Membership in the NASSS and Subscription to *Serbian Studies*

The North American Society was founded in 1978 and has published *Serbian Studies* since 1980. It publishes scholarly articles in all aspects of the Serbian cultural heritage, archival documents and source material related to the Serbian immigration to North America.

Serbian Studies is published twice a year and is sent to all members of the Society. Members also receive the *NASSS Newsletter*. Membership, including the subscription to *Serbian Studies* is US $25.00 per year for regular members and US $5.00 for students. Subscription without membership is US $20.00 per year, postage included. Checks should be made payable to NASSS.

Manuscripts for consideration should be submitted on diskettes (IBM compatible, WordPerfect 5.1) with two hard copies included. Notes should be placed at the end of the articles. In general, articles should not exceed 20 double spaced pages, including endnotes and quoted passages. *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Library of Congress transliteration are to be followed. All manuscripts must be in English, properly edited.

Articles submitted, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to: Jelisaveta S. Allen, Editor of *Serbian Studies*, 5301 Westbard Circle, #219, Bethesda, Maryland 20816.

Book reviews should be sent to the Book Review Editor, Vasa Mihailovich, 821 Emory Drive, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

All communications regarding membership, subscriptions, back issues and advertising should be addressed to the Treasurer, Nikoleta Ilić, 5301 Westbard Circle, Apt. 416, Bethesda, MD 20816.

The opinions expressed in the articles and book reviews published in *Serbian Studies* are those of the authors and not necessarily of the editors or of the NASSS.

Serbian Studies accepts advertising that is of interest to the membership of the NASSS. Advertising information and rates are available from the Treasurer of the NASSS, Nikoleta Ilić.

Composition by MBG Services
Silver Spring, Maryland

SERBIAN STUDIES

JOURNAL OF THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SERBIAN STUDIES

Vol 11 1997 Number 2

REACTIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON "THE GLORY OF BYZANTIUM"

ARTICLES

ESSAY REVIEW

BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS

REACTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

on

"THE GLORY OF BYZANTIUM"
Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York City
March–July, 1997

"GLORY OF BYZANTIUM" INFAMY OF BYZANTINE STUDIES OR SOMETHING ELSE?

Slobodan Ćurčić
Princeton University

A highly publicized 'blockbuster' show entitled "The Glory of Byzantium" was on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York from March to July, 1997. Lauded as the sequel to "The Age of Spirituality" exhibition, held at the Metropolitan Museum in 1977, this now focused on the so-called "Second Golden Age" of Byzantium. Apparently mesmerized by the equation "glory = gold," the organizers of the exhibition have, for this occasion, resuscitated the term "Second Golden Age" invented by the romanticizing spirit of the early students of Byzantium, and long since abandoned in Byzantine scholarship.

The show was impressive by virtue of the number and quality of displayed objects, many of which belong in the category conventionally labeled as 'masterpieces of art.' The exhibition was accompanied, as befits such an event, by a monumental, lavishly produced catalogue, a publication which presumes to reveal the state of scholarship and the summation of intellectual achievement within a given geographical area and chronological framework. Herein lurks the crucial problem. While the facade of this show, along with its catalogue undoubtedly has eminently succeeded in dazzling the general public, its essence has not only failed to fully satisfy the connoisseur, but has raised numerous

concerns among some. In professing to be dealing with the artistic legacy—indeed, even the cultural legacy—of Byzantium *and its neighbors*, the intellectual creators of this show have made certain claims which were not borne out by the fruits of their labor. Instead, they appear to have engaged in peculiar surgical interventions on the medieval map of the Byzantine world, completely excising some of these neighbors from it. Thus, the medieval states of Serbia, Zeta, Croatia, and important sections of the Empire itself (e.g. Byzantine Macedonia) do not figure within this newly invented framework. Maps which were displayed in the exhibition, and the one map which was reproduced in the catalogue, graphically encapsulate that which was glaringly absent within the contents of this 'comprehensive' exhibition. Various rationalizations why this may have occurred have been heard—usually as lame responses to loud and justified criticisms. Even if some of these explanations in one way or another may satisfy some, and even if the real reasons lay in a realm beyond the control of the organizers of this exhibition, they themselves must bear full intellectual responsibility for what is rightly perceived as an attempted deceit. To be confronted with a problem beyond one's control can occur, and may be understandable, even justifiable, but only if it is open, admitted and explained. Instead, the organizers of this exhibition chose to pretend that no problem existed, and counted on the ignorance or silence (or both) of their public—apparently in the hopes that all would go unnoticed. Their miscalculation is obvious. The degree of their intellectual guilt in this matter is yet to be fully and properly assessed.

This brief commentary is not an occasion for a detailed analysis of the problem. Suffice it to say that what we have witnessed in the "The Glory of Byzantium" is the crudest form of historical revisionism. Beyond this, much larger and more nagging questions remain. If such 'revisionism' did take place, what were its real causes and what were its aims? Who was behind it, and what were the ulterior motives? These questions must be raised, and answers pursued, for they touch on issues which go far beyond "The Glory of Byzantium" and 'infamy of Byzantine studies.' They should jolt our very human consciousness, too

often mesmerized by superficial glitz, and too rarely questioning the essence of things. How susceptible actually are we to being served partial truths, altered truths, or even big lies? Are there borders between these categories? should they exist? What should be our 'threshold of tolerance' in these matters? What are the instruments for the perpetration of these kinds of acts? What *is* the essence of free speech? What is the role of academia in these matters? Questions mount easily and without an end in sight. As we drift farther and farther from the 'glory' of Byzantium, we seem to sink deeper and deeper into the mud of our collective moral responsibility. Somewhere within that realm lines must be drawn—by each of us—for the benefit of all.

Organizers of "The Glory of Byzantium" bear a moral responsibility before history, their colleagues, and the American public for their decisions. The exclusion of Serbia (and it was not only Serbia) from this show may have been a practical expedient, tinged by a shade of "political correctness," but none of this lightens the burden of intellectual responsibility in this context. We, as members of the American public, above all, deserve to hear *real* explanations of how "The Glory of Byzantium" was conceived. Short of that, the glitter of this show will permanently, and rightly, be tainted by infamy of the spirit in which it was created.

Two general reference works in English which provide easy access to history and art of medieval Serbia, and which were undoubtedly known to the organizers of the exhibition "The Glory of Byzantium":

[1] A.P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991) pp. 187-75 ("Serbia," "Serbian Architecture," "Serbian Literature," "Serbian Wall Painting).

[2] Ćurčić, S. *Art and Architecture in the Balkans. An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston, 1984), *passim*.

REMARKS ON THE ART EXHIBITION "THE GLORY OF BYZANTIUM"

Zaga Gavrilović
Institute for Advanced Research in the Humanities
University of Birmingham, England

For a wide sector of the public in the West, just as much in Europe as in America, 'Byzantium' is a word whose meaning still lingers in a gray area of general knowledge. While one admits being largely ignorant about Byzantium, its mention evokes an obscure period of history, an era marked by a daunting mysticism, epitomized by monks and icons of the Orthodox church. One relates it to Russia and to some little known lands of south-eastern Europe and their despotic regimes. Moreover in the writing of many authors and journalists, the word 'byzantine' is quite often used to denote suspicious dealings, deviousness or intrigue. For these deeply seated and uncompromising attitudes, historical circumstances in the centuries' long development can provide an explanation, although not an excuse.[1] On the other hand, almost paradoxically, the study of Byzantine history and culture has made enormous progress in modern times. In that new and refreshing movement which gained speed soon after the Second World War, the United States of America have taken a magnificent lead. They have provided funds for research and created possibilities for archaeological exploration and conservation of monuments, far and wide. Among the ever-growing number of historians, art-historians and archaeologists, views on the theme of Byzantium and its civilization are exchanged at regular international gatherings; important publications, always beautifully produced, appear too.

While one may wonder whether the reticence of the non-specialists will for ever follow its course, never mellowing to the spirit of Byzantine scholarly enthusiasts, it seems certain that a latent fascination for Byzantium does exist after all. Once in direct contact with Byzantine works of art, people do warm up

to them: they may not be intellectually prepared for them, but a magic rapport is established all the same, be it through a visit to a Byzantine church while on holiday, or to an exhibition where riches abound, skillfully placed to please the eye. If a deeper and lasting interest for the background and the origin of those monuments or objects is stimulated, one can assume that an important goal may be achieved. Surely, for that reason, perhaps more than for any other, Byzantine art exhibitions are a good thing.

It was indeed most befitting that twenty years after the brilliant and much acclaimed exhibition entitled *The Age of Spirituality* (1977), the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York should host a new artistic event, this time on the theme *The Glory of Byzantium*, spanning the period of over four centuries, from the epoch-making restoration of the use of icons (victory over iconoclasts) in the year 843, until the end of the Latin rule over Constantinople in 1261. In the Catalogue of the Exhibition, its editors, Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, stated that their aim was to "explore four interrelated themes: the religious and secular cultures of the Byzantine Empire during its Second Golden Age, the empire's interactions with its Christian neighbors and rivals, its relations with the Islamic East, and its contacts with the Latin West." This scheme was supported by over fifty contributors. Among them are the authors of seventeen essays (including two by the editors themselves).

In spite of the large number of objects on display (around 350) which came for the greater part from American and European museums, libraries and collections, as well as from the treasuries of the monasteries of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, Iveron on Mount Athos, Saint John the Theologian on Patmos and Vlatadon in Thessalonike, the visitor was introduced to them at a slow pace, in a fashion in which a repetition of forms of a number of similar exhibits seemed to provide a calculated effect of dignified tranquillity. Thus, the first room was dominated by large processional crosses, many of them silver or silver gilt, with niello decoration, surrounded by liturgical objects of the finest quality. There were also parts of church furnishing (marble relief panels, fragments of marble templa, inlaid marble icons, tiles with portraits of saints, colonnettes, capitals, slabs with inscrip-

tions) as well as a few panels of original wall paintings. All these corresponded to the title "Religious Organization" preparing the visitor for the thematic display which followed. The theme of "Manuscripts" was represented by a selection of some of the most sumptuous illuminated books (including an illuminated liturgical scroll) and an example of a Constantinopolitan book cover, silver gilt on wood, with gold cloisonné enamel plaques representing Christ Pantokrator, the Virgin and saints, set among pearls and precious stones. Under the heading "Popular imagery" the visitor was presented with a vast collection of objects ranging from reliquary ivory caskets to small icons in ivory, steatite, precious metal, enamel and semi-precious stones, with representations of saintly figures or feasts celebrated in the calendar of the Christian church. There were enkolpia, pendant crosses, miniature reliquaries, all well chosen to illustrate the piety of those who commissioned them and owned them, as well as of those who made them. The same section covered larger icons on wood, some of them painted on both sides as processional icons, and some embellished with gold leaf. Side by side with those more easily accessible, were the splendid icons from Mount Sinai, Patmos and the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. The late 12th century icon with the Transfiguration from the Louvre, executed in the finest possible technique of miniature mosaic tesserae (gilded bronze, marble, lapis lazuli, glass and wax) served as a reminder of the existence of that medium, of which only a small number of examples survive.

The visitor was then led into the realm of "The Secular World" in which, in the first place, the objects relating to the Byzantine emperor were displayed, including the relief marble tondo with a standing Byzantine emperor from Dumbarton Oaks, the carved ivory piece usually known as the 'sceptre of Leo the Wise' from Berlin and the plaque fragment with Christ crowning Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos emperor, from the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Imperial coinage, as well as the enamel plaques and medallions forming the so-called 'Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos' from Budapest added even more interest to this section, although doubts in the authenticity of the latter object have been expressed recently. The introductory miniatures

from an illustrated copy of the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom (Paris, Coislin 79) and from the Gospels of John II Komnenos (Vat. Urb. gr. 2) showed the relevant emperors not only in their courtly splendor, but also accompanied by personifications of imperial virtues, Truth and Justice in the first and Charity and Justice in a scene of mystical investiture, in the other. This section merged quite naturally with the next one termed "Luxury Objects" which included more objects of high artistry in ivory, precious metal, enamel, semi-precious stones, as well as more manuscript illustration. Rounding off this detailed survey of all facets of Byzantine religious and secular culture, a skillfully selected section was devoted to the "Ceramic Arts of Everyday Life" giving an insight into this, at first glance modest, yet fascinating production of domestic ware, characterized by the elegant simplicity of its form and the easy, direct, often humorous repertoire of its decoration.

It was at this point that the visitor could have taken a deep breath and reflected on what had so far been on offer: a huge number of Byzantine works of art, renowned both for the miracle of their survival as for their quality. For a student of that art, there was an additional thrill in the fact that so many pieces, normally scattered around the world were here brought together, under the same roof. Specialists and non-specialists alike may have enjoyed reading the lengthy labels placed next to the exhibits, with translations of Byzantine textual sources, putting them, so to speak, in the right mood for appreciating fully this visual treat.

However, one must note that before proceeding to the following sections of the exhibition covering the themes of the "Christian Neighbors," "Crusader Art," "Byzantium and the Islamic East" and "Byzantine Art and the Latin West," the visitor would have been hardly reminded of the architectural setting within which all these objects fulfilled their function. The few pieces of church furnishings mentioned above, precious though they may be, some fresco paintings (among which, surprisingly, two fragments dating from the Palaiologan period, i.e. 1261-1453) and two wall mosaics (one of them being a small fragment of the Virgin's head), could hardly contrive the illusion of a Byzantine

church interior. One felt that reproductions of wall paintings and some photomontage would have greatly contributed to overcome this obvious problem. Moreover, one was surprised to find a full-size copy of the Annunciation arch, fresco from the church of St. George at Kurbinovo (1191), tucked away in the recess of one of the rooms reserved for the consultation of the catalogues. Unnumbered, placed at a disadvantage, away from any logical context, it almost hurt the eye. Clearly, the organizers had decided that architecture and monumental painting of which so much survives, especially from the last century and a half of the period covered by the Exhibition, should be only partly dealt with in some of the essays written for the Catalogue.

In the next stages of the walk through the Exhibition the visitor was guided to some splendid works of art from Kievan Rus', Bulgaria and Georgia, with a brief look at the art of medieval Armenia.

A substantial number of Russian exhibits included one of the two almost identical, large silver-gilt chalices with inscriptions, from Novgorod (twelfth century), the illuminated Ostromir Lectionary (1056-57), other manuscripts, sculptural decoration, icons, and jewelry. Of particular interest were two full-size mosaic panels representing St. Stephen, deacon and protomartyr and the Apostle Tadeus, originally from the church of the Archangel Michael of the Golden Domes, Kiev (1108-13). Once part of a magnificent interior of the foundation of the Kievan prince Svyatopolk, these panels and a few more fragments are all that was saved at the time of the demolition of the church by the Soviets in 1934.[2]

From Bulgaria one was able to admire, among other items, the ceramic icon of St. Theodore (9th-10th century), pieces of superb and well preserved gold and enamel jewelry dating from the first half of the tenth century, from the find at Preslav, and the gold and niello pectoral reliquary cross with scenes form the life of Christ (9th-10th century), from the find at Pliska.

Georgian art being also rich in precious metal-work and enamel, the Georgian section contained a selection of its best examples: the majority were brought from Tbilisi, while others came from American collections.

One proceeded then to a section devoted to the "Christians in the Islamic East," with examples of fresco-painting, book illumination and applied art from Egypt and Syria. The next three sections, "Crusader Art," "Byzantium and The Islamic East" and "Byzantine Art and the Latin West" reminded the viewer of the wide and varied exchange of artistic experience over the lands of the Mediterranean, reaching into western, central and northern Europe. Again, a great number of objects—panel painting, illuminated manuscripts, works in precious metal and ivory, ceramics, textile and jewelry, some of them indeed unique, hinted vividly at these cultural interrelations and provided powerful stimulus for further thought.

In spite of their numerous merits which must be acknowledged, the organizers of the New York Exhibition made an unforgivable mistake: in the treatment of the section devoted to Byzantine "Christian Neighbors" they have allowed the political bias of the day interfere with historical facts and scholarship. In his review of the Exhibition published in the *New York Review of Books*, May 29,1997, Peter Brown has noted that "from the territories of former Yugoslavia not a single work is to be seen."[3] Although Professor Brown found this understandable "given the circumstances," he did express surprise that no attempt was made, by the editors of the Catalogue, to refer to this omission which was extended even to the mention of some of the major studies of Yugoslav scholars, in the bibliography. He rightly pointed out that because of this lapse, "a significant arc of the great circle of Byzantine culture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is lost to us."

To Peter Brown's important observations I wish to add the following:

On the map "Byzantium and its neighbors A.D. 843-1261" which appears at the beginning of the Catalogue, preceding the introductory article "Byzantine Society and Civilization" by Speros Vryonis, JR., the medieval state of Serbia is missing. That is the case with all other numerous maps displayed in the rooms of the Exhibition, as well as on the brochure which provided its synopsis and the program of events connected to it. Without

going into any discussion whether any attempt was made to obtain material from the relevant parts of former Yugoslavia or not—and all signs are that no such attempt was made—the fact that even the word *Serbia* was struck off the map of the Byzantine world, speaks volumes. Whichever political motivation may have played its sinister role, such a move will remain unacceptable, as a matter of principle. Within the period covered by the Exhibition the state of Serbia had already enjoyed the building patronage of Stefan Nemanja, St. Sava of Serbia, kings Stefan the First Crowned, Radoslav, Vladislav and Stefan Uroš I. Serbia still treasures, among the preserved monuments of its heritage, the churches of Djurdjevi Stupovi, Studenica, Žiča, Mileševa and Sopoćani (the latter dating from ca 1265, therefore hardly over the Exhibition's chronological borderline). Every endeavor should have been made to obtain fresco panels from Djurdjevi Stupovi preserved in the National Museum, Belgrade, copies and photographs of the outstanding wall paintings from the other churches, possibly icons from the monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos, the Gospel of prince Miroslav (Belgrade) and/or the Gospel of Prince Vukan from St. Petersburg. Even if, for some reason, all that proved impossible, due explanation should have been given in the Catalogue. To obliterate the state of Serbia from a map of the Byzantine world, in the period covered by the Exhibition, meant giving false information to a large number of visitors, especially to those who may have been insufficiently acquainted with the history and geography of the area.

Can one believe that the lack of satisfactory references to the art of medieval Serbia in some essays and entries in the Catalogue is the result of simple unawareness? While in her essay on "Christian Neighbors" Helen C. Evans devoted a few lines to the history of Serbia and reproduced a photograph of Stefan Nemanja's Church of The Virgin at Studenica, commenting only on its "combination of a Byzantine dome over a longitudinal nave decorated with Western Romanesque elements," she did not mention the remarkable ensemble of fresco paintings in that church. References to it elsewhere in the Catalogue were scarce and sometimes highly surprising. For instance, in his analysis of the evolution of Byzantine painting in the late period of the

Komneni (late twelfth century) William D. Wixom (p. 448) speaks of the "wall painting of St. John in the Church of the Virgin at Studenica," giving as a reference a small black and white photograph of a detail of the famous Crucifixion of that church, in a book published in 1966. Yet that whole painting, occupying a large portion of the west wall of the naos, is known to embody all the characteristics of the style in question.[4] Studenica was completed in 1208 and thanks to a preserved inscription in the dome one learns that St. Sava of Serbia took personal care in the execution of its fresco decor. On the other hand, sources speak of St. Sava's connections with the monastery of the Virgin Evergetis in Constantinople at that time and his biographers tell us about his dealings with the best artists of the Capital. Annemarie Weyl Carr has rightly observed (p. 97) that the period between the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and its recovery by the Byzantines in 1261 "is among the most obscure in all of Byzantine art." How one wishes then that use was made of the wealth of information which Serbian monuments can offer. That was not to be and one is almost led to despair to find, in the essay on "Religious Organization and Church Architecture" by Thomas F. Mathews (p. 34), a view of a poorly preserved apse decoration which that author reproduced in order to show a typical composition of the procession of the bishops in the sanctuary apse, in a thirteenth century church. The magnificent fresco in the altar of Studenica representing the holy fathers of the church celebrating liturgy could have admirably illustrated his point. Not only is the fresco from the Bulgarian church of Saints Peter and Paul at Veliko Turnovo, reproduced by Mathews, damaged, but it dates from the fifteenth century and not from 1230 as stated.

One is also surprised to read, in the entry on 'Temple pendants,' n. 212 (p. 309) by Katharine R. Brown, that Stefan Uroš I, king of Serbia from 1243-1276 is wearing these pendants "suspended within chains from his crown in the wall paintings at Sopoćani, Serbia, which were executed about 1265." The temple pendants under discussion in the Catalogue, also known as 'kolti,' are crescent shaped ornaments, gold or silver, with eamel

or niello decoration, their two sides forming tiny baskets in which, according to a Kievan find dating from the 11th-12th centuries, pieces of cloth immersed in perfume may have been placed for the pleasure of the wearer. Without taking into account the restored donor's panel in the naos of Sopoćani and a fourteenth century fresco in the exonarthex where he is depicted in monastic clothes, there are two original contemporary portraits of King Uroš I in his church. Both are in the narthex. On one, he is represented in prayer before the Virgin, accompanied by his wife queen Helen and their sons Dragutin and Milutin. On the other, he is in lament over the death-bed of his mother, queen Anne, while his wife, queen Helen, kneels and kisses her dead mother-in-law's hand.[5] On both frescoes the king wears a late Byzantine imperial crown (kamelaukion) with prependoulia consisting of pearls and larger precious stones. It would have been interesting to know whether temple pendants (such as 'kolti') were ever added to the imperial or royal crowns as K.R. Brown seems to suggest, but her only reference is a very small black and white photograph from the book *Art of the Byzantine Era* by D. Talbot-Rice (1963). Could it have been the reading of a rather old and unclear picture that led her to her conclusion?

Serbian material could contribute to the discussion on several topics, as for instance the one regarding the iconographic detail of Hades being pierced by the Cross in the ivory triptych panel with the Crucifixion from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, n. 97. In the entry on p. 152 it is stated that no other related image survives, although a wall painting with the same motif dating from around 1343-45 is found in the church of St. George at Pološko and was studied by S. Radojčić, V.J. Djurić and G. Babić in 1966, 1975 and 1978 respectively. Similarly, on the subject of the unusual throne of the Virgin holding the Christ child on the panel from the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (n. 262 in the present Catalogue), dating from ca 1290, discussed by Jaroslav Folda, useful comparisons can be made with Serbian fresco paintings of the fourteenth century, especially those from Dečani.

William Wixom's research on the relations between "Byzantine Art and the Latin West" would have been certainly more comprehensive had the examples of Serbian art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries been represented at the Exhibition and the results of Yugoslav historians' recent studies taken into account. As Serbian art took root on the crossroads between East and West, between Byzantium on the one hand and the Adriatic coast on the other, in the proximity of southern Italy and Hungary, its value seems obvious.

In his introductory article Speros Vryonis Jr. stated that in the last centuries of its existence "some of Byzantium's most remarkable accomplishments were achieved through its relations with the culture and society of the Ottoman Turks, of late medieval Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and Rus' and of Renaissance Italy." As already remarked, on this occasion, the references to the Byzantine relations with the culture and society of Serbia were reduced to a minimum, and there was no mention of the Serbian medieval state on the Exhibition's maps of the Balkans. Let us hope that times will change, sooner rather than later, and that all concerned will realize to what an extent scholarship can lose when allowed to fall prey to political whims: ephemeral though they may be, they are still capable of creating havoc and hindering valuable work, with regrettable and long lasting consequences.

---

[1] Understandably, in countries whose past was closely linked to Byzantium, these attitudes can cause consternation and dismay. In 1993, before being appointed Secretary General of NATO, Willy Claes addressed the Alpbach European Forum in Austria and spoke of the "Byzantine" (Orthodox) culture in some eastern countries of Europe —Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia—which causes them to be "more naturally" inclined to despotism and abuse of legal power. He urged the countries of western Europe to strengthen their "ethical" values in order to counteract forces from the east. W. Claes' outburst was criticized by Mr. Dan Plesch, director of the British American Security Information Council.

[2] It is interesting to observe that the organizers of the Exhibition and the editors of the Catalogue have adopted a new transliteration and spelling, based on the pronunciation of modern Ukrainian, for the terms relative to Kievan Rus' and the relevant geography. Although in some

cases the difference between the well-established and the new spelling is slight, it comes as a surprise to find, for instance, Sviata Sophiia for Saint Sophia, Volodymyr for Vladimir, Ol'ha for Olga, Borys and Hlib for Boris and Gleb, Dnipro for Dnieper, Tùrau for Turov, etc. For byzantinists, this practice may be especially confusing in view of the traditional spelling adopted by a relatively new *Dictionary of Byzantium* (editor in chief, A.P. Kazhdan, New York-Oxford 1991) which should have set the norm.

[3] Professor Brown probably failed to notice the Kurbinovo Annunciation which in any case did not figure in the Catalogue.

[4] In the last twenty years or so, several publications on Studenica (and on many other Serbian medieval monuments) have appeared in Yugoslavia, often containing studies in English, French, Italian or German (or long summaries in those languages), with a great number of excellent photographs.

[5] This remarkable fresco panel is referred to by A. Weyl Carr (p. 512, note 33) but, unfortunately, with an error concerning identity, as if the funeral was that of St. Sava?

BYZANTIUM ON FIFTH AVENUE: SAILING TO BYZANTIUM WITHOUT THE SERBS

Dušan Korać
Maryland University

> And therefore I have sailed the seas and come
> to the holy city of Byzantium.
>
> Once out of nature I shall never take
> My bodily form from any natural thing,
> But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
> Of hammered gold and gold enameling
> To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
> Or set upon a golden bough to sing
> To lords and ladies of Byzantium
> Of what is past, or passing, or to come.
>
> W. B. Yeats, Sailing to Byzantium, 1927

"*Since the creation of the world such a vast quantity of booty had never before been taken from one city*," wrote the historian of the fourth crusade Joffrois de Villehardoin, eyewitness of the fall of Constantinople. Most of the priceless artifacts looted from the capital of Christendom in April of 1204 were taken to the treasuries of Venice, especially its cathedral of Saint Mark. It was in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York that for the first time after almost eight centuries such a precious collection of objects of art, the jewels of a civilization mortally wounded by Western Christendom appeared in the West in one place. It is not surprising that most of the objects displayed at the "Glory of Byzantium" arrived in the Metropolitan Museum from Venice and the treasuries of the Vatican. Without bitterness and nostalgia one should acknowledge that the ruthless greed of the Venetians, the first heralds of the Western entrepreneurship and new Latin Europe, actually saved the masterpieces of Byzantine

civilization from destruction. From its cradle, present-day Turkey, only a few objects were sent to New York; the second fall of Constantinople and the Ottoman rule erased almost all traces of the thousand-year old Christian empire on the Bosphorus.

Certainly, Byzantine masterpieces did not arrived in New York as booty, but as the result of long planning and careful organization. Under the same spotlights and behind the same security glass, next to former Crusaders' booty, visitors could see manuscripts and icons from the monastic treasuries of Iviron on Mount Athos and Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, which had withstood the calamities of history only because of the mistrust of their monks towards the outside, non-Orthodox, world. That the experts of the Metropolitan Museum were successful in obtaining artifacts from those two monastic communities equals a miracle. More than a hundred institutions from twenty-four countries lent the objects of art from their collections for the "Glory of Byzantium," an exhibition which, without any exaggeration, can be seen only once in a century. It was a long way for the alabaster patens, sardonyx chalices, and ivory icons from the imperial chambers on the shores of the Marble Sea to the shiny halls on the edge of Central Park. "*Even the Saracens are merciful and kind in comparison to these creatures who bear the cross of Christ upon their shoulders*" recorded, in 1204, the Byzantine scholar Nicetas Choniates, a witness to the rampage of Crusaders in the occupied imperial capital. Eight centuries later, so many thousands of miles away, on request of the Museum's director, the catalogue of the exhibition was blessed from the imperial city by the Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch Bartholomew.

Even a casual connoisseur of Byzantine civilization walks in disbelief through the "Glory of Byzantium," staring at these masterpieces, brought to New York not only from the virtually inaccessible treasuries of Athonite and Sinaite monasteries, but also from a number of European museums, which would take years to visit. Artifacts so familiar and known from the pages of countless books dedicated to history and culture of Byzantium, appear almost surreal placed one next to another, almost within the reach of the hand. From golden and silver processional

crosses, alabaster patens, the sardonyx calyx of Emperor Roman from the treasury of Saint Mark cathedral in Venice, as well as chalices from the collections of Louis XIV and abbot Suger, to shiny jewelry crafted in the best Constantinopolitan workshops, golden earrings with the portrait of Emperor John Tzimiskes, and massive golden ring of Leontios, patrikios and comes of Opsikion. It is difficult to say what is more breathtaking—the precious materials, the finesse of workmanship, or the subtlety of the ancient civilization which radiates from each display box. It is even more difficult to turn one's eyes away form cameos, pendant icons and encolpia, steatite icons and medallions, and tablets carved in such a specific Constantinopolitan combination of gold and enamel, especially from the so called "Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos" or the famous incense burner in the form of the five-domed church, presently in the treasury of Saint Mark's Cathedral in Venice. The discreet beauty of meticulously crafted ivory icons and caskets, unsurpassed and so typical of the products of the 10th and 11th century Constantinopolitan artists, shine more brightly than the gold and polished gems. Here they are, under the same roof of the Metropolitan Museum—the tablet with the standing Mother of God with Christ from the Metropolitan Museum; the tablet with the figure of Constantine Porphyrogennetos in the guise of Constantine the Great from the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington, DC; the plaque with the representation of Christ crowning Constantine Porphyrogennetos emperor, from the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow; the tablet with Christ blessing the Western Emperor Otto and his wife, the Byzantine princess Theophano, from the Cluny museum in Paris. A collection of icons from Saint Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai is equally fascinating as the collection of Byzantine ceramic artifacts of everyday life, mostly from the 12th century.

Especially precious are the manuscripts exhibited in New York. Next to the luxurious psalter made for Constatine VII Porphyrogennetos in the second half of the 10th century, known to Byzantinists as "The Paris Psalter," probably the most famous and most published Byzantine illustrated codex, lies the Chludov Psalter from the mid-9th century, with its famous

miniatures, depicting the destruction of icons under the iconoclasts and the famous Madrid manuscript of the Chronography of John Scilitzes, produced in scriptoria of Norman Sicily at the end of the 12th century, whose miniatures, especially the portraits of the iconoclast emperors described in the text, which are regularly published in all modern publications on this period of Byzantine history. The Book of Homilies of John Chrisostomos from the end of the 11th century is also here, with its miniatures that adorn all the learned surveys of Byzantine art. The famous miniature with the depiction of the (destroyed) Constantinopolitan Church of Saint Apostles from the codex with Homilies of monk James about the life of the Mother of God from the mid-12th century, as well as the coronation scene of Michael VII Doukas and Maria of Alania and the group portrait of Nichephoros III Botaneiates and his courtiers from the codex with the Homilies of John Chrysostom from the second half of the 11th century, add to this really special and unusual collection of exhibited manuscripts.

It could be said, with all fairness, that the enthusiasm of an admirer of Byzantine civilization does not necessarily testify to the importance and uniqueness of this exhibition in a broader cultural context. Each exhibition is, by all means, much more than a collection of displayed artifacts; it is a cultural message, intellectual attitude, reflection of interests and ambitions of the culture which organizes it. A visit to a well promoted and "properly" explained exhibition often becomes a status symbol. There were no miles-long lines around the Metropolitan Museum of Arts nor was there a hysterical search for a ticket, as was the case during last year's exhibition of the Dutch painter Vermeer in the National Gallery in Washington. The "Glory of Byzantium" did not cause fervor among Washingtonians and New Yorkers who cherish their intellectual image, as did the exhibition of young Picasso in the National Gallery. However, hundreds of thousands of visitors are a very impressive number, especially in a country where a course in Russian history counts as a diversity requirement, and ideals of multiculturalism are usually fulfilled through an increased awareness of African and Far Eastern art, in full accord with the Anglo-American

historical experience. For an educated individual in the Anglo-American culture the adjective "Byzantine" is a synonym for perfidy, superstition, and hypocrisy; for a more subtle intellectual Byzantium is associated with a short poem by the famous Irish poet Yeats.

Since the role of museums in the post-Enlightenment world is predominantly didactic, so the "Glory of Byzantium" is above all directed towards an audience which, brought up exclusively on the traditions of West-European cultural history, simply cannot even imagine that medieval art exists outside Latin Europe. That was the main reason why the organizers of the exhibition insisted on obtaining only masterpieces. The very title of the exhibition is explicit about the organizer's intention. "The Glory of Byzantium" is the second part of the Byzantine trilogy which began in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts twenty years ago with "The Age of Spirituality," focusing on the first centuries of Byzantine civilization. In the introduction to the catalogue, the director of the Metropolitan explained the concept of the exhibition: "a didactic exhibition of the highest quality; a combination of the beauty of relatively unfamiliar with the intellectual revelation of an extraordinary era." With its focus on the "Second Golden age," the Middle Byzantine period (843-1261), and its efforts to collect the objects from around the world, the "Glory of Byzantium" is substantially different from the Byzantine exhibition organized in the Louvre in 1992, the British Museum in 1994, and Copenhagen in 1996, which all covered the whole span of Byzantine history and were based on material from local collections.

Such a tripartite conceptualization of the Byzantine history in the Metropolitan Museum reflects the prevailing interpretative model in Byzantine Studies, especially in the West. The majority of contemporary Byzantinists, after several decades of discussions about the continuity and change in Byzantium, accept today the interpretation that only this Middle-Byzantine period can be considered as truly Byzantine. The Golden Age of Byzantium began in the middle of the 9th century. The Empire emerged politically and militarily completely reorganized, with substantially changed economic and

social structures and considerably diminished territory, having survived two centuries of fierce struggle against the Muslim invasions against the West and having successfully overcome crippling Iconoclastic crises. It is exactly in this period that the Empire, with a powerful economy and military, successful in war, cultural and artistic center of Christendom, fulfilled its perhaps most important historical mission—it spread the Gospel among the Slavic nations. Rejecting the traditional interpretation of Byzantium as a continuous transmitter of the Roman tradition and a superior center which radiated its powerful rays towards barbaric neighbors, modern scholars see Byzantium as the first among equals, as a medieval civilization very similar to contemporary West European nations in its economic and social structures, although, without doubt, still of much superior culture. Many Byzantinists in the West see the period of Palaeologoi (1261-1453), which coincides with the Golden Age of Serbian medieval civilization, only as a time of deterioration during which the role of Byzantium shrank into a local, Balkan framework, and its importance for European civilization practically disappeared.

The concept of the exhibition, and *eo ipso* the perception and interpretation of the Byzantine civilization, can be easily recognized in the structure of the impressive, luxurious catalogue, which, by its form and dimensions, looks like a thick Byzantine codex. Detailed descriptions and explanations of the artifacts are grouped around seventeen essays written mostly by American scholars. The first part, about Byzantine society and civilization reflects the currently prevailing interpretive models in Byzantine Art History. The essays analyze religious organization and church architecture, manuscripts, popular images, images of the court, secular architecture, luxury objects, and ceramic artifacts of everyday life. As a thin red line through the interpretation of the material runs the Byzantine idea of the ideal harmonious order (*Taxis*), essential for functioning of both the state apparatus and the entire social structure, crucial for understanding of Byzantine society, its *Weltanschauung* and *mentalité*. The focus of the second part of the catalogue/exhibition is on the process of exceptionally successful implanting of that essential Byzantine ideal to the neighbors. Separate essays analyze the art and culture of nations from the Byzantine cultural circle in this period. Following current trends in historiography, they demystify the perception of Byzantium as a monolithic civilization with standardized cultural and artistic models. The essays about Christian neighbors, Kievan Rus, Bulgarians, Georgians, Armenians, Christians in the Islamic East, and also about Crusader art, mutual influences between Byzantine and Muslim worlds, and between Byzantium and the Latin West demonstrate how Byzantine influences, through smaller or bigger channels, flooded the neighbors, who, at that moment were socially and culturally ready to receive them properly. Visitors of the "Glory of Byzantium" realize clearly that Byzantine culture and art make a very complex organism, and that many nations of different languages and origins shared its ideals and patterns.

However, there is nothing among the exhibits in the halls of the Metropolitan Museum of Art that would let an average, educated visitor of this glorious exhibition realize that the Serbs were also a substantial and in many respects significant part of this ecumene. On the large map bearing the title "Byzantium and its Neighbors (843-1261)" which is displayed in each room, as well as at the beginning of the catalogue, Studenica, Sopoćani, Gračanica, Skoplje, Nerezi, Ohrid, and Kurbinovo are located in the nameless space south of the Danube, between Bulgaria and the Latin West. From the introductory word by the director of the Metropolitan, as well as from the preface written by the curator of the exhibition and the chairman of the Department of Medieval Art which places special emphasis on the acceptance of Christianity by the Slavic peoples, the Serbs have been removed by a clean, surgical cut. A relatively detailed bibliography (almost forty pages of large format) does not mention the works of Vojislav J. Djurić. Svetozar Radojčić and Gordana Babić are quoted as authors of one and two relatively small articles, respectively. Serbian Byzantinists are represented also by a short article by Ivan Djurić. Such an absence of works written by the leading Serbian specialists of international standing is even more noticeable in contrast to very meti-

culously quoted unpublished masters and doctoral dissertations of younger American scholars.

The index of the catalogue does indicate that, after all, the Serbs also sailed to Byzantium. One can find there Stephen Dušan, king Uroš I, Stephen the Firstcrowned, but not Saint Sava. Stephen Nemanja appears as a "ruler of Bulgaria." Among quoted Serbian monasteries Morača and Sopoćani have no geographical specification, Studenica is in Serbia, but Gračanica is in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Naisos is only marked as Niš, Sirmium is located in Bulgaria. The Serbs are mentioned in a serious manner only in the essay "The Christian Neighbors," written by Dr. Helen Evans, the main curator of the exhibition. Her text precedes, as an introductory essay, other articles dedicated to individual nations within the Byzantine commonwealth. The creation of Nemanjićs' Serbia is described correctly, as well as the dualism of the royal crown received from Rome and the archbishop's crown brought from Byzantium. The focus is on a specific position of Serbia between those two cultures. The conclusion, resembling a vague justification for the absence of the Serbs from Byzantium as conceptualized in the exhibition, underlines that Serbia had reached its peak as a political and cultural power only in the 14th century, under king Stephen Uroš IV Dušan. The only photograph of a Serbian monument, that of the "mother of Serbian churches" Studenica, was published in this essay.

Already accustomed to the fact that the Serbs are regularly excluded from Latin Europe (and not in the least unhappy because of that), I was very surprised to realize that in this case the Serbs were simply also erased from that other, for the Westerners literally non-existent, Byzantine Europe. I was surprised, because Byzantinists and medievalists, with one or two exceptions, have not taken part in the already five-year long unfavorable treatment of Serbian culture and tradition in Western media and public. Future analysts of Western politics and society might one day try to explain how it could happen that political groups on opposite sides of the spectrum in American society were united in deconstructing Serbs, and how, in global proportions, a relatively insignificant war became a

threat to the New World Order. In any case, the Serbs have not hired public relations firms, they have neither chairs nor institutes for Serbian history at American universities, nor are the Serbs organized as an even minimally noticeable group in the United States. That is why it was so painless to score in the US political arena by castigating an almost obscure nation of an exotic culture and, for Anglo-American *Weltanschauung*, incomprehensibly non-pragmatic historical tradition. On the other hand, the castigators were awarded by all the benefits that come from following the mainstream, publicity important for their other causes, royalties from expensive bestsellers, Pulitzer prizes, etc.

However, if the catalogue is analyzed carefully, with a cool head and without non-pragmatic bitterness, *"sine ira et studio,"* the absence of the Serbs from the "Glory of Byzantium" becomes much less dramatic. It is by no means a result of the malevolence of its organizers. Errors in the index are obviously the work of a fast reading professional index compiler with absolutely no knowledge of Byzantine history. The bibliography is, according to one of the specialists who prepared the exhibition, compiled as a list of the scholarly literature used in the essays, without any pretension to be a bibliographical survey of the arts and cultural history of the Middle Byzantine period. That is the explanation for the shocking absence of important works by Serbian scholars. Why that was left to readers to guess remains unclear (a precise title—Selected Bibliography, would probably suffice). The monastery of Gračanica is located in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the essay about the Bulgarians in which the famous Serbian church was mentioned in passing, as a parallel to Bulgarian monuments. Although somewhat hard to believe, it is perfectly possible that a highly qualified art historian could be lost in the regional division of Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the fact that the publishers of the catalogue failed to notice it deconstructs the myth about the professional perfectionism expected from an institution of the Metropolitan's fame. I was told that all the geographic entries were checked and compared to geographic atlases by editors of the Museum's publications. It must have happened, then, that Gračanica

"slipped" because it was only mentioned as an analogy to Bulgarian fresco paintings; not in single of a number of so hastily published atlases with new political maps of Europe is the Field of Kosovo, where Gračanica is situated, included in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Apparently, insufficient meticulousness in preparation of the catalogue is not a privilege of small museums with much more modest reputation than the Metropolitan Museum of Arts. However, what matters more than carelessness of the catalogue editors (we should not forget that the catalogue is an exceptionally beautiful publication) is the answer to crucial question—why were the Serbs not included in the Byzantine ecumene of this period? The relationship between a pretentious catalogue and an exhibition itself is always a vicious circle—a catalogue is shaped by the objects shown, and the essays, attempting to place the artifacts in a broader context, reach much beyond the exhibition. That is why it is important to keep in mind that however broadly the essays were written, they should be seen only in the context of the exhibition. In a long conversation with the author of this text, the chief curator of the exhibition, Dr. Helen Evans, stressed the principle of the editors of the Metropolitan that only the objects really exhibited and texts directly related to the artifacts displayed should find their place in the catalogue. Aware of the absence of the Serbs she succeeded in including a paragraph about the Serbian civilization, even a photograph of Studenica, in her introductory essay about Byzantium's Christian neighbors. She also insisted that at least the Serbian monuments mentioned in the context of other essays should be marked on the map. The name of Serbia was excluded from that map, according to Dr. Evans, because the editors insisted that the map should be clear, without too many names.

Logically, the embargo against Yugoslavia was the main reason for the inability of the Metropolitan Museum to obtain the objects from Serbian collections—in this case a double embargo—the one imposed by the UN, the other imposed by the US. However, Dr. Evans insisted that the concept of the "Glory of Byzantium" was to show only the masterpieces and

since medieval Serbia reached its peak and the Serbian art its apogee later, in the period not covered by the exhibition, there were not many objects of art to display. On my insisting that, although that is, generally speaking, true, as well as the fact that the frescoes cannot be displayed, there is a number of Serbian objects of art of exceptional quality created before 1261, accessible in spite of the embargo, because they are in possession of various European museums, I was told that the Metropolitan Museum has a policy not to borrow "foreign" artifacts from other collections. Bearing in mind the controversies in which the museum has been involved in this respect such an attitude is perfectly logical. I must add, though, that, as far as I am aware, none of the Serbian institutions has ever seriously asked for any of these objects to be returned to Belgrade.

However, one question remained without an answer. Since there was no possibility of fulfilling this unnatural hiatus in the "Glory of Byzantium," why did the Metropolitan Museum not, even with the shortest of notes, both on the exhibition and in the catalogue, explain to the public why the Serbian material was excluded? Dr. Evans, who was really embarrassed with the whole situation, only said that they were not aware that the Serbian public would be hurt by the issue. For educated Americans who notice the absence of the Serbs the explanation is simple: with their emotions bombed with very carefully edited footage from the unusually politicized Balkan war, they will conclude that bearing in mind the tragic situation, nothing else could be expected. The war and the exhibition are incompatible. Unfortunately, the American educated public is not aware (and subconsciously does not want to be aware) how senseless and, above all, ruthless any embargo is on cultural and scholarly cooperation. In a civil society such a policy, implemented by a democratically elected government, is rarely questioned, especially when it bears no consequences for domestic politics. In the prevailing climate, not too friendly towards the Serbs as people, those responsible in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, where the "Glory of Byzantium" is only one among numerous projects, probably found it the least painful to drop the Serbs as a hot potato, closing the door to

any possible controversy. It seems that it was more practical (and pragmatic) simply to erase the Serbs from the Byzantine world than to draw attention, even by a short notice, towards the embargo on cultural cooperation, so inappropriate in a democratic society.

However, one should not look for enemies where they are not. That is the privilege of the powerful and rich, but a non-affordable luxury for the Serbs who throughout their history never lacked for enemies in the West. The appearance of this glorious exhibition in the cultural environment, where Byzantine history and civilization have no importance and meaning, is an extraordinary event of immense importance for Byzantinists, a small number of specialists dedicated to this, in the West, exotic discipline. The blessing of the Ecumenical Patriarch is powerful testimony to that. However painful the exclusion of the Serbs from such an undertaking might be, the organizers of the exhibit should not be accused of malice, although they should be reminded of their carelessness and lack of responsibility. It was a number of converging circumstances, and especially the state of mind prevalent in the American public, both general and educated, that created such an unhappy solution of the "Serbian question" in one of the most respectable museums in the world. Moreover, that is almost impossible to understand overseas, and equally difficult to rationally explain on the spot.

The Serbs have never had any imperial, let alone crusading or missionary ambitions. However, they have very deep roots in a long and important cultural tradition. The Serbs will not be erased from world history either by the bestsellers authored by ignorant and semi-educated journalists, or by egoistic neglect in cultural circles in the West, or the malicious writing of scholar opportunists, let alone the Metropolitan Museum by its carelessness and clumsiness. The interpretation of the past is a matter of changing political consensus. A place in world history is neither awarded nor denied either in Paris and Geneva or in New York and Washington. Uninterested intellectuals of the European West will continue to ignore the Serbian, as well as other Orthodox cultures in the European South East. The Metropolitan Museum will prepare the third part of the

"Byzantine trilogy" that will cover the time of the Palaeologoi (1261-1453), a period in which Medieval Serbia reached a political peak, and Serbian art and culture offered a shining contribution to the Byzantine and Orthodox civilization. The specialists in the Metropolitan, who feel very embarrassed because of everything that happened, expressed their interest in contacting their colleagues in Serbia early and cooperating with them seriously in preparing materials for the future exhibit.

REFLECTIONS ON *THE GLORY OF BYZANTIUM*

Ljubica D. Popovich
Vanderbilt University

Between March 11 and July 6, 1997, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City hosted what was most likely the richest show ever of Middle Byzantine artifacts. *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, was conceived by its curators, Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, with the approval of the museum's director, Philippe de Montebello. It was a logical sequence to the Metropolitan Museum's show: *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (November 19, 1977–February 12, 1978). It took more than four years and a monumental effort by many individuals to assemble outstanding works representing the cultural achievements of the Middle Byzantine period for the recent exhibition.

This multi-million dollar undertaking was sponsored by Alpha Banking Group, Citicorp/Citibank, The Foundation for Hellenic Culture, The Marinopoulos Group, Halyvourgiki Inc., and other named and anonymous individual donors. The exhibition received the blessing of His Holiness Bartholomew, the archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch. Many scholars participated in the presentation of this rich material, the organization of *An International Symposium* (May 23-25, 1997), and the preparation of the exhibition's catalogue.

Artifacts came from twenty-four countries, but to quote *The New York Times*, "some countries, like Serbian-led Yugoslavia, that had resisted participating in the show ultimately complained about being left out."[1] The article does not mention particular political circumstances of the time when the objects were being solicited, such as the well-known sanctions imposed by the U.N. and the U.S.A. upon that nation. The author of the article imagines that a little of "Byzantine style" politics might have produced positive results in obtaining some representative objects

from that country for this show. At least Serbia was mentioned in the above cited article, thus implying that it might have some artistic treasures belonging to the period covered by the exhibition. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was not mentioned whatsoever, although it was not under the sanctions. That country, too, has many significant monuments from the era in question.

As reported, the artifacts came to the New York exhibition from one hundred and nineteen repositories, and fifty-nine scholars used their expertise through their writing in the catalogue to illuminate over three hundred and fifty objects. The show was favorably reviewed by the press and it was enthusiastically received by the public.

The richness of Byzantine artistic and cultural heritage created during the Middle Byzantine Period, in addition to its influence felt on three continents and many cultures of the Medieval world, was visually well documented in the New York show. That period is the era when Byzantium emerged victorious from its struggle with the Arabs outside its borders, and from the Iconoclastic crisis within (A.D. 726-843). It covers the last few years of the Amorian dynasty (A.D. 820-867), the Macedonian (A.D. 867-1056), the Dukas (A.D. 1059-1078), the Komnenos (A.D. 1081-1185), and the Angelos emperors (A.D. 1186-1204). To that, the Latin Rule of Constantinople (A.D. 1204-1261) was added to form the chronological scope of the Metropolitan Museum's exhibition.

The task of representing such a long cultural period fell upon portable works of art and a few fragments of monumental decoration that were removed from their original locations, and which are now housed in various museums. Thus, the displayed material included carved and inlaid marble, along with fragments of mosaics and frescoes that originally formed a part of church decoration. There were objects wrought in bronze, silver and gold, reliefs in ivory, cameos in semi-precious stones, enamels, wooden panels painted in tempera or executed in miniature mosaic tesserae, illuminated manuscripts, objects of glass, textile pieces, and glazed ceramics, just to mention the principal materials and techniques. All of these media were fashioned into

an amazing variety of forms, designs, and sizes, each perfectly adjusted to fulfill its designated function. These exhibited artifacts occupied some sixteen specially formed spaces within the large halls of the Metropolitan Museum.

The visitor entered a vestibule whose walls were painted to suggest porphyry. To the eye of the beholder and under the museum lighting, the color seemed closer to burnt umber than to purple. The latter, being the imperial color, was used on the exterior of some churches, such as Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, the katholika of the Monasteries Studenica[2] and Žiča in Serbia, to mention just a few. Although the intention of those preparing the exhibition was clear, that by using this specific color, introduce the visitor to the Imperial Byzantium, it still provided the author with a strange sense of dichotomy. Here was a color used for the exterior of Byzantine churches, but it never was, to the best of the author's knowledge, applied to the interior as was the case with the show's vestibule. It was customary for some of the churches to have the lower part of the interior walls reveted in marble with added elements of design in other multi-colored stones, including porphyry, with mosaic decoration executed above that zone. Or, in cases when the interior was frescoed, the walls had the sockle, then the standing figures and compositions above it. The sockle was usually painted to imitate marble revetment or hanging drapery. The background for the standing figures and scenes was most frequently blue, with the ground painted in green, although on occasion it was yellow and covered in gold leaf as an inexpensive emulation of the glass mosaic.[3] It was never purple.

While the coloring of the vestibule's interior was a transposition of the church's exterior, it also displayed an element of interior decoration: a panel with a painted reproduction of the apsidal mosaic from Hagia Sophia representing the enthroned Virgin and Child, A.D. 867. Also found in this entrance space was the poster announcing the show and a map of Byzantium with all the lands under its far reaching influences. A close examination of the map revealed that the name of Serbia, one of the Medieval states belonging to the Byzantine cultural orbit, was omitted. This fact ominously foreshadowed what kind of treatment was to be given to that country and its monuments, which were only briefly and almost accidentally mentioned in the text of the catalogue. In spite of the namelessness of the Serbian territory on the map of the Balkans, certain names of cities and monasteries were inscribed. These were Niš, Studenica, Sopoćani and Gračanica. The inclusion of the latter two monastic complexes was puzzling since they post-date the upper chronological boundary of this exhibition. If there was a wish to avoid overcrowding of the map, it would have been logical to omit Sopoćani and Gračanica, and inscribe the names of the churches belonging to the period covered by the show, such as Žiča (A.D. 1207-1220), Mileševa (A.D. 1228-1235), Morača (A.D. 1252), or Peć (ca A.D. 1260). By including the names of many countries and omitting the name of Serbia, the Metropolitan Museum of Art gave an impression of being politically very correct.

The walls in all of the exhibition spaces were painted in varied but muted colors, which under the lighting seem to be dark sand, olive-grey, blue-grey, steel-grey, slate-grey, bluish-green, and dark glass-green. Some of what appear to have been tone variations might have been caused by the illumination. The personal preference of the author would have been uniform warm neutral tones based on the color of the Prokonnesian marble that was frequently used to ornament the city of Constantinople and its structures. This choice would have avoided some coloristic disharmony between the walls and the displayed objects. In the opinion of the author, the blue-grey walls of the space containing manuscripts clashed with the colors seen on the open pages of these codices. Or, in at least one instance, the color of the wall overwhelmed the displayed object, thus making it almost invisible. This was the case with a 12th century silk fragment (Catalogue No. 344).

Throughout the exhibition all the objects were accompanied by detailed labels. The written information was augmented by architectural drawings, exterior and interior photographs of churches, maps when necesssary, and finally, very interesting quotations from writers contemporary to the objects in the show.

Reflections of this nature cannot accommodate lengthy commentaries on the collection of magnificent works displayed

at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For that reason the author has selected to mention only some among them, and the choices of these works are based only on personal preferences.

The first room in which a number of objects of various media were exhibited tried to conjure up an atmosphere reminiscent of a religious context—a church interior. Within, one found marble parapets and fragments of an iconostasis (Catalogue Nos. 1-6), icons in glazed terracotta (Catalogue No. 10 A-B), in stone (Catalogue Nos. 21 A and 22), and in silver gilt (Catalogue Nos. 24-27). Worthy of special attention was a rare marble icon of Saint Eudoxia (Catalogue No. 8 B). This early 10th century Constantinopolitan masterpiece depicts the saint in orans position with color glass inlay.

Among the onyx patens (Catalogue Nos. 28 and 29) and chalices (Catalogue No. 31 and 32), staurothekes in enamel (Catalogue No. 34) and in tempera painted wood (Catalogue No. 35), the beholder ought to focus on exhibited fragments of monumental decoration. A mosaic piece representing the Virgin's head is a rare survival from the 9th century iconogrpahic program of the Katholikon of the famous Constantinopolitan Stoudios Monastery (Catalogue No. 13). Frescoes removed from the church of the Dormition in the Episkopi (Eurytania) represent two of its layers, the early 11th (Catalogue No. 16) and early 13th (Catalogue No. 17). Especially impressive is the depiction of the prophet Elijah holding an inscribed scroll (Catalogue No. 16), which through the stylized severity of the lines strongly conveys the ascetic character of this Old Testament figure.

It was in the presence of the illuminated manuscripts, several of them grouped in one room, the others dispersed throughout the exhibition, that the visitor felt most impressed and most disappointed (Catalogue Nos. 42-64, 142, 143 and 163). One was impressed by the rarity of these codices, quality of execution, and the iconographic richness of the images. These depict not only religious scenes and saints, but make references to historical events from the Byzantine past, and represent emperors, noblemen, priests, and monks.

Some of these seldom displayed manuscripts deserve special attention. Among them are the 9th century Khludov Psalter with

its extensive marginal illumination (Catalogue No. 52), the famous Paris Psalter, gr. 139 (Catalogue No. 163, second half of the 10th century) with its full page images, the anachronistic Joshua Roll (Catalogue No. 162) with its frieze of delicately rendered narrative, and the Menologion of the emperor Basil II, ca. 985 (Catalogue No. 55) with its scenes and figures, which signed by the artists, share the pages with the text. Naturally, the folios of these manuscripts, securely sheltered by glass, could not be turned by the beholder. Therefore, one was disappointed to have only been given a glimpse into the codex just through one page. Such a disappointment could have been lessened by very simple and readily available means. Why were not visitors, who desired to do so, allowed to browse through all the pages of these manuscripts in a separate space with the help of a slide projector and slides?

Ivories carved in relief were used to create both religious and secular objects. They shone warmly within their glass enclosures in the Metropolitan Museum show, but the author wondered why mirrors were not used in some cases to allow for a more complete viewing of some of these artifacts (Catalogue Nos. 78-101). Although it is not easy to single out any among them, the beholder's attention might be directed to two triptychs —the Vatican from the 10th-11th century (Catalogue No. 79) and the Harbaville from the mid-11th century, now in the Louvre (Catalogue No. 80). Similar in content and form, they demonstrate the Byzantine creativity in providing variations on a theme.

Due to the softness of stone, reliefs in steatite were much easier to carve than those in ivory. Therefore, the steatites provide an interesting comparision with the ivories, especially if one examines plaques with the same subject matter. A good example of this is found in the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin carved in these two materials and close in date (Catalogue Nos. 101, [ivory], late 10th century, and 102, [steatite], second half of the 10th century).

Other icons shared space with ivories and steatites. Here, one should mention one of the rarest surviving artifacts created for the Byzantines. It is a late 12th century miniature mosaic icon from Constantinople, representing the Transfiguration of Christ.

The sheer difficulty of creating this and technically similar images still impresses the beholder by the virtuosity of rendering seen in both the figures and the landscape (Catalogue No. 77).

Probably the most memorable space of this exhibition was occupied by the wooden panels painted in tempera, commonly called "the icon" (Catalogue Nos. 65-76). Their companions on the walls were the photographs of the Monasteries Iveron on Mount Athos and St. John on Patmos, along with some of the illuminated manuscripts, including a liturgical scroll representing St. Basil officiating at an altar within a church interior with the help of two deacons (Catalogue No. 64). One expects the faces of the saints on the icons to elicit pious contemplation, and that such representation act as an intermediary between the visible and the invisible worlds. However, in some instances, as can be seen in this exhibition, the icons are painted expressing emotions. These images were called "living icons" in Byzantine literature. Hans Belting introduced this term to contemporary scholarship.[4] To this category belongs the Virgin Eleousa from the late 12th century, which depicts a tender mother and the playful child. At the same time their formal relationship forshadows the Lamentation of Christ scene (Catalogue No. 71). This frequently used iconographic type will have its local variation on the icons of the Virgin Pelagonitissa in Macedonia, especially popular during the later stages of the Palaeologan period.[5] Similar emotions are expressed on the double-faced icon, representing on one side the Hodegetria in half-figure, and on the other, the dead Christ in bust, as the Man of Sorrow. The face of the Mother of God on this icon from the second half of the 12th century shows her worries through the wrinkled forehead, frown, and above all, through her large, sad eyes, which glancing to Her right, seem to be seeing the future and the Man of Sorrows (Catalogue No. 72).

A great variety of dazzling artifacts were displayed in the area designated as a secular realm. In certain ways these objects show that it was almost impossible to completely separate the secular from the religious realm. Coins, for example, demonstrate this point very well. Used for commercial purposes, they nevertheless show, in the majority of cases on the obverse, either

Christ or the Virgin, and on the reverse an emperor or emperors (Catalogue no. 147A-K).

Among the objects displayed in this area, only some can be singled out for comment. Notable objects include an ivory that represents the Coronation of the emperor Leo VI (886-912) by the Virgin with the attending archangel Gabriel (Catalogue No. 138), and a large marble roundel most likely from the 12th century, which renders a standing emperor in full regalia (Catalogue No. 137). The emperor, the personifications of his virtues, and his courtiers can be perceived through a miniatures from the Homelies of John Chrysostom ca. 1071-1081 (Catalogue No. 143). In this particular case, one finds not only a depiction of the hierarchy and splendor of the Byzantine court, but also the case of "image recycling." Originally, it seems that the Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) was represented, but, after his abdication, the face was remodeled to resemble that of his successor, Nicephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081). Also interesting is the so-called "The Crown of Constantine VII Monomachos" (Catalogue No. 145). In actuality, this set of seven Byzantine round-headed enamel plaques dating from 1042-1050 formed a diadem, with the images of the emperor, two empresses, personifications of the Truth and Humility, together with two dancing female figures.

The exhibition hall in which cameos were the preeminent subject also contained other exceptional objects, including manuscripts. Three dating from the 10th century should be mentioned, one of them is *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*, an illustrated copy of a treatise in verse by the second-century-B.C. Greek poet Nikander, which deals with poisonous bites by various creatures, snakes included, and their cure (Catalogue No. 160). The second is an anachronistic book shape—the scroll, which is represented by three parchment sheets of the Joshua Roll, now in the Vatican (Vat. Pal. gr. 431). Illustrated in gold and tempera, its mode of continuous narration was reminiscent of Roman and Byzantine monumental spiral columns (Catalogue No. 162). The third manuscript mentioned here is the famous Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 139). It represents the type of psalters with full page illustrations, depicting Moses, David, Isaiah, and other Old Testament characters. The scenes

illustrated on its pages include many personifications inherited from classical antiquity and used to identify locations, time of the day, and similar ideas (Catalogue No. 163).

Cameos carved in jasper, blood stone, lapis lazuli, serpentine, and sardonyx represent exceptional masterpieces of Byzantine glyptic art (Catalogue Nos. 126-135). On the obverse, they most often carry images of Christ enthroned, standing or in bust; also one finds representations of the Mother of God, standing or in bust, alone or holding the Christ Child. Some of the cameos have figures carved on both sides (Catalogue No. 133), or the obverse might have a representation of a cross combined with an engraved inscription, or, in some instances, the inscription alone. Among the exhibited cameos, those bearing the names of the emperors are noteworthy. For example, a mid-10th century jasper cameo, now in London, shows a standing Christ, and on the reverse, a cross and the name of Leo, probably the emperor Leo VI (Catalogue No. 126). The large serpentine cameo representing the Virign Orans in bust is framed by an engraved inscription, which names the emperor Nichephoros Botaneiates (ca. 1078-1081), and which gives this type of objects a rare fact for a precise dating. Visually stunning are the cameos that combine details inlaid in gold with lapis lazuli, a combination of colors and materials effectively used in art since ancient Egypt (Catalogue Nos. 129 and 133). Displayed in rather large cases within this spacious exhibition hall, these cameos seemed to this beholder to be somewhat lost. Maybe a smaller, more intimate space would have better complimented the nature of these small masterpieces of glyptic art.

Among objects created to serve the church, the empire and the emperor, or artifacts made presumably for the pleasure of the upper echalons of the Byzantine social hierarchy, ceramics destined for everyday use provide a more common touch (Catalogue Nos. 181-192). As one of the most interesting examples, one can cite a bowl decorateed with a rosette and bands of scrolls (Catalogue No. 181). The engraved designs covering this bowl, attributed to the first half of the 12th century, are reminiscent of patterns found on the clothes of saints depicted in frescoes on the church walls from the same period. It may be due to shared

traditional designs that the ceramic bowl in question also resembles the folk embroidery popular on the territories that were under the influence of Byzantine culture. The bowl on which a griffin attacks a doe is remarkable for the elegance of its incised lines (Catalogue No. 185). The theme of this object, dated to the 12th century, can be found in other media, and it is still repeated in its many variations on the pseudo-folkloric pottery produced in the Balkan countries today. Some of the lace-like designs on these ceramic vessels might have been inspired by other media, such as textiles or even silver (Catalogue No. 190). Such objects testify to the competency of Byzantine craftsmen, regardless of the materials with which they worked. The most charming among these ceramic vessels was a plate with an extremely naively engraved representation of lovers in a garden (Catalogue No. 192). This modest work, attributed to the late 12th-early 13th century, affords the beholder a glimpse into what the Byzantine folkloric tradition might have looked like when representing the human figure.

After a stop in the reading room to browse through the exhibition catalogue and to look at the fresco copy of the triumphal arch with the Annunciation from the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo, in Macedonia, from 1191, one enters the world of the "others," or to borrow the term from Helen C. Evans, the realm of "Christian Neighbors." These were the states whose cultures, religion, art, commerce, and politics were to various degrees under the influence of Byzantium.

In the space devoted to the Kievan Rus one finds a combination of objects acquired form Byzantium and those made locally either by the imported Greek masters or native artists and artisans. Among the Byzantine imports the carved wooden icon can be mentioned. It depicts a standing St. George with the twelve scenes from his life. This work, with preserved traces of polychromy and gilding, is attributed to the late 12th-mid 13th century (Catalogue No. 202). Also representing Byzantine production was a steatite relief icon from the 12th century with three military saints standing under an arch and blessing hands of Christ in bust (Catalogue No. 203). Also included were locally made personal ornaments in gold, decorated with semi-precious

stones and enamels: necklaces (Catalogue No. 209), numerous earrings (Catalogue Nos. 210 and 211), and temple pendants (Catalogue Nos. 212 A-G, and 214). Very interesting on this display were the surviving slate valves used in casting cross-shaped encolpia (Catalogue No. 207 A-B), and slate molds used in casting jewelry pieces (Catalogue Nos. 215 and 216), all of which are ascribed to the late 12th-early 13th century.

Relatively few portable objects survived with the name of the craftsman inscribed. For that reason, a large 12th century krater made of gilded silver with the inscriptions executed in niello should be pointed out, since it was signed by Kosta (Catalogue No. 197). Among the shown manuscripts, a folio from the Ostromir Lectionary, 1056-1057, should be mentioned. On this page St. Luke the Evangelist is represented in a three-quarter view. Behind him is an arch, and in front of him, his writing desk with all the implements necessary for a writer. The Evangelist is facing his symbol, the ox, who emerges from a starry segment of sky, holding a scroll in his front feet. Elements of style, such as the usage of lines and stong outlines in describing folds of the garment, together with the treatment of the nimbi of both the Evangelist and the symbol, very much resemble the enameling techique.

However, the pieces in this section with the most poignant message are the artworks that survived destruction, to be the silent witnesses of barbaric acts. Two fragments of the mosaic floor are all that remain from Desiatynna Church in Kiev. This church was built ca. 996 by the Greek masters, and was destroyed in 1240 during the invasion of the Tartars. Using various colored marbles in combination with porphyry and verde antique, the mosaic floor at this church's crossing represented five circles. In this case, the central one is the largest, and the circles do not touch each other. This motif is found elsewhere in the Byzantine world on floors paved in mosaic as well as in other media.

Some mosaic figures from the church of the Michailievski Zolotoverkhii Monastery, dating ca. 1173, were saved by dedicated professionals from the destruction ordered in 1934 by Stalin's ruling totalitarian system in the Soviet Union. Standing

on the green ground and projected against gold background are the Apostle Thaddeus and St. Steven, the Deacon. Both are identified by name inscriptions in Greek (Catalogue No. 185 A and B). While the mosaicists struggles to render the tight-fitting robe over the shoulders of St. Steven, the figure of the apostle is much more convincingly represented. Its contrapposto stance, and the manner in which the chiton and himation drape the body give this figure a sense of classical monumentality.

In reading the labels in the Kievan Rus' section of the exhibition, it was interesting to notice that they were a transliteration from the contemporary Ukranian into English. Indeed, today's Ukraine is the custodian of many of these treasures. Nevertheless, it is important to remember a historical fact. When all these objects in question were created, Bielorussia, Russia or Ukraine did not exist as separate political entities. The Kievan Rus' was a state in which Eastern Slavs lived and spoke a common language, a version of Old Slavic, which is recorded in the surviving Chronicles and similar texts. To be historically correct, the exhibition labels should have been a transliteration of that medieval version of the Eastern Slavic language. Instead of that the labels appear politically correct.

The part of the exhibition dedicated to the Bulgarians also glitters with secular jewelry in gold (Catalogue Nos. 227, 228A-B and 229) as well as religious pectoral pieces (Catalogue No. 226), all of which are Byzantine in origin. Standing out among these is a reliquary cross. Dated in the second half of the 9th or the 10th century, it was made of gold and wood with figurative decoration in niello (Catalogue No. 225). This reliquary consists of three crosses that fit into one another, with scenes from the Life of Christ and a representation of the standing Virgin and saints in bust are engraved on the surface.

Since so few example of mosaics and monumental painting could be included in the show, a fresco fragment representing the prophet Elijah fed by the raven is important to note. This fresco came from the Church of the 40 Martyrs in Veliko Turnovo, and its execution dates ca. 1240 (Catalogue No. 221). The sense of a massive figure in space indicates a stylistic departure from Comnenian art. This is a trend shared by other painting ensembles on

the Balkans, such as the Serbian churches of Mileševa and Morača. These monuments seem to be the harbingers of the new style, to be seen on the frescoes of Sopoćani, St. Sophia in Trebizond, and many others of that era.

In the opinion of the author, the most important objects on exhibition from Bulgaria were glazed ceramic works. There are many surviving fragments of Byzantine figurative and decorative ceramics, but in a majority of cases they are not well documented. In contrast, this material from Bulgaria is fact supported. Excavations in Preslav and its vicinity not only revealed icons painted on ceramic (Catalogue No. 222), or pieces created for use in interior's revetment (Catalogue No. 223), or on the floors of churches (Catalogue No. 224), but the archaeologist also uncovered the workshops *in situ*. This testifies that these ceramics were locally produced to fulfill specific needs of church decoration in Preslav and nearby Patleina.

In the exhibition, right after Kievan Rus and Bulgaria, the author imagined the presence of artifacts borrowed from Macedonia and Serbia. Even if the space had to be limited, at least the icons from Ochrid should have been selected for inclusion, together with the earrings and similar objects of that nature excavated in the territories of Macedonia.[6]

Serbia could have been represented by the fresco fragments of exceptional quality that were removed from the damaged church built by Stefan Nemanja, ca. A.D. 1170-1171. That church was dedicated to St. George (Djurdjevi Stupovi) in celebration of Nemanja's victory over his brothers.[7] Famous remains of the early 13th century stained-glass windows from the Church of the Virgin in Studenica could have been transported as easily as any other fragile object, and these panes would have been an unique representative of this kind in the Metropolitan Museum's show.[8]

Two twelfth century Serbian manuscripts written in Cyrilic could have demonstrated the position of that state between Byzantium and the Latin West. These are: the Gospel of *Knez* Miroslav in the National Museum in Belgrade and the Gospel of *Župan* Vukan in St. Petersburg's Public Library.[9] Among the small objects made of precious metals, a well-known gold ring from the end of the 12th century could have been selected. This Byzantine

work, now in the Treasury of the Monastery Studenica, was found in the sarcophagus of the first Serbian king, Stefan Prvovenčani (1217-ca. 1223).[10] The gold buckle dated between 1222-1228, of Petar, *knez* of Hum could have also been added for the show. Its decoration, consisting of oak leaves, scrolls and fantastic animals, would have provided a good parallel to the initials from the Gospel of *knez* Miroslav, and to the objects from other areas included in this exhibition.[11] At this point, one needs to mention numerous earrings, diadems, and many other head ornaments excavated in Serbia and positively dated before 1261. These would have provided interesting parallels to the artifacts of a similar nature that were displayed at the Metropolitan Museum.[12]

This wish list of the works from Serbia would not be complete without mentioning many reliquary bronze crosses and crosses encolpia, some of which are similar to those included in the exhibition (Catalogue Nos. 119 and 206). Some of them would have provided additional iconographic themes, and many of them, like the reliquary cross excavated in Kiev (Catalogue No. 206), have documented locations of discovery. Furthermore, their presence would have included additional bibliographic references, thus expanding the knowledge of these types of objects.[13]

Nothing more attests to statehood than striking coinage, which at the same time documents sources of political influences and artistic inspiration. Thus, the author would have included coins struck during the reign of king Radoslav (ca. 1223-ca. 1234), which emulate Byzantine coins of the Nicaean empire, and those struck under the reign of Stefan Uroš I (1243-1276), which in turn, copy Venetian coins.[14] None of these objects would have lowered the standards of this exhibition.

But, due to the sanctions against Serbia, it seems that it was impossible to borrow objects from that country. However, there were alternative sources, such as the Treasury of the Serbian monastery Hilandar on Mount Athos in Greece[15], the above cited Gospel of *Župan* Vukan in St. Petersburg, and various numismatic collections in the U.S.A. and elsewhere, which would have certainly yielded appropriate coins. Furthermore, since the Metro-

politan Museum included in this exhibition copies of works of art, although in peripheral spaces, e.g. the copy of the mosaic from Hagia Sophia representing the Virgin and Child in the vestibule, and a copy of the Annunciation fresco from the church of St. George in Kubinovo, Macedonia, in the reading room, other copies could have been included. That would have been the way to avoid breaking the sanctions, to remain politically correct, and at the same time visually document the paintings from the exhibition's period in the territories of Macedonia and Serbia. For example, the Fine Arts Collection of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, has a number of fresco-copies from these regions. They were made for instructional purposes by a well-known master of fresco-copying craft, Mrs. Zdenka Živković from Belgrade. Vanderbilt Unversity would have gladly loaned chronologically relevant copies for the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum. These fresco copies became known to a wider audience when shown in the spring of 1996 at Lafayette College.[16] Therefore, besides the Kurbinovo copy, the following images could have been shown on the walls of the reading room: *Figure of an Angel*, a detail from the Ascension scene from the nave vault in St. Sofia in Ochrid (ca. middle 11th century), *Lamentation* a scene from the monastery of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi (A.D. 1164) (Fig. 1), and *Standing Figure of the Virgin and Child*, signed in Cyrillic as "Bogorodica Studenička," from the church of the Virgin in the monastery Studenica (A.D. 1209).

Among the exhibited objects representing Georgia, there were also artifacts of Byzantine origin (Catalogue Nos. 230, 234, and 236). The local creations are easily distinguished through their characteristic style and Georgian inscription. A gold liturgical vessel from Bedia dated in 999 well documents visually the native stylistic tradition that is superimposed on a Byzantine subject. The enthroned Christ, the seated Virgin with Child, and the standing apostles are represented in relief. All of them are sheltered by stilted, rather than rounded arches; their garments are defined through heavy double folds and incised lines, which are different from classically inspired modeling style (Catalogue No. 231). This linearization is even more pronounced on the silver-gilt relief icon with the Passion scenes from the second half

of the 12th century (Catalogue No. 235). The Processional Cross created by Gabriel Sapereli between 994-1001 shows a very elongated and straight body of Christ on the cross, instead of a more frequently depicted S-shaped sagging body of the crucified figure (Catalogue No. 232).

Since a great church such as the Holy Cross at Aght'amar and its exterior sculptural decoration dated ca. 915-921 could not be moved from present-day Turkey to represent the art of Armenia at the Metorpolitan Museum exhibition, that task fell on the manuscripts. Among the images on display, the representations of the canon tables stand out in their visual splendor. This is achieved through a skillful combination of rich colors and complex designs. The most remarkable are the canon tables from the Trebizond Gospels, which are dated around the middle of the 11th century (Catalogue No. 240), and a rather late and somewhat less complex example from the Zeyt'un Gospels, from 1256, by T'oros Roslin, who served as both scribe and illuminator (Catalogue No. 243).

To review at any length the complex problems posed by displayed objects encompassing an enormous diaspora of Byzantine artistic influences would far exceed the scope of this examination. It is sufficient to mention that, although under Islamic rule, the Monastery of St. Catherine remained an oasis of Byzantine art (Catalogue Nos. 244, 245, 246, and 247). The Crusaders borrowed elements of both style and iconography from Byzantine works, but used the Latin alphabet (Catalogue Nos. 259, 260, and 263). The art of Islam also shared some of the heritage of Byzantium in texts and images (Catalogue Nos. 288 and 289), in textile designs (Catalogue Nos. 270 and 271) or in jewelry types (Catalogue Nos. 274, 275, 277, and 279).

The Byzantine presence in Italy and the widespread dissemination of Byzantine made artifacts in the Latin West assured a "Byzantinizing" influence upon their art. The most obvious impact is found in subject matter, such as the Descent into Limbo (Catalogue No. 319), the Hodegetria type of the Virgin (Catalogue No. 321) or in the iconographic imitation of Byzantine imperial ritual (Catalogue no. 337). Nevertheless, these were not substantive, but superficial similarities.

Although the author does not wish to review in its entirety the catalogue for *The Glory of Byzantium*, some observations might be useful. This sizable volume has as its cover a reproduction of a late 10th-early 11th century Byzantine enamel bookcover, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (Ms. Lat. C1. 1.100). The cover features the image of a standing Christ framed with twelve medallions with saints in bust, and the back cover shows the standing Virgin Orans framed in a similar manner. Both sides are heavily encrusted with pearls and semi-precious stones. Therefore it is very effective and has an absolutely "Byzantine" effect on the person holding the volume. Between the covers one finds, besides the Table of Contents and the customary statements, Director's Foreward, Preface, Acknowledgements, Lists of Lenders to the Exhibition, and Contributors to the Catalogue. The Catalogue itself contains 574 pages, of which the first five-hundred and two are dedicated to the Essays and Catalogue entries (5-507), and the remaining sixty-four (510-574) are occupied by the Notes to the Essays (510-521), by Bibliography (522-559), by Glossary (560-562), and finally, by Index (563-574). Scholarly works used by the contributors provide the sole basis for the Bibliography, although this fact is totally omitted. For that reason some of the important monuments that were only named in passing were not given references.[17]

The catalogue contains seventeen essays by sixteen scholars, and the titles of the essays explain the ideas that guided this exhibition. These are: "Byzantine Society and Civilization," Speros P. Vryonis, Jr. (5-19); "Religious Organizations and Church Architecture," Thomas F. Mathews (21-35); "Manuscripts," Jeffrey C. Anderson (83-87); "Popular Imagery," Annmarie Weyl Carr (113-117); "Images of the Court," Henry Maguire (183-191); "Secular Architecture," Robert G. Ousterhout (193-199); "Luxury Objects," Ioli Kalavrezou (219-223); "Ceramic Arts of Everyday Life," Eunice Dauterman Maguire (255-257); "Christian Neighbors," Helen C. Evans (273-278); "Kievan Rus'," Olenka Z. Pevny (281-286); "The Bulgarians," Joseph D. Alchermes (321-325); "The Georgian," S. Peter Cowe (337-341); "The Armenians," Helen C. Evans (351-354); "Christians in the Islamic East," Thelma K. Thomas (365-371); "Crusader Art," Jaroslav Folda (389-391); "Byzantium and the Islamic East," Priscilla Soucek (403-411); and "Byzantine Art and the Latin West," William D. Wixom (435-449). As the titles reveal, the coverage of topics and countries was indeed enormous, but, once again the name of Serbia was avoided, and its monuments were named in passing, in the briefest possible manner, hidden within H.D. Evans' essay "Christian Neighbors." It seems that the mention of the historical past of that country and the achievements of its art and culture was avoided due to the present political situation during the 90's of our current decade.

The remaining balance of pages is taken up by 344 catalogue entries of more than 350 artifacts, written by fifty nine scholars. The volume is generously illustrated with 529 color photographs and 138 black and white photographs and line drawings. A number of them represent exterior and interior views of monuments of architecture, along with plans and cross-sections.

It is not the intention of the author to contest the opinions of various scholars expressed in their essays prepared for *The Glory of Byzantium* exhibition catalogue. Instead, she wishes only to call attention to a statement that might cause some misconceptions about the artistic achievements in Medieval Serbia. In her essay "Christian Neighbours," H.C. Evans, basing her conclusions on the opinions of other scholars, states the following: "... Serbia's peak as a political and cultural power, however, would not occur until the fourteenth century, under King Stefan Uroš IV Dušan ..."[18] Clearly, the implication is that the artistic achievements of Medieval Serbia during the second half of the 12th and the entire 13th century were below the level of artifacts included in the exhibition. Established research disputes this assumption.

While it is a historical fact that territories held by Serbia were the largest and her military power mightiest on the Balkans under the king (1331-1345) and later emperor Stefan Dušan (1345-1355), as well as her cultural influences, that was not the case with art. Scholars dealing with Serbian medieval art consider that it reached its two peaks during the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and not during the reign of Tzar Dušan.[19]

Occasionally, serious factual mistakes are found in *The Glory of Byzantium*. For example, in the Index compiled by Peter Tooney, Gračanica is in Bosnia-Herzegovina (p. 566), while on the map it was correctly located in the unmarked Serbian region of Kosovo. Other noticeable errors include the identification of Nemanja, Stefan, as the ruler of Bulgaria (p. 570) and that Ohrid is located in Bulgaria (p. 570). Also, in the *Index* there are misspelled names of monuments, for example Vodočsa (p. 569) instead of Vodoča, and Hilander (p. 570) instead of Hilandar. Furthermore, in some of the texts of the essays, or in their annotations one encounters certain small but consequential mistakes. In her essay "Christian Neighbors," H.C. Evans states the following: "... in 1219 the Serbian Church was recognized as autocephalos by Byzantium."[20] This statement, being imprecise because of the usage of the word "Byzantium," is misleading. That privilege for the Serbian national church was obtained by the Serbian archbishop Sava I (Sveti Sava) from Nicaea in 1219, when that city was the capital of the Nicaean empire.[21] A.W. Carr, in her essay "Popular Imagery," states in note 33 the following "... and the later Koimeses of the Serbian royalty, beginning with Saint Savvas at Sopocani ..."[22] In actuality, in the first zone on the north wall of the Sopoćani narthex, the Dormition of the Serbian Queen Anna Dandolo was represented.[23]

Although it was impossible to examine every artifact's label in this exhibition for its accuracy, the author, for example, was surprised to read beside two fragments of decorative borders from the monastery church of the Archangel Michael in Kiev, the following: "Mosaic: gold and glass tesserae," when only opaque tesserae were used, and none were made of sandwiched glass and gold leaf.[24] Small, almost careless mistakes also mar the text of the catalogue because they will confuse those researching the period in question, especially if entered in contemporary tools such as computers, and disseminated in that manner.[25]

To conlcude, in spite of the spaciousness of the Metropolitan Museum exhibition halls, the author felt the absence of the original framework of these artifacts. Missing were, by physical necessity, the churches, the palaces and homes that originally housed the objects on display. Understandably, it was impossible

to re-create those, but with the help of contemporary technology, coupled with photographs on the walls, a much more complete picture of this culture and its accomplishments could have been achieved. Therefore, in spite of the variety and sumptuousness of the exhibited material, the visitor still received an incomplete image—very much like a mosaic composition that was fractured into a hundred glittering tesserae. To fully perceive *The Glory of Byzantium* the beholder must see at least one complete ensemble: the architecture of a church building, its setting, its exterior decoration, its iconographic program, its portable icons, chalices, patens, crosses, silks, embroideries and manuscripts. Only such a complex unity of artifacts can eloquently document the theological thinking and religious feelings of the time. Walking through the exhibition halls of the Metropolitan Museum the visitor was enticed to view the works on display as art with a capital *A*. They have become so in the eyes of contemporary viewers now, but in their original context they were much more.

Finally, an institution mounting a multi-million dollar exhibition with an unsurpassed array of incredible artifacts should not have so hastily and carelessly produced a visually very impressive looking catalogue. Its value is deeply depreciated by already pointed out factual errors and minute mistakes of various kinds. So, instead of being used for years to come by scholars and students alike as a veritable fountain of information, readers will now have to approach this catalogue with a certain amount of caution. Mistakes in the text of the catalogue, however, will not diminish the magnificence of objects beautifully reproduced on its pages, nor will they dim *The Glory of Byzantium*.

Nevertheless, one was grateful for the prestige of the Metropolitan Museum and its scholars, which combined with political clout and financial might, made possible such a splendid gathering of Byzantine and Byzantine-influenced artifacts. The documentary value and aesthetic impact of this assemblage will remain unmatched for a long time to come. This show has certainly raised the level of awareness of Byzantine art and its influence among the people who chose to visit it. One is left to wonder, however, of how much richer this exhibition might have

been if the Metropolitan Museum of Art had not chosen to be politically correct, and by that act participate to a certain degree in revising the history of the period.

Fig. 1. *The Lamentation of Christ*, Fresco, 1164, Church of St. Panteleimon, Monastery Nerezi, Macedonia. Copy by Zdenka Živković, Vanderbilt University Fine Arts Gallery Collection.

[1] Judith Miller, "A Wild Sail to New York, From Byzantium," *The New York Times*, June 12, 1997, B-2.

[2] *The Glory of Byzantium*, New York, 1997, Figure on page 276.

[3] As examples one can cite here the following churches in Serbia: Church of the Virgin, Monastery Studenica, A.D. 1209 and Church of the Ascension, Monastery Mileševa, ca A.D. 1228. See: Svetozar Radojčić, *Staro Srpsko Slikarstvo*, Beograd, 1966, 32 and 40 respectively. This tradition was continued in Serbia after the terminal date of the New York show. For example, this was the case with the Church of the Trinity, Monastery Sopoćani, ca A.D. 1265. See Vojislav J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd, 1963, 69-71.

[4] *The Glory of Byzantium*, (1997), 123.

[5] Svetozar Radojčić, *Majstori starog srpskog slikarstva*, Beograd, 1955, 44, and fig. 28; also, S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo*, (1966), Color Pl. 13.

[6] Vojislav J. Djurić, *Ikone iz Jugoslavije*, XII Medjunarodni kongres vizantologa - Ohrid, Beograd, 1961, 13-17, pl. I; Bojana Radojković, *Staro srpsko zlatarstvo*, Beograd, 1962, 29, fig. 13.

[7] Jovan Nešković, *Djurdjevi stupovi u starom Rasu. Postanak arhitekture crkve S. Djordja i stvaranje raškog tipa spomenika u arhitekturi srednjoveskovne Srbije. Kraljevo*, 1984, passim; For the frescoes dated ca. 1175, see: Vojislav J. Djurić, *Vizantiske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1974, 27-28, and note 25.

[8] Sima Ćirković, Vojislav Korać, Gordana Babić, *Studenica Monastery*, Belgrade, 1986, Fig. 12.

[9] Svetozar Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature*, Beograd, 1950, 25-29, Color plates A and B, and pls. I-VII for the Gospel of Knez Miroslav; and Josip Vrana, *Vukanovo evandjelje*, Beograd, 1967, passim.

[10] B. Radojković, *Staro srpsko zlatarstvo*, (1962), 25, Fig. VI.

[11] B. Radojković, op. cit., 29, and Figs. 12-14.

[12] Desanka Milošević, *Nakit kod Srba od XII do XV veka iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja*, Beograd, 1990, rings: nos. 1-14; earrings: nos. 237-250; diadem: no. 294; also, Bojana Radojković, *Trésors de l'art serbe médiéval (XII-XVI siècle)*, Paris, 1983-1984, Nos. 1-23.

[13] Svetozar Radojčić, "Bronzani krstovi relikvijari iz ranog srednjeg veka u beogradskim zbirkama," *Zbornik za umetnosno zgodovino*, V/VI, Ljubljana, 1959, 123-134, Figs. 51, 53-56, and 59; Gordana Marjanović-Vujović, *Krstovi*, Beograd, MCMLIIVII, Nos. 21-50.

[14] B. Radojković, *Staro srpsko zlatarstvo*, (1962), 16.

[15] Dimitrije Bogdanović, Vojislav J. Djurić, Dejan Medaković, *Hilandar*, Beograd, 1978, passim.

[16] Ida Sinkević, *Byzantium: Art and Ritual*, Art Gallery, Lafayette College, Easton, PA, 1996.

[17] As an example, one can cite the case of the two churches dating from the first half of the eleventh century, Vodoča and Veljusa, now in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Madedonia; see: Petar Miljkovik-Pepek, *Kompleksot crkvi vo Vodoča*, Skopje, 1975, passim; and Petar Miljkovik-Pepek, *Veljusa: Manastir sv. Bogorodica milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica*, Skopje, 1981, passim.

[18] *The Glory of Byzantium*, (1997), 274, and note 14.

[19] S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo*, (1966), 27-121 and 130-155 respectively; also, V. J. Djurić, *Vizantiske freske u Jugoslaviji*, (1974), 31-54 and 55-66 respectively.

[20] *The Glory of Byzantium*, (1997), 274.

[21] Sima Ćirković, ed., *Istorija srpskog naroda I: od najstarijih vremena do Maričke bitke (1371)*, Beograd, 1981, 304 and 317.

[22] *The Glory of Byzantium*, (1997), 512, note 33.

[23] Vladimir Petković, "La mort de la reine Anne a Sopoćani," *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, 1/2, Paris, 1930, 217-221.

[24] *The Glory of Byzantium*, (1997), 289, No. 195 C and D.

[25] *The Glory of Byzantium*, (1997), 510, note 102, Čirković instead of Ćirković; ibid., 512, note 32: Sopocani, instead of Sopoćani and note 33: Savvas, instead of St. Sava; ibid., *Bibliography*, 544, knishevnost instead of književnost; ibid., *Bibliography*, s.n. (544), Milisavats, Zivan, instead of Milisavats, Živan; and ibid., *Bibliography*, (549): C. Radojčić, instead of S. Radojčič. Furthermore, in many of the endnotes references were incomplete, with the page numbers frequently ommitted: p. 512, notes 5, 7, 10, 15 and 31; p. 513, notes 1, 12, 17, 21, 26, 27, 31, 39, and 44; p. 513, notes 7 and 8; p. 513, notes 2, 3, 4, and 13; p. 514, note 6; p. 514, notes 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9; p. 515, notes 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, and 39; p. 515, notes 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11; p. 515, notes 1, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, and 24; p. 516, notes 3, 7, 8, 10, 17, 18, 19, and 21; p. 517, notes 26, 30, and 32; p. 517, notes 7, 10, 11, 12, and 13; p. 517, notes 1, 3, and 4.

WAR CRIMES AND THE WARS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Alex N. Dragnich
Vanderbilt University

From time immemorial there have been concerns among human beings about how to avoid armed conflict. Closely linked to those concerns has been the desire to eliminate or limit certain acts in the course of wars—hence the efforts to create laws of war. There were two aspects to those endeavors. One was to protect noncombatants and the other was to prohibit certain acts in actual conflicts, i.e. to deny the use of certain weapons (e.g. dum-dum bullets, poison gases, etc.), and to adopt rules for the treatment of prisoners of war. Some purists thought it incongruous to talk of laws of war since war was the very antithesis of law, but the reformers pushed on.

Concerns associated with wars took on an increasing urgency with changes in the nature of warfare. Wars became more frightful and monstrous as weapons technology evolved, from the use of gunpowder to air-borne explosives, and finally to nuclear bombs.

These concerns became ever more grave as civilians became targets. Until the twentieth century, with rare exceptions, wars were fought between armies in battles that involved few noncombatants. In this century, notably beginning with the First World War, urban centers, and therefore civilians, became prime targets. The bombings of some urban centers were justified on grounds that they were troop centers or producers of armaments, and bombings were said to be limited to those sections of the particular cities. Perhaps the most indiscriminate bombing of urban centers was during World War II, particularly the dropping of atom bombs by the United States on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Likewise, the concept of war crimes as a matter that the community of nations should address is a twentieth century phenomenon, notably beginning with the Second World War.

Prior to that time, if so-called war crimes were punished, it was done by the victors. This was also the case of the victors in World War II, except that they endeavored to give their work a semblance of international judicial legitimacy by creating tribunals to try the accused. Those were staffed with prosecuting and defense attorneys. among the charges was "genocide," defined as a deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group. Critics argued that for the trials to be legitimate, there should have been in existence, prior to the alleged crimes, laws and courts with competent authority, which was not the case.

In the years since that time, some international conventions were adopted that sought to define certain crimes against humanity, but it was generally envisioned that such crimes would occur in conflicts between nation states. Crimes in civil wars were not covered.

Moreover, civil wars are complex, involving different parties, including outside powers who choose to assist one or more of the participants. We know that in the American Civil War England was sympathetic with the Confederacy, and engaged in some anti-Union acts. In modern times, perhaps the best example of outside intervention was the Spanish civil war, where Nazi Germany aided the rebel forces of General Franco, while the Soviet Union provided some assistance to the government side.

In the Yugoslav civil war or wars, there has been so much concentration on accusations leveled at two Serbian Bosnian leaders, President Radovan Karadžić and General Ratko Mladić, that until 1997 other alleged culprits received scant attention. More on this below. Because the media repeatedly carried all sorts of charges, many of them demonstrably without any proof, it is extremely difficult to know where to begin if one is to unscramble the mis-information, and to begin sorting out the facts. This is particularly true of the war crimes in Bosnia.

The first thing that needs to be said is that the whole matter does not lend itself to easy answers. Many parties, some of them foreign ones, have had their "fingers in the pie," so that it is going to be exceedingly difficult to apportion the extent of culpability.

The Destruction of Yugoslavia

It is in the context of the breakup of Yugoslavia that the civil war began, followed by the war crimes. Consequently, the first question that needs to be addressed is the destruction of Yugoslavia. The civil war began in 1991 with secessions of Slovenia and Croatia. Several authors, totally independent of the parties in the conflicts, have concluded that Slovenia was the first to initiate military actions, followed by Croatia.[1] The latter had, however, engaged in some anti-Serb acts even before the secessions. Some less independent sources have asserted that the efforts of the government of Yugoslavia, at that time *not* dominated by Serbia, to stop the secessions are the primary causes of the conflicts.

It is imperative to note that foreign and domestic elements were involved in acts, even before the secessions, that led to the destruction of the country. Slovene and Croat officials, while still part of the governing structure of Yugoslavia, conspired with German and Austrian officials to undermine and in the end destroy the Yugoslav state.[2] Moreover, far from the Yugoslav scene, the United States (Congress and the President), six months prior to the secessions, in effect told the Yugoslav National Army that its constitutional prerogative to defend Yugoslavia's borders from internal threats would be considered illegitimate.[3]

Moreover, the decision of the Western European states, prodded by Germany, on the rapid recognition of the secessionist republics, practically insured conflict. According to Lord David Owen: "The EC mistake over recognizing Croatia could have been overcome if it had not been compounded by going forward regardless of the consequences with the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina."[4] What was worse, in his opinion, was the "unwarranted insistence on ruling out changes to what had been internal administrative boundaries within a sovereign state."[5]

How should responsibility be assigned to domestic and international factors for war and consequent war crimes? Was diplomatic recognition improperly utilized by the Western powers to defend their subsequent interventionist acts?

On the domestic front, the Serbs, who did not want the destruction of Yugoslavia, were very much concerned about the

fate of over 500,000 Serbs in secessionist Croatia. And both Serbs and Croats were anxious about their compatriots in Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereinafter Bosnia), once it decided on secession and was recognized by the Europeans as well as the United States. There were some 750,000 Croats and 1.5 million Serbs in Bosnia (the Muslims numbered 1.9 million). In May 1992, Croatia had some 40,000 troops in Bosnia, while the Serbian components of the Yugoslav Army had withdrawn to Serbia, but the Bosnian-Serb components of that army remained in the Serbian regions. Toward the end of that same month the United Nations Security Council, under US pressure, invoked harsh economic sanctions against the Third Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, but took no actions against Croatia.

Responsibility of Croatia and Serbia because of their concern for their compatriots? Responsibility of the UN for its lack of evenhandedness?

War Crimes: Bosnians

When we move away from general questions concerning the destruction of Yugoslavia, the discussion tends to turn toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and war crimes committed therein. Therefore, in what follows, I will for the most part concentrate on Bosnia. First, the Bosnians—Serbs, Muslims, Croats. Then the foreign elements.

The Tribunal set up by the United Nations Security Council (more on the Tribunal below), meeting at The Hague, announced that all parties in the conflict in Bosnia—Serbs, Muslims, and Croats—have committed war crimes. Fifty-odd Bosnian Serbs have been indicted, including (as noted above) their political and military leaders. Some seven or eight Croats have been indicted and three or four Muslims, but significantly none of the their leaders.

What are their crimes? Mainly the killing, by bombardment or otherwise, of civilians. From what is known at this time, except perhaps in a few individual cases, it does not appear that any of the three parties have committed genocide in the way that genocide was defined at the time of the Nuremberg trials. It will be recalled that at Nuremberg, the charge of genocide was

supported by the existence of death camps where millions were systematically put to death, mainly Jews. Similar death camps existed in Germany's satellite state of Croatia, where hundreds of thousands of Serbs, as well as tens of thousands of Jews and Gypsies, were put to death, but after the war there were no trials of Croatian criminals. In the current conflict in Bosnia there have been prisoner of war camps, but none comparable to the death camps of World War II.

Ethnic cleansing, repulsive as it may be, is not defined as a war crime. There are charges, however, that ethnic cleansing often resulted in deaths of some of those expelled from certain areas. Early in the Bosnian war, it is charged that the Serbs were the main culprits, although *before* the Bosnian war began the Croats had carried out an ethnic cleansing of over 50,000 Serbs from the Slavonia region. There is evidence that in different Bosnian towns and villages, Croats killed Muslims as well as Serbs. And Muslims killed Croats and Serbs. And Serbs killed Muslims and Croats.[6] Often killings were part of military operations where civilians were armed, with the consequence that it is not easy to determine who was a combatant and who was not. And it is difficult to ascertain who was under command of someone and who was not.

Moreover, Professor C.G. Jacobsen points out: "... former US Secretary of States now reminds us, the Serbs, though not bereft of guilt, were not the first to resort to arms, or 'ethnic' cleansing, and not the first to propagate ethno- or religious-national extremism."[7]

Foreign Elements

In the charges against the Bosnian Serbs, the most frequent allegations concern their actions in the so-called safe havens or safe areas. These were established by the Security Council in 1993 in the hope of protecting civilian populations in several urban centers—Sarajevo, Goražde, Srebrenica, Bihać, Tuzla, and Žepa. David Owen asserts flatly that the establishment of the "safe areas" was "the most irresponsible decision taken during my time as Co-Chairman,"[8] simply because the UN failed to demilitarize them. The Muslims, he says, "saw nothing wrong in being

protected in safe areas by the UN and at the same time attacking out of the safe areas," conducting "military operations under UN cover."[9] In 1995, UN Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali reminded the Security Council that in a 1994 report he had "particularly emphasized the need to demilitarize the safe areas and thus establish a regime that would be in line with the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, which have gained general acceptance in the international community."[10] But the Security Council did nothing. And, says Owen: "By acquiescing in the Croatian government's seizure of Western Slavonia, the contact Group had in effect given the green light to the Bosnian Serbs to attack Srebrenica and Žepa."[11]

It is interesting that despite all the charges about mass graves at or near Srebrenica, no mass graves have yet been located. Moreover, some investigative journalists have concluded that most of the Muslims who left Srebrenica succeeded in getting to other locations.[12] In this they are supported by Irfan (or Ibran) Mustafić, a Muslim representative in the Bosnian parliament who had been a captive of the Serbian army at Srebrenica.[13]

It is also worth noting that Owen says that the "most flagrant and best-documented episode of Muslim army units provoking the Serbs," was when a Bosnian mortar crew set up in the grounds of the Koševo hospital and fired "over the hospital into a Serb area," and then retreated. Simultaneously, a television crew arrived "to record the retaliatory Serb shelling of the hospital."[14] When Owen queried UNPROFOR commander, General Morillon, why the UN had not gone public on the issue, the General replied that "he wanted the truth out but said 'we've got to live here'." Moreover, says Owen, "the UN had clear evidence that Muslim forces would from time to time shell the airport to stop relief flights and refocus world attention on the siege of Sarajevo."[15]

Similarly, Owen reports that in the opinion of UNPROFOR commanders, three Sarajevo explosions (the 1992 breadline explosion, and the market explosions in February 1994 and August 1995) were the work of Muslims, and yet these were

blamed on the Serbs and used as pretexts for actions against them. When the "highly charged information" about the February 1994 explosion "reached the UN in New York ... everything was done ... to reduce the chances of a press leak."[16]

It seems fair to ask: when outside forces create the climate or conditions for crimes, should they not bear some responsibility? Jacobsen asserts that the war "broke out because of a US-supported secessionist independence declaration that contravened Bosnia's constitutional veto guaranty to each of its three ethnic components."[17]

Then there are specific acts of outside powers: Iran's shipment of arms and technicians to the Bosnian Muslims, and the subsequent US decision not to object to the continuation of those shipments through Croatia, when specifically queried about them, all in violation of the UN embargo, were the most grievous. But there was also aid from other Muslim countries, and "French military officers claimed to have evidence that the US was using its air drops to supply some arms and equipment to the Bosnian army."[18] All the while, the media only talked about aid from Yugoslavia to the Bosnian Serbs. Moreover, the US scuttled at least three Bosnian peace plans that had been worked out by European UN negotiators.[19] Lord Owen, while putting some blame on the participants in the civil war, concludes that the "leaders in Washington bear a heavy reponsibility too for prolonging a war, with miserable consequences."[20]

If prolonging a war which results in additional atrocities is not a crime, perhaps it should be, or at least there should be a sharing of responsibility.

The Hague Tribunal[21]

A number of international law experts have raised serious questions about the Tribunal set up by the Security Council in 1993, with "jurisdiction" for crimes committed after January 1, 1991 in "the former Yugoslavia." The first question is why only Yugoslavia, because in the five decades since the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, there have been well over 100 million fatalities due to war, genocide, democide, politicide, and mass murder?[22] The

simple answer is "politics," as evident from statements of several top officials of the Clinton Administration.[23] Subsequently, a tribunal was set up to try war crimes in African conflicts.

Another question concerns the authority of the Security Council to create the Tribunal.[24] The UN Genocide Convention was an international treaty, approved by the General Assembly and ratified by member states. It does not provide for the creation of tribunals by the Security Council. The Security Council used Article 29 of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which authorizes it to establish subsidiary organs it deems necessary to carry out its functions. This amounts to an admission that the Tribunal is a subsidiary organ of its political masters and not an independent court of law. *New York Times* correspondent David Binder pointed out that in classical terms, the court should have been established by convention in the UN General Assembly, which would have required accession by treaty ratification of its members, but he notes that the US was in a hurry and decided to sidestep such niceties.[25]

A distinguished professor of international law has raised a number of questions related to the establishment of the Tribunal and the authority vested in its judges and the prosecutor.[26] He points to much imprecise and vague language, giving a number of critical examples, and even suggests that an internal armed conflict may be "beyond reach of United Nations regulation."[27] Moreover, he asks: if a defendant demands that the judges request exculpatory evidence classified by the US, for example, would the US obey such an order for CIA evidence, and thereby accept infringement of its sovereignty? He answers his own question, i.e. that great powers would not be willing to have tribunals staffed by international civil servants who would dominate the world.[28]

Moreover, the court adopted rules that would not be tolerated in the United States or Great Britain. The American Bar Association, in a critique, pointed out that the accused has no right to confront his accusers, who may remain anonymous and immune from cross-examination, contrary to the American and British systems of justice. This means that the accused, whether Serb, Croat or Muslim, will be held guilty until proven innocent.

The senselessness of the court's rules was demonstrated in October 1996, when it was discovered that a prosecution witness against the first defendant, Serb Duško Tadić, had perjured himself. He had been coached by the Muslims in Sarajevo. Ironically, the defense was in violation of one of the court's witness-protection orders when it spoke with a supposedly dead father and a supposedly nonexistent brother of the perjured witness, who were located purely by chance. Embarrassed, the court dropped that particular charge,[29] but in May 1997 he was found guilty on some counts and given a 20-year sentence.

A Question of Fairness

Despite assertions from various quarters, including the Tribunal, that Serbs, Croats, and Muslims have been guilty of war crimes, it was not until late 1996 and early 1997 that some important Croats and Muslims were indicted.[30] Even the president of the court, Antonio Cassese, had not been neutral. Among other things, he called for a postponement of the Bosnian elections until Bosnian Serb President Karadžić, and the top military leader, General Mladić, had been arrested, and demanded that Serbia be expelled from the Olympic Games in Atlanta unless it helped to arrest the two accused men.[31] At the same time, he said nothing about failure to indict Croat or Muslim leaders.

Moreover, one of the court's prosecutors indicated that the "proof" against Karadžić was found in the Bosnian Serb constitution which made him commander of the military, hence command responsibility. Be it noted that the command principle was formulated in the course of convicting and executing Japanese General Yamashita for a crime that history suggests he did not commit.

Applying the logic of command responsibility, the Muslim leader in Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegović, and his Croatian counterpart, should be equally charged for their actions against each other's peoples, as well as for their actions against the Serbs. Moreover, Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman certainly had command responsibility when in 1995 he sent his troops to drive the Serbs out of Croatia's Krajina region and to pursue them into

Bosnia, resulting in the largest ethnic cleansing of the whole Yugoslav conflict. And UN reports confirm that the Croats killed many Serbs, mainly the old or infirm who could not flee.

Professor Jacobsen has concluded that "for all the hard evidence against" the Bosnian Serb leaders Karadžić and Mladić, "there is analogous hard evidence against Izetbegović and other Bosnian Muslim and Croat leaders—indeed, there is equally compelling evidence against Tudjman and Milošević."[32]

None of the charges about alleged Muslim mass graves in the thousands, or even hundreds, has been confirmed as of this writing (early 1997). However, mass graves of 181 Serbs at Mrkonjić Grad, left by the Croats, were exhumed in 1996 in the presence of UN observers.[33] The media, however, have exhibited little or no interest in mass graves of Serbs. This is all the more interesting in view of the fact that newer evidence suggests that a far greater number of Serbs were massacred than was thought to be the case heretofore.[34]

The Croat action in Krajina (and perhaps also those in Slavonia) also raises questions about US responsibility because hearings in the Congress have confirmed that Croatia was given the "green light" by the Clinton Administration in advance of its operation. Moreover, prior to the Krajina action, Croatian army forces were assisted by an organization of retired US Army officers, headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia. It is known that in some of its activities, that organization has worked under contract of the US government, but it is not known if this was true in the case of their assistance to the Croats.

It has been suggested in some circles that Serbia's Slobodan Milošević, because of his assistance to the Bosnian Serbs, should also be indicted. In his case, however, there is as yet no evidence that he exercised any kind of command responsibility. His culpability, it would seem, would fall in the same category as that of other outside forces (e.g. Iran, Germany, US) assisting one or the other side.

The Tribunal in Action

The preliminary actions of The Hague Tribunal suggested a biased approach. In October 1992, the Security Council created

a five-member commission to investigate war crimes and other violations of international law. Professor Mammoud Cherif Bassiouni, an American law professor and a devout Muslim who has never sought to conceal his core values, became a member of the commission and was made its "rapporteur," and soon was designated it chairman. His "Final Report" blamed the Serbs for aggression, premeditated ethnic cleansing, mass rapes, etc., a report that would be laughed out of a real court in the Western world. He accepted anonymous submissions from Muslim and Croat sources, without any attempt to evaluate their veracity. At the same time, he somehow mislaid or did not receive reports of Muslim and Croat crimes against the Serbs from the war crimes commission in Belgrade, even though these were submitted in person and also sent by registered mail.

Moreover, the chief prosecutor, Richard J. Goldstone of South Africa, concentrates his attention on the Serbs. Before any cases were completed, however, he resigned. He was replaced by Louise Arbour, a judge from Ontario, Canada (an unwed Catholic with several children), who seemed to follow in Goldstone's footsteps, but in April 1997 called for the arrest of the defense ministers of Croatia (Gojko Sušak) and the Muslim-Croat Federation (Ante Jelavić).

Several observers have raised questions about the composition of the Tribunal. They point out that two Islamic countries, Pakistan and Malaysia, contributed over 90 percent of the court's funding in the early months of its existence. Both were given the right to appoint judges to the panel. Both countries have been among the staunchest supporters of the Muslims in Bosnia, to whom they shipped weapons in violation of UN resolutions. On the other hand, there are no judges from countries with a recognized reputation for neutrality (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Switzerland). And none representing the Orthodox Christian tradition (Greece, Russia, et al.), presumably because they might be sympathetic to the Orthodox Serbs.[35]

Another problem concerns the court's pre-trial actions. The judges have been taking pre-trial testimony, which is not bad in itself, but (a) attorneys for defendants have not been allowed to hear any of it, and (b) at the same time the hearings have been

freely reported in the media. Such actions in most democratic countries, certainly in the United States and Great Britain, would be seen as prejudicial, and even the basis for dismissal of charges.

Some experts on Yugoslav matters, such as University of California historian Raymond K. Kent, have argued that "justice cannot come from outside ... Until the Serbs, the Croats, and the Bosnian Muslims come to genuinely agree, on the basis of self-interest and insurance against future counter-reprisals, to deal directly with their own war criminals, neither the cause of justice nor that of enduring peace, will be served."[36] Some skep-tics observe that such conclusions lack realism.

Another consideration: most nations will only extradite foreign citizens. Among these are the United States, Germany, France, and others. Indeed, only 15 nations have adjusted their legislation for cooperation with The Hague Tribunal, while approximately 170 have not.

The seizure in July 1997 of three Bosnian Serbs, on the basis of secret indictments, and the killing of one by NATO-British soldiers, raised questions about the precedent that may have been set, i.e. the seizing by foreign troops of secretly indicted suspects and their delivery to a court created by an international body (UN Security council). Under that procedure, it is conceivable that at some future date an American citizen could be seized by foreign forces and whisked away without the much cherished due process.

All in all, developments thus far at The Hague have led many observers to suggest that the Tribunal created to try alleged perpetrators of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, is in danger of making a mockery of the judicial traditions of the World Court (even though not a part of it), whose past history of careful rulings have virtually defined International Law and earned for it the respect of the nations that had submitted their conflicts to its jurisdiction. If the Tribunal passes over other leaders, such as Tudjman and Izetbegović, and does not implicate foreign actors, at least declaratively, it risks being condemned as merely a political instrument of the great powers.

[1] Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: TV Books, 1995), especially chapter 12; Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1995), especially chapter 5; and Warren Zimmermann, "The last Ambassador: A Memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs* (New York), March-April, 1995. Also, see my article, "The Roots of the Wars in Yugoslavia," *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 18 (Spring-Summer 1997), pp. 3-18.

[2] Woodward, see especially chapter 6.

[3] Ibid., pp. 157, 454, 458.

[4] David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1995), p. 344.

[5] Ibid., pp. 342-344.

[6] See articles by Joan Phillips, "Victims and Villains in Bosnia's War," *The South Slav Journal*, Spring-Summer, 1992, pp. 90-96; and "The Other Bosnian War," *The South Slav Journal* (Autumn-Winter, 1992), pp. 54-59. US Col. John E. Stray, who spent several months in Bosnia, concluded: "All of the warring factions stand equally guilty of heinous crimes. Their villainy reflects a matter of scale and dimension—not severity." See his "Selling the Bosnian Myth to America: Buyer Beware," United States Army (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1995), p. 17.

[7] "Yugoslavia's Successor Wars Reviewed: The Real Lessons for a Not-So-New World Order," (manuscript revising chapter of "Yugoslavia's Secession and Succession Wars," in the author's *The New World Order's Defining Crimes: The Clash of Promise and Essence* (Dartmouth Publishing Co., 1996), p. 18, citing Baker's testimony, Hearings before the House International Relations Committee, Jan. 12, 1995.

[8] Owen, p. 178.

[9] Ibid., pp. 199-200.

[10] UN Secretary's report of 30 May, 1995, points 41 and 37. In those points, he reminded the Security Council of his 1 December 1994 (S/1994/1389) report, and pointed out that in "recent months, government forces have considerably increased their military activity in and around most safe areas, and many of them have been incorporated into the broader military campaigns of the government side . . . The government also maintains a substantial number of troops in Srebrenica (in this case, in violation a demilitarization agreement) . . ."

[11] Owen, pp. 329-300.

[12] Michael Evans and Michael Kallenbach, *The Times* (London), August 2, 1995.

[13] *Slobodna Bosna* (Free Bosnia, Sarajevo), August 15, 1996.

[14] Owen, ibid., pp. 105-106.

[15] Ibid., p. 244.

[16] Ibid., p. 261.

[17] Jacobsen, ibid., p. 16.

[18] Owen, ibid., p. 253. Jacobsen also points to "a marked increase in deliveries" after December 1994, "notably through US-manned Hercules transports to Tuzla and other airfields, and jumbo jet deliveries from Iran." Ibid., p. 13.

[19] See Owen and Woodward, *passim*.

[20] Owen, ibid., p. 354.

[21] I am greatly indebted to the astute American journalist, Peter Brock, for the extensive background history and commentary provided in his article, "The Hague: Experiment in Orwellian Justice," *Mediterranean Quarterly: A Journal of Global Issues*, Vol. 7 (Fall 1996), pp. 54-74.

[22] Rudolf J. Rummel, *Journal of Peace Research* (1994), cited by Srdja Trifković, "The Hague Tribunal: Bad Justice, Worse Politics," *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, August, 1996, pp. 15-19.

[23] David Binder, *Legal Times*, week of April 22, 1996.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Alfred P. Rubin, "An International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia?" *Pace International Law Review* (White Plains, New York), Vol. VI (Winter, 1994), pp. 7-17. Also, see his letter to the *New York Times*, October 30, 1996.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Robert M. Hayden, "Perjury at The Hague," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 10, 1996. A similar circumstance was revealed in February 1997 in Sarajevo, when two presumed Muslim victims, for whose "death" two Serbs had been convicted and sentenced to death, were found to be alive (*New York Times*, March 1, 1997).

[30] It remains to be seen if they will be surrendered. One who even made a video version of his massacre of Serbs (see report of Bill Schiller in *Toronto Star*, July 16, 1995) Schiller met Orić personally, who showed him the video and bragged about his actions. David Rohde, supposed

"discoverer" of mass graves at Srebrenica, reports that Orić's men murdered thousands of Serbs around Srebrenica, mainly on Serbian Orthodox holidays. (*End Game: The Betrayal of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre Since World War II* (New York, 1997).

[31] See Geoffrey Robertson, "War Crimes Deserve a Fair Trial," *The Times* (London), June 25, 1996. Also, see report of interview with Cassese in *New York Times*, July 26, 1996.

[32] Jacobsen, ibid., p. 17. For reservations about The Hague tribunal by a supporter, Cedric Thornberry (onetime deputy commander of UNPROFOR), see his article, "Saving the War Crimes Tribunal," *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1996). Also, see extensive discussion by Robert M. Hayden, "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers," *Slavic Review* (Winter 1996), pp. 727-748 and 767-778.

[33] Binder, ibid.

[34] Among recent reports, two that might be suspected of bias, that of The American Serbian Women's Caucus (March 23, 1996) and the eighth report of the Yugoslav government to the United Nations Security Council (A/52/83:S/1997/173, 3 March 1997), seem to present extensive evidence and need to be taken seriously.

[35] For example, Nora Beloff's "Memorandum on Goldstone Tribunal" (London, February 6, 1996), cited in Trifković, p. 19.

[36] See his article, "Contextualizing Hate: The Hague Tribunal, the Clinton Administration and the Serbs," *Dialogue* (Paris, France), December 20, 1996, pp. 11-27.

FRUSTRATED NATIONALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA: FROM LIBERAL TO COMMUNIST SOLUTION*

Dušan T. Bataković
Institute for Balkan Studies
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Belgrade

The Yugoslav idea in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, widely thought to be essential to the creation of a common state for Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, proved to be little more than an illusion of the liberal and intellectual elite of what was to become the First and then the Second Yugoslavia. It neither corresponded to the low level of political culture of the majority of those who were not members of these elites, nor was it able to encompass within itself rival theories of national integrations. Above all, the Yugoslav idea rarely satisfied any one of national groups—be they Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes—while sooner or later it antagonized them all. Some of these dissatisfactions, underlying the repeated disintegration of the common state soon after it was formed, form the subject of this paper.

The Yugoslav idea, manifested in the first Yugoslav state which emerged in 1918, was based on the nineteenth-century ideals of liberty from tyranny and national self-determination. At that time, it was the only valid ideology capable of contesting the legitimacy of the dominant imperial structure on which the multi-national, semi-feudal order of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy rested. The common state of the South Slavs was conceived as a radically new framework for the transformation of the old national identities under the Habsburgs into something

* This article is the revised version of a paper delivered at the 28th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Boston, November 17, 1996. For their helpful suggestions I especially thank Dimitrije Djordjević, Norma von Ragenfled-Feldman and Željan E. Šuster.

completely new. Conforming to the program of the enlightened Croatian and Serbian elites, this new Yugoslav identity was to be achieved by merging those Slav nations and ethnic groups which shared a similar language and ethnic origin into one Yugoslav supra-nation while safeguarding the uniqueness of their respective cultural and religious traditions. This new—as Benedict Anderson puts it—"imagined community" recalled the idea of a melting pot along the lines of the nineteenth-century French model of nation-state. The first and the foremost pillar of the new supra-national identity adopted by the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was to be the common culture based on both linguistic proximity and patriarchal values shared by the different Slavic ethnic and religious groups that inhabited the Dinaric Alps, notwithstanding the differences in religious dogma.[1]

It did not take long before the First Yugoslavia of 1918 fell prey to the nationalistic squabbles and dissatisfactions of its federated members. During the two decades of the First Yugoslavia, the Serbian interpretation of Yugoslavism as a concept of an enlarged Serbia that would gradually merge into a new Yugoslav identity was considered as imposed on the Croats and Slovenes who understood the common South Slav state only as a more appropriate framework for further stages of their own national integration. In the end, the First Yugoslavia proved too weak to withstand the internal discord or attack from the outside.

Dismembered by Hitler's Nazis and racked by the civil and religious strife in the 1940s, the First Yugoslavia was virtually prostrate before it was revived by the communist in 1945, together with an egalitarian ideology and the Croatian federalist version of Yugoslavism. Both solutions, Serbian in 1918 and Croatian in 1945, were imposed from above by the dominant political forces, first by Serbian democratic elite supported by the narrow integralist group of Croats, the second by Croat-led communist leadership. A geopolitical necessity of the European order in 1918 and in 1945, Yugoslavia finally disappeared when its existence proved to be unnecessary. After communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had collapsed, Yugoslavia lost its importance as the buffer zone between two rival blocks during the Cold War. European powers failed to halt this disintegration

—in some cases they welcomed it—and the communist rulers, having long nurtured the nationalist particularism in the various Yugoslav republics to their own advantage, promoted the fall of the federation. The demise of the Communist Yugoslavia, this time final and violent, came as the result of the communist *nomenklatura*, which nurtured the nationalist dissatisfaction and dissention in order to maintain absolute power.

This paper examines how different Yugoslav nationalities have perceived the Yugoslav idea. More specifically, the question raised here is why the idea of Yugoslav unity—as a liberal solution—has had so little chance to develop. In this respect, one of the main arguments I propose is that the Yugoslav idea exhibited intrinsic weakness from the very start in the mid-nineteenth century only because it was understood by the Coats and Serbs in completely different ways. More importantly, the Yugoslavism encountered historical conditions which were prohibitive to its unfolding and flourishing.

Serbian Integration: From National to State Identity

The Serbian integration finding its first formulation in the famous foreign policy draft of 1844 the *Načertanije* (The Draft) by Ilija Garašanin up to the Yugoslav-oriented war objectives of the Serbian cabinet and the National Assembly in 1914, developed by combining two basic European experiences—the French and the German. From the narrower goals of national unity, according to the German model, the Serbian integration had a slow evolution towards the idea of a gradual merging of the Serbs into a larger Yugoslav nation that will inevitably emerge in the future. Serbian unification with regions under direct Ottoman rule (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Serbia and Slavic Macedonia) outlined by Ilija Garašanin in 1844, was to be followed by the creation of a Yugoslav state, encompassing not only the Croats and Serbs within the Habsburg Monarchy, but also the ethnically akin Bulgarians.[2]

Among its numerous variants the program of Serbian unification was, therefore, considered to be compatible with the later Yugoslav unification, where, according to the French model of l'Etat-nation the state identity will become the national one. For the Serbs in Serbia who obtained their national independence

after a centuries-long struggle against the Ottomans, the state itself became a sacred symbol. In the ethnically homogenous Serbia from 1804 to 1914 the very meaning of nation, similar to the French experience, was fully identified with the identity of the state. The intellectual and cultural elite of Serbia strongly believed that Serbs and Croats were but two branches of the same nation, which had become forcibly divided by foreign domination. For Serbia, which, together with tiny Montenegro, emerged as two independent Serbian states in 1878, the process of gradual unification was considered as both natural and inevitable. Serbia's profound democratic aspirations, were reinforced with the reestablishment of parliamentary democracy in 1903, gave fresh impetus to that belief. In this respect, two separate but closely linked phases are to be noted. The notion of "Greater Serbia," as a concept of a narrower national integration was considered as the first phase of South Slav settlement. The second phase, "Yugoslavia" was considered as the final settlement. The two notions of "Greater Serbia" and "Yugoslavia," were as complementary to each other as two sides of the same coin.[3]

The greatest challenge to the Serbian approach to national unification and integration came from the Croatian side. Propagating the principle of "historic rights," Croatian political leadership (including those from the Yugoslav committee) envisioned Yugoslav unification in terms of federally organized units familiar from the Austro-Hungarian empire. The Croatian principle of "historic rights," therefore, challenged the Serbian approach of unity of three tribes of the same nation. By the end of World War I, however, the Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić, was determined to create a united Serbian state that included Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina. In view of the uncertain situation at the end of the war, Pašić worked toward the establishment of a "Greater Serbia" —which would eventually merge with the new state of Yugoslavia —as a necessary step to safeguard Serbian interests. But, the Serbian Prince-Regent Alexander Karadjordjević however, rejected Pašić's concept, thereby postponing the question of the internal system as a problem to be solved only after unification was finally accomplished.

Serbs accepted the Yugoslav state in 1918 as the final stage for resolving their national question. The widespreaded feeling that the Serbian question is completed in Yugoslavia, blocked further national integration of the Serbs. They favored the centralized state along French lines which, buttressed by the democratic institutions would in time evolve into a nation state ('our three-name nation' or 'three tribes of a single nation'). With the exception of the Radicals who insisted on the Serbian name, all other Serbian political parties, favored the gradual creation of a new Yugoslav nation. Pašić and his Radicals persistently insisted upon the preservation of the Serbian ethnic name within the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Radicals were not against the future merging into a new state identity but they feared that the common state would not be viable. It became difficult for the Serbs to separate their national interest from itsYugoslav framework: the only state that they would and could be identified with was Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav state was, therefore, a definite solution to the national integration of the Serbs.[4]

For Croats and Slovenes, lacking a state of their own since the Middle Ages, Yugoslavia, though necessary for their survival as national groups, came to be seen as a strictly transitional solution. It meant a possibility to preserve national identity, to additionally strengthen national homogeneity and to open the way to full national independence in the future. Therefore, only the Serbs, with a small portion of enlightened Croats in Dalmatia who opted for the unitarian state, were historically prepared to accept the new Yugoslav identity.

For the Serbs, renouncing their identity was possible only after general acceptance of the new, Yugoslav identity, that will transform from a state identity to a new nationhood. The decade of constant national rivalries and mutual antagonisms—culminating in the assassination of the prominent Croat peasant leader Stjepan Radić in Belgrade during a parliamentary session—ended with the king's coup-d'etat, the abolition of democratic rights, and the outlawing of political parties with national affiliations. In the name of state unity, democracy—as the major Serbian contribution to the common state—was sacrificed in an effort to estab-

lish a single Yugoslav nation. During the period of personal rule (1929-1934) King Alexander Karadjordjević failed in his efforts to make a unified Yugoslav state into a workable King Alexander model, shaped according to the French nation-state pattern, and only strengthened the nationalism of the Croats and Slovenes, provoking fresh antagonism and further misunderstandings.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the result of the Serbian interpretation of Yugoslavism and state unity. The cohabitation, from the Serbian point of view, was possible only when other nations accept the new identity, if not as purely national but at least as a supra-national concept that cannot be constantly challenged. Therefore, all those who defied the Yugoslav unity were persecuted, not as members of different national groups but as enemies of the state. For the Croats, that persecution was understood as the abuse of their national rights in a state dominated by the Serbs. The final failure of the Serbian concept of a single Yugoslav nation was clearly foreseen prior to the World War II. Ultimately, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was bound to shatter, not least because the Serbian interpretation of Yugoslavism which made it mandatory for Croat nationality in Yugoslavia to accept the new Yugoslav identity. The Croats saw this injunction as a transgression of their own national rights, and shortly before the outbreak of World War II they were beginning to make their own arrangements for a reorganization of the territory they claimed to be historically, hence rightfully, purely Croatian. The establishment of the semi-federal unit of Banovina Hrvatska in August 1939 was the political agreement made to fulfill the demands of frustrated Croatian nationalism. This was the first step towards future federal reorganization of Kingdom of Yugoslavia prevented by the outbreak of war in 1941.[5]

Croatian Nationalism: from Yugoslav to Federal Option

The Croatian national integration that challenged Yugoslav state unity from its very beginnings developed in several phases. In the nineteenth century the Croatian integration evolved from a broader (South Slav i.e. Yugoslav) concept, to a narrower (national) one. If the 'Yugoslav' program of the Croats was

initially quite broad in its sweep, being rooted in the Illyrian movement of the 1840s that endowed all Slavs with a common —Illyrian—origin and advocated the common (štokavian) dialect of the Serbian language, it quickly narrowed into a specifically Croatian program which enabled Croatian integration among the Serbian-speaking Slavs within Habsburg Monarchy. The second form of Yugoslav movement among the Croats based on 1848 ideals emerged in the 1860s in a more liberal but ecumenical form, led by the enlightened Bishop of Djakovo, Josip Juraj Štrossmayer. For Bishop Štrossmayer, who was above all devoted to his Vatican mission, the Yugoslav idea was considered as a necessary phase towards his final goal: uniting the divided Christian Churches in the Balkans—the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox—under the supreme jurisdiction of Rome.[6]

At the turn of the century the third strand of Croatian Yugoslavism appeared in two different places: First, in Dalmatia, under the influence of the Italian *Risorgimento*, shaped by the Piedmont type of national integration where Belgrade was considered as the natural center of future unification; second, among the Croat-Serbian youth educated in Prague, under the influence of the neo-Slavic liberal Thomas G. Masaryk. From these two sources, the bearers of which were the liberal strata of the Croatian and Serbian elite in Austria-Hungary, emerged a unitarian Yugoslav ideology—the theory of a single nation, composed of three "tribes": the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian. That theory was welcomed by the ruling elite in Serbia after 1903.[7]

Entrenched among enlightened political leaders and intellectuals, however, this liberal Yugoslavism had little chance of appealing to the broader masses. They tended to adhere to narrower, also more simplistic, notions of national identity. Liberal Yugoslavism could hardly confront the national movement of the Croats that was, on the horizontal level, controlled by the lower strata of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Croatian Roman Catholic church not only looked toward Rome as spiritual leader, but also incorporated the Roman Catholic dimension into their secular valuation of the Croatian nation. "Croatism" became increasingly infused with the Roman Catholic religious identity.

The road to the narrower national identity of the Croats was already traced by Ante Starčević, the ideologist and founder of the Croat Party of Rights (*Hrvatska stranka prava*), which was a mixture of the dominant Hungarian model of a "political nation," the local theory of "historical rights" and some racist prejudices drawn from Gobineau's writings. Facing the rising cultural and political reputation of Serbia after 1903, but also the growing economic rivalry of Serbs within Austria-Hungary the national integration of the Croats was sliding more and more toward identifying Croatism with Roman Catholicism. The bearer of this ideology became The Pure Party of Rights (*Čista stranka prava*) led by Starčević's successor Josip Frank. The Croatian national movement also received another strong push toward clericalization from the side of the Croatian Jesuit missionaries, whose militant proselytism scored highly successful marks in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878.[8]

The lack of separation of the church and the political ideology—a process that shook France and Germany (*Kulturkampf*) at the turn of the century, had a significant impact on Croatian politics. The absence of a liberal regime (from the local administration to the school system) produced a religious-national variant of Croatian nationalism under the patronage of clerical circles assembled around the Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Vienna. The whole clerical movement failed to take root within official politics only because of the narrow franchise which assured majority to the supporters of Yugoslav unity in Croatia-Slavonia (The Croato-Serb Coalition).

Croatian political leadership, aside from the unitarian elite from Dalmatia, accepted the unification of Yugoslavia in 1918 as a transitional solution only. Feeling the threat of Italian interests, left unfulfilled in the wake of the new state, Croats saw the new Yugoslav state as something of a guarantor of its own national interests, above all those in Dalmatia. But there was much that left the broad populace completely dissatisfied.

The first decade after the unification in 1918, was marked by a secular variant of mass nationalism of Croats led by Stjepan Radić. His party, the Croatian Peasant Party, functioned as a typical national movement, nurtured by the frustration of

unfulfilled demands for national sovereignty. Not only was Belgrade the new political center and was, moreover, closely interconnected with the Serbian dynasty privileged to rule over the new country, but the whole political arrangement smacked of the frustrating struggles which Croats had conducted in the Dual Monarchy at the end of the nineteenth century. Then it was Budapest playing the main tune, squashing the political will of Zagreb. Now, however, there was a decisive difference for Belgrade could not act as Budapest once did. This was a classical case of peripheral reaction, which only in a struggle against the center renews its strength and its identity. As the Serbian national integration was checked, the Croats and the Slovenes received new impulses, because their nations in Yugoslavia, in contrast to Austria-Hungary, both had equal rights and were proportionally represented. Radić's successor Vladko Maček further strengthened nationalism by reinstating its confessional variant and opting for federal reorganization of the common state.[9]

In World War II, Croatian nationalism, while hardly very articulate or aggressive in the nineteenth century, burst forth with hitherto unequaled fury. It found its strongest and most effective ally in the Croatian Roman Catholic clergy which brought to the secular national movement in the homeland their own brand of religious exclusionism, intolerance, and a militant proselytizing thrust that were deemed necessary to create a religiously and racially pure Croatian state within "historical boundaries." Both Hitler's Berlin and Vatican Rome gave their blessing to Ante Pavelić's Independent State of Croatia (NDH) that was set up in 1941 and Pavelić's Ustashas conducted genocidal campaigns against the Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies until 1945. The most appalling crimes in the name of religious and racial purity, in which the Croatian Roman Catholic clergy and Pavelić's Ustashas collaborated, were directed against the Serbian Orthodox population. Although the sources on the actual numbers of Serbs who were victimized vary greatly, it is safe to say that at least a million Serbs of Croatia (and Bosnia) were victims of Croatian fascism. Of these, probably three-quarter million were murdered—in a fashion that even shocked and

revolted Pavelić's SS protectors—and the rest were forcibly converted, expelled, or deported. According to German and Italian sources—between 500,000 and 750,000 Orthodox Serbs were killed, further 240,000 were forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism (many of them were murdered afterwards), and over 180,000 of others were deported to Serbia.[10]

The Bosnian Case: Religion Before Nationalism

The Bosnian case was particularly complicated by the existence of three nationalities within its boundaries, the long traditions of Ottoman rule, the short but in many ways pernicious colonial rule of the Habsburgs, and the tenacious struggles of the Serbian nationals to establish close national links with their homeland, Serbia proper. If the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia were quite clear of where their allegiance should lie, the Bosnian Muslims were quite ambivalent about where their loyalties lay and what their true identity consisted of. The identity of Bosnian Muslims was oscillating between religious affiliation, Ottoman tradition, local identity and their Slavic, Serbo-Croat roots. After the Yugoslav unification in 1918, their allegiance torn between the Serbs and the Croats, the Bosnian Muslims collaborated closely with Belgrade as the strongest partner against Zagreb where their local identity was constantly challenged. The Bosnian Muslims moved more and more decisively in the direction of establishing a regional identification that was inseparable from their religious, that is, Muslim, affiliation.

World War II marked an important turning point. Aside from a small group of enlightened and tolerant middle-class intellectuals, who maintained their good will toward Belgrade, the majority of Bosnian Muslims, frustrated by an unfulfilled national identity, veered toward Croatian fascism with its pronouncements of racial, national, and religious purity and exclusionism. Bosnian Muslims finally established links primarily to the Ustashas who, following Starčević's theories, proclaimed them to be "the cream of the Croatian nobility." Many others joined the Bosnian Muslim militias which were formed on the model of the Croatian Ustashas and contained the infamous 13th SS (Handjar) division. With respect to their religious-national

fanaticism and the crimes committed against the Bosnian Serbian Orthodox population, the Bosnian Muslims lagged little behind the Croatian Ustashas. In Bosnia too, the conflict widened into a civil and religious war, with the fascist Croatian and Muslim forces on the one side and the royalist Yugoslav Home Army of General Dragoljub Draža Mihailović linked to the exiled royal government in London (*dražinovci*) and independent loyalist forces (the chetniks) on the other. In this way, the nationalism of Croats and Bosnian Muslims, having experienced frustration in the past half century, went into its most extreme form; Croat and Bosnian SS-type fascists unloaded their genocidal fury against the group—the Serbs—they thought were responsible for all the frustrations of an unfulfilled nationalism.[11]

The Communist Solution

In 1945, with the decisive support of Stalin's Red Army, Yugoslavia was reestablished as a communist federation along the lines of Lenin's Soviet centralism. Josip Broz Tito, the former communist partisan leader, spearheaded the communist movement for a Yugoslav federation, finding popular support for it primarily in the anti-fascist ranks of the Serbs in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Krajina. They in particular had suffered the ravages of the Croatian and Muslim Ustashas. Attracted to the new egalitarian utopia as propounded by Moscow, traditionally the protector of the Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans, the Serbs saw in communism with its ideology of "brotherhood and unity" the potential for renewing King Alexander's policy of national unity and for preserving the Yugoslav national state. To the Serbs, the restoration of Yugoslavia meant that the majority of their nation would again be part of a single state. To the Croats who became communists or collaborated with the communist partisan, the restored Yugoslavia meant a federation, allowing Croatia its own statehood and even promoting the fulfilment of its national vision. With respect to the international significance, the Second Yugoslavia was considered (as was the First) a geopolitical necessity created to fit into the postwar European order.

The first two decades of the Second Yugoslavia were marked by the communist leadership consolidating its absolute

power (bureaucratic centralism, 1945-1966). In this period, Tito relied heavily on the Serbian cadres (headed by Aleksandar Ranković), who had been his collaborators in emerging victorious from the preceding civil war. The centralism pursued by Tito had several aims. Above all, it negated the the national and political integralism of the inter-war period. In the end, the expectations of the non-Serbian nations, the new republics of the federation and least of all those of the Serbs, were not fulfilled. Tito's rigidly centralized system prevented any discussion of the genocide perpetrated against the Serbs in the early 1940s, and also undermined the position of the Serbs as the strongest national component in the multi-national Yugoslavia. To the communists, including those who were Serbian, the Serbs were a nation that professed loyalty to its own dynasty and always strove for a "Greater Serbian hegemony," which allegedly oppressed all other nations and national minorities within Yugoslavia. By an ironic twist, if the pre-war Kingdom of Yugoslavia was based on the principle that the Serbian nation was the pillar of the common state, the communist federation was organized around the opposite of this principle, namely, that the Serbs were the biggest obstacles to a federated Yugoslavia.

In order to achieve an ethnic balance in communist Yugoslavia directed against the numerical preponderance of Serbs, after seizing power Tito legalized the creation of new nations. The Macedonians were the first to receive this new status of a nation which was based on alleged common linguistic criteria. Then came the Montenegrins, who had a tradition of statehood. In 1968 and 1971, the Bosnian Muslims were finally declared a nation whose national identity was predicated on the common bond of religion. Tito's system of republics was based less on ethnic criteria and historical precedents, although these counted also, and more on a mixture of certain vestiges of colonial times and internal administrative divisions of different party commitees recently created by fiat. Tito himself liked to talk of the boundaries within the republics as merely being lines drawn on granite that served to bond together the nations and national minorities of Yugoslavia. Only much later, Tito's former collaborator and later his most vociferous opponent, the dissident

Milovan Djilas, admitted in 1971 a different reason for the internal administrative division of the Serbs in five out of the six federal republics. To scatter Serbs among the republics in this way was Tito's avowed aim in order to undermine their "centralism and hegemonism" as a major "obstacle" to the establishment and triumph of communism in Yugoslavia.[12]

The Leninist type of centralism with prevailing powers of the federation, was finally abandoned in 1966. If in the twenty years after the communist take-over the Serbs had cherished Yugoslavism as the highest expression of the unity of state and nation, the non-Serbian nations of Yugoslavia saw it as a crypto-unitarian ideology that masked the real aims of a "Greater Serbia." Croatian federalist aspirations (harkening even to the time of the Dual Monarchy) and communist aims from the time of the Comintern, all with a decided anti-Serbian edge, eventually propelled Tito's Yugoslavia into the direction of a system of national communism. Pushing for a new constitution after 1966, Tito succeeded in having his constitutional amendments accepted between 1968 and 1978. With the completion and acceptance of the new Yugoslav Constitution in 1974, the Titoist system, designed by the Slovenian Edvard Kardelj, had reached its final stage, that of national communism. With this system, it was the republican and provincial *nomenklatura* of the communist parties that became the bearers of national, that is, republican and state, sovereignty.[13]

Yugoslavia's National Communism

According to Kardelj's principal pre-World War II study (The Development of the Slovenian National Question, supplemented by new chapters in 1958), Yugoslavia was a conditional alliance which the Slovenes had entered because it fully protected their interests and made possible their unhindered development. The never uttered, but implied conclusion was that it is possible to leave, at one's own will, such a conditional alliance when it was no longer needed. In his criticism of bureaucratic centralism, which was to become the official state ideology after 1966, Kardelj warned about its connection with "Greater Serbian hegemonism," condemned the attempts at creating a "Yugoslav

nation" and warned that this was only a trap set by "the remnants of Greater Serbian nationalism."[14]

Kardelj had the distinction of being not only the major theorist of the Yugoslav system of self-management, but also the author of Yugoslavia's various constitutions, including the longest (it contained 406 articles) and final Constitution of 1974. From a legal perspective, this Constitution, which granted the prerogative of statehood to the six republics of the Yugoslav federation, was also the world's most confusing document of its kind. A teacher by profession, Kardelj imposed his own vision of the nation state as an autarchic community on his creation of a Yugoslav federal system as well as the economic system of self-management. Kardelj's vision reflected the narrow horizons of a self-sufficient alpine village in the middle of Slovenia, with far-reaching, and devastating, effects for the future of Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Constitution defined Yugoslavia as a loose federation, actually more as a confederation, that was united only because of the iron authority Tito exercised over it. National homogeneity, based on the system of national communism installed in the republics, became the *sine qua non* of their internal order. There had also been efforts to create something on the order of mini-nation states within the republics (in the case of Kosovo-Methohija, within provincial boundaries), which were considered as "mother states" of the majority nations. This marked the beginning of ethnic, as well as religious discrimination of the minority nations within a particular federal, that is republican, or provincial entity. In Croatia, for example, in the late 1960s a large and aggressive national movement (*maspok*) came into being, recalling the features of that of two decades before when nothing less than a politically, religiously, and ethnically pure nation satsified Croatian nationalists. In multiethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina this ideology went in the direction of the tacit creation of the nation-state of Bosnian Muslims. In the southern Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija the installation of the 1974 Constitution marked the beginning of the Muslim Albanian claim to an ethnically pure national state.

Precisely in those mini-states, in accordance with Tito's and Kardelj's constitutional structure, the Serbs became the object of

open or indirect discrimination. The purpose in creating a series of mini-nations—excepting, of course, Serbia, which was deprived of control over her two provinces—was transparent. In Yugoslavia, the Serbs were numerically the largest and most widespread population group. Historically, they had settled on the largest territorial sections of what later became the federated nation state of Yugoslavia. This fact, of course, was perceived by the other South Slav nations as a real or potential threat to their national goals. The majority rule, rejected as "Serbian hegemonism" on the federal level, became the accepted model within the communist republics.

To undermine this alleged Serbian hegemony and domination, Tito imposed a constitutional arrangement on Yugoslavia which was the virtual mirror image of the old Austro-Hungarian formula of a multi-national state. The major difference lay in the fact that Tito's internal organization was placed within the rigidly ideological framework of national communism, which—however repressive and intolerant the Habsburgs may have been toward their nationalities—was not a conceivable solution in the old Dual Monarchy. But Tito, a Croat by origin, was able to subject the Serbs to an arrangement which the Habsburgs finally failed to achieve, namely reduce their territorial boundaries according to what was acceptable to the powers that be and, at the same time, deprive them of all constitutional and political rights in those regions, for example, Kosovo-Metohija or Krajina, in which they lived for centuries and which were their rightful homelands. In sum, the boundaries of the 1974 constitutional settlement differed only in small degree from those approved by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.[15]

The Constitution of 1974 established—to say the least—a most precarious balance between the Yugoslav nationalities. Only a year after Tito's death in 1980, the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo challenged his arrangement, demanding what they considered to be their rightful prerogative, the status of a republic. As such, of course, Kosovo would also have the right to secede from the Yugoslav federation. For years, the Albanian majority in Kosovo-Metohija had already been using the prerogatives granted them by Tito's Constitution to strengthen their collective rights and,

more importantly, to deprive the Serbian minority—step by step —of their civil, political-constitutional, and often human rights.

In Kosovo-Metohija, ideology of national communism manifested to the extreme the anti-liberal and anti-democratic logic of national emancipation. The separatist movement of Kosovo-Metohija's ethnic Albanians, claiming to be acting in accordance with the rights and privileges inscribed in Tito's constitutional arrangement, directed its fury against the Serbian minority, which had no adequate constitutional-political protection in its very own homeland. The force used against Albanian extremists by the federal police was but a token force, and the internal purges in the republic and the provinces did nothing to rectify the uneven national-constitutional balance within the federation.

Nevertheless, the Albanian separatist movement unleashed a domino effect over Yugoslavia as a whole. It first called forth a fierce Serbian reaction, in the form of a massive ethnic mobilization for the protection of the Kosovo Serbs. The Serbian move, in turn, provoked the other Yugoslav nations to further mobilize forces against the Serbs. Yugoslavia was teetering on the brink of a civil and religious conflagration even before the outbreak of the war in 1992. In this way, the Titoist order, designed above all to nip the alleged hegemonial aims of Serbian nationalists in the bud, called forth exactly those nationalist reactions it had tried to prevent. In the end, the fundamentally inequitable and illiberal order of Tito was destroyed by its very own logic.[16]

Thus, a major reason for Yugoslavia's disintegration can be found in the Titoist solution to the national question. Instead of true liberal reforms, which the constitutional reform movement in the late 1960s allegedly introduced, Kardelj imposed on Yugoslavia an illiberal ideology of national communism. As a result, nationalist *nomenklaturas*, more often than not giving mere lip service to the communist ideology, proclaimed themselves as the sole protectors of "national" interests. In reality, they manipulated them to their own advantage. This was especially the case with the establishment of the neo-communist regime of Slobodan Milošević in 1989. National-communism was finally established

in Serbia in 1989 by Milošević, almost two decades later than in the other republics. Continually playing on the national frustrations of Serbs, primarily the unresolved antagonisms they experienced as minorities in the various republics, the Milošević regime instrumentalized the old communist ideology while, at the same time, challenging the (Yugoslav) house that Tito had built. Clearly, by adhering to communism at the very moment it collapsed in both the Soviet bloc and the Soviet Union itself, Milošević only fueled and legitimized the demands for secession in the Yugoslav republics. The *nomenklatura* of the early nineties, although—with the exception of those in Serbia and Montenegro —democratically elected and formally non-communist were hardly promoting democratic and human rights. The old logic of national communism, as had always been in practice, was still firmly in place. Giving precedence to their own nationality, of course, the *nomenklatura* in the various republics readily lent their support to the rising nationalist demands in the regions they administered. Coupled with increasing ethnic discrimination against minority groups within the individual Yugoslav republics and provinces, the various separatist-nationalist demands in the late eighties and early nineties remained unchecked by the ruling elites, the *nomenklatura*, who themselves had not yet shed their illiberal, undemocratic, and dictatorial communist guise. Following the old logic of national communism their support of the rapid radicalization of the national mobilization was followed by the rising ethnic discrimination and finally produced the primitive reproductions of 19th century nationalism, now imbued with communist intolerance. With uncostrained nationalist demands and with inter-ethnic tensions swinging out of control, the Second Yugoslavia was thus set on a path that inexorably led to its dissolution and disintegration.

Thus far, Europe and the west have paid little heed to the shattering historical experience of the First and Second Yugoslavia as a multi-national state, in which the combination of frustrated nationalism and an illiberal political order led to brutal civil war. The old communist or undemocratic forces, even if occasionally condemned, are receiving renewed support from the West, and many of the old nationalist dissatisfactions—not only

in Kosovo-Metohija—continue to defy solution. But if there is anything to be learned from Serbia's and Yugoslavia's historical past it is precisely the fact that without the resolution of national grievances and without the introduction of a democratic order there will never be a stable peace in the region. It is the most potent and the most urgent lesson we can learn from Yugoslavia's long past of a frustrated nationalism.

---

[1] While there is a considerable general literature on the formation of the Yugoslav nation state, the more specific issues surrounding nationalism in Yugoslavia before and after it became a state are still not researched well. For the general literature and further discussion see: D. T. Bataković, Yougoslavie. *Nations, Religions, Ideologies*, Lausanne, L'Age d'Homme 1994.

[2] D.T. Bataković, "Ilija Garašanin's Načertanije. A Reassessment," *Balcanica* (Belgrade 1994), pp. 157-183.

[3] On Pašić's ideology: Dj. Dj. Stanković, *Nikola Pašić i jugoslovensko pitanje* (vol. 1-2, Beograd: BIGZ), 1985.

[4] S. K. Pavlowitch, *The Improbable Survivor. Yugoslavia and its Problems* (London: Hurst & Co), 1988. On Croat concepts see: M. Stefanovski, *Ideja Hrvatskog državnog prava i stvaranje Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Agencija Draganić), 1995.

[5] Lj. Boban, *Sporazum Cvetković-Maček*, Beograd 1965, p. 142 *passim*; see also original documents in: B. Petranović-M. Zečević, *Jugoslovenski federalizam. Ideje i stvarnost*, vol. I (1914-1941) (Beograd: Prosveta), 1987.

[6] On Štrossmayer: V. Krestić, "Jugoslovenske ideje J.J. Strosmajera," *Istorijski glasnik*, Beograd 1969; P. Korunić, *Jugoslavizam i federalizam u hrvatskom nacionalnom preporodu 1835-1875* (Zagreb: Globus), 1989.

[7] R. Lovrenčić, *Geneza politike "novog kursa" Zagreb*, Institut za hrvatsku povijest 1972.

[8] A. Starčević, *Politički spisi* (izbor i predgovor T. Ladan) (Zagreb: Matica Htrvatska), 1971.

[9] Lj. Boban, *Maček i politika Hrvatske seljačke stranke 1928-1941*, vol. 1-2 (Zagreb: Liber), 1974; B. Gligorijević, "Jugoslovenstvo izmedju dva rata," *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis*, 1-4, Beograd, 1986, pp. 71-97.

[10] The German evaluations in: H. Neubacher, *Sonderauftrag Sudost 1940-1945. Berichte eines fliegenden Diplomaten*, Goettingen: Musterschmidt 1956. General account in: E. Paris, *Genocide in Satellite Croatia 1941-1945. A Record of Racial and Religious Persecutions and Massacres* (Chicago: American Institute for Balkan Affairs), 1961. See also Jonathan Steinberg, *All Or Nothing. The Axis and the Holocaust 1941-1945* (London: Routledge), 1990, which, although it doesn't deal specifically with the Croatian ustashas, documents in important ways their particular vehemence and brutality against the Serbian population.

[11] E. Redžić, *Muslimansko autonomaštvo i 13 SS divizija. Autonomija Bosne i Hercegovine i Hitlerov Treći Rajh* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost), 1987. On the Muslim question in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Second World War: A. Popović, *Les musulmans yougoslaves. Mediateurs et metaphores* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme), 1990.

[12] See interview of Djilas given to: "Le Monde," Paris, December 30, 1971.

[13] B. Gligorijević, *Kominterna, jugoslovensko i srpsko pitanje* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju), 1992; D. T. Bataković, "Nationalism and Communism: The Yugoslav Case," *Serbian Studies*, vol. 1-2, Washington 1995, pp. 29-45.

[14] E.Kardelj, *Razvoj slovenačkog nacionalnog pitanja*, Beograd, Komunist 1973, pp. XXX-XXXVIII.

[15] S. Jovanović, *Jedan prilog za izučavanje srpskog nacionalnog karaktera* (Windsor, Canada), 1961, p. 31.

[16] For Kosovo, cf. D.T. Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles* (Belgrade: Plato), 1992; idem, *Kosovo. La spirale de la haine* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme), 1993.

SERBIAN FUNERAL COMMEMORATIONS IN HUNGARY

Kristina R.H. Rusnik

Zadušnica and *ružičalo* are two traditional religious customs among the Serbs in Hungary. There are about ten thousand Serbs living in Hungary today. Half of them are first or second generation immigrants, but the other half are the descendants of immigrants from before the 18th century.[1] I will be discussing the descendants of these earlier immigrants, in the villages of Budakalász, Pomáz and Csobanka, thirty kilometers north of Budapest on the western side of the Danube. My investigation took place during a Fulbright research grant (1993-1994), as I examined the revival of Serbian national identity after the end of communism in Hungary.

The Serbs have a strong ethnic identity even though their ancestors have lived in Hungary for three hundred years. For example, almost everyone who claims Serbian nationality is fluent in Serbian, and the Serbian-language newspaper has the largest percentage of readers for any of Hungary's fourteen minority groups. Serbs also actively preserve their religious identity, and have even revived religious customs that were abandoned under communism. The Serbs were at risk of assimilation during the communist period. They were a small scattered group which was viewed with suspicion during the Hungarian-Yugoslavian tensions in the 1950s. Also, Hungarians grouped them with the Croats, ten times their number, as "Southern Slavs." For those who had not assimilated, demands for separate recognition in the last few years has brought an increase in Serbian cultural expressions.

Some factors contributing to Serbian unity are a well-developed national church, a strong family network, and the use of the Serbian language. The Serbian Orthodox church helps affirm Serbian personal identity by utilizing Serbian in the liturgy, offering children religious instruction, honoring uniquely Serbian saints and customs, and serving as a local gathering

place. It encourages Serbs of all ages to participate in its calendar of rituals, providing them with a social as well as a spiritual center and reminding them of their past. Serbs' families and homes also provide constant affirmation of identity by the practice of rituals such as the St. Ivan's wreath, Yule log and *slava*.

One expression of identity that combines the elements of religion, family and historical tradition is tied to two Orthodox death rituals. These rituals are *zadušnica*, to commemorate the deaths of family members, and *ružičalo*, an Easter ritual also in honor of the dead. I believed that the rituals were a good way to judge the strength of Serbian identity because they are public demonstrations of Orthodoxism in a situation where the majority groups (Hungarians and Croats) are traditionally Catholic.

These rituals are known throughout eastern Europe. Bjelorussians observe four yearly *zadušnice*, which they call *dziady*: on St. Dimitri's eve, the Saturday before Lent, and Saturday before Whitsunday. The spring *dziady*, *radunica*, resembles *ružičalo*, with Easter eggs and feasts on graves sites.[2] Russian rites, *pominki*, are similar to the Bjelorussians' and are also held on Dimitri's day (called *roditelskiye suboty*, parental Saturday), Lent (*navskiy velikiden*, the great death day) and Whitsun (*semik*, Whitsunday). The Bulgarians, who share the term *zadušnica* with the Serbs, celebrate on the same days as the Russians and Bjelorussians.[3] The Bulgarian custom requires women to take *koljivo* and wine to the cemetery on the fortieth day after burial. After incensing the food they make a small hole in the grave and put food there for the soul of the dead relative, *za dušnica*. Bosnian Moslems perform a version of *zadušnica* with prayers for the dead on the fortieth day, at six months and on the one year anniversary of a death; though they do not distribute food they give alms to the poor.[4] Romanians in eastern Transylvania also have Easter cemetery feasting traditions, as do Catholic Croats in Slavonia and Turks in the Razgrad district of Bulgaria. In Hungary, the Catholic Sokác and Rác Slavic groups observe these rites as well, but the Croats and Hungarians do not. This means that the performance of *ružičalo* and *zadušnica* is a demonstration of Serbs' uniqueness from the larger groups that were assimilating them.

Two ritual objects play a role in the observance of the ceremonies. *Koljivo*, which is sometimes called *žito* ('wheat'), is a decorated unbaked cake made of specially prepared wheat, walnuts, sugar and honey. The name signifies something ritually slaughtered with a knife, so *koljivo* symbolically replaces the pre-Christian blood sacrifice. It is usually made by several older women working together. The Sunday before the ceremony is to be performed, the cooks wash wheat grains, roll them and set them to dry for several days. They are boiled until they turn white and are washed again. In Serbia itself the wheat is also ground, an innovation which the Serbs in northern Hungary adopted around 1945. It is then mixed with sugar, ground walnuts and sometimes raisins. To make *koljivo* in honor of a dead relative, the cook pours honey into a cross shape on a plate, then heaps the wheat mixture onto it. She decorates it with blanched almonds, sugar cubes and another cross of honey on top. The belief is that the soul of the relative will taste the honey (*da liže mrtvac*, that the dead may lick it) during the service. Wheat in the Slavic belief system symbolizes death and resurrection, and in this instance the boiled wheat also symbolizes the suffering and redemption of Christian martyrs. The mound shape symbolizes the crown of the Virgin Mary as the empress of heaven.[5] *Koljivo* is such an important element in the ritual that in Pomáz the entire feast is called *koljivo* instead of the more common term *parastos* (requiem).[6]

Decorated eggs are an integral part of Orthodox Easter. Though Hungarian Serbs do not decorate eggs with the batik techniques (*pysanky*) common throughout the Slavic peoples, communities do have clear preferences in the way they decorate Easter eggs. Red is the preferred color in Pomáz and Csobánka. About half the Easter eggs I saw in Budakalász were dyed solid orange, brown or red. The others were the same colors, but had foliage patterns which are made by tying leaves to the eggs before dyeing them. Though leaf patterns are also done by Hungarians, it does not mean the person decorating the egg is expressing a different ethnic affiliation. It is only a matter of personal preference and perhaps a desire to make a more beautiful Easter egg. Two families did not keep with the village

tradition regarding color. The Dimitrov family, of Bulgarian, Serb and Hungarian background, used blue dye and the Knezović family used violet. I also noticed an exception to the traditional kind of egg. Zinaida Mičakova, one of the nine Red Army soldiers from World War II buried in Budakalász, was commemorated with a chocolate egg wrapped in red foil as well as the traditional red hen's egg. I could not discover the meaning of this innovation, but I believe that even after forty years someone in Budakalász remembers she liked candy.

Zadušnica is a family ritual to commemorate the death of a family member. The day before the first *zadušnica* is performed, the family takes *koljivo* to church to be consecrated, then they go to the cemetery to inform the dead person that he or she will be memorialized with *koljivo*. This ritual is *javiti mrtvacu*, 'advising the dead.' *Zadušnice* are done at forty days (*četrdesetnica*), six months (*polugodnica*) and at the one year anniversary (*godnica*) of the death. The *četrdesetnica* observance reflects the Slavic belief that a soul remains on earth for forty days, traveling to the places on earth the person visited in life before going to Jerusalem and entering heaven. After the year of mourning has passed the family does not perform the *zadušnice* that are calculated from the date of death.

Zadušnice are also done as community memorials for the dead at specific times of the year. These *zadušnice* are part of the ecclesiastical calendar, usually observed on the Saturdays before Lent, Whitsun and Dimitrije's day (26 October/8 November) in Pest county. In Szőreg the Serbs celebrate the Saturday before Mihail's day (8/21 November) instead of Dimitrije's day, and some communities have a Spasovdan (10/23 May) celebration.[7] For these community *zadušnice* the family goes to church with a basket of ritual food, including *koljivo* which they put on a table before the altar. They put a candle on the *koljivo*, to burn throughout the church ceremony for the peace of the soul, *za dušu gori*. The Gospel is read, then the priest reads all the names of the family's dead members from a special book, *čitulja*, and incenses the *koljivo*. After this, the members of the congregation eat some of the *koljivo* which is offered by each bereaved family. The priest blesses the baskets of food which will be eaten as a

kind of sacrifice for the dead person's soul (*uspokoj duša*). After eating a special meal at home, the family takes the basket to the cemetery. Along the way they distribute food to everyone they meet and ask them to eat it in memory of the souls of their relatives, saying *Bog da joj/mu dušu prosti*, may God have mercy on her/his soul. In areas of Serbia where the cult of the dead is stronger, the *zadušnica* observance before Lent is so important that the entire week is given to the ceremony and called *zadušna nedjelja*, the week of souls.

Zadušnica customs vary in each community. Some families do not visit the cemetery, some do not attend the church service and go directly to the cemetery. In some communities the participants go in procession from the church to the cemetery, while Budakaláz and Pomáz have no processions. In Baranya county in southern Hungary, Serb families observe *zadušnice* four times a year and the priest blesses the graves with wine.[8] In Budakalász they observe *zadušnica* only once, forty days after a death.

Ružičalo is another feasting ritual for the dead, but it focuses on the cemetery instead of the church. Like *zadušnice*, there is a special church service, where the priest reads the names of the dead, followed by a procession to the cemetery. In the cemetery the priest goes from group to group, reciting prayers at the grave side in the presence of the dead person's family. Families visit graves, light candles, and offer a decorated egg and food from a specially prepared basket in memory of their relatives. Participants honor their closest relatives first, then visit the graves of more distant relations until they have lit candles for each member of the family. Again, there are local variations of the custom. Observations before World War I recorded that a woman or a girl from every household went to the cemetery on Easter Monday for *ružičalo*. Wine was poured on the graves and, in many communities, neighbors gathered to put tablecloths and food on the graves. Since mass began at nine o'clock and *ružičalo* ended before two o'clock the priest had to hurry to fulfill all obligations.[9]

Serbs in Pomáz observe *ružičalo* on Easter Monday. After the church service they go in procession to the cemetery, singing *Voskresenije tvoje*, and gather at the main cross, meeting those

who did not attend the church service. They also leave the cemetery together, singing *Hristos voskrese*.[10] Budakalász has its celebration *ružičalo* the next Monday, in Dunaújváros two weeks after Easter, and in Baranya county the observation is held the Tuesday after Easter. The materials used in the ritual also vary in different communities. In Budakalász the priest uses holy water to make the cross on the graves; in some other villages, like Hercegszantó, the priest uses holy oil and wine as the Bulgarians do. Though the Budakalász Serbs do not observe the feasting aspect of the ritual, in Százhalombatta the families lay out ritual food on their relatives' graves. Százhalombatta Serbs also pour an entire bottle of wine onto the head of the grave. The variations in the day and the methods of observation reflect the customs in the parts of Serbia from which the Hungarian Serbs originated. This is another indication of strong family continuity with their places of origin.

In Pest County, where I made the majority of my observations, *ružičalo* is called *mrtvima uskrs*, 'the Easter of the dead.' Pomáz celebrates it the week after Budakalász, though the communities are only five kilometers apart. Many families have relatives buried in both cemeteries, so a few Pomáz graves had been visited on the day Budakalász observes *ružičalo*. In Pomáz several graves had candles on them, but most had not been lighted, or had burned only for a few moments. This deviates from the traditional demand that candles burn throughout the service. Still, since there was no service, it was better to symbolically light a candle than to leave it burning unattended and risk a brush fire. I found only one grave in Pomáz that had been marked with an Easter egg, for Svetozar Abžić, who died 40 years ago. There was a single indication of the traditional feast for the dead: the grave of Arsenije Karić (1915-1993) held a bottle with red wine.

The ceremony in Budakalász was performed on both Sunday and Monday instead of just the traditional Monday; the Sunday observation allowed working people to satisfy their familial obligations. The Orthodox section of the Budakalász cemetery contains five hundred burials with three hundred fifty gravestones. This section, which covers the western side of the

cemetery, is visible not only from the main road but also to travellers on the inter-urban railway (HÉV) which has a station one hundred yards away. The route from the church, Sv. Gavril, to the cemetery is also along the main road. About forty people attended the Monday ceremony, of the hundred Serbs who live in the village (population 8,000). Participants stood by their families' graves while the parish priest, Father Jovan Božić, blessed the graves with incense and holy water, and recited prayers beginning with the traditional Easter hymn *Hristos voskrese.* Formerly, children and poor people who were not Serbs visited the cemetery for the food and drink which participants distributed as part of the ritual. The Serbs would remain in the cemetery all afternoon, visiting friends and eating lunch which they spread on the graves. This part of the observance is no longer being performed. In 1994 I saw the Serbs burn candles and place colored eggs on the graves, but they went home for lunch after the religious part of *ružičalo* instead of remaining to eat in the cemetery. I was the only non-Serb attending, there were only a few traditional covered baskets and I saw no food for the ritual feasting. However, one old woman took me to the graves of her mother and grandmother and gave me ritual bread, so I was able to feast in their memory. This was the only demonstration of feasting I saw during the ritual.

After observing *ružičalo* in Budakalász, and investigating *ružičalo* and *zadušnica* observances in other communities, I was reassured that the Serbs are experiencing a cultural renaissance which allows them to proudly assert their identity. They do not conceal it, which they were often compelled to do as part of the communist ideal of internationalism. The death rituals combine the elements of religion, tradition and family continuity to give the Serbs in Hungary a sense of ethnic identity that is intensifying and will certainly endure.

---

[1] Serbs first entered Hungarian territory in the late 14th century, with a large influx in 1426. The oldest Serb settlement in contemporary Hungary is Kevevar/Kövinvára, founded around 1410; the inhabitants later founded Kiskeve, now Ráckeve (Srpski Kovin) on Csepel Island. Turkish advances into Serbian territory in the 15th and 16th centuries

caused many smaller influxes.

The Habsburg-Ottoman wars in the late 17th century led to the most important Serbian immigration. The Habsburg Emperor Leopold I invited the Christian inhabitants of Albania, Serbia, Macedonia, Moesia, Bulgaria, Silistria, Illyria and Rascia to support the Habsburg forces, offering freedom of religion, local autonomy and exemption from taxes (see László Hadrovics, *L'Église Nationale Serbe aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles*, (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France), 1943, pp. 43-44 and László Hadrovics, *Vallás, egyház, nemzettudat (A szerb egyház nemzeti szerepe a török uralom alatt)*, (Budapest: Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Szláv Filológiai Tanszéke és Román Filológiai Tanszéke), 1991, p. 85). Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević of Peć and his parishioners supported Austria in the hope of gaining an autonomous Serbian state. When the Habsburg army retreated the Serbs withdrew with it even though the Ottomans promised no reprisals. The evacuation included the Patriarch, five bishops, seven monastery abbots and eleven military captains. Between 100,000 and 200,000 Serbs crossed the Danube. Though most remained in the Vojvodina, some families continued north until they reached the Szentendre area. About one thousand Serbian families settled Szentendre, while 600 families repopulated the desolate Tabán district below the castle hill in Buda; smaller numbers went to Pomáz, Csobánka and Érd; the total was 24,000. Szentendre was the religious center for the Serbs in the Buda and Pest region, seat of the Patriarch and housing relics of Prince/Saint Lazar and Despot Djordje Branković (see Vladimir Dedijer, et al., *History of Yugoslavia*, (New York: McGraw-Hill), 1974, p. 212; Mària Kiss, "Contribution à L'étude des Coutumes de Noël des Serbes de Pomáz," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16 (1-2) 1967: 161-180; Djuro Šarošac, *Južnih Slaveni u Madžarskoj. Etnografija Južnih Slavena u Madžarskoj*, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1977, p. 22).

During the June 1690 national assembly the Serbs drafted a list of conditions under which they would settle in Hungary. The list included demands for religious autonomy; the right of the Patriarch to choose the metropolitan, bishops, priests and military leaders; exemption from Habsburg taxation; and the right to elect the *vojvod*. The Serbs had held all of these rights in the Ottoman Empire. At the time, Hungary had an estimated population of only 2.5 million and needed colonists to reestablish its economy and contribute to its defense. Leopold, delighted with the prospect of settling a body of loyal soldiers, craftsmen and merchants in what he considered royal lands, agreed to Serb demands and granted a patent on 21 August 1690. They also

retained the right to elect archbishops "*ex natione et lingua Rasciana*," a right the Serbs held within the Orthodox church since 1219. The Hungarian nobility and clergy did not welcome this large group of Orthodox Slavs who demanded privileges the Hungarians had not been consulted upon. This led to tension and mistrust between Serbs and Hungarians, even though the Serbs did not view their sojourn in Hungary as permanent and expected to return home when the Habsburg army had defeated the Turks. Leopold shared this belief, pledging to help them return to Old Serbia. Arsenije III wrote a letter in October 1705 requesting Russian military intervention in the Turkish wars to liberate Old Serbia, but eventually the Serbs realized they would not return to southern Serbia and set about making a permanent home in Hungary (See Dinko Davidov, *Spomenici Budimske eparhije*, (Beograd: Balkanološki Institut), 1990, p. 108; Danilo Urosevics, Danilo, *A magyarországi délszlávok története*, (Budapest: A Hazafias Népfront Országos Tanácsa és a Magyarországi Délszlávok Demokratikus Szövetsége), 1969, pp. 40-42; Nicholai Velimirovich, *The Life of St. Sava*, (Crestwood: St. Vladimir Seminary Press), 1989; and Yovan Radonitch, *Historie des Serbes de Hongrie*, (Paris: Bloud et Gay), 1919.

[2] Jan Máchal, "Slavic Mythology" in *Vampires of the Slavs*, Jan L. Perkowski, (Slavica Publishers: Cambridge, 1976), 19-75, pp. 27-28.

[3] Jan Máchal, "Slavic Mythology" in *Vampires of the Slavs*, Jan L. Perkowski, (Slavica Publishers: Cambridge, 1976), 19-75, p. 29.

[4] Mária Kiss, "The Funeral Commemoration Festivals of the Serbs Living in the Neighborhood of Buda," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1-2) 1976: 139-160, p. 155.

[5] Paul Pavlovich, *The History of the Serbian Orthodox Church*, (Toronto: Serbian Heritage Books), 1989, p. 30.

[6] Mária Kiss, "The Funeral Commemoration Festivals of the Serbs Living in the Neighborhood of Buda," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1-2) 1976: 139-160, p. 142.

[7] Op. cit., p. 143.

[8] György Sarosácz, "Baranyai délszláv népszokások III: Karácsonyi, lakodalmi és temetkezési szokások a horvátoknál és szerbeknél," *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve*, 1970: 283-296, p. 294.

[9] Velimir Juga, *A magyar szent korona országaiban élő szerbek*, (Budapest: no publisher), 1913, p. 98.

[10] Mária Kiss, "The Funeral Commemoration Festivals of the Serbs Living in the Neighborhood of Buda," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1-2) 1976: 139-160, p. 146.

SERBIAN POETRY AND PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST*

Jelena Milojković-Djurić
The University of Texas, Austin

In Serbia, as well as in other countries around the world, unexpected encounters with the events of the holocaust continue to occur. During World War II, Serbia paid a heavy toll: more than 700,000 men, women and children perished in concentration camps of Jasenovac, Dachau and Matthausen, in addition to other infamous places of execution. The Serbian holocaust had its origin in the Nazi invasion and the subsequent installation of the fascist puppet regime in Croatia.[1]

Yet, the historical reality of the Holocaust and the depth of its consequences can never be fully recovered. The fragmentary remains of these events are repeatedly examined and interpreted aspiring to piece together the historic truth and safeguard the holocaust memory against oblivion.

The passage of time has not diminished the impact of these events: witness the new books written, conferences organized, numerous exhibits as well as Holocaust centers and museums opened to public viewing. In the late fall of 1996 an exhibit of War II documentation and photographs was organized by the Institute for Social Research in Hamburg. The exhibit was entitled "*Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*" (War of Annihilation. Crimes of the German Army 1941-1944). The exhibit toured major cities in Germany and created a heated and often controversial discussion, notably in Berlin and Bremen. In February of 1997, the exhibit reached Munich, stirring up loud opposition and street demonstrations by those doubting the authenticity of the documentation as well as intentions of the organizers.

---

* Paper presented at the conference *Unexpected Encounters with the Holocaust*, Texas A&M University and Texas Council for the Humanities, April 2-4, 1997.

The responses of German intellectuals pointed to the simplistic approach of the rowdy opposition unable to face the truth about the newly presented evidence. Subsequently, discussion about the consequences of World war II confronted misconceptions resulting from insufficient knowledge about the painful past.[2]

The exhibit managed to collect impressive documentary material pertaining to the role of German *Wehrmacht*. The exhibit showed that the Gestapo and the special SS units were not the only perpetrators of crimes against humanity nor the sole culprits: they had many willing helpers in the German army. The subsequent reexamination of the Holocaust instigated a revaluation and examination of the infamous past. While previous images marking the events of World War II presented already committed crimes of annihilation and piles of dead, lifeless bodies, the images of the perpetrators in the act of committing hideous crimes and execution were not widely known. The participation of the German army was suppressed although the shameful past was not completely forgotten.[3] By and large the soldiers serving in the German army were considered honorable men abiding by established military codes of behavior performing their duty. The exhibited documentation showed otherwise: many soldiers of the *Wehrmacht* took part in brutal executions of the civilian population. The exhibit showed photographs of Nazi soldiers during acts of torture and execution. The civilians, chosen at random, were often the victims of these crimes.

The memorial to the slain children in the town square of Kragujevac commemorated precisely such a tragic event. On one fateful day, on October 21, 1941, German soldiers entered a school in the township of Kragujevac. They interrupted the classes and marched the children to the courtyard: all the children above the age of nine were executed. Their teachers were excused, but they did not want to leave their frightened pupils, comforting them until the bullets silenced them all. In addition to the slain children, close to 6,000 citizens were rounded up and killed as well.[4]

These atrocious killings presented the established form of severe retribution aiming to instill fear and quell efforts of resistance fighters. In order to consolidate their occupation the

German occupiers decided to set a stern example by killing adult civilians and school children alike.

The distinguished poetess Desanka Maksimović (1898-1993), a teacher herself, wrote a poem commemorating the death of the innocent victims in Kragujevac. Maksimović's poetic message was often entwined with historic events aiming to remind her readers of the lessons that history may impart. Yet her poetic voice always remained her own distinguished by the limpid versification and compelling poetic imagery. Her poems exuded compassion for the one that bore the brunt of injustice seeking an end to the suffering. These deliberations were best expressed in her masterwork *Tražim pomilovanje* (I Ask for Clemency) published in 1964. A similar noble message was presented earlier in the poem "*Krvava bajka*" ("A Bloody Tale") commemorating the death of whole generations of children in Kragujevac.[5]

"A Bloody Tale"
It happened in the hills of Balkans
in a peasant land
a company of pupils
died the same day
a death of martyrs
All of them were born
in the same year,
their school days were the same
they attended
same celebrations
were immunized for same diseases
and all died the same day...
Fifty-five minutes
before their death
the little company
was seated in the pews
trying to solve
a difficult problem:
how much time
a pedestrian would need...
and so on

Their thoughts were filled
with same numbers
and their notebooks
with excellent and failing grades.
A handful of same dreams
and same secrets
patriotic and amorous
crumpled in their pockets.
And it seemed to all of them
that they would keep running
for a long time
under the sky's canopy
until all world's assignments
would be solved...
The whole rows of boys
joined hands and calmly
left the last school lesson
to their execution
as if death did not matter,
the rows of friends
entered the eternal refuge
at the same moment.[6]

Desanka Maksimović wrote another poem dedicated to the victims of Holocaust. While reading some notes about the victims and survivors of an unnamed concentration camp she came across the line: "*Dušica Stefanović, izlazi, bez stvari ...*" ("Dušica Stefanović came out carrying no belongings"). Maksimović was moved by the terseness of the statement which at the same time implied an ominous foreboding of a death sentence. The young woman whose name was called out was obviously instructed not to take any belongings. She would not need them anymore.

This line became the title of a poem. Desanka Maksimović tried to describe with great empathy the state of mind of this young woman. The few last steps before her demise must have been very hard to accomplish: the existential fear paralyzed her body and she could barely walk. Yet, Dušica Stefanović suddenly felt that it was important to preserve her human dignity in the

face of adversity and set an example of mind over body. This would make the same walk easier for the one that would follow in her footsteps, the fellow prisoners locked up in neighboring cells watching her departure:

"Dušica Stefanović came out carrying no belongings..."
One should move with a steady gait but the knees are weak
the whole being a huge void
all is mixed, turning gray,
What should I do, tell me my heart!
What should I think!
Pass with determination those who know
that tomorrow their own names will be called
help them to go to their death bravely...
But the feet seem to have grown roots in the soil
and still the eyes would rejoice at the ray of sun light
while observing her child as it grows.
She has to keep her head high
since even her native woods have eyes
as well as the land and lowly village cottages,
all fifteen millions of compatriots are watching her
and perhaps her little girl too...
She hears the voice of her father calling from afar the Carpaths:
'Daughter mine, you have grown to a hero's stature!'
And the child calling like a lark in the wheat field,
and the friends, the far away friends are cheering:
'The worst has past, do not disappoint us now...'
Twenty persons are going to die
some have blood on their face, some have tears that glisten
They are walking with heads held high
the few last steps on their native land.[7]

Over fifty years have passed from these tragic events and only a few survivors are left who have recorded their experiences of the horrors which had befallen them. The ones that have perished leaving no messages remained voiceless but not forgotten. The memory of their tragic odyssey was repeatedly scrutinized in the struggle against oblivion. New poetic renderings of

Holocaust memories helped to mediate the past: these new voices aimed to preserve the impact of injustices reverberating in the consciousness of young and old alike.

In 1941 Milena Miličić was only six years old when she first saw in the streets of Belgrade men and women wearing David's star on their hoods. She recalled her bleak childhood during World War II in several poems that she wrote recently as a mature adult. She felt that the time has come to record these difficult moments of her life's journey that left an indelible mark on her body and soul.

She herself was surprised at the reoccurrence of these memories that would suddenly engulf her mind. In a message to the author of these lines, Miličić wrote: "Perhaps when one is young, the memories are pushed away. But with the passage of time they resurface at times in a powerful manner." Such is the poem dedicated to an orphan that Miličić met at the difficult time of the German occupation in Belgrade:

An Orphan
There was a very sad boy
in my neighborhood—
he was always alone.
His clothes were shabby,
shoes filthy,
his hair was never combed.
He had the kind of sadness
in his eyes—so telling.
He would sit
on the edge of the street
and watch the cars go by.
His eyes were so distant,
sad, always full of tears
ready to cry.
Lonely
as if he didn't go to school,
as if he didn't have a friend
or mother, or brother and sister
to hear his sorrow.

He never said much.
I asked him once
if he lives here.
Yes, he said—there;
with my mother, brother and sister.
Then he would leave
without saying good bye.
Then I didn't see him
for a while.
One day my old neighbor said
He died;
he lived in that house
with an older lady
who took pity on him,
I wish I knew more of him,
to talk to him
and help him suffer his sorrow,
to hug him hard
and wash his hair.
It's been so long ago
I do not know why I still
think of him.[8]

All these poetic offerings lent their own voices to the voiceless victims perpetuating the memory of the holocaust and the impact on the survivors of the tragic losses of young and old lives alike.

The sculptors and painters recorded in a powerful way the memory of the Holocaust. Vida Jočić was incarcerated in Ausschwitz and subsequently in Ravensbruck in 1942. She remained imprisoned for three years until the liberation in 1945. She was born in 1921 in Skoplje, and emigrated to Serbia as a refugee in 1941 right after the outbreak of World War II in Yugoslavia. She was only 21 years old when she became a prisoner in a concentration camp.[9]

I met Vida Jočić for the first time in her atelier in the early 1960s. I was moved by her sculptures portraying the brutality of concentration camps reducing the victims to shadows of their former selves. Vida Jočić had sadness in her eyes, a frail body and tattooed serial numbers on her forearm. In spite of her light and delicate stature she exuded a profound determination to continue sculpting larger than life figures of her former fellow prisoners. Such work was taxing in view of the fact that she was still recovering from the difficult experiences of her own descent to hell of a concentration camp. The haunting images that she created had phantom-like appearances reduced to skeletal silhouettes deprived of human individuality. These elongated and emaciated bleak images captured the loss of dignity and respect for the victims disfigured by physical and mental abuse and starvation. She explained her determination to continue sculpting the haunting images of the concentration camp in the following verses:

I tražim koren od korena
I vičem, ustima jama
a oči ispale
bele se slepilom
beonjačom školjki
I mnogo slepila
na isečenoj obali dlana.

And I search for the root of the root
and shout with the mouth of the pit
and gouged eyes
whitewashed with blindness
of the shell's white of the eye
and much blindness
on the cut up ridge of the palm.[10]

Jočić received recognition not only in her native country where she often exhibited her latest works. Her sculptures were exhibited in many countries in Europe. She herself was very pleased with the praising words expressed by Henry Moore on the occasion of her London exhibit in 1961. Moore wrote: "Her sculpture is powerful and expressive; her refined form is dynamic and monumental."[11] Jočić had an exhibit of her sculptures in

Germany, in Oberhausen, in February of 1965. After viewing her exhibit, a German critic wrote referring to her sculptures: "A cathedral of pain for all that is human and for all that is not."[12]

Dušan Vlajić was born in Šabac in 1911. He graduated from the College of Architecture in Belgrade. Parallel to his study of architecture, he was very active as a painter and member of the well known group "The Twelve." He graduated in 1935 and soon after had his first exhibit followed by another exhibit jointly with fellow members of the group "The Twelve" in 1940. In 1941 he was taken as a war prisoner to Germany where he stayed until 1945. His health deteriorated during his imprisonment due to harsh conditions. Yet he managed to produce a large canvass entitled *Taoci* (Hostages). He returned to Belgrade only to die within a few short months. He was only 35 years old.[13]

Miloš Bajić was incarcerated in Mauthausen in 1944 and remained there until the liberation in 1945. Although weakened in body and soul, he made a few sketches of his fellow prisoners. He also captured the bleakness of the concentration camp and surrounding space including the infamous incinerators. Although sketched with few hasty strokes, the reality of the concentration camp in Mauthausen was captured in these images. In 1967 he opened an exhibit of his collected works, relating to his imprisonment, titled "Mauthausen 10 66 21." The serial number referred to the number tattooed on his forearm.[14]

Matija Vuković dedicated a number of sculptures to the Holocaust. He was born in Platićevo in Slavonia in 1925 and was of Croatian descent. His parents settled in Belgrade in 1937. Matija Vuković grew up in Belgrade where he accomplished his education at the Fine Arts Academy. He considered himself a Yugoslav citizen and continued to reside in Belgrade until his sudden death in 1985. He took part in the liberation of Serbia in 1945: he was only 19 years old when he fought in the last decisive battles in Srem in World War II helping to liberate the country from the German occupation.[15] Remembering the brutality of the war theater, Vuković captured the torment of the victims and survivors in some of his sculptures. One of his best known sculptures "Woman with a Dead Child" stands in front of the Museum for Contemporary Art in Belgrade.*

The composer Josip Kulundžić (1912) was born in Trnice at Maribor. He studied music in Ljubljana and Zagreb, graduating in 1940. He worked as a music teacher in Križevci until his incarceration in the concentration camp in Jasenovac in Croatia 1943. He remained in Jasenovac until liberation. After the end of the war, Kulundžić moved to Belgrade where he occupied a number of high ranking positions in the field of music education and administration. He started composing relatively late in his life; he was over forty years old when he began his compositional endeavors. He needed time to gain inner strength and a perspective of his life's difficult experiences. He wrote *Himna solidarnosti* (The Hymn of Solidarity) in 1965 after reading a poem by the Serbian poet Svetozar Brkić bearing the same title. The somber tenor of Brkić's opening verses recounted dispassionately the early history of humankind as recorded in the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament. The verses acknowledged the tragic fate of Korah who killed Esau perpetuating the ill-fated killing of his fellow kinsmen: "... and Korah killed Esau, and Esau killed Leonteh ..." The evocation of these lamentable events helped to alleviate the pain and provide a historic perspective for the innumerable tragedies of World War II. The hymn, formally conceived as a cantata, was composed for a mixed choir, soloists and symphony orchestra. A short ominous orchestral introduction sets the mood. A dispassionate enumeration by the choir recites the dismal history of violence. The musical texture incorporates short polyphonic passages interrupted by homophonic exclamations decrying the irretrievable losses. The subdued mode of lamentation is slowly changed with the last choral entry anticipating a better tomorrow. The choral plea is supported by the orchestra rounding the cantata on a note of solidarity, tolerance and good will.

The selected poems and art works represent a powerful reminder of the underlying historic reality of the Serbian holocaust. These works are also an everlasting tribute to the vigilance and farsightedness of the poets and artists creating a memento for the generations to come.

[1] Vladimir Dedijer, Ivan Božić, Sima Ćirković, Milorad Ekmedžić, *History of Yugoslavia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), pp. 577-582. Nora Beloff, *Tito's Flawed Legacy. Yugoslavia and the West Since 1939* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985), p. 74.

[2] The discussion reached the academic community and the impact of the exhibit was discussed on the e-mail net. *Humanities-Sozial-und Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin. The age of communication obviously enabled a swift dissemination of the ongoing discussion. Andreas Woell's response was posted in Berlin, February 25, 1997, titled "*Was in Muenchen geschieht, Ueberlegungen zu den Protesten gegen die Wehrmacht-Ausstellung des Hamburger Institut fuer Sozialforschung.*" Woell discussed the exhibit and the self denigrating demeanor of the opposition to the exhibit in Munich. He also referred to the book by Guenther Anders, *Nach Holocaust* published in 1985. In his book, Anders analyzed the demeanor of the German society at large facing the consequences of the holocaust. Subsequently Hans Vogel and Michael Frank joined in the ongoing discussion.

[3] Guenther Anders, *Nach Holocaust*, p. 185, quoted after Woell, "*Was in Muenchen geschieht.*"

[4] Vladimir Dedijer, Ivan Božić, Sima Ćirković, Milorad Ekmedžić, *History of Yugoslavia* (New York: McGraw, 1974), p. 606.

[5] The poem "*Krvava Bajka*" was eventually included in the curriculum of Serbian literature for secondary schools. The poem was widely read and remembered by every school child in Serbia. Translation of the poem into English by Jelena Milojković-Djurić.

[6] *Desanka Maksimović, Književnost u školi*, Ed. Vladimir V. Predić, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1967, pp. 82-83.

[7] Ibid., "*Dušica Stefanović, izlazi, bez stvari ...*" pp. 89-91. Translation of the poem into English by Jelena Milojković-Djurić.

[8] Milena Miličić wrote this poem in June of 1992. In June of 1993, Miličić wrote another poem referring to World War II titled: "What do I Remember of War?" This poem was recently published in a paper by the author of these lines presenting poems of Serbian women writers, *Serbian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1.

[9] Vida Jočić, *Apel, za mir protiv genocida nad Srbima*, Galerija ULUS, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, no date.

[10] Vida Jočić, *Apel*.

[11] Moore's review was published in the journal *Painter and Sculptor*, Spring, 1961. Quoted after *Apel*.

[12] Quoted after *Apel*.

[13] 1929-1950: *Nadrealizam, postnadrealizam, socijalna umetnost*, Miodrag Protić, Ed., Belgrade, Muzej savremene umetnosti 1969, pp. 64-65 and pp. 274-275.

[14] Ibid., pp. 64-65 and p. 284.

[15] Letter of March 2, 1997 to the author by the painter and sculptor Milica Stevanović, a colleague and friend of Vuković. Stevanović recalled that Vuković declared himself a Yugoslav by affiliation. He used the Cyrillic alphabet as a preferred mode of writing I am grateful to Milica Stevanović for supplying the photographs of Vuković's and Jočić's sculptures that are included in this paper.

ESSAY REVIEW

SERBIA'S SECRET WAR. PROPAGANDA AND THE DECEIT OF HISTORY*

John Peter Maher
University of Hamburg (1974–1977)
Northeastern Illinois University (Emeritus)

Reading Dr. Cohen's book and some rave reviews took this old Fulbrighter right back to the time of Chairman Mao. His Great Cultural Revolution was in full hue and cry in the Winter Semester of 1966 when I was teaching in Sofia.

Bulgars passing along the yellow brick *Bulevar Ruski* stopped regularly across the street from St. Kliment of Ohrid University to chuckle at the bulletin board of the Embassy of the Peoples Republic of China, with its photos of teams of earnest Chinese studying the Thoughts of Chairman Mao. His little red book, not the student's diploma, was the ticket. Degree holders were in the rice paddies or re-education centers. In those photos former farmers, now hailed as *nouveaux* Edisons and Teslas, held light bulbs that they had invented; and miners, once tillers of the soil and hewers of wood had become brain surgeons, all owing to their study of the Thoughts of the Great Helmsman, Chairman Mao. In today's New World Order we too have brilliant outsiders to the field of Balkan studies writing "long awaited" books. One such, has, they say, produced a revolutionary expose of *Serbia's Secret War*. He is Dr. Philip Cohen, a dentist.

"This book," as we are told by the Series Editor, Stjepan (Stipe) Meštrović, son of the great Yugoslav clan, is "... the second in a series on Eastern European Studies."[1] Dr. Cohen has, we are to believe, mastered in the brief span of a couple years, the skill of writing a reasonable facsimile of academic historians'

* **Philip J. Cohen, D.D.S.,** *Serbia's Secret War. Propaganda and the deceit of history. Texas A & M University, 1996.*

prose, and has metabolized reams of Balkan chronicles. Already in 1992 the dentist served as expert on the Clinton-Gore transition team. What talent scout deserves the credit? Dr. Cohen's Balkanological achievements are the more remarkable for his inability to read Serbo-Croatian, not to speak of the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian languages. To overcome this handicap Dr. Cohen "headed," one reviewer tells us, "a team of translators."[2] How, I ask, does one go about "heading" a team of translators, especially when one is not a translator? For those interested in consulting such a valuable research resource, there is no indication of the identity of the translators nor of the archive in which the translations have been deposited. Typographically, too, the Cohen book is anomalous. Its over generous margins and spacing increase the bulk of the book by about a third over a normally produced book. School kids call it "padding".

There is a laudatory foreword from the pen of David Riesman, not a dentist, but Professor Emeritus of the Harvard University Department of Sociology and author of the best-seller, *The Lonely Crowd*. Like Dr. Cohen, Professor Riesman, is unfettered by a preparation in Balkan studies. He even, Meštrović tells us, skipped sociology, for he "came to Sociology from Law." Lawyer-sociologist Riesman writes of Serb backwardness: Serbia is a country in which "illiterates could rise to leadership and even to the monarchy." Dr. Riesman may have had in mind the likes of Miloš Obrenović, but leaves the impression that his illiteracy was the fruit of autochthonous Serb culture, when it was really the necessary consequence of Islamic precept, the Turkish *Kanun i Raya*—"Law for the Slaves." Muslim policy towards infidels was—and still is—take Sudan for example— identical to the English Penal Laws in Ireland, but it seems to have slipped Mr. Riesman's mind that 14th century Serbia's Tsar Dušan Silni stood out among contemporary West European monarchs in that Dušan "the Mighty" knew how to read and write. In a wee oversight Dr. Riesman has omitted Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, from whom Goethe learnt to read Serbian. Eighteenth century Dubrovnik, lying far from authentic Croatia, which was then a few counties in Great(er) Hungary, boasted the polymath Rudjer Bošković, son of an Orthodox priest. Since then the Serbs have also had the

likes of Mihajlo Pupin, Nikola Tesla, Einstein's wife Mileva Marić etc. etc.

One theme of the book is Serb cruelty: Lawyer-sociologist, Professor Riesman, argues a strong variant of the environmentalist thesis that purported Bosnian Serb barbarity stems from their circumstances as "hill, or mountain Serbs," unlike the "cosmopolitans of Belgrade" and the "cosmopolitans of Sarajevo." The War Crimes investigator, funded by George Soros and Royal Dutch Petroleum, Professor Sharif (a.k.a. Cherif) Bassiouni has also "explained" this to me. Despite his Balkan expertise, in a talk at Spertus College of Jewish Studies in Chicago, he demonstrated his incompetence in things Bosnian by referring to the Sarajevo neighborhood of Koševo as "Kosovo." (I came near being thrown out of the hall by interjecting that the two places were a couple hundred kilometers apart.)

The theme of Serbian cruelty is treated again in note 89, page 187: "Throat slitting has a long tradition among Serbian guerrilla fighters in war." Does one dare shock the reader with the secret that "Afghan" *mujehadin* in Bosnia, not to speak of US Army Special Forces, US Navy Seals, Britain's Gurkhas, and indeed all such commando forces, use "cold" weapons to kill silently? America's most highly decorated soldier, Col. David Hacksworth (US Army Ret.), told on national television how he has killed men with bayonets. *Secret War* has only ethnic slander in citing this as a Serbian trait. To boot, the number of Serb throats, of women, old men and children, apart from soldiers, slit in the three genocides against them in this century alone by Croats and Muslims indicates that the propensity is more characteristic of the other side. There is no mention of the culturally significant loanword from Turkish for a big knife, *kama*, nor any pictures of that fine piece of Solingen cutlery, called in Croatian the *srbosjek*, or 'Serb-cutter,' vintage 1941-45, a term that resurfaced in 1991.

Serbian cruelty includes several "mortar attacks" against civilians. After the Bread Queue Massacre of May 24, 1992, which was blamed on the Serbs President, Bush railroaded the UN into sanctions against the Serbs. Washington insiders, sigh readers of Mr. Bush's lips, a couple score of them, know that: "George said

the Serbs didn't do it." But the massacre and its sequels Markale I and Markale II, were perpetuated by the Muslim government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This has been corroborated not only by the Russian Colonel Demurenko, but also by Canadian General Lewis MacKenzie, Indian General Satish Nambiar, by UN Secretary General Butros Butros Ghali, Asushi Akashi, by Lord Peter Owen, as it was in a veritable death-bed confession by French President François Mitterand, not to speak of the un-politically correct reporter David Binder of the *New York Times*.

Since a thorough-going treatment of this book's errors, distortions, canards and omissions would tie us up for semesters and volumes, the following will be only a sampling. We will refer to the author as "Dr. Cohen," although there is little reason to grant blanket credence to such authorship.

Chapter 1 is entitled "The Roots of Serbian Fascism." Role reversal is typical of Nazi and neo-Nazi historiography. Remember how Hitler on 1 September 1939 went on radio to announce the Polish attack on Germany? Such is immediately evident in Cohen's treatment of Ilija Garašanin (page 18), ideologue of the unification of the Serbs. Though Garašanin was on a par with Mazzini and Garibaldi, he is made the evil genius behind an ethnic-cleansing, genocidal Serb nation state. The Serbs were in the same predicament as the Poles, whose lands had been partitioned by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. To avoid either Austrian or Russian domination of the Balkans, not to speak of a Turkish resurgence—look what happened to the Armenians —Garašanin, under the very influence of Polish emigres who chose to live in an Orthodox Slavic state as Catholic Poles, rather than in Slav-hating Prussia and Austria, or in Poland-hostile Russia, developed a plan for unifying all Serb lands in one South (Yugo-) Slav state, with Serbia as its Piedmont. As for his plan on re-settling the Albanians, Cohen fails to tell his readers of the generations of their Turkish- and Austrian-sponsored genocide against the Serbs of Kosovo and he positively claims (page 116) that Kosovo had a *peaceful* Albanian *majority* for centuries. "Cohen" is wrong on both counts. As for majorities and minorities, the documents of Turkey and Austria show a Serb majority in Kosovo before the genocide of the past eighty years. As for

"peaceful," it was true enough of the small number of Orthodox Christian Albanians there before their conversion to Islam by the Ottoman Turks; but after that, Albanians were used by the Turks to terrorize the Serbs, as the Koran prescribes for infidels.

Jihad, terrorizing and killing the infidel, is a believer's duty and something to be proud of. Muslim Albanians, beginning in Ottoman and continuing in Austrian, Mussolinian, and Titoist times, have been "ethnically cleansing" Kosovo of its founding people. This Koranic duty now has the diplomatic, financial, and military support of Washington and the "international community," the New World Order.

In "Cohen's" *Secret War* Garašanin serves as bogeyman merely to distract from the genuine proto-fascists in the Balkans, the Croats Ante Starčević and Josef Frank, direct antecedents of Artuković and Pavelić. Dr. Cohen gives his readers none of the hair-raising tirades of these two hate-steeped men. If Dr. Riesman was looking for complexes, he shouldn't have missed the fact that Josef Frank, a Jew, was one of the wellsprings of inspiration for that butcher of Jews, Ante Pavelić; or that Starčević had, if only Riesman were competent in the needed language, besides a Serb mother, an arch-Serbian name.

It was not Serb Orthodoxy that forcibly converted and exterminated hundreds of thousands of Serb infidels, and stole their lands in the Balkans but Islam and Catholicism. That policy continues. It was not Great Serbia that incorporated non-Croat territories, but Great Croatia that in 1941 and again in 1991 and 1995 grabbed Serb lands. In 1997, under UN and NATO auspices Croatia is girding to take more Serb lands in East Slavonia.

The author avers that the first Yugoslavia was dominated by the Serbs. Well, on the one hand, they won the First Wold War that had as its battle cry genocide's first pun, *Serbien muss sterbien* [sic]! "Serbia must die!" And the other Yugoslav nationalities had after all lost the war to annihilate the Serbs. Like shipwrecked sailors they clambered aboard the new state as a lifeboat, rather than sink with Austria-Hungary. (The South Tyrolers likewise voted in a League of Nations plebiscite to forgo their Habsburg heritage and become citizens of Italy, whose diplomats had cleverly switched sides in the War.) Had a miracle occurred and

the Habsburgs staged a come-back, imagine what would have happened to those who jumped ship.

In this book, whenever facts interfere, they tend to be inverted, e. g. "officers from the Austro-Hungarian army received reduced pay and ranks inferior to Serb officers" (page 8). Dragnich has documented that the opposite is true: Serbian Army ranks and promotions had been frozen because of the hardships of the war. After the Armistice, Austro-Hungarian officers were mustered into the Army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and continued to benefit from promotions and pay hikes awarded during the war, hence outranked and out-earned the Serbs who had defeated them.[3] In disgust many of the betrayed victors resigned their commissions and took up new lives, as they were fully capable of independent existence, unlike the new "Yugoslavs" who had been fighting for the Kaiser, but for perks of the office submitted to a new alien lord.

In Chapter 1 Cohen repeats the canard that the coup of 27 March 1941 was a British caper. See pages 23-27. Not only has British agency in the Putsch been alleged, but even USSR mouthpieces have tried to claim credit. The British had wanted a piece of the action all right, but were only belatedly and ineffectually involved, through Colonel Simović of the air force, a mere figure head, and Mirković, who in fact later became a British general The pro-German David Irving refutes Cohen:

> "With precious few days left, S.O. [Special Operations, i. e. dirty tricks] had **approached army officers *without success*.**"[4]

The planner of the Putsch was then Major Živan (Žika) Knežević, who along with Draža Mihajlović, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Merit by President Truman. Readers can choose to take the word of Harry S. Truman or the dentist. Winston Churchill remarked of Colonel Živan Knežević and his brother Professor Radoje that they were "incorruptible." This is hardly an empty Churchillian flourish. The British had tried hard to corrupt these men. The Brits were turned down. And Winston knew it.[5]

Chapter 2 is entitled "The Serbian State 1941-45". There wasn't any. The collapse of the Royal Yugoslav Army is laid to antiquated equipment and Serb "lack of resistance." Compare this to the account by Ruth Mitchell, General Billy Mitchell's sister, of Croatian treason and mass desertion and full collusion with the Nazis.[6]

Dr. Cohen (page 38), without naming any, invokes "German sources," in an attempt to shave the number of Serbs massacred at Kragujevac in October 1941 to "only" 2,300 from the count of over 7,000 given in "Yugoslav sources." This is reminiscent of revisionists of the Holocaust of European Jews, who claim it was "only" three million. If Dr. Cohen won't name his source, I'll name one, a German scholar who credits the high count: Manoschek (in Troebst 1995, page 395).[7] This chapter, as indeed the whole book, serves solely as a smoke screen for the crimes of the two "Independent" Croatias, the first one a satellite of Mussolini and Hitler's "New Order," and the second one, inseminated, incubated, and nurtured by the "New World Order."

Chapter 3 is entitled "Serbian Complicity in the Holocaust." The dust jacket, says Dr. Cohen, features" Serbian" postage stamps, but those stamps were never cancelled, nor even circulated, by the PTT in occupied Serbia. The fraudulent stamps were printed in Leipzig.

The accusation of Serbian anti-Semitism. Dr. Cohen smears Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović as a great anti-Semite, building his case on statements made by the bishop to reporters from his cell in Dachau. *Pari passu* Dr. Cohen would give credence to statements coerced from American POWs in Korea and Viet Nam. When Velimirović was freed, he abjured those statements and revealed that he made them under duress. Just so, on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, Jews repent of the false oaths they have been forced to swear in the previous year.

On page 130 Dr. Cohen cites Bishop Velimirović's speech about Christ and Pontius Pilate, interpreting this as proof positive of ancient, endemic Serb anti-Semitism. It was the Western Church in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, that especially bred anti-Semitism. Martin Luther was savage in

his Jew-hating. The Jews of Catholic Italy were forced to rally and stand for hours to listen to sermons haranguing them to repent for murdering Jesus and to convert to the True Religion. Those who yielded would avail themselves on the next Yom Kippur to atone for this sin forced on them.

As master of ceremonies in a Catholic seminary, I heard and will never forget the chanting of the Good Friday *Improperia* 'reproaches' aimed at the Christ Killers. Pope Paul VI some years ago came to New York City, home to the largest Jewish community in the world, and clumsily chose for his gospel reading the text of John XX:19:

> "Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews..."

This pope, as Monsignor Montini, had been Secretary of State to Pope Pius XII during the real Balkan genocide, the Croatian one against the Jews, Gypsies, and Serbs. In that capacity he was the key man for Monsignor, Krunoslav Draganović, head of the "Rat Lines." Pope Pius XII, through Monsignors Montini and Draganović arranged fake passports and travel accommodations for the escape of tens of thousands of Ustasha and Nazi criminals, via Austria, Switzerland, and Ireland (Artuković), to Argentina, Australia, Canada, Spain, and the USA. Loftus and Aarons have documented the operation.[8] My own US Army unit, the 430th MI Bn., CIC (Military Intelligence Battalion, Counter-Intelligence Corps), in fact employed Draganović. By smearing the Serb Orthodox Church, Cohen covers up the war guilt of Rome and Croatia.

The frontispiece of Cohen's book is a photograph of Hitler at Berchtesgaden greeting General Nedić, the Serbian Pétain. Nedić's defenders maintain that he submitted to run occupied Serbia only when the Nazis threatened to bring in the Bulgarians to do the job and refused to do more for the Germans. Nedić's Serb opponents feel that if Serbs were to be killed on Nazi orders, it would have been better that the Bulgars or Germans do it and not Serbs. As for the Nedić frontispiece, the non-specialist

reader will remain ignorant of the many photographs of Pavelić, Artuković, and scores of priests and nuns, proudly posing with Nazi and Vatican dignitaries. These do not appear in the Cohen book. Cohen will not be pleased to know that Chetnik loyalists would agree with him on Ljotić, whose men kicked in the heads of many a Chetnik. There is no unanimity among Serbs on these figures, and this is not the place to conduct a debate on the matter, but crimes of the quislings pale in coparison with those of the Croatia called "Independent" from 1941-45. *Magnum crimen* indeed is the name of the big volume on "Independent Croatia" written by Professor Victor Novak, who was himself a Croat.[9]

Charges of Serbian anti-Semitism were also refuted by the Czechoslovak ambassador to Belgrade (1945-1948), Josef Korbel, himself of Jewish background and father of Madeleine Albright, in his 1951 book *Tito's Yugoslavia*. He wrote that:

> "... during the war, the Serbian Orthodox Church refused to collaborate with the Germans. The Nazis tried to induce it by threats and concessions, but neither worked. The Patriarch, Gavrilo, was first interned in Serbia, and after a definite failure on the part of the Germans to gain support, he was moved to Germany to a concentration camp (Dachau). Similar was the fate of some other (Serbian Orthodox Church) dignitaries."

Chapter 4 is entitled "Collaboration and Resistance in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina." Repetition is not only '*mater studiorum*,' but also the Mother of the big Lie: the gem, of the chapter (page 93), and frequently repeated throughout, is this: "... the Ustashas were strongly opposed by a majority of Croats." Few words are wasted on Jasenovac. The museum there was leveled in 1995 by Comrade General Tudjman's new Ustashas, and Jasenovac is now to be the resting place of Ustasha killers, next to their Jewish, Gypsy, and Serb victims. Ronald Reagan raised a storm with his wreath-laying at the cemetery of Bitburg (on the Belgian border of Germany), where SS troops lie beside their victims, but most readers of the "free press" don't even know about the Jasenovac stories from 1941-45 and 1995. In every respect,

and not just in location, Jasenovac is a Croatian death camp. They called it a "*Radni Logor*" ('labor camp'). And over its portals was the Croatian clone, "*Rad Oslobadja*," of "*Arbeit Macht Frei*."

On 20 April 1997 President Tudjman laid a wreath at Jasenovac in memory of the fallen Ustasha: 20 April is Hitler's birthday.

The Bleiburg Story. Since the late 1980s and the 1990s much has been stirred up about Bleiburg. (*Newsweek* reporter James Graff at Oakton (Illinois) Community College referred to the place as "Bilderberger.") At this town in the Slovene-populated of Austrian Carinthia, the British Army, to keep a bargain with Stalin, after World War II, shipped Russians and Ukrainians east to their death in the USSR, while they herded tens of thousands of Yugoslav prisoners into railway cars, telling them they were going to Italy, and locked the doors. After the short ride over the ridge of the Carnic Alps from Austria, they were released, but in Tito-held Slovenia, where they were massacred. In Dr. Cohen's preface the massacres are painted as the destruction of "tens of thousands" of Croats and Slovenes, and "even a number of Chetniks," by Serbian Partisans. Instead of this dismissive formula, read 18,500 soldiers of the Royal Yugoslav Army.[10] This left re-touching both distances the truly responsible parties, and minimizes the number of Serbs delivered by the British into the hands of the Stalinist Croat-Slovene Tito. A count that is not precise is not a count: 16,000 Serb Chetniks were killed at Bleiburg. The carnage was the act, not of Great Serbia, but of Churchill and Stalin's man, Josip Broz, a Croatian communist. The Bleiburg case is an indictment of "perfidious Albion," free, western, constitutional, parliamentarian, monarchical, and cricket playing, not of "Serbian genocide." Bleiburg, lastly, is a counterbalance for the new Nazi state of Croatia and a counter-balance in good Tito style to distract attention from the little unpleasantness of Jasenovac; the Marshal always liked to trump up a non-existent Serbian crime to balance off a real Croatian atrocity. In his Yugoslavia this was known as *Bratstvo i jedinstvo*—"Brotherhood and Unity."

Chapter 5 is titled "Serbian Historical Revisionism and the Holocaust." Role-reversal strikes again: Dr. Cohen portrays the

Serbs as enthusiastically collaborating with the Third Reich and the Croats resisting massively and heroically. But it was Tito's Partisans who really collaborated with the Third Reich, since they were known to attack the Chetniks from the rear while the Loyalists were locked in battle with the *Wehrmacht* at the front.

Chetniks and "collaboration:" Of many hang-overs in post-Tito Croatianism one is the use of "chetnik" as an all-purpose slur against Serbs. This escapes the attention of the *nouveaux* Balkanologists who sprang up like weeds in 1991, but earlier hadn't known the difference between Slovenia, Slavonia and Slovakia. The charge (page 92) that Mihajlović's Chetniks were "largely Axis-collaborating" is refuted in several books, and most recently by a source hardly suspect of being pro-Serb, a German Professor of History, Jost Dullfer, of the University of Cologne, in the Catholic Rheinland.[11]

> "Although the *Četnici occasionally* [emphasis reviewer's: JPM] co-operated with the Axis powers, especially with Italy [against the communists: JPM], they basically placed their faith in the Allies. Mihailovic, who became Minister of War in the government in exile in London in 1942 was not, however, able to maintain his position in the long term. His followers lost their positions of power to Tito's partisans in 1943, and in the end Tito's followers were the only group to enjoy Allied support. They opposed the Croat Ustascha of Pavelic, the Germans, and the Italians, against whom they were able to fight pitched battles as of 1943."

It is important to note that the forces of Pop Djujić were not under Mihajlović's command.

Linguistic postscript. Dr. Cohen's book is marked by incompetence in German, English, and Serbian. In the second paragraph on page 63 the text reads:

> "... the German authorities ordered the construction of Sajmište Semlin in German ..."

The *Sajmište* is *not* called "*Semlin* in German." *Semlin* is the Austro-Hungarian German name for Serbian *Zemun*, a city lying up the Danube from Belgrade, in then Croatian-occupied territory during WW II. The Nazi concentration camp, at the *old* fairground(s), was indeed on the left bank of the Sava, but between Belgrade and Zemun. (A new, domed, fairground, *sajmište*, has since been built on the right bank.) Cohen's text here, on internal evidence, is the product of a non-English speaker (anonymous) of a language lacking the definite article, e.g. Serbo-Croatian, since in translation *Sajmište* should of course be translated "*the* Fair Ground(s)" or would be referred to as "*the* Sajmište." Excluding random error, any good linguist would suspect that a non-native writer of English also wrote the line (page 61): "...much admired in Serbia and *in emigration*..." Real English would have "in *the* emigration," as compared to Serbo-Croatian *u emigraciji*. Will the real Dr. Cohen please stand up?

Dr. Cohen, or whoever wrote "his" book, compounds the deceit by referring (page 92) to the concentration camps at Banjica and *the* Sajmište as "Serbian concentration camp[s]." Now, if Auschwitz geographically lay in Poland, it was not "a Polish concentration camp." Banjica and *the* Sajmište were *German* concentration camps.

The German singular noun, *Einsatzgruppe*, is incorrectly glossed by someone weak in German as a plural, probably by a Yugoslav hand misled by the feminine plural ending *-e* of Serbo-Croatian. To boot, the *Einsatzgruppen* were not part of the SS, but the *Sipo*, or *Sicherheitspolizei* ("Security Police"). The name of the Danube Swabian newspaper *Erwache* "Awake!" is interpreted as if a feminine noun: "*Die Erwache*" 'the Awakening' (page 71). Such a feminine noun does not exist. The German form is a verb in the imperative. If we find "*Die Erwache,*" this is elliptical for "*die* (sc. *Zeitung*) *Erwache!*," the newspaper "Awake!"

If Dr. Cohen does not know Serbian, someone else, then, someone who does, but has faulty English, inadequately interprets the genesis of the term *Ustaša*, plural *Ustaše* (87; 192: note 6): "The name *Ustaša* was derived from *ustati* "to stand up." Right lemma, wrong gloss. For *standing up* implies the context from a

sitting position, or, in the morning we *get up (from bed)*. For the correct English sense, *viz.* 'rebellion,' we need to say *to rise up (against ...)* In addition, the term *Ustaša* was first used by Pavelić in 1931 in the phrase *Hrvatske Ustaše* 'Croatian Ustashas.' This would be wrongly read today as a pleonasm, but Pavelić was consciously adopting a generic Serbian word. The author apparently is puzzled that the term *Ustaše* was applied to Serb rebels against the Turks in Herzegovina in 1875. (Note 6, page 192). This is not trivia, but goes to the heart of the matter, scholarly competence and honesty. The author musing here on Serbian derivational morphology and historical phraseology can hardly be Dr. Cohen, an English-speaking dentist who does not know the Serbian language. The true author here has to be someone with a good practical knowledge of the Serbian language, but who is unsophisticated in historical linguistics and philology. He must also be a historian of Yugoslavia. There is no disclosure on the source of the pseudo-linguistics written on page 159 (note 5):

> "Notably, the contention that Croats had taken Serbian as their literary language is false. The "father" of the modern Serbian language, Vuk Karadžić, had taken two Croatian dialects, that of Herzegovina and Dubrovnik."

"Croatia" here is the Great Croatia of Tito and Comrade General Tudjman, a "Croatia" that undemocratically, forcibly annexed, in effect, many Serb landscapes with a Serb population. In 1995 some 300,000 Serbs, were "ethnically" cleansed with American military planning and support from lands that they had inhabited since well before Englishmen ever set sail to Virginia and New England. On Austrian and, after 1867, Austro-Hungarian maps, authentic, ethnic, "Croatia" did *not* include Slavonia, originally the stretch from Villach to Belgrade; nor Herzegovina, nor Dalmatia. Evidence, internal and external, leaves it beyond doubt that literary Croatian is of Serb origin.[12]

Was Dubrovnik's dialect Croatian? Not if Ragusa first became "Croatian" only in 1945, when Dubrovnik was included

for the first time within the borders of Tito's Federative Republic of Croatia, in reality Great Croatia. This in turn was based upon a map redrawn by Serbian politicians in the 1930s to placate Croats at Serb expense. Under Tito, Dubrovnik, like Vukovar, was packed with new settlers from West Herzegovina, the most virulently nationalist of Croatized areas and hotbed of the Ustashas. Nevertheless, at Konavli the Catholics keep heirloom Orthodox icons in their houses and celebrate the *slava*, a uniquely Serbian, not a pan-Orthodox, culture pattern. The dialect of Dubrovnik is East Herzegovinian Serbian. Old Ragusa's old population stems from Catholicized Serbs. Dr. Cohen's linguistic history is sheer fabrication, if not mere incompetence. Compare R. G. A. DeBray:

> "[The Croat linguist] Ljudevit Gaj (1808-72) chose the *je-* version of the *što* dialect..., the same dialect as chosen by Vuk Karadžić and one of the most widely spoken in the Yugoslav lands. Gaj introduced a phonetic spelling exactly corresponding to that introduced by Vuk for Cyrillic. Thus he helped the Croats to give up their local dialect as a literary medium and enter a wider field.
>
> ... The final seal to this work was set by the Vienna Literary Agreement *(Bečki književni dogovor)* in 1850, when all the leading Yugoslav scholars of the time, including both Vuk and Gaj, and agreed on the final adoption of a common literary language...[13]

Those who read Serbian can consult the *Agreement* for themselves; it was signed—unanimously—by those "Austrians" Vuk and Gaj, as well as the great Slovene linguist Fran Miklošič (Franz Miklosich) et al. They refer there not to Serbs and Croats, but to Orthodox and Catholic Serbs, and to the Serbian dialects of east and west, the latter being those of Herzegovina, Dubrovnik etc. Thousands of Vatican documents over centuries refer to the language at Dubrovnik as *lingua serba*.[14] In 1850 Croatia did not encompass Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Dubrov-

nik. Genuine Croatian speech is found in the *ča*-dialect of the north Adriatic coast and islands in the *kaj*-dialect of Zagreb. Most Croat scholars, however, in the mid-19th century considered their own *kajavski* speech to be Slovenian, since both express the interrogative "what?" with the form *kaj*, and share other features.[15]

Dr. Cohen repeats the tale that the JNA shelled the Old City of Dubrovnik.[16] I went with Dejan Lučić into the Old City on 25 March 1992, three months after the fighting. The shutters along the Stradun showed traces of street fighting, that could only have been between Croatian rival forces. The limestone pavement had a dozen or so shallow pock marks from mortar rounds, not a navy weapon. It is not clear to me whether these were from JNA or Croatian positions.

The press gave us grim pictures, shot with long lenses, hence compressing intervening space, in which plumes of smoke issue from the fuel tanks of boats in the Old Harbor (Ploče side), hence outside the walls. Also outside the walls on the far side smoke billowed from a hotel, housing Croatian gun emplacements. The smoke from the two sources, both outside the walls, bracketed and silhouetted the towers of the Old City. In March 1992 damage to the Old City in scenes evocative of Dante's Inferno, which was also fiction.

In March 1992 damage to the Old City was negligible. Every roof was tiled, most showing the patina of weathering and age. Visitors today can confirm this as they look over the city from above.

Dr. Cohen refers (page 127) to the "shelling of the synagogue." I filmed the synagogue. One window pane on the street side, *Żudioska Ulica*, was broken.

I had read in Croatian and western publications that the "Serb-dominated JNA" was destroying or had destroyed the "port of Dubrovnik." I read the contrary in Serbian newspapers. A competent grammarian or translator must ask if this is appositional *of* (as in *the City of Chicago*), or some other relation (as in *the mayor of Chicago*, or *the South Side of Chicago*)? Was it possibly the port section of Dubrovnik, i.e. Gruž? I felt the only way to be sure was to see it with my own eyes. Having read,

too, that a treasure of Serbian manuscripts and icons had been destroyed by Croatian forces, I asked my camera man, a native Dubrovniker, to take us to the site. He took us to a building in front of the Serbian Orthodox Cathedral. There stood the shell of a multi-storeyed building. On the facing wall of a building to the left of it was a sign, plainly and prominently lettered in Serbian Cyrillic "ИКОНЕ" and in English "ICONS." The building indicated was gutted, a shell. The walls were intact; the interior was a void. And it was not navy guns that did it, since adjacent buildings showed no damage. It was *plastique* and arson on the spot. On 15 May 1995 Princess Francesca Von Habsburg gave a slide show at the National Press Club in Washington. Between two shots of a ruined two-floor villa at Ćilipi near the airport (airports tend to be outside the walls of medieval cities) Her Highness sandwiched an interior shot that she said was of the same villa, despite the discrepancy that the interior shot was of a building with several storeys. It was the one I just described.

The target of the JNA ships had been the Napoleonic fort high above the city on Mount Saint Sergius, *Srdj*. Artillery concussions blew off the tiles of the roofs far below. The Britisher journalist Boris Beloff and Michael Shuttleworth each also (separately) visited the scene found it as I describe. Had the Old City been targeted, it would have been demolished in two hours.

Croatia and her helpers, the PR companies, enjoy a revolving door between press and government; they pulled a fast one on the public with this horror story of the destruction of Dubrovnik. One Washington PR firm, Ruder Finn, is collecting money to buy tiles for shattered Ragusa.

Croatian strategy from the beginning was to provoke all out war to destroy Yugoslavia, painting the Serbs as the "bad guys." Here is Susan L. Woodward:

> "An assault on Dubrovnik (beginning in early October), which was protected under the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), was particularly significant in creating antagonism toward Serbia and the Army: the Croatian government had calculated in using sharpshooters on the Dubrovnik

walls to provoke a YPA attack on the city, knowing that Dubrovnik would attract ... attention."[17]

Conclusion. In the heyday of Great Society stipendiology in the 1960s and 1970s it was the fashion to trumpet in the first footnote of every article the sources of funding from National Institutes of Health, the US Navy, the US Air Force etc., but the Maecenas is now *Anon.*, seems to be operating from deep cover. Texas Agricultural & Mechanical University is the repository of the presidential papers of George Bush, as well as recipient of the largesse needed to maintain this asset. A series of books needs an editor and authors, competent authors. There is, we have seen here, compelling evidence to question the authorship of Dr. Cohen's *Serbia's Secret War*, both as to quality and identity. What university officer or body with any integrity ever authorized the publication of such a dubious book under the aegis of Texas A&M University? Have they no concern for the good name of their university? Would they publish equal incompetence in, say, engineering?

---

[1] The first volume, by yet another brilliant outsider, Norman Cigar, is *Genocide in Bosnia. The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing."* Like Cohen, Cigar is unburdened by credentials in Balkan studies; he has made his career as a publicist on Near Eastern infrastructure in Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia.

[2] John Xanthopoulos, Florida Atlantic University, in *Library Journal*. June 15, 1996, page 6.

[3] Alex Dragnich, *The First Yugoslavia. Search for a Viable Political System*. (Hoover Institution Press), 1983, p. 17.

[4] *Churchill's War*, 19.

[5] See Ljubica Knežević, 1981. *Promemoria. Repudiation of the Tripartite Pact by the Serbian People 27 March 1941*. Published by *Jugosloven* and Yugoslav Socialist Party. Västeräs, Sweden.

[6] Ruth Mitchell, *The Serbs Choose War*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc.), 1943.

[7] Stefan Troebst, *Südost-Forschungen. 1995. Band 54. 393-95. Internationale Zeitschrift fur Geschichte, Kultur, und Landeskunde Südosteuropas*. Review of Walter Manoschek. 1993. *Serbien ist judenfrei*. Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42. München. R Oldenbourg, 210 pages, 1 map. Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte.

[8] John Loftus and Mark Aarons, *Unholy Trinity. The Vatican, the Nazis, and Soviet Intelligence*. (New York: St. Martin's Press), 1991.

[9] Victor Novak, *Magnum Crimen. Pola Vijeka Klerikalizma u Hrvatskoj*. (The Great Crime. A half Century of Clericalims in Croatia.) (Zagreb: Tisak Nakladnog Zavoda, 1948.)

[10] Borivoje Karapandžić, *Kočevje. Titov majkrvaviji zločin* (Tito's Bloodiest Crime). (Cleveland: Knjižarnica Obradović) (No copyright date, but author's foreword is dated Nov. 21, 1958.)

[11] Jost Dulffer, *World War II in Yugoslavia: a German View*. Translated from the German by Dean Scott McMurry. Published in German 1992, in English in 1996.

[12] Internal evidence of the Serbian origin of the literary Croatian language. A patent Serbism in literary, Catholic, Croatian is the name of Jesus: *Isus* is Serbian, from Byzantine Greek, unlike the West Slavic Latinisms *Jezuš* (Slovenian), Slovak *Ježiš* etc. So is *vijenčanje* 'wedding,' a term that literally means 'wreathing.' The traditional Orthodox rite, but not the Catholic, involves crowning bride and groom each with a wreath. In "modernized" practice a gold crown may be used. In fact practically the whole corpus of Christian terminology in literary Croatian is to any competent linguist Serbian, with rare exceptions, such as *križ* 'cross' (from ecclesiastical Latin *crux, cruce*) as opposed to East Slavic *krst* (via Germanic from Latin, by transferred epithet, *Christus crucifixus*.)

[13] R. G. A. DeBray, *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*. (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc.), 1951.

[14] *Skupljeni gramatički i polemički spisi Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića*, 1896. Knijga treća. Strane 199-301. (Collected grammatical and polemical writings of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. Book 3, pages 299-301.)

[15] See Thomas F. Magner, *A Zagreb Kajkavian Dialect*. Pennsylvania State University Studies, No. 18, 1966, pp. 3-4.

[16] JNA = *Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, in English YPA = Yugoslavian Peoples Army.

[17] Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy. Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. (Washington: The Brookings Foundation), 1995.

BOOK REVIEWS

Dimitrije Djordjević, *Scars and Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, 463 pages, trans. Kosara Gavrilović.

The historical autobiography, *Scars and Memory*, written by the creative pen of Professor Emeritus Dimitrije Djordjević, happens to be a unique creation. On one hand it is a biography of its author's life but also, as presented, the history of Yugoslavia and its Serbian people. Djordjević's war-time autobiography presents just a microchip in the collection of x-million biographies with their x-million scars and memories that never have had the chance to be written. The philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson once said: "There is properly no history, only biography." This historical autobiography of Professor Djordjević well supports Emerson's statement.

Scars and Memory consists of four chronologically important chapters in the author's life. Two chapters, "Under the Swastika" and "Under the Red Star," cover the war and revolution in Yugoslavia, which left Djordjević with many scars, and occupy 400 pages of bitter memories.

As a student Dimitrije Djordjević resisted, with millions of Serbs and others, the Nazi-fascist occupation of Yugoslavia. He joined the resistance underground of the first guerrillas in occupied Europe under the command of General Mihailović (1941). Eventually this action lead to his arrest and imprisonment and finally to the German concentration camp Mauthausen.

After the war when Yugoslav communists came to power, their dictatorship was opposed by many people. The student Djordjević became active again against new oppressors, and was once again arrested, imprisoned and sent to labor camps. Tens of thousands of pro-western "reactionaries," "collaborators," "bourgeois," "kulaks," and "enemies of the people" etc., found themselves behind bars between 1945-1955. Quick kangaroo court trials issued harsh sentences which in most cases included the confiscation of all personal properties.

Professor Djordjević, being born under a "lucky star," survived both evil systems and witnessed their disappearance. Still, the scars in his memory could not be erased. Being incarcerated in a German prison in Banjica for months, and seeing his roommates being sent to execution and expecting to be next in line permanently scars even the strongest man. There are so many individual tragedies described in each chapter that space does not permit even brief descriptions of them all. The author, who was released from the infamous communist Mitrovica prison in May of 1947, celebrated his 50th freedom anniversary in May of 1997 in the USA with this book. It is a wonderful sign that there is no retirement from history for a history professor.

Scars and Memory, is a slightly modified English version of Djordjević's two volumes, *Ožiljci i opomene I-II*" published in Belgrade in 1994 and 1995 respectively. This book will complement any library collection, dedicated to subjects like World War II, the Axis Occupation 1941-1945, Political Post-War Conditions in Yugoslavia Under Communism. Unfortunately, the name index to over 300 individual biographical sketches is lacking and found only in Volume II of the Serbian edition. Recommending this well-written book for general readership, I want to stress again that its author is not only a writer of history and witness to the historical events mentioned in his autobiography, but also an active participant in the historical happenings of that period. All of this combined make this book indeed worthwhile reading.

Milan Radovich
University of Wisconsin

Dimitrije Djordjević, *Scars and Memory, Four Lives in One Lifetime*. East European Monographs, Boulder, Colorado, 1997. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

This book is an English version of *Ožiljci i opomene*, memoirs of Dimitrije Djordjević, published in two volumes in Belgrade in 1994 and 1995. The Belgrade edition was an instant success; critics praised it and the first edition quickly sold despite the notoriously high price of books in Yugoslavia. The memoirs of a

living historian, however, are not a subject that guarantees prompt success—there is a definite over-production of World War II-related and biographical literature in Yugoslavia. What is it, then, that distinguishes Djordjević's book from other autobiographical works?

Above all, it is not an autobiography. Or, better yet, it is much more than a prosaic autobiography about the author—it is a story of splendid wishes and cruel realities, dreams and nightmares, successes and defeats of the generation of young students from the University of Belgrade caught up in World War II and its immediate aftermath. Djordjević, with his debonair style, ensured that an ordinary story of a young Serb and Yugoslav is turned into a symbolic fable of the entire generation. Within this story is Djordjević's brilliant dissection of Serbian and Yugoslav society and detailed recreations of scenes such as travel to, and return from, the Nazi concentration camp Mauthausen and later persecution by the communist court. In many respects, his narratives accurately depict torturous and treacherous times in which the entire Serbian nation was caught in the web which mingled national pride, foreign occupation, and fratricidal civil war.

Djordjević's arrest by the Gestapo in 1942, the painful imprisonment in Banjica camp, the miraculous survival and return from Mauthausen, embody Serbian determination and defiance of the Nazi occupation. The highly suggestive account of an active member of the Serbian nationalist resistance movement during World War II boldly defies widespread misconceptions about the nature of the anti-fascist struggle of the Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland led by Colonel Dragoljub 'Draža' Mihailović. The author's description of the guerilla war against the Nazis, the constant clashes with Dimitrije Ljotić's followers, the brutal fight against the Partizans, is in sharp contrast to the widespread portrayal of Chetniks as "long-bearded, bloodthirsty bunch of primitives." Thus, what distinguishes this book is not a mere eyewitness account—various types of reminiscences are still the predominant type of literature in the emigre press—but the artistic splendor by which the author communicates the powerful simplicity of choices which faced an individual, the young generation, and the entire nation in those Apocalyptic times.

Djordjević's arrest by the Yugoslav secret police, the Ozna, in 1946, opens another chapter of a continuous struggle for national pride and a fight against totalitarianism of all sorts. The imprisonment of a young group of Serbian anti-fascists by the Yugoslav communist authorities symbolizes the bitter division of Serbian society and highlights the anti-democratic nature of Tito's regime. Again, the "formalities," i.e. the way the youngsters were arrested, the mockery of the justice system, the conditions in prison, the psychological torture and isolation from society, are of lesser importance. While Djordjević, indeed, masterfully leads the reader through the plot which appears as a peculiar mixture of Kafkaesque motifs and the grotesqueness of Čapek, it is the depiction of the hastiness of the new rulers to mercilessly eliminate all opposition which distinguishes his work, in particular.

It is exactly in the Ozna soul-ripping dungeons where the first sentences of this book were secretly written on a bunch of toilet paper. Djordjević's determination to publish this compassionate story exemplifies another symbolic parallel—it is his personal story which gave life to the generation of young students from Belgrade.

Thus, Dimitrije Djordjević produced another masterpiece. This time he, however, does not write about the distant history of prominent people and events which shaped the destiny of the Balkan nations. This time, Dimitrije Djordjević unselfishly offered to share with us the story of his life and the lives of his comrades Mihailo, Seka, Milorad, Zoran, Raja, Boba, Mile, Ognjen, Stanča, Jelenko, Stanley, and many, many others—the story of high hopes and ideals, victories and setbacks, departures and returns.

Though written with the unerring eye of the historian, *Scars and Memory* is a classic of modern Serbian literature because of Djordjević's magnificent style and the book's dramatic emotional power, which makes its characters unforgettable and its story compelling.

Željan E. Šuster
University of New Haven

Milne Holton, Vasa D. Mihailovich, trans. and eds., *Songs of the Serbian People*. From the Collections of Vuk Karadžić. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997, 310 pages.

Songs of the Serbian People, translated and edited by Milne Holton and Vasa D. Mihailovich, is a testimonial to the rich literary and historical heritage of the South Slavs, in particular the Serbian people. The forty-four oral narratives and lyrical songs translated in this volume first appeared in the original language in the extensive collections of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864) and were published in Vienna between 1814 and 1864. Those early collections included hundreds of folk poems that Vuk Karadžić had collected and transcribed in the Serbian vernacular for the first time.

Deeply rooted in ancient myths and the turbulent history of the region, these Serbian oral lyrics and historical narratives were preserved and passed on from generation to generation by *guslars* and *guslari* (male and female singers and players of the traditional instrument, the *gusle*, often used to accompany the recitations), acquiring new meanings and new interpretations as they passed from singer to singer over the years. The texts describe mythical events, moral and spiritual dilemmas, heroic and legendary deeds, monumental medieval battles, and the tragic outcomes of warfare. Although the events and themes that play significant roles in the narratives reach back into medieval history, as well as into unrecorded times, they also reveal the values and inspiration of the living singer-composers of the 19th century from whom Vuk collected the songs.

The songs newly translated in this volume have been organized into seven chapters that follow a generally chronological order: "Songs Before History," "Before the Battle of Kosovo," "The Battle of Kosovo," "Marko Kraljević," "Under the Turks," "The Songs of the Outlaws," and "The Sons of the Serbian Insurrection." The complete text is flanked by a pronunciation guide, a preface, acknowledgments, an introduction, and a selected bibliography. Each chapter is also prefaced by explanatory notes, and the editors have supported their translations with ample footnotes.

The issues associated with defining Serbian language and ethnicity are examined in the preface. The authors recognize the legitimate claims of the Croats, Bosnians, Macedonians, and Bulgarians to their share of this traditional oral body of poetry and to the history from which it has emerged. The poems have been identified as "Serbian" in reference to a nation and its language, never to any modern state, and the complex nature of the literary history that existed in the minds of the collector and the singers whose work is presented is acknowledged and described here and throughout the volume.

In the preface, the authors also describe the method of translation used in the book. It is in their carefully executed approach to the translation of the traditional *deseterac*, the ten-syllable poetic line especially reserved for the *junačke pesme*, or "heroes' songs" by the singers, that the authors claim a major achievement. They have rendered the *deseterac* whenever possible in a ten-syllable divided line. The first part of each line is restricted—by the singers and translators—to four syllables in a predominantly trochaic pattern. The characteristic caesura after the four syllables is thus preserved. Although the translators have also metrically patterned the second part of the line, they have deliberately varied the rhythm to achieve a relief from monotony. The translators have also preserved the recurring phrases and half-lines that are characteristic of not only these oral poems, but of most of the world's oral narratives.

The decision to adhere to the decasyllabic line is an admirable one, and the effort to create poetic lines that attempt to match the vigor, purity, and rhythmic beauty of the original Serbian verse is to be appreciated, yet, in the end, the English decasyllabic, trochaic line still reads and sounds like a translation, albeit a remarkably accurate one. The audience is not drawn into the narrative to experience the events, but remains conscious of the words, a stylistic effect that distances the listener from the story. However, it is interesting to note that whenever the translated lines adopt an iambic meter—and this occurs with some frequency in many of the songs even within the first four syllables—the poetry flows more naturally and more convincingly and the audience is able to forget the verbiage. Each return to

trochaic rhythm produces a disturbance in the narrative experience.

The traditional quandary in translation has thus not been solved: it remains unclear whether it is better to preserve the rhythm and structure of the original Serbian decasyllabic, trochaic line or whether it is better to recast the narrative lines by using equivalent English formulas that traditionally occur in iambic pentameter. A most informative and interesting exercise is to compare the English translations that have appeared over the years of some of the most popular poems. Each translation is, in effect, a new poem, and each choice of words, meter, structure, and image creates a different understanding of the "spirit of the song," that aspect of the poem to which the singer-composers feel dedicated. By definition, a translation cannot reproduce the original, so the ultimate goal of translators has been to preserve as closely as possible, yet recreate, the style and substance of the text being translated. This goal has certainly been reached by Holton, Mihailovich, and their collaborators (acknowledged throughout the volume), and it is an achievement that deserves great praise.

The preface is followed by an introduction that traces the history of the Serbian oral tradition, provides a biographical portrait of Vuk Karadžić, describes his work, and reviews the history of the collections and translations of Serbian folk poetry. It is a useful and meticulously researched discussion, and it pays homage to the scholarship that came before, in particular Duncan Wilson's biographical study of Vuk Karadžić and Svetozar Koljević's authoritative work of the epic.

The selected bibliography is divided into two sections: one on anthologies of Serbian epic poetry and the second on critical sources. Both sections list works in English and Serbo-Croatian separately. It is understandable that space limitations determined the number of titles that could be included, but some omissions are regrettable nevertheless, like that of the 1988 study of Kraljević Marko by Tatyana Popovich. References to more of the earlier analyses and studies of the Serbian epic, including work associated with the Milman Parry collection at Harvard would also have been welcomed.

The heart of the volume is, of course, the poetry, and it ranges from the poignant, almost mysterious lyric "The Shepherd who was Devoured," in the chapter on the earliest songs to the tragic and unforgettable lines of the Kosovo ballads, so important to understanding the current ethnic strife in the Balkans. The feats and strategies of the hero Marko Kraljević—the legendary prince who outwitted his Ottoman rivals—that are celebrated in the cycle of songs dedicated to him and the historical battles and skirmishes of the Serbian insurrection at the beginning of the 19th century that are commemorated in the epic poems are additional examples of the many themes and events that comprise the body of poetry presented in this collection.

This authoritative text presents not only a sampling of Serbian folk poems from an evocative and powerful oral tradition that is in some ways as dynamic and influential today as it was in the past, but it provides the audience with an accessible, full, and elegantly written account of Serbian history and culture, supported by effective annotation and rich contextualization. The work demonstrates the highly skilled craftsmanship of Holton and Mihailovich, further buttressing their leadership in the field and providing evidence of their vision and integrity.

Zora Devrnja Zimmerman
Iowa State University

Mateja Matejić, *Na rubu*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1997, 79 pages.

The twenty-eighth book by a leading writer in the Serbian diaspora, Mateja Matejić (b. 1924), *Na rubu* (On the Edge), offers a representative selection of his entire poetic opus. Written at various times, fifty-eight poems in this collection show the poet from different angles and with a varying subject matter. They also demonstrate the main spheres of his interest. Above all, these poems show Matejić, himself a priest with a long and distinguished career, as a pronouncedly spiritual person whose main concern has always been the spiritual values of his flock and of his homeland. It is therefore not surprising that most

poems deal with these values. Among the best poems in the collection are those devoted to the Serbian centuries-old relic, the monastery Hilandar at Mount Athos, taken from his earlier book, *Hilandarski rukopis* (Hilandar Manuscript). As a frequent visitor to this Mecca of Serbian Orthodoxy, he sees it as "a stone/heaved by one of gods/into the sea/and turned into/the church of God," "a garden planted for the Mother of God" And "a ship docked on earth/with its sails spread widely." In the famous icon from the monastery, depicted as being "three-handed," she never ceases her vigil over her flock. Other examples of the poet's exalted spirituality can be seen in many poems of a philosophical nature dealing with the meaning of life, its inevitable transience, and the relativity of man's existence. "I slowly grasp," one poem says, "to some everything is shadow, to others shadow is everything." Throughout these poems there are grains of wisdom such as "all yesterdays were tomorrows/and all tomorrows/will be todays." Such poems of deep thought are the most gratifying in the entire collection.

Matejić also touches upon other Serbian relics, such as the cult of Kosovo, the greatest Serbian poet, Njegoš, and vicious crimes committed against his people (as in the heart-rending poem, "Eyes"). Other themes are inescapable for a poet forced, in the political turmoil during and after World War II, to spend most of his life in his second homeland. The sad lot of his fellow emigrants finds adequate expression in these poems, together with the human foibles of discord, envy, and lack of respect for national shrines. There are also poems for special occasions, which are poetically less successful although not devoid of significance. Most importantly, the poet transforms all these points of inspiration into genuine poetic images, best illustrated by the poem "*Oblak*" (A Cloud), in which a cloud disappears only to be brought back to life through an innocent smile of a child. Perhaps the most expressive is the title poem showing the poetic persona sitting alone on an edge, shivering in the dark night and waiting for dawn.

The concluding words in the book, "He who reads these poems ought to know they are written not by me but by life," are

true but somewhat misleading. Without the poet's spark, these poems would be quickly forgotten. As it is, they stand as some of the best achievements in Serbian poetry away from home. This is the third book published in his homeland, after decades of deliberate neglect.

Vasa D. Mihailovich
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill

Nikola Moravčević, *Albion, Albion. Istorijski roman*. Belgrade: Slobodan Mašić, 1995, 682 pages.

The word 'Albion' in the title of the book is attributed to Napoleon who described England as 'Perfidious Albion' in 1803. This phrase became widespread during the French Revolution. As the words *istorijski roman* (historical novel) suggest, the book is a mixture of historical fact and fiction relating to the history of occupied Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1944 when Russian troops, accompanied by their partisan allies, captured Belgrade. Central to the subject of the novel is the looming and fateful interference of the British government in the Yugoslav resistance movement and its military and political backing of the communist partisan forces at the expense of the Chetniks and the exile Royal Government in London. The author throughout the novel offers two main reasons for the British decision to support Tito and withdraw its support from Mihailovich. One is pragmatic. Tito's partisans were more active in their fight against the Germany army and thereby helped the Allied war effort more. The second reason according to Moravčević was the conspiracy by Cambridge educated closet communists, who were then in high military and political positions, to do everything in their power to further the communist victory in Yugoslavia. Moravčević asserts that there is "... clear proof of the existence of a deep-seated and broad pro-Soviet conspiracy in the very heart of the British military and political leadership" (p. 613). Moravčević argues that, due to their influence, military and political backing of the Chetniks was

withdrawn and handed over to the partisans. It is 'Perfidious Albion,' the author concludes, which betrayed the legitimate and democratic Royal Government, headed by King Peter, and delivered Yugoslavia to communist totalitarian rule.

It is the nature of an historical novel to integrate historical fact along with fictional elements. This integration should interweave fact and fiction in such a way that they blend seamlessly and leave readers unable to completely separate them. Sometimes the author proceeds by relating historical facts without elaboration. One instance is when he recreates the conversation between Churchill and his deputy with the partisan Fitzroy Maclean. During the conversation Maclean expresses his concern for the future of postwar Yugoslavia under communist rule and he is asked by Churchill whether he plans to live in Yugoslavia after the war. When Maclean answers in the negative, Churchill tells him that in that case he should not worry about what will happen in Yugoslavia. This conversation was presented in Maclean's book, *Eastern Approaches*. Tito's first meeting with Stalin in Moscow, accompanied by drinking and feeding orgies, was described in Djilas' book, *My Conversations with Stalin*, and the author relies on Djilas' presentation.

Much more numerous are the places where the author starts with an historical fact and then proceeds to elaborate a fictional account surrounding and accompanying it. Historians and even the wider public are familiar with Churchill and Eden as politicians and personalities and they are aware of the prickly relationship. Churchill, the romantic and inspiring leader, was at odds with his aspiring but pedestrian successor. The author, on the basis of this character contrast, follows up with a series of imaginary conversations between the two which are so rooted in historical facts as we know them that the line between fact and fiction is blurred. Another example is the relationship between the overwhelming and possessive Queen Mother Marija and her rebellious son, King Peter. The author relates a conversation between the two which makes this perennial human conflict palpable, vivid and believable. In the book, numerous conversations between Churchill and King Peter are interspersed in which Churchill tries to bend the King to his will and have him

recognize Tito as the leader of the resistance movement in Yugoslavia. A widely shared belief was that the young and politically inexperienced Peter was no match for the savvy old politician. The author's account of their verbal duels is different. Peter, according to him, is impetuous but fearless and stubborn in the defense of his beliefs and rights.

The key character and protagonist of the novel is Major Marko Vuković and it is through his eyes that we see and understand the unfolding events. He is a former royal Yugoslav officer educated at Cambridge, multilingual and worldly. All Serbs, after the demise of their country, had to decide whether to resist the German occupation and, if they decided to do so, which resistance to join: the communist partisans or the nationalistic Chetniks. The former advocated a total struggle against the German enemy regardless of consequences, including the possibility of reprisals against an innocent civilian population. The latter favored a general uprising at the end of the war when Allied military preponderance would be assured. In that way the Serbian population would be spared an enormous human sacrifice. Vuković joins the British Army, becomes attached to the Chetnik headquarters, and tirelessly but unsuccessfully works for their cause. His war exploits behind enemy lines seem implausible, as when he captures a high ranking German intelligence officer and his Yugoslav mistress who promptly becomes Vuković's lover after the German officer is killed in a skirmish by his own troops. Adina, Vuković's lover, although positively portrayed, exemplifies a 'La donna e mobile' character by shifting loyalties so rapidly. Through Vuković we meet Draža Mihailović, probably the most poignant and tragic character in the whole novel, whose depiction approaches almost Tolstoyan dimensions. He is described as an unassuming man of the people who by his bearing and behavior is not distinguished from the Serbian peasants in their midst. The two peasants who come to his headquarters with the aim of joining the Chetniks "... stared with great curiosity at this Chetnik leader about whom they had heard so much. To their enormous surprise they found nothing imposing in his bearing nor anything fierce in his face. In front of them was a thin bony man of middle height around fifty years old. He had

curly, salt-and-pepper hair, thick eyebrows and shiny intelligent eyes which radiated gentleness behind his thick, round, wire framed glasses ... he puffed on a cherry pipe, to which he had become so accustomed that it had become an inseparable part of his face. If he were to have met him in another place and in civilian clothes Milutin would have sworn that it was a country doctor" (p. 96). At the end of the war, with the fall of Belgrade on October 20th, 1944, and the abandonment of the Chetnik cause by the Allies, Mihailović concludes: "One should not hope that the Allies will soon correct their errors. We will wait for it a long time" (p. 672).

The ironic result of the Serbian 1941 dilemma, whether to fight the German occupier right away or wait and fight later when conditions would be more favorable, was that the Serbs started fighting each other immediately and often preferred to fight each other than fight the Germans. A secret partisan envoy was sent to the German headquarters to initiate truce negotiations with the intention of concentrating partisan forces against the Chetniks. The Chetniks, themselves, made peace with the Italian occupiers so that they could fight the partisans. The division among the Serbs was based, as far as I can see, on the different interests of Serbs in Serbia proper and those of Serbs in other parts of Yugoslavia. Serbs in Serbia proper were willing to wait and fight foreign occupiers later, but the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia could not wait because they had to fight for their lives against the Ustashas. Many of them joined the partisans and thus the division of the Serbian people was perpetuated in the form of an internecine fight between these two groups. Moravčević makes a passing remark which I find very appropriate in this context: "No human goal should be allowed to become more important than the infinite value of a life" (p. 518). It is difficult for Serbs to be objective about the war years even after more than fifty years and Moravčević writes from a definite ideological point of view. His sympathies are with the royal Chetnik side and not so much finally on the 'infinite value of life' which transcends all human divisions. But to be fair, partisan tribulations in the war are also given prominence in the novel, especially the parachute drop of the Deakin British mission to

Tito's headquarters and the subsequent Sutjeska battle. The author has meticulously researched his novel. We learn from him about the nickname of Queen Marija, Eden's health problems, Churchill's drinking habits and the names of countless villages in Bosnia, Serbia and Montenegro. Out of curiosity I traced Marko Vuković's track from Belgrade to the Adriatic coast on a big map of Yugoslavia. All the villages, even the tiniest, which the author mentioned were on the map. Moravčević's novel deserves to be published in an English version as it was originally written in English. Certain changes should be made in order to make it easier for English-speaking readers to follow the intricate mosaic of political events and groups. In the Serbian version of the novel, only readers with an intimate knowledge of World War II history in that region can fully appreciate it. Even the young Serbian reading public would benefit from an English translation, perhaps one that contained footnotes explicating some of the historical material.

There are several ways of reading *Albion, Albion*. It could be read as a politically and ideologically motivated novel, as a work of fiction in which historical fact remains secondary or as a testimony to turbulent and violent times of betrayal and deceit. Readers can choose from these three possibilities depending on their own convictions and biases. I would prefer to read it the third way and also as a cautionary reminder of the dangers of betrayal and disunity, which are so relevant to the current political and social conditions in Yugoslavia today. Its multifaceted possibilities of interpretation and appeal will certainly place it among some of the most interesting works in contemporary Serbian literature.

Dragan Milivojevic
University of Oklahoma

Aleksandar Pavković, *Slobodan Jovanović—An Unsentimental Approach to Politics.* East European Monographs CCCLXXI. Boulder (Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York), 1993, 231 pages.

Professor Slobodan Jovanović, lawyer, historian, political scientist, sociologist, former Chancellor of Belgrade University, President of the Royal Serbian Academy of Sciences and Prime Minister of the Yugoslav government in exile in London during World War II, who was sentenced in absentia to twenty years of prison by the post-war communist regime in Yugoslavia, finally obtained well-deserved recognition in his native land. The collection of all of Jovanović's scholarly achievements was published in 1990 and in February 1997 a symposium in his honor was held in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade in which over sixty scholars participated with papers dedicated to Jovanović's unique and versatile work. Professor Aleksandar Pavković, the Director of the Center for Slavonic and East European Studies at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, was among them. Dr. Pavković published four papers in the early '90s in scholarly journals in Belgrade, the United Sates and Australia in which he studied Jovanović's scholarship. His last and extensive study is the book under review, which was also translated into Serbian and published in Belgrade in 1996 by the Institute for Political Studies.

Jovanović's works involve three broad categories: the study of the state and its legal and political institutions, the examination and evaluation of political doctrines and ideas and finally, the history of modern Serbia and the lives and achievements of her prominent politicians. Dr. Pavković focused research of his book on Jovanović's contribution to political theories related to moral values. Influenced by liberal political and philosophical theories of his epoch, Jovanović analyzed changes in politics which affected their practical application. For that reason, many of his theoretical approaches are valued by contemporary political scientists. This applies especially to the development of Serbian political thought. Of special interest is the last chapter, the Appendix to Jovanović's ideas concerning "Yugoslavia: Its Peoples,

Politics and Constitution," in which Jovanović tried to find an answer to the Serbo-Croatian conflict, and moved from early centralized and unitarian ideas to federalist ones, including three "ethnic groups" (as Jovanović called them), Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Pavković also discussed Jovanović's role in the formation and activity of the Serbian Cultural Club, founded in 1937. His study is based on research done in Serbian archives as well as a large bibliography of works on Jovanović and his time.

In the past the Serbian nation produced great scholars who contributed to the native and European scholarship. One of the prominent stars among them was Slobodan Jovanović whose writings and teaching enlightened contemporary and future generations. This reviewer would fully comply with Jovanović's appraisal of the period of the communist rule in Serbia, which Dr. Pavković quoted at the end of his study:

"The picture Jovanović painted of the Serbs in the second half of the twentieth century appears to be rather bleak: without national organization, unused to discipline and planning, without a cultural model to follow, they are left to cope wit modern life equipped only with their individual dynamism, their courage, and their disregard for their own lives." However, he added an optimistic note for the Serbs who hopefully "will be capable of acquiring both the discipline and the cultural model needed to confront the difficulties which face them in their life in the Balkans." the message of Jovanović was cultural renaissance and national unity.

Dimitrije Djordjević
University of California
Santa Barbara

Branko Radovanović, Ed., *Nepokretna registrovana kulturna dobra na tlu Savezne Republike Jugoslavije u 1994.* Beograd: Savezni Zavod za Statistiku, 1996, 245 pages.

The appearance of the book *Immovable Registered Cultural Treasures on Yugoslav Soil in 1994*, marked the 150th anniversary

of the Prince Alexander Karadjordjević's regulation pertaining to the country's legal protection of its ancient monuments. At the time this ordinance was issued, Serbia, although a mere principality without complete state independence, was (besides Greece and the Pontifical State) the third country in Europe to legally protect its cultural monuments.

The latest state sponsored inventory of Yugoslav cultural monuments conducted in 1994 and presented in this book, is the most ambitious survey of this kind undertaken during the last two decades, although, due to the political changes that occurred in that period, it lists only the monuments located on the present Yugoslav territory. According to the methodological explanation, the authors of the catalogue used the term "immovable cultural treasures, or cultural monuments" thinking about the value of those objects, resulting either through human labor expended on them or through their natural significance. Those values have the special importance for the entire society.

The book offers a detailed account of 2787 registered cultural monuments, of which 2347 or 84.2% are located in Serbia. The monuments listed are those that were created during a very long period of history, stretching from the Paleolithic times to the 20th century. They are broadly classified by the kind of construction into the following eight basic groups: archeological finds (224 locations), colonies (103), residential architecture (548), public architecture (264), religious architecture (955), military architecture (89), economic architecture (220) and memorial architecture (384 monuments).

The basic groups are subsequently divided into numerous subgroups, according to the type of colonies, constructional characteristics, purpose, religious affiliation, historical significance, etc. Religious architecture, for example, is classified according to its chief characteristics such as the confessional origin, the way of building or the very strict purpose of the object. Religious buildings of the Orthodox Christianity, all 792 of them, are described in the same way as are the 90 buildings of the Catholic Christianity and 49 monuments of Islamic religious architecture. Religious buildings of Orthodox Christianity include 200 monastic complexes (of which 65 are monastic endowments

of various Serbian rulers and bishops) and 564 Orthodox churches (of which the most representative are 279 parish churches). In addition, the register clearly specifies the number of chapels, ascetic or other church buildings listed in this category of monuments. It also reveals that residential architecture is richly represented in the Serbian cultural heritage. From the totality of listed objects we can distinguish three big groups of such architecture: residential buildings (95), apartment buildings (304) and residential-economic buildings (88). Residential buildings are divided into palaces (29), castles (15), villas (15), inns (17) etc. Public architecture includes government buildings (74), cultural, entertainment and sport buildings (59), educational and scientific buildings (76) and medical buildings (38). The category of educational and scientific buildings envelops primary and secondary schools, university buildings, national academies and so on.

Though the period stretching from the Paleolithic times to the eighties of the 20th century is sufficiently long to include a veritable plethora of cultural monuments, the fact is that most of those listed originated in the 18th century (1259, or 45.2%), while 621 monuments were created during the period from the 10th to the 17th century.

If we analyze the basic groups of monuments according to the time of their origin, we can note the differences and special characteristics of various historical periods. Archeological finds originate from the most distant past. Religious architecture is very old, too. However, 46.9% of all Orthodox buildings (371) were created during the 18th and 19th century. But, that is understandable because of the fact that Serbs in Vojvodina became culturally significant only after their Great Migration to the outlying areas of the Habsburg empire to avoid Turkish slavery. Thus they could build there Orthodox religious buildings only in the 18th and 19th centuries. The golden era of the monastery and church construction are the late Middle Ages. In the period of Nemanjić's state, the rulers and aristocrats were particularly active in the domain of religious architecture. In the 14th century they created 123 buildings of Orthodox Christianity, and in the 15th and 16th centuries 157 buildings. On the other hand,

the buildings of public architecture appear with some prominence only in the latest history: 149 of such buildings or 57.3% of the total originate in the 18th, and 132 or 42. 7% of the total in the 19th century. Also, 67.3% of all residential buildings come from the 18th and 19th centuries. Among the youngest is the economic architecture: 104 buildings (47.2%) were created in the 19th century and 25 buildings in the period stretching from 1919 to 1949.

It is very important to note the changes in the past and present characteristics of various monuments as well as to observe the actions of institutions in charge of their preservation and restoration in a new social and cultural milieu. According to the data offered, the monument's original state was not changed in 65.3% of the cases (1675 buildings), while in 27.8% of the cases (711 buildings) the monuments were enlarged or rebuilt. Furthermore, 177 buildings (about 6.9% of the total) were reconstructed even before they were proclaimed cultural monuments.

After the announcement of monuments which qualify as national cultural treasures, the program of reconstruction was announced for the 743 buildings in Serbia (33.5% of the total) and for more than 56% of all such monuments in Montenegro.

However, on 1602 of the protected monuments, no work of any kind was envisaged, and just for 220 of them some programs of repair and arrangement were undertaken. Lesser conservation had been performed on 667 monuments, restoration on 458, revival on 307, and reconstruction on 249.

If we consider programs of repair and arrangement, it is interesting to note that they envelop only 37.4% of all religious buildings listed as national treasures. Most of the religious monuments (63.9% of them) did not change their original appearance. Enlarged or rebuilt are 26.2%, and reconstructed just 7.9% of all buildings in this group.

This dry language of numbers could say much to those interested in the preservation of our cultural inheritance. The attitude we have toward our cultural monuments is the indicator of our cultural identity. Cultural identity built through history is not an unchangeable category. We can actualize it in this moment by undertaking more of the concrete actions to both conserve our traditional cultural treasures and adapt them to the modern time. If we do not want to lose our cultural identity, we should have a more rational attitude toward our cultural inheritance and a clearer criteria about the conservation of the inherited cultural treasures, and the building of the new ones.

Miloš Nemanjić
Institute for Sociological and Criminological Research

Vladimir Stojančević, *Kosovo I Metohija u srpsko-albanaskim odnosima u XIX veku (1804-1878). Kosovo and Metohija in Serbian-Albanian Relations in the 19th Century (1804-1878).* Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department of Historical Sciences and the Interdepartmental Committee for the Studies of Kosovo and Metohija, 1994, 188 pages with a map and tables.

This valuable book comprises three separate studies dealing with the legal, economic and social positions of Serbs in Kosovo and in Metohija in the course of the 19th century. Due to the importance of the topic and an exceptional selection of presented archival materials, an English translation of all three studies has been included.

The first study, "The Restored Serbian State and the Albanians 1804-1876," examines the policy of the emerging Serbian state directed towards the Albanian population in view of the political situation in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey proper.

The relations between the Serbs and the Albanians during this period were changeable ranging from hostility to friendly collaboration aiming to overthrow the Turkish rule. Most notably, the termination of Turkish rule was the chief preoccupation of the Serbian Prince Miloš. The French diplomat Bois Le Compte recognized the validity of the liberation struggle siding with the Balkan peoples. He recounted, in June 1834, to his minister of foreign affairs that such aspirations were justified: the time has come to let the Serbs, Greeks, Albanians and Bulgarians to free themselves from the crumbling Turkish rule. But these aspi-

rations were thwarted by the reality of growing anarchy and unsettled agrarian and legal relations within the Turkish Empire. The position of Serbs in Kosovo was very difficult since the Turkish authorities did not protect the Serbs from autocratic actions of local chieftains as well as plundering bands of outlaws. These difficult circumstances were also described by the writer Marko Miljanov who was also sympathetic to the Albanian cause.

During the second reign of Prince Mihailo and his prime minister Ilija Garašanin the negotiations were continued with the Bulgarians, Greeks and Albanians aiming to form a federation of Balkan peoples. The final text of the agreement of August 14, 1867 contained a clause allowing the Albanians to choose between joining on equal footing or becoming an independent member of the Balkan confederation. The Serbian-Turkish war of 1876 annihilated almost all the results of the thirty years of Serbo-Albanian efforts in creating a political alliance against the Ottoman Empire. The strong influence of the feudal chieftains and the religious Muslim exclusiveness resulted in an increased political, economic and social pressure on the Slavic population as well as on the non Muslim Albanians. It is important to note that earlier negotiations showed that the Albanians were in favor of the policy "Balkans for the Balkan peoples."

The second study, "Confessional and Demographic Conditions in Metohija during the 1830s," examines the earliest description of Metohija. Vuk Karadžić was among the first who devoted attention to this region in his work Geograficeskoe-Statisticeskoe opisanie Srbije. Stojancevic also examined the writings of foreign writers during the 1830s such as Ami Boue, Joseph Müller, Johan Georg Hahn and Ivan Yastreboff. He singled out the findings of Müller who drew data for his work from official documents of the Turkish administration.

The third study, "The Population in the Prizren Vilayet before Serbian-Turkish Wars 1876-1878," is devoted to the Prizren Vilayet in the third quarter of the 19th century. This study includes several tables illustrating the demographic changes during this period. Thus in 1871 the Serbs (Orthodox, Islamized and Catholics) accounted for more than 3/5 of the entire population of Kosovo and Metohija. Albanians (Muslims and

Catholics) accounted for nearly 1/3 of the total population. Osmanlis, Tzintzars, Gypsies and Tcherkesses represented a negligible part of the population comprising barely 1/25.

The Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876-1878 caused great changes in confessional and ethnic configurations in Metohija and Kosovo. These changes were caused mostly by the emigration of Serbs especially from the Prizren and Peč sandzaks. All three studies are supplied with extensive bibliographical references and copious notes which enhance the value of this book.

Jelena Milojković-Djurić
The University of Texas

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

Filip David ***Hodočasnici neba i zemlje.*** Belgrade, Prosveta, 1995, 180 pages.

Condemned by the Inquisition, the protagonist of the novel *Pilgrimages of Heaven and Earth* wanders by boat, on horseback and on foot through the Mediterranean area. His travels enable him to meet all kinds of people and to visit strange places. He becomes aware of two parallel worlds, both full of magic, mysteries, supernatural forces, peculiar beings and beasts, ghosts and devils.

David's rich imagination overwhelms the reader. Absorbed into this cobweb of secret signs, evil spirits, demons and sorcery, the spellbound reader starts to believe in the unbelievable.

Erih Koš, ***Nove i stare bosanske priče.*** Belgrade, BIGZ, 1996, 194 pages.

The collection *New and Old Bosnian Stories* consists of thirty-seven short stories and a glossary of less known words. These are folk tales and anecdotes, full of ancient wisdom and humor, which people like to tell over a cup of coffee or a glass of brandy. The stories cover different time periods but the majority of them feature the Turkish rule in Bosnia. The characters are pashas and sheikhs as well as ordinary people.

Erih Koš (b. 1913) is an academician. He wrote ten collections of stories, four book essays and four books of autobiographical prose.

Slaviša Radovanović, ***Lek za bolesne oči.*** Belgrade: Apostrof, 1996, 106 pages.

The protagonist of the novel *The Cure for Sick Eyes,* French writer Marcel Pineau, is suffering from eye cancer which threatens to blind him. He accepts the advice of a Serbian exile to go

to a magic source in a lonely village in Serbia, to wet his eyes and drink the water. The visit provides the author with the possibility to acquaint the reader with the situation in Serbia. Yugoslavia has already disintegrated, the war is in full fledge, the standard of living at its lowest level. While the magic water does not cure Marcel's eyes it opens them widely to look around himself and take his own stand. Marcel compares all the events occurring to him with what happened to the hero of his book, the maker of Stradivarius violins.

Mihailo Pantić, ***Antologija Srpske Pripovetke 1945-1996.*** Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1997, pages 407.

The collection *Anthology of the Serbian Story 1945-1995* includes thirty-six stories, an introduction and notes on the contributors.

The book opens with a story by Ivo Andrić and closes with the contribution by the youngest author Goran Petrović (b.1961). Only one woman writer is included, Svetlana Velmar-Janković. This anthology, aimed at school children and published by the Institute for Textbooks and instructional aids, largely exceeds its goal.

Seldom does a collection of stories cover such a long period and even more rarely does it include the latest creations as this one does. It includes the latest newcomers to the Serbian literary scene: Nemanja Mitrović, Vladimir Pistalo and Goran Petrović.

Nadežda Obradović
University of Belgrade

Ivan V. Lalić, ***A Rusty Needle.*** Chester Springs: Anvil Press Poetry, Dufour Editions, 1997, 195 pages.

The selection of Ivan V. Lalić's poetry, *A Rusty Needle,* traces the poet's artistic development from his first published poems to the ones representing a more mature, seasoned poet, thus providing the reader with a cross section of impressive poetic achievements. Lalić's early verse deals with his personal past,

replete with dense, colorful, highly charged imagery. The later poems offer philosophical explorations and history of magnificent Dubrovnik as well as of Byzantium, paying homage to his country's Eastern heritage.

Lalić takes us on a poetic journey into his own life revealing images of his childhood, his friends, his violent coming of age —the slaughter of friends in the air raids in Belgrade, the death of his mother and other misfortunes that are deeply personal experiences. In the Dubrovnik and Byzantium cycles he looks eastward, to the roots of Serbian culture and the glory of the medieval Serbian state, as the editor and translator, Francis R. Jones, points out. At one point in the 14th century Serbia seemed poised to become Byzantium's successor state, only to be brought down by the Ottoman Turks. The legacy of medieval Serbia is left in magnificent monasteries and frescoes, as well as in the religious and secular medieval literature that dazzled and inspired Lalić. *A Rusty Needle* also reveals his close kinship with poets such as T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and William Yeats, thus integrating North European influences with strong and ever present Mediterranean images of water, wind and light.

Ivan V. Lalić's works have earned many national and international awards and have been translated into many languages. In his commentaries Jones underlines succinctly a profound characteristic of Lalić's verse: "What makes Lalić's poetry so dazzling is its joyful recognition that there is more to words than meaning alone." This collection, skillfully translated, serves as an excellent introduction to Lalić for those who are meeting him for the first time and a gratifying reinforcement for those who are familiar with this great poetry.

Branko Mikasinovich
Washington, D.C.

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS

"The Glory of Byzantium"
Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York City, March–July, 1997

The Association of Art Historians of Serbia have sent a protest letter to the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mr. de Montebello as well as to the American Embassy in Belgrade, concerning the exhibition "The Glory of Byzantium" where Serbia was completely eliminated. Following are the letters of response.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10028-0198

June 4, 1997

Dr. Miroslav Timotijević
President
The Association of Art Historians of Serbia
Božidara Adžije 11
(1100) Beograd, Serbia
FAX 011-381-11-444-98-46

Dear Dr. Timotijević:

Mr. de Montebello, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has asked me, as co-curator of the exhibition and the Museum's specialist on Early Christian and Byzantine Art, to answer your letter concerning the exhibition "The Glory of Byzan-

---

* Editor's note.

tium." In 1976 the Museum first surveyed an extensive period of the history of the Byzantine empire in the exhibition "The Age of Spirituality" which focused on the first centuries of the Christian era. Now in the Museum's second major exhibition on Byzantium, we have sought to explore the second great era of Byzantine civilization, the era between the end of the iconoclastic controversy and the Fourth Crusade's destruction of the empire as a world power (843-1261). Then, as now, not all relevant cultures could be appropriately represented in the exhibition by the loan of sufficiently important works of art. The final important centuries of the Byzantine world, the most important era of Serbian culture, remain to be explored in a future exhibition.

To ensure understanding of the exceptional quality of the arts of the Middle Byzantine Empire and the complex structure of the Byzantine sphere of influence, we sought to borrow for "The Glory of Byzantium" major works of art representing the Empire's religious and secular spheres, its most powerful neighboring Christian states, as well as representative examples of the Empire's highest level of interaction with the Islamic East and the Latin West. Initially we explored every published reference available to us of the finest works of art the Byzantine world produced between 843 and 1261 which could be transported to America. Our search included those works in the major exhibitions of the arts of Yugoslavia held in Europe in recent decades and the objects for an exhibition on the same theme proposed for The Metropolitan Museum in the 1980's.

As I am sure you are aware, there are no major works of Serbian art outside of your country. As we began preparation of the exhibition four years ago, no one interested in the art and culture of Serbia whom we were able to contact could offer any advice on obtaining loans of a quality representative of the ultimate greatness of the Serbian state. To ensure that the exhibition recognize in the most lasting way, that is in the catalogue, the role of Serbia as an important and integral part of the Byzantine sphere of influence, I stressed its importance in my essay on "Christian Neighbors" of the Empire.

You have noted that there is no reference in the catalogue to the U.N. sanctions which hindered approaching Serbia for

loans. The catalogue makes no reference to the reasons for the lack of participation of any country in the exhibition including ones like Albania, Armenia, Macedonia, and Rumania, within the Byzantine sphere of influence. (A copy of the great Annunciation from Kurbinovo which was acquired by the Museum for the 1970 exhibition "The Year 1200" is on display in the exhibition's Reading Room). We do apologize for the minor errors in the catalogue concerning Serbia which will be corrected with those in other entries and chapters if we have another edition of the text. The reference to Stefan Nemanja as the king of Bulgaria in the index was an oversight by the indexer hired for the project who was working against a very tight deadline. The attribution of Gračanica to Bosnia-Herzegovina was based on a reading of the map in The Times *Atlas of the World* by a fact checker in the editorial department. The limited naming of the monuments of Serbia was based on my desire to include in my necessarily brief description of Serbia, its importance in the fourteenth century, information outside of the time frame of the exhibition. William Wixom's essay "Byzantine Art and the Latin est" does make reference to the possible influence of the great frescoes of Nerezi on the West (p. 442). As scholars, I am sure you understand that the bibliography is based on the information in the catalogue. While it is very long, many outstanding scholars were not included while many lesser scholars whose publications were of specific interest for an individual entry are present.

The curators and catalogue authors of "The Glory of Byzantium" are well aware of the importance of Serbia in the history of the Byzantine world and regret that it was impossible to include works of art indicative of its greatness in the exhibition. To ensure recognition of the developing cultural importance of Serbia during these centuries, my essay on the "Christian Neighbors" of the empire contained more information on Serbia than on any other "neighbor" not included in the exhibition. The map and the brochure for the exhibition stress the geography and history of the works on display in the galleries. Our original version of the map included all great monuments of the Byzantine world and was thus illegible. We regret that the final version has been understood in Serbia as a deliberate exclusion of only your

state. In fact many exceptionally important cities, monasteries, etc., had to be excluded.

If the Museum in the future is able to hold an exhibition on the final centuries of the Byzantine state, we would hope that The Association of Art Historians of Serbia would support our efforts to borrow the greatest works of art from the major collections of Serbia.

In hopes of having the opportunity to collaborate with you in the future, I am

Yours Sincerely,

Dr. Helen C. Evans
Associate Curator for
Early Christian and Byzantine Art
The Department of Medieval Art

cc. Philippe de Montebello

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Dr. Miroslav Timotijević
President
The Association of Art Historians of Serbia
Božidara Adžije 11
(11000) Beograd, Serbia
FAX 011-381-11-444-98-46

June 4, 1997

Dear Dr. Timotijević:

Mr. de Montebello, Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, has asked me, as co-curator of the exhibition and the Museum's specialist on Early Christian and Byzantine Art, to answer your letter concerning the exhibition "The Glory of Byzantium." In 1976 the Museum first surveyed an extensive period of the history of the Byzantine empire in the exhibition "The Age of Spirituality" which focused on the first centuries of the Christian era. Now in the Museum's second major exhibition on Byzantium, we have sought to explore the second great era of Byzantine civilization, the era between the end of the iconoclastic controversy and the Fourth Crusade's destruction of the empire as a world power (843-1261). Then, as now, not all relevant cultures could be appropriately represented in the exhibition by the loan of sufficiently important works of art. The final important centuries of the Byzantine world, the most important era of Serbian culture, remain to explored in a future exhibition.

To ensure understanding of the exceptional quality of the arts of the Middle Byzantine Empire and the complex structure of the Byzantine sphere of influence, we sought to borrow for "The Glory of Byzantium" major works of art representing the Empire's religious and secular spheres, its most powerful neighboring Christian states, as well as representative examples of the Empire's highest level of interaction with the Islamic East and the Latin West. Initially we explored every published reference available to us of the finest works of art the Byzantine world produced between 843 and 1261 which could be transported to America. Our search included those works in the major exhibitions of the arts of Yugoslavia held in Europe in recent decades and the objects for an exhibition on the same theme proposed for The Metropolitan Museum in the 1980's.

As I am sure you are aware, there are no major works of Serbian art outside of your country. As we began preparation of the exhibition four years ago, no one interested in the art and culture of Serbia whom we were able to contact could offer any advice on obtaining loans of a quality representative of the ultimate greatness of the Serbian state. To ensure that the exhibition recognize in the most lasting way, that is in the catalogue, the role of Serbia as an important and integral part of the Byzantine sphere of influence, I stressed its importance in my essay on "Christian Neighbors" of the Empire.

You have noted that there is no reference in the catalogue to the U.N. sanctions which hindered approaching Serbia for loans. The catalogue makes no reference to the reasons for

1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198 (212) 879-5500 Telex 666676 Fax 212-5703879

the lack of participation of any country in the exhibition including ones, like Albania, Armenia, Macedonia, and Rumania, within the Byzantine sphere of influence. (A copy of the great Annunciation from Kurbinovo which was acquired by the Museum for the 1970 exhibition "The Year 1200" is on display in the exhibition's Reading Room.) We do apologize for the minor errors in the catalogue concerning Serbia which will be corrected with those in other entries and chapters if we have another edition of the text. The reference to Stefan Nemanja as the king of Bulgaria in the index was an oversight by the indexer hired for the project who was working against a very tight deadline. The attribution of Gračanica to Bosnia-Herzigovinia was based on a reading of the map in The Times Atlas of the World by a fact checker in the editorial department. The limited naming of the monuments of Serbia was based on my desire to include in my necessarily brief description of Serbia, its importance in the fourteenth century, information outside of the time frame of the exhibition. William Wixom's essay "Byzantine Art and the Latin West" does make reference to the possible influence of the great frescoes of Nerezi on the West (p. 442). As scholars, I am sure you understand that the bibliography is based on the information in the catalogue. While it is very long, many outstanding scholars were not included while many lesser scholars whose publications were of specific interest for an individual entry are present.

The curators and catalogue authors of "The Glory of Byzantium" are well aware of the importance of Serbia in the history of the Byzantine world and regret that it was impossible to include works of art indicative of its greatness in the exhibition. To ensure recognition of the developing cultural importance of Serbia during these centuries, my essay on the "Christian Neighbors" of the empire contained more information on Serbia than on any other "neighbor" not included in the exhibition. The map and the brochure for the exhibition stress the geography and history of the works on display in the galleries. Our original version of the map included all the great monuments of the Byzantine world and was thus illegible. We regret that the final version has been understood in Serbia as a deliberate exclusion of only your state. In fact, many exceptionally important cities, monasteries, etc., had to be excluded.

If the Museum in the future is able to hold an exhibition on the final centuries of the Byzantine state, we would hope that The Association of Art Historians of Serbia would support our efforts to borrow the greatest works of art from the major collections of Serbia.

In hopes of having the opportunity to collaborate with you in the future, I am

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Helen C. Evans

Dr. Helen C. Evans
Associate Curator for
Early Christian and Byzantine Art
The Department of Medieval Art

cc. Philippe de Montebello

Embassy of the United States of America
Belgrade

May 29, 1997

Dr. Miroslav Timotijevic
President
The Association of Art Historians of Serbia
Bozidara Adzije 11
1100 Belgrade

Dear Dr. Timotijevic:

Mr. Brown showed your letter to me and I thought I would answer it myself.

I saw "The Glory of Byzantium" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in April and I have the catalog. It is a stunning exhibition and I too regret that Serbia received such short shrift in it. I had this feeling when I saw the exhibition and your letter simply brought it to mind.

I have sent a copy of your letter, as well as a copy of my response, to Bill Luers, President of the Metropolitan Museum. It may be that he or someone from the museum will write you directly. Meanwhile, my own guess is that the scant attention to Serbia in the exhibition, catalog, etc. was indeed caused by the disruption in Serbia's ties with the outside world brought about by the war ad international sanctions. This is regrettable but understandable.

Having said that, there does seem to be some hyperbole in your letter to Mr. Brown. Contrary to your statements, Serbia is mentioned in the exhibition and in the catalog. A picture of the Church of the Virgin, Studenica appears in the catalog. True, Serbia is not portrayed on the catalog's map but neither is Greece nor many other countries of importance to Byzantium. The locations of such Serbian sites as Gracanica, Sopocani, Studenica and Nis are marked on the map.

No bibliography will ever satisfy everyone, but to call the catalog's enormous and up-to-date bibliography "extremely old

and not valuable" indicates to me that you have not actually seen it. Finally, although I am far from being a scholar of Byzantine studies, I did notice "a great number of major inaccuracies" in the catalog. I am sure the authors would appreciate a list of such mistakes for their scholarly use.

I look forward to meeting you at some future date when we can discuss al this over a cup of coffee and maybe something stronger.

Sincerely,

Richard Miles
Chief of Mission

cc: Mr. Luers,
President, Metropolitan Museum

Embassy of the United States of America

Belgrade

May 29, 1997

Dr. Miroslav Timotijevic
President
The Association of Art Historians of Serbia
Bozidara Adzije 11
11000 Belgrade

Dear Dr. Timotijevic:

Mr. Brown showed your letter to me and I thought I would answer it myself.

I saw "The Glory of Byzantium" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in April and I have the catalog. It is a stunning exhibition and I too regret that Serbia receives such short shrift in it. I had this feeling when I saw the exhibition and your letter simply brought it to mind.

I have sent a copy of your letter, as well as a copy of my response, to Bill Luers, President of the Metropolitan Museum. It may be that he or someone from the museum will write you directly. Meanwhile, my own guess is that the scant attention to Serbia in the exhibition, catalog, etc. was indeed caused by the disruption in Serbia's ties with the outside world brought about by the war and international sanctions. This is regrettable but understandable.

Having said that, there does seem to be some hyperbole in your letter to Mr. Brown. Contrary to your statements, Serbia is mentioned in the exhibition and in the catalog. A picture of the Church of the Virgin, Studenica appears in the catalog. True, Serbia is not portrayed on the catalog's map but neither is Greece nor many other countries of importance to Byzantium. The locations of such Serbian sites as Gracanica, Sopocani, Studenica and Nis are marked on the map.

No bibliography will ever satisfy everyone, but to call the catalog's enormous and up-to-date bibliography "extremely old and not valuable" indicates to me that you have not actually seen it. Finally, although I am far from being a scholar of Byzantine studies, I did not notice "a great number of major inaccuracies" in the catalog. I am sure the authors would appreciate a list of such mistakes for their scholarly use.

2

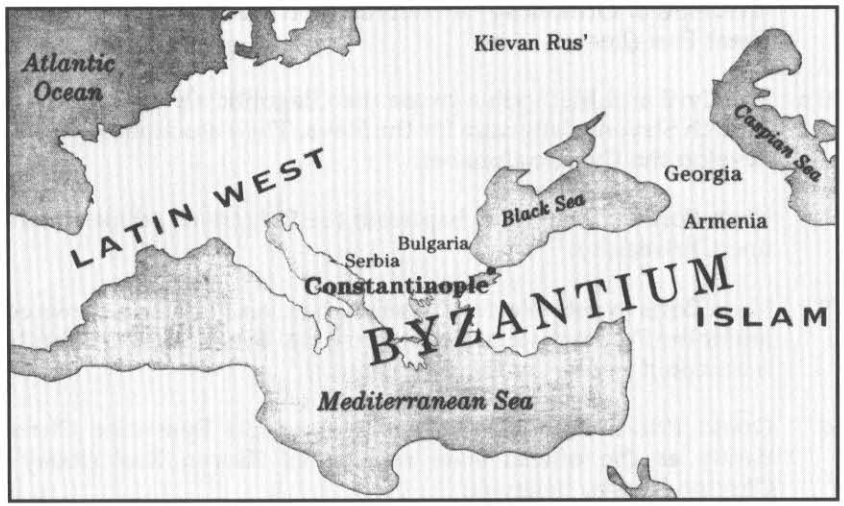
I look forward to meeting you at some future date when we can discuss all this over a cup of coffee and maybe something stronger.

Sincerely,

Richard Miles
Chief of Mission

cc: Mr. Luers,
President, Metropolitan Museum

The popular journal *Serb World U.S.A.*, in its May/June 1997 issue published a four-page illustrated article on "The Glory of Byzantium" supplied by the Metropolitan Museum's Communication Department, Harold Holzer and Jill Schoenback, with a map which does not correspond to the map in the catalogue or those on the walls of the exhibition rooms.*



"Glory of Byzantium" Time Line

Year A.D.	Event
313	Emperor Constantine the Great issues the Edict of Milan allowing Christians to worship freely within the Empire.
324	Founding of the Byzantine Empire when Emperor Constantine moves the capital of the Empire from Rome, naming the new capital Constantinople.

* Editor's note.

330 St. Nino converts the Georgians to Christianity, and they develop an alphabet in the 400's.

395 The Empire is divided into Eastern and Western portions.

570 The prophet Muhammad is born.

800 Charlemagne is crowned "Emperor of the West" by Pope Leo III in Rome.

843 Restoration of the veneration of icons is proclaimed. This "Triumph of Orthodoxy" is celebrated on the First Sunday in the Great Fast (Lent).

800's Sts. Cyril and Methodius create the Glagolitic alphabet and the Church Slavonic language for the Slavs. Their students soon will develop the Cyrillic alphabet.

864 Khan Boris of Bulgaria is baptized; the Bulgarians adopt Byzantine Christianity.

879 Khan Boris expels Western missionaries, and Bulgaria is placed under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Byzantine Christianity is accepted widely by the Bulgarians.

968 Grand Prince Volodymyr (Vladimir) adopts Byzantine Christianity as the official state religion of Kievan Rus' (today's Ukraine Russia, Belarus').

1054 The Patriarch of Constantinople and the Patriarch of Rome excommunicate one another, beginning the Great Schism of the Byzantine and Latin Churches.

1061 By now, Mt. Athos is the intellectual center of Orthodox monasticism.

1082 Emperor Alexius I Komnenos grants Venice legal, political, and economic concessions which expand Venetian commercial and economic dominance in Byzantine territory.

1099 the First Crusade Captures Jerusalem, establishing the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

1024 The Fourth Crusade leads into a Latin occupation of Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire is reduced to several contending states in outlying regions. For much of the next fifty years, vast amounts of artistic booty are sent and taken to Western Europe.

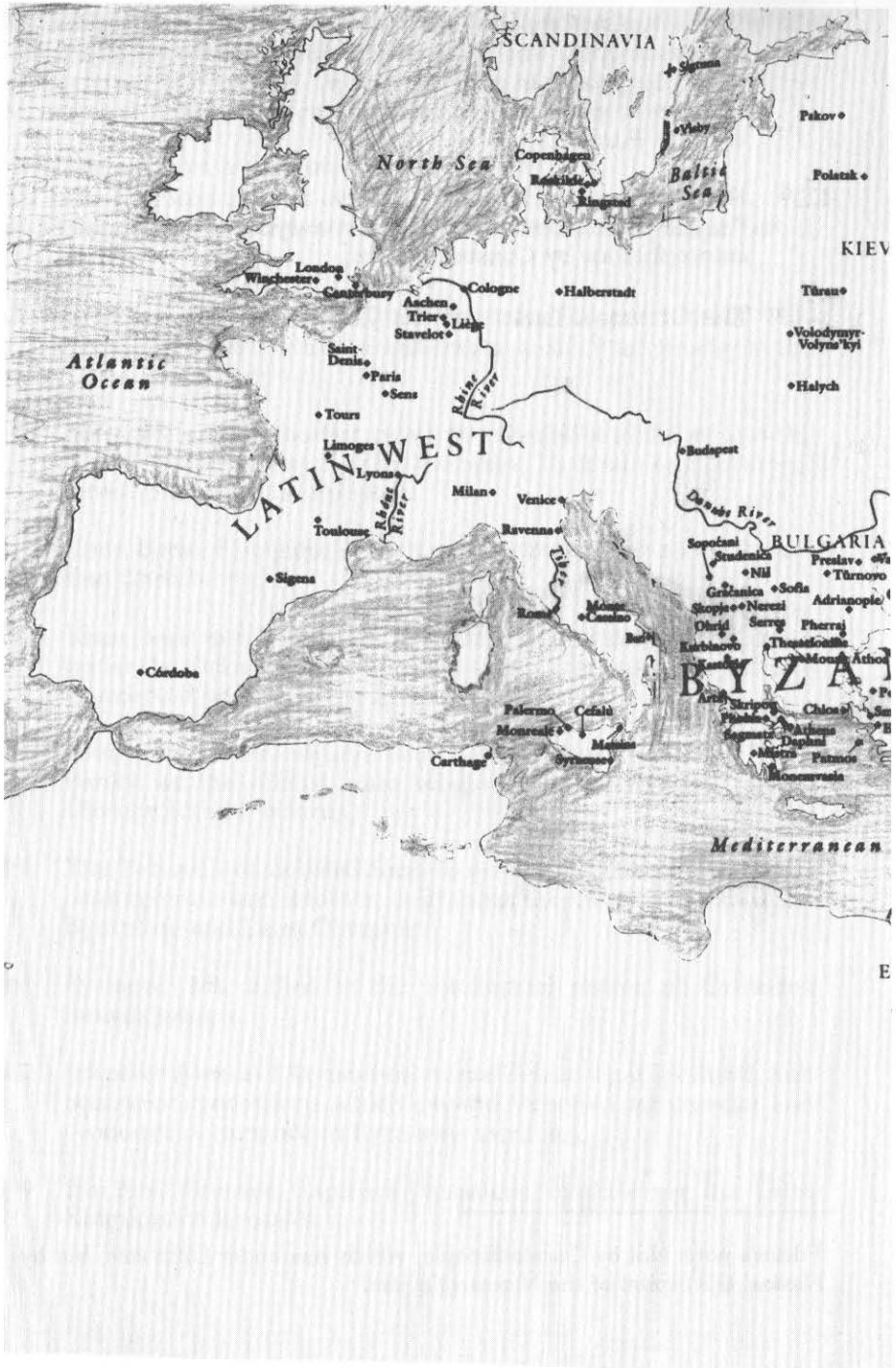
1219 The Serbian Church, led by St. Sava and his brother Stefan the First-Crowned, both of the Nemanja dynasty, is recognized as autocephalous by Constantinople.*

1453 The Ottoman Turks capture Constantinople.

---

* Editor's note: Not by Constantinople, which was under Latin rule, but by Nicaea, the capital of the Nicaean Empire.

Byzantium and its Neighbors (A.D. 843–1261)



as Exhibited in Each Hall of the Exhibit