, an exact opposite of how the Victorian society expected women to act. Salomé's character is significant not only because of Wilde's bold portrayal of female sexuality, which was unprecedented at the time, but also because she is not a passive instrument of her mother's whims. She is independent and liberated, unlike Victorian women, who were bound to their husbands and their homes.

Taking everything into account, some of Wilde's female characters are complex and multi-dimensional, and some of the topics he explored, including female sexuality, motherhood and gender roles, make his plays worthy of being called progressive and feminist.

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МАРИЈА Д. МИЛОСАВЉЕВИЋ

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

РЕЗИМЕ

ЗАМЕНА РОДНИХ УЛОГА, ЖЕНСКА СОЛИДАРНОСТ
И ПОСРНУЛЕ ЖЕНЕ У ВАЈЛДОВИМ ДРАМАМА

Вајлдове драме *Бијно је зваји се Ернесџ*, *Жена без значаја*, *Лейеза јосјође Вингермер* и *Салом* релевантне су за домен феминистичке критике због начина на који се баве заменом родних улога, солидарношћу међу женским ликовима и такозваним посрнулим женама (fallen women), а у контексту односа између мушкараца и жена, брака, сложености женских ликова, родних улога и начина на који су оне приказане. У драми *Бијно је зваји се Ернесџ*, Вајлд је исмејао родне улоге у Викторијанском друштву и како су мушкарци имали моћ над женама, док у драмама *Жена без значаја*, *Лейеза јосјође Вингермер* и *Салом*, главни ликови су посрнуле жене, стереотип који су Викторијанци осмислили да би обележили жене које су сматрали нечистима. Битно је спомнути да Вајлдове посрнуле жене нису приказане у негативном

светлу: *Жена без значаја* и *Лейза Ђосџе Вингермер* су драме о потешкоћама које је етикета посрнуле жене нанела двома женама које су направиле грешке у прошлости и пријатељствима које оне формирају са другим женским ликовима, док је трагедија *Саломе* о жени која умире због чина који је у очима друштва обележава као посрнулу. Уз наведено, рад ће истражити и друге блиско повезане теме, као што су мајчинство, сексуалност и негативни родни стереотипи.

Кључне речи: Вајлд; феминизам; женски ликови; родне улоге; сексуалност.



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HOW TO SUBMIT A PAPER

Papers are submitted electronically within Assistant, the online journal management system, by uploading an anonymized file (without personal information in the text and document metadata). The version containing all required information (see section CONTENTS) should be sent to zbornik.ffkm@pr.ac.rs.

Authors without an Assistant account need to contact our secretary at zbornik.ffkm@pr.ac.rs. Having created the account, the journal's secretary will provide the author with the login details (username and password). The papers are not peer-reviewed until all requirements specified herein have been fulfilled.

SUBMISSION DEADLINES

Papers can be submitted all year round. Upon completion of the editing procedure and once the paper is accepted for publication, the paper is assigned a DOI. The editor can assign the paper to any issue planned for future publication at his or her own discretion.

TYPES OF PAPERS

The contributions are categorized in accordance with the guidelines specified in the applicable Scientific Journals Act issued by the relevant Ministry of the Republic of Serbia.

PUBLICATION POLICY

The journal's official internet site (hosted on SCIndex, developed and maintained by the Centre for Evaluation in Education and Science)

<http://scindeks.ceon.rs/journalDetails.aspx?issn=0354-3293>

along with the details about the journal, contains all relevant information about the Editorial Board, instructions for authors, as well as the publication policy specifying:

- reviewing procedure;
- responsibilities;
- ethical publishing;
- open access;
- copyright and licensing.

The Editorial Board is dedicated to the prevention of plagiarism and publication of contributions that violate the provisions of the Copyright Law of Serbia.

All authors need to sign the Authorship Statement provided by the journal's secretary to confirm that they have read the publication policy and that the contribution and any part thereof has not been plagiarized. Translators are responsible for related translation rights.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the authors assume full moral and legal responsibilities for the content of their contributions.

LANGUAGE

The journal publishes papers written in Serbian, as well as in other languages common in international communication.

CONTENTS

Every paper submitted for publication must contain the following elements (in the given order):

- author's name, middle initial, last name; e-mail address in the footnote, year of birth in the endnote;
- affiliation (specifying all organizational units, i.e. University, Faculty, Department);
- title of the paper (it should be concise and relevant to the content);
- abstract (up to 300 words) and 3 to 7 key words in the language of the paper;
- text of the paper;
- bibliography (literature);
- corpus (if any);

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

- Summary in Serbian, or another language common in international communication. The summary should contain the following elements:
 - author's name, middle initial, and last name (with diacritics);
 - title of the paper;
 - heading Summary;
 - text of the summary (up to 10% of the paper length);
 - key words translated in the language of the summary.

LENGTH

The length of the paper is limited to 36,000 characters with spaces (the content of footnotes is not included in the count).

FORMATTING

Authors may contact the journal's secretary for the template. In case the template is not used, the following needs to be taken into consideration:

FILE TYPES

Papers are submitted as doc, rtf and odt files. The files in docx format should be avoided as these can cause problems during the proofreading process and page layout creation.

Drawings, maps and images are submitted separately as JPG or TIFF files in resolution larger than 200 x 200 pixels. Vector images should be submitted as EMF or WMF files.

Drawings, maps, images and illustrations are submitted as supplementary files, specifying in the text the title of the illustration in the languages of the text and the summary. Charts created in text processors remain integrated in the text, whereas those created with another program are submitted as supplementary files.

FONTS

The font must be a Unicode font: Times New Roman or Arial.

SIL font families are also acceptable (Charis SIL, Doulos SIL, Gentium plus) – these are suitable for dialectal text transcription, as well as for papers on phonology and phonetics. These are also applicable to texts with sections in Greek, Church Slavic and Old Slavic.

In case the text contains fonts other than those specified above they need to be embedded and submitted as supplementary files.

Papers typed in copyrighted or nonstandard fonts such as ascii or yuscii will not be published.

- TABS** Please do not use tabs in your paper. First paragraph lines need not be indented. If they are, indentation in the older versions of MS Word is done by opening “Format – Styles and Formatting”; left-click onto “normal” to open “modify”; open “format – paragraph”. The first line is indented by selecting “first line” in “Indentation – special”. In newer versions, the option is available in “Home”, “Paragraph”, “Indents and spacing”, “Indentation”.
- The text in two columns needs to be put in an invisible table.
- NUMBERING** Paragraphs and subheadings are not numbered. The text should be adequately formatted by visibly separating them from the paragraphs.
- PUNCTUATION** Quotation and other punctuation marks need to be used properly, as required by the rules of the language of the text.
- QUOTES** Longer quotes, which are not part of a sentence, should be separated in a new paragraph and marked by quotation marks.
- Verses are written in *Italic*.
- TABLES** Tables should be simple, without colours or shading. Text should be indented and aligned by using automatic formatting and not by manually adding spaces. All tables are reformatted during the page layout creation, so there is no need to customize them. All tables should have titles in the languages of the paper and the summary.
- STYLES** If you are using your own styles, please name them so that it is evident what they represent.
- TEXT EMPHASIS** Text sections are emphasized by using italics, whereas block capitals, bolded and underlined letters should be avoided. If more than one emphasis type is needed, they should be used in the following order: italics, small caps, small caps in italics. In some cases, should the field of research require so, block letters are acceptable.
- FOOTNOTES** Footnotes are inserted automatically, by using the “insert footnote” option in the text editor. They are numbered, from 1 onwards. A footnote should not exceed 100 words.

REFERENCES

References section should list only quoted/cited, and not all sources used for the preparation of the manuscript.

APA style (adjusted to the language of the paper) is used in order to cite sources.

References are listed without transcribing, in the original script. If the sources are available in the Cyrillic script the sources in parentheses and References should be listed in the Cyrillic script, if they are in the Latin script, they should be listed in the same script.

Only one place/location of the issue is specified, even if there is more than one listed in the source.

CITING
REFERENCES
IN THE TEXT

AUTHOR(S) IN THE TEXT	FIRST CITATION	SUBSEQUENT CITATIONS
ONE AUTHOR	Martin (2001)	Martin (2001)
TWO AUTHORS	Jonson and Neale (1994)	Jonson & Neale (1994)
THREE TO FIVE AUTHORS	Vaughan, Neale, Leary & Jonson (2010)	Vaughan & al. (2010)
SIX OR MORE AUTHORS	Healy & al. (2008)	Healy & al. (2008)
GROUP (INSTITUTION, ORGANIZATION, CORPORATION) WITH FORMAL ABBREVIATION	Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA, 2005)	SASA (2005)
GROUP WITH NO FORMAL ABBREVIATION	Teacher Training and Development Centre (2010)	Teacher Training and Development Centre (2010)

One author:

Martin (2001) found that among...

or

In 2001 Martin found that among...

Two authors:

Jonson and Neale (1994) emphasized their importance in...

or

Other authors (Jonson and Neale, 1994) also emphasized their importance in...

More than three authors:

Vaughan, Neale, Leary and Jonson (2010) analysed the issues...

Subsequent citations in the text:

Vaughan et. al. (2010) analysed the issues...

Two or more works by different authors who are cited within the same parentheses are listed in alphabetical order by the first author's surname. The citations are separated with semicolons.

Several studies (Andrews, 2008; Charles, 2005; Simmons, 2003a, 2003b)...

PARENTHESES

AUTHOR(S)	FIRST CITATION	SUBSEQUENT CITATIONS
ONE AUTHOR	(Martin, 2001)	(Martin, 2001)
TWO AUTHORS	(Jonson and Neale, 1994)	(Jonson and Neale, 1994)
THREE TO FIVE AUTHORS	(Vaughan, Neale, Leary and Jonson, 2010)	(Vaughan et. al., 2010)
SIX OR MORE AUTHORS	(Healy et. al, 2008)	(Healy et. al, 2008)
GROUP (INSTITUTION, ORGANIZATION, CORPORATION) WITH FORMAL ABBREVIATION	(Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts [SASA], 2005)	(SASA, 2005)
GROUP WITH NO FORMAL ABBREVIATION	(Teacher Training and Development Centre, 2010)	(Teacher Training and Development Centre, 2010)

In parenthetical citations, page numbers are added after the year of publication, with the appropriate abbreviation *p.* or *pp.* depending on the number of cited pages:

(Jonson, 2010, pp. 22–34; Miller, 2001, p. 145)

LITERATURE – REFERENCE EXAMPLES

MONOGRAPH Last name, First name initial. (year). *Title in italics*. Location (city): Publisher.

If there are two or more towns/cities with the same name (not uncommon in the USA) the location is followed with the name of the state/country.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

If the monograph is available online, the URL should be included at the end of the reference.

Todorov, T. (1975). *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Jovanović, D. (2012). *Dispute Settlement*. Belgrade: Publisher. Retrieved from <http://fulllink.co.rs>

COLLECTION OF PAPERS, BOOK CHAPTER

Last name, First name initial. (year). Title of article. In: First name initial and last name (Ed.), *Title in italics* (pp-pp). Location: Publisher.

French, L. A. (2015). Oral Histories of Appalachian Black Folk in Western North Carolina. In: M. Lončar-Vujnović (Ed.), *People and Cultures in Contact: Thematic Collection of Papers of International Significance* (429–451). Kosovska Mitrovica: Faculty of Philosophy.

JOURNAL

Last name, First name initial. (year). Title of article. *Title of periodical in italics*, vol. № (issue №), pp-pp.

DOI (if assigned) should be included at the end of the reference.

If no DOI is assigned to the content that is available online, the URL should be included at the end of the reference.

Kravchenko, S. A. (2014). The Birth of 'Arrow of Time' Scientific Knowledge. *Collection of Papers of the Faculty of Philosophy in Priština*, 44 (3), 225–239. doi:10.5937/zrffp44-7024

Jovanović, S. D. (2012). Contribution of Ben Jonson to Development of the English Renaissance Comedy. *Collection of Papers of the Faculty of Philosophy in Priština*, 42 (1), 347–363. Retrieved from <http://scindeks-clanci.ceon.rs/data/pdf/0354-3293/2012/0354-32931201347J.pdf>

REFERENCE

BOOK,

DICTIONARY,

ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Title of entry. (year). In: First name initial, Last name (Ed.). *Title of reference work in italics* (xx ed, volume, pp-pp). Location: Publisher.

Computers. (1999). In: J. Clute & P. Nicholls (Eds.). *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction* (2nd. ed, p. 253). London: Orbit.

ONLINE

ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Van Gulick, R. (2014). Consciousness. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 ed.). Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/consciousness/>

ONLINE SOURCE,

NO AUTHOR OR

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Cyberpunk. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster's online dictionary*. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cyberpunk>

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE	Last name, First name initial. (year, month date). Title or article. <i>Newspaper in italics</i> , pp–pp. If the article is retrieved online the URL should be included at the end of the reference.
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UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS	Last name, First name initial. (year). <i>Title of manuscript in italics</i> . Unpublished manuscript [or Manuscript in preparation/Manuscript submitted for publication].
UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT WITH A UNIVERSITY CITED	Last name, First name initial. (year). <i>Title of manuscript in italics</i> . Unpublished manuscript, Department, Faculty, University, City, Country.

AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA

FILM	Last name, First name initial (Producer), & Last name, First name initial (Director). (Release year). <i>Title of film in italics</i> [Motion picture]. Country: Studio. Bender, L. (Producer), & Tarantino, Q. (Director). (1994). <i>Pulp fiction</i> [Motion Picture]. United States: Miramax.
SINGLE EPISODE FROM A TELEVISION SERIES	Last name, First name initial (Writer), & Last name, First name initial (Director). (Year of airing). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In First name initial, Last name (Executive producer), <i>Title of series in italics</i> . Location: Company. Kang, K. (Writer), & Fryman, P. (Director). (2006). Slap bet [Television series episode]. In Bays, C. (Executive Producer), <i>How I met your mother</i> . Los Angeles, CA: Columbia Broadcasting System.
VIDEO	Author's last name, First name initial. OR Screen name. (year, month day of posting). Title of video [Video file]. Available from URL BBC News. (2017, February 22) Astronomers discover 7 Earth-sized planets [Video file]. Available from https://youtu.be/xLxrCRfBdi0

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