

Radomir J. POPOVIĆ

ITALIANS IN SERBIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY*

Abstract: The link between the Italian and the Serbian national movement is explained in this paper through the presence of Italians in Serbia in the first half of the 19th century. At the time of Napoleon's reign in Italy, marquis Filippo Paulucci (1779–1849) from Modena fled from home and entered the Russian service, and as a Russian envoy was negotiating with the leader of the First Serbian Uprising, Karađorđe. After the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, under pressure of the reactionary policy of the Viennese court in Italy, carbonari and doctors, Vito Romita (?–1828) and Bartolomeo Kunibert (1800–1815) stayed in Serbia, the former until 1827 and the latter until 1839. Due to the revolutionary events in Europe in 1848/49, the Government of Piedmont (Italian: Piemonte), as part of a comprehensive political plan to create an Italian-South Slavic-Hungarian front against Austria, founded a consulate in Belgrade in 1849. Marcelo Cerutti (March–November 1849) and his brother Luigi Cerutti (November 1849–March 1850) performed the duty until the closure of the consulate in March 1850.

Keywords: Italians, Serbia, 19th century, Filippo Paulucci, Vito Romita, Bartolomeo Kunibert, Marcello Cerutti, Italian legion.

Although there were not many Italians in Serbia in the first half of the 19th century, we will pay attention to a few of them in this paper. Their presence and action in this area are the testimony to the indirect connection of two national movements: Serbian and Italian. The awakening of nations in Europe, fuelled by the French Revolution and the Napoleon's wars, further strengthened the awareness of the need for Italian unification – one of the most important processes in Europe in the first half and middle of the 19th century. In the first decades of the 19th century due to political and military entanglements in the Apennine peninsula, the Italian political emigration was formed from which individuals were “recruited”, finding refuge in Serbia. On the other hand, the Serbs were the first people in the Balkans who led the struggle for national and state emancipation against the Ottoman Empire in 1804. The solution to the Serbian national question in the 19th century depended primarily on the attitude of the European powers to the Eastern question: will the Turkish

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possessions in Europe be divided between the Russian Empire and the Austrian Empire, or the national states of the Balkan peoples will be created according to the principle *the Balkans for the Balkan peoples*.¹

Two Italian cities, Trieste and Venice were of great significance for the cultural history of the Serbs at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century. A wealthy and well-organised Serbian community operated in Trieste, producing the biggest names in Serbian culture: Dositej Obradović, Joakim Vujić, Dimitrije Frušić, while at the same time the community was the link with the Italian culture. The priest of the Orthodox Church in Trieste, Vikentije Ljuština published in Vienna in 1794 the *Italian Grammar*, while Vićentije Rakić, founder of the seminary in Belgrade, was the author of *Besedovnik iliričesko-italijanski* (1810), and Dimitrije Vladislavljević wrote the *Serbian Grammar for the Italians* (1849).² One of the most important Italian cultural and national activists Niccolo Tommaseo translated Serbian folk songs in Italian.³ Venice was significant for the Serbs because of the printing shop of Pane Teodosijev in which in the late 18th and early 19th century books were published in the Serbian language, such as the biography of Russian Tsar Peter I the Great, or the work on the collapse of the First Serbian Uprising (*Сербије плачевно пакипарабошченије*) and the first magazine in the Serbian language *Славено-сербски магазин* by Zaharije Orfelin.⁴

Marquis Filippo Paulucci (1779–1849) is the most important Italian who was present in Serbia during the First Serbian Uprising. A few details of his biography eloquently testify to the earthquake which caused the Napoleon's wars in Italy and brought Paulucci to Serbia. He came from an aristocratic family from Modena. His father was a senior official at the court of Vienna. He joined the army of Piedmont in 1793, and when Piedmont was annexed to France, he continued the service in the French army. Having participated in a conspiracy, he escaped into the Austrian army, waging war against the French. Then he joined the army of Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy, and in 1806 he moved to the French General Staff in the rank of colonel. He left the French service in March 1807 and became a Russian officer.⁵ As a Russian officer, Pavel Osipovich Paulucci arrived in Belgrade on 1 July 1807 by order of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Budberg. Coming to Serbia, Paulucci previously

¹ Ljiljana Aleksić, *Politika Italije prema Srbiji do 1870*, Beograd 1977; Vasilj Popović, *Istočno pitanje, Istorijski pregled borbe oko opstanka Osmanlijske carevine u Levantu i na Balkanu*, Beograd 1928; Milorad Ekmečić, *Dugo kretanje između klanja i oranja, Istorija Srba u Novom veku 1492–1992*, Beograd 2007. Luigi Salvatorelli, *Istorija Italije*, knjiga druga, Novi Sad 2006.

² Staniša Vojnović, *Trst i ustanak*, Danica – srpski narodni ilustrovani kalendar za godinu 2014, Beograd 2013, 381–391; the same author, *Pisci, mecene, knjige i pretplatnici u Trstu u 19. veku* (work in press). Stojan Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost 1741–1867*, Beograd 1869, in: *Izabrana dela*, knjiga šesnaesta, Beograd 2001, 36, 85.

³ Nikša Stipčević, *Tommaseo e la Serbia, Niccolò Tommaseo e Firenze: atti del Convegno di studi Firenze, 12–13 febbraio 1999*, Firenze 2000, 253–271.

⁴ [Orfelin Zaharije], *Славено-сербскій Магазин, т.е. собраніе разныхъ сочиненіи и переводовъ въ ползѣ и увеселенію служащихъ*, томъ первый часть I, Въ Венециі въ тип. славено-греческой благочестивой Дим. Θεοδισія, 1768.

⁵ *Советская историческая энциклопедия 10 /нахимсон-Пергам/, Москва 1967, 936.*

collected information on the strength of the French army in Dalmatia.⁶ He met with the leader of the First Serbian Uprising – Karađorđe at a camp near Negotin, where he negotiated with him from 6 to 9 July 1807. The result of these negotiations is a document that is in Serbian and Russian historiography called *Paulucci convention*. The unverified written document is considered to be the pinnacle of Russian claims to Serbia during the First Serbian Uprising. The document, edited by Paulucci, contains military and political dimensions. The military side of the agreement is the tendency of Russians to launch a broad uprising against the French in Dalmatia, which would cover the areas from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea, while the political part of the agreement stipulated the inclusion of Serbia under the patronage of Russia. The document on the appointment of a Russian administrator (Governor) in Serbia who will regulate the country, develop the constitution and appoint officials in Serbia on behalf of the Russian Tsar was not signed by Karađorđe for opportune reasons and Paulucci out of caution. However, the mission of marquis Paulucci was not unsuccessful for Russian diplomacy, as the marquis convinced Karađorđe that the Austrian promises in regard to help to the rebels were false and that in the future he could not expect the support of the Viennese court.⁷ Paulucci did not return to Serbia and remained in the Russian service until 1829 where he achieved a remarkable military and political career: he became an infantry general, the deputy of Georgia and the governor of Estonia. In 1829 he returned to Piedmont, was mayor of Genoa and the inspector general of the Sardinian army.⁸

In the third decade of the 19th century two carbonari found refuge in Serbia, leaving their homelands, Piedmont and the Kingdom of Naples due to reactionary politics. Anyway, they were the first trained doctors working in Serbia – *Vito Romita* and *Bartolomeo Kunibert*. Serbian historians were drawn by the fact that the Italian doctors stayed in Serbia, so there is an appreciable number of articles in Serbian periodicals about their activities, but not a comprehensive and detailed study.⁹

⁶ Milenko M. Vukićević, *Karađorđe*, II 1804–1807, Beograd 1912, 530–532.

⁷ Radoš Ljušić, *Vožd Karađorđe*, 1, Beograd 2000², 188–192; *Внешняя политика России XIX и начала XX века, документы российского министерства иностранных дел, серия первая 1801–1815 гг. том четвертый июль 1807.г – март 1809 г.*, Москва 1965, 553–554.

⁸ *Советская историческая энциклопедия*, 936.

⁹ Milenko Vesnić, *K srpskom izdanju* in: Bartolomeo Kunibert, *Srpski ustanak i prva vladavina Miloša Obrenovića* 1804–1850, Beograd 1901; Vojislav Mihajlović, *Dr Kontantin Aleksandridi, Dr Vito Romita*, Srpski arhiv za celokupno lekarstvo XXXIX, 1 (1937) 8–16; *Ibid*, *Dr. Bartolomeo Kunibert*, Srpski arhiv za celokupno lekarstvo XL, 3 (1938) 401–408; Vladimir Stojančević, *Doktor Bartolomeo Kunibert lekar knez Miloševe Srbije*, Arhiv za istoriju zdravstvene kulture 1 (I) (1971) 43–46; V. Stojančević, *Dva Italijana lekara-karbonara u Srbiji kneza Miloša: Vito Romita i Bartolomeo Kunibert*, Acta historica medicinae pharmaciae veterinae XIII (2) (1973) 115–119; Dušan T. Bataković, *Bartolomeo Kunibert* in: Bartolomeo Kunibert, *Srpski ustanak i prva vladavina Miloša Obrenovića* 1804–1850, Beograd 1988², 313–328. Aleksandar S. Nedok, *Bartolomeo Kunibert*, Srpski biografski rečnik 5 Kv–Mao, Novi Sad 2011, 444–445; Milivoje Pajović, *Doktor Kunibert i pukovnik Hodžes*, Zapisi 2 (2013) 121–130.

A citizen of Naples, Vito Romita was in Bucharest and Constantinople before coming to Serbia. He came to Belgrade in April 1823 with his wife Francesca and daughter Antoinette and one of his assistants. According to one report, he was a man in his forties, with a rather *large nose*, in a European suit. In Belgrade, he first treated a Belgrade vizier. Since the news of his medical skill came to Prince Miloš, he soon began to heal the Serbian ruler and members of his family. Being the only doctor in Serbia, with a promising future, Vito Romita decided to stay in Belgrade and in late January 1824, after he was fired by the pasha, he fully moved to Prince Miloš's service for an annual salary of one thousand coins.¹⁰ During 1824, in addition to regular medical service, Romita became an educator of the Prince's daughter Jelisaveta and niece Savka. His main duty, however, was the treatment of Prince Miloš and his family members, but, of course, he also treated other patients from Belgrade and if necessary went to other towns in Serbia. In the work plan submitted to Prince Miloš after taking service on 15 February 1824,¹¹ Romita asked for permission to hold and finance a medical assistant who would represent him during his absence from Belgrade, and to pay for medicines for poor patients, and suggested the establishment of a pharmacy.¹²

In the spring of 1824, Dr Romita began to build a house on a large lot given to him by the Belgrade vizier, located in the then uninhabited area between Topčider and the Belgrade Fortress. For the time it was a very large one-storey building, with the main entrance on the north. The ground and the first floor had a large hall (15.5 x 6.7 m) and on both sides of the hall there were three spacious and high-ceiling bedrooms. Around the house doctor Romita planted a vineyard, procuring seedlings from Italy and Greece. Since its foundation to the present day, the house is known as the *Doctor's Tower*. Today it is located in the central part of the hospital grounds in Belgrade under the protection of the state.¹³ However, with building and decorating the house, doctor Romita got into debt. As the main creditor was Prince Miloš, the doctor's wife with the consent of her daughter and son-in-law surrendered the house to Prince Miloš on 20 October 1832.¹⁴

¹⁰ AC, Kneževa kancelarija (KK), XVIII, 119, 120, 121. Tihomir Đorđević, *Medicinske prilike za vreme prve vlade kneza Miloša Obrenovića (1815–1830)*, Beograd 1921,65; V. Mihajlović, *Dr Konstantin Aleksandridi, Dr Vito Romita*, 11.

¹¹ All dates in the text are in the Gregorian calendar, except for the date of Serbian periodicals from the 19th century.

¹² AC, KK, XVIII, 120; V. Mihajlović, *ibid.*

¹³ The Doctor's Tower in 103 Kneza Miloša Str. is the cultural heritage of great importance. The decision of the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments no. 242/8 from 13/10/1965 and the Decision "Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia" no. 14/79 (<http://beogradskonasledje.rs/kulturna-dobra/gradske-opstine/nepokretna-kulturna-dobra-na-teritoriji-opstine-savski-venac-2>).

¹⁴ AC, KK, XVIII, 43; V. Mihajlović, *op. cit.*, 14 Brother-in-law of Vito Romita, Bartolomeo Kunibert begged Prince Miloš on 3/15 September 1828, to be provided with accommodation in Belgrade, hay for the horses and the payment of debt for the treatment of patients, because he had to pay the outstanding debts of his father-in-law (AC, KK, XVIII, 36).

Unclear were the circumstances due to which doctor Romita left the service and Serbia in 1827 after three years of work. It is obvious that the friendly relations between him and the Prince chilled, but the exact cause is not known. According to one version, the doctor got Prince Miloš angry at him as in the summer of 1826 he engaged in exercising of the Turkish soldiers in the Belgrade Fortress – by abolition of the janissaries in 1826, the Porta ordered a new way of military training, conforming to experiences from European countries. Belgrade Vizier Abdurahman Pasha therefore engaged an Italian, who apparently had military knowledge.¹⁵ According to other, nothing clearer sources, the doctor got Prince Miloš angry at him for inadequate treatment of the Prince's illegitimate son Gavriilo¹⁶. Anyway, Prince Miloš fired Dr Romita in mid-February 1827. Bidding farewell to the Prince in a letter dated 6 March 1827 he wrote: „Now, when your highness has decided to fire me, I want to thank you for all the charities that you showed to me and my family and I hope that you'll show that same charity toward my wife who remains here.”¹⁷ He went to Wallachia, where he died in 1828.

Another Italian, Bartolomeo Kunibert, Dr Romita's son-in-law, left a much larger trace in the history of Serbia in the first half of the 19th century as a doctor and writer of famous memoirs. Bartolomeo Sylvestre Kunibert came from Savigliano in Piedmont, where he was born on 3 December 1800. He finished high school there and the Medical Faculty in Torino.¹⁸ Because of political engagement he left the country in 1824 and came to Constantinople and thence to Belgrade in 1826, where he became a doctor of the Belgrade vizier Abdurahman Pasha. That same year he married Antoinette, the daughter of Vito Romita, and so a small Italian community was created in Belgrade. Relations between the young Italian doctor and the Serbian prince were not good at the beginning, but Kunibert gained trust of the autocratic Serbian prince by devoted and dedicated medical service.¹⁹ In 1828 he moved fully into the prince's service. Mutual friendship was strengthened by the establishment of close family relations. Namely, Prince Miloš first baptised Kunibert's son who was

¹⁵ V. Mihajlović, op. cit., 15; Mihailo Gavrilović, *Miloš Obrenović*, II, Beograd 1909, 259–260.

¹⁶ In a letter dated 4/16 January 1827, addressed to Prince Miloš, Dr. Vito says: “Your Gavriilo is better and he is out of danger. Jelenka has been feeling better for two days. The truth is that my enemies have made you believe that my medical knowledge is weak and insufficient, but really I healed the patients with my medication. They will now say that it is good God who healed them and not my mind!” (AC, KK, XVIII, 148; V. Mihajlović, op. cit.

¹⁷ AC, KK, XVIII, 154; V. Mihajlović, op. cit., 15.

¹⁸ M. Vesnić, *K srpskom izdanju*, XIII–XIX.

¹⁹ In a letter dated 13 October 1826, he argues his actions for which he has fallen from grace and begs to be charged a fee for medical services (AC, KK, XVIII, 26). Kunibert at the beginning of 1827 informed Prince Miloš about his intention to leave Serbia with Vizier Abdurahman Pasha (AC, KK, XVIII, 28). Several Kunibert's letters from the end of 1827 and early 1828 were saved, in which he informs Prince Miloš about the treatment of Prince's sons Milan and Mihailo (V. Mihajlović, *Dr Bartolomeo Kunibert* in: Srpski arhiv za celokupno lekarstvo (Serbian Archives of Medicine) XL, 3 (1938) 401–408; AC, KK, XVIII, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34,35, 36).

born in 1829 and later the twins, born in 1834.²⁰ Although Kunibert was a court doctor and performed private practice, he fought with privation and debt. With the support of Prince Miloš, Kunibert was elected doctor of the Belgrade municipality in September 1832, with a regular annual salary (360 thalers) and the possibility to charge medical services from wealthy citizens, while he could not charge the poor.²¹ One can only speculate how much this appointment was related to the later decision of his mother-in-law Francesca Romita to cede the Doctor's Tower to Prince Miloš due to debts. However, a new confirmation of the royal mercy to Kunibert was the Prince's decision of 25 October 1833 to pay three hundred silver florins from the Prince's personal coffers each year. The direct reason for this decision was the prince's efficient recovery from an illness, and at the same time it was a „sign of the grace of mine to you and your family, whose good lay in my heart as good of my own family does, with which you ... became spiritually friendly.”²² Except for the treatment of members of the Obrenović family, a total Kunibert's share in the development of Serbian medicine cannot be properly measured. What is well known is that he examined the healing properties of spa waters, advocated for the implementation of vaccination against measles, visited military hospitals and fought against quackery.

In the political history of Serbia, Kunibert had a visible role in the fourth decade of the 19th century. It was a period fraught with an internal crisis, the struggle between two concepts of government: autocratic which was advocated by Prince Miloš and a legal structure for which the opposition fought. Beyond these principles, there was, in fact, naked struggle for power with foreign factor interference. Prince Miloš sought to find support in Great Britain, while the opposition enjoyed Russian support. Being in friendly and close family relationships with the Serbian ruler, Kunibert became a man of Prince's great trust, an advisor for political issues and a translator in communication with foreigners because he spoke French and mastered the Serbian language around 1829.²³ He advised Prince Miloš about the political situation in Europe and translated him articles from newspapers. Using his medical status, he collected notices to which he came from contacts with the Turks or foreigners. To understand Kunibert's political views, interesting is his proposal of 1829 to send the Serbian delegation to London along with the Greek one to solve the Serbian question. Serbian historians, from Mihailo Gavrilović to Dušan Bataković, referring to reports of British consul Hodges, agree in their assessment that Kunibert

²⁰ Informing Prince Miloš on 21 June 1834 of the birth of twins, Kunibert wrote: “The feeling of joy that came over me in this event, I have no one more important to whom I would say it except to you, a generous and high patron of mine!” (AC, KK, XVIII, 48; V. Mihajlović, *Dr Bartolomeo Kunibert*). Prince Miloš gave one hundred thalers to Kunibert's newborn child in October 1837 (AC, Zbirka Mite Petrovića, 7156).

²¹ AC, KK, XVIII, 41, 42; V. Mihajlović, *ibid.*

²² AC, KK, XVIII, 45.

²³ The first preserved letter of Kunibert in the Serbian language is from 11/23 September 1829, when on the occasion of the signing of the peace at Adrianople between Russia and the Porta he congratulated Prince Miloš on privileges that Serbia received by the act (AC, KK, XVIII, 39).

was “liberal in the western sense”, equally Russophobe and an enemy of Austria, convinced that Serbia could free itself of Russian influence by relying on western countries France and Great Britain.²⁴ During his visit to Serbia in 1834, the Frenchman Boa-le-Comte was assured in the confidence that Kunibert enjoyed by the Serbian Prince and he proposed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs de Rigny to appoint him the French consul in Serbia.²⁵

The key stage of Kunibert’s political action in Serbia was from 1837 to 1839. In order to combat Russian influence in the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain sent the consul Lloyd George Hodges to Serbia who arrived in Belgrade in July 1837.²⁶ It was important for Prince Miloš to hide contacts with the British Consul from the suspicious opposition and he intended the role of a mediator in this communication for his friend Kunibert. On the proposal of Hodges, the Foreign Office paid thirty florins a year for Kunibert’s services.²⁷ Also, Prince Miloš for his part legalised Kunibert’s position, and on 21 April 1838 he promoted him to a captain, awarded him the title of a *dragoman* (interpreter) “in our relationships with the gentlemen overseas consuls who are in Serbia.”²⁸ As already assessed in Serbian historiography, one cannot say that Kunibert was a double paid agent, but his political involvement stemmed from his personal political beliefs. Views on the political situation in Serbia and the rule of Prince Miloš were clearly laid out by Kunibert in his memoirs that he gave to the British consul Hodges, that is, the Foreign Office in January 1838. He points out that Prince Miloš as a ruler has many faults, but in Serbia, nobody else can govern better than him. In favour of this he states the measures which Prince Miloš undertook during his reign for the development of the economy, commerce, public safety and order in the country. He proposes that the British government should influence the Porta and reinforce the ducal government, as otherwise the prince will be thrown “into the arms of Russia”, and correctly concludes that Russia will take the Prince’s powerful influence on the Balkan Christians who lived under the rule of the Turks and will be able to take advantage of.²⁹

A Russophile-minded opposition considered Kunibert, Secretary Jakov Živanović and a chief of protocol Aron Zagorica the Prince’s most loyal adherents and

²⁴ M. Gavrilović, *Počeci diplomatskih odnosa Velike Britanije i Srbije* in: *Iz novije srpske istorije*, Beograd 1926, 117; D. Bataković, op. cit., 321; M. Pajović, op. cit., 126.

²⁵ D. Bataković, op. cit., 319.

²⁶ M. Gavrilović, op. cit., 117.

²⁷ Auty Phyllis, *Neobjavljeni dokumenti engleskog ministarstva spoljnih poslova o Srbiji 1837–1911* (Unpublished documents of the English Ministry of Foreign Affairs about Serbia), ИЧ XII–XIII (1961–1962). At the suggestion of the British representative in Constantinople, the Ponsobija Porta in the fall of 1838 decorated Kunibert with a Turkish order of nishan-iftihara which particularly annoyed the Russian consul in Serbia and the opposition (*Политические и культурные отношения России и Сербии в 30–50-е годы XIX века, Документы российского МИД*, Москва 2013, 157).

²⁸ АС, КК, XVIII, 54.

²⁹ M. Gavrilović, op. cit., 128–130.

opponents of national interests.³⁰ An attempt of British diplomacy to suppress the Russian influence in Serbia during 1837/38 failed. The Serbian Constitution of 1838 limited the power of Prince Miloš, and the encouraged opposition with the support of Russia was not satisfied with it. In an attempt to turn the situation to their advantage, Prince Miloš left Serbia on 29 April 1839 not informing anybody and moved to Zemun. Fearing for his own life and the lives of his family members, Kunibert left Serbia on 30 April to which he never returned. Moreover, under pressure from the opposition, the Prince had to dismiss Kunibert from service.³¹ Kunibert spent the rest of his life in Savigliano, where he died on 13 March 1851. He last met with Prince Miloš in Vienna in 1843.

Kunibert left an important work of memoirs in which he gave an overview of the historical development of Serbia from 1804 until the end of Prince Miloš's first rule.³² What served him as an incentive to write was a book by Cyprian Robert which was, in his opinion, a biased description of the rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović.³³ During his life he finished and released the first volume, while the second volume was shaped and printed according to his notes by his brothers Felice and Michelangelo. The original manuscript of Kunibert's memoirs is kept today in the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) in Belgrade.³⁴ For historians, Kunibert's memoirs are now an indispensable resource for understanding the first rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović. The evidence of how much his work was considered important to his contemporaries, the Italians, was the eulogy by Botero, a citizen of Savigliano, who said that *a historian of Serbia rests here / "qui riposa lo storico della Sevia"*.³⁵

Revolutionary developments in Europe in 1848/49 led to Italians once again coming to the ground of Serbia. In fact, a hostile attitude towards the Austrian monarchy brought together the Serbs and Italians, while there were differences

³⁰ *Политические и культурные отношения России и Сербии*, 152.

³¹ R. Ljušić, *Kneževina Srbija 1830–1839*, Beograd 1986, 441.

³² *Essai historique sur les révolutions et l'indépendance de la Serbie depuis 1804 jusqu'à nos jours* par Barthélemy-Sylvestre Cuniberti I (Paris 1850), II (Leipzig 1855). In *Serbian: Srpski ustanak i prva vladavina Miloša Obrenovića 1804–1850*, Beograd 1901 and second edition *Srpski ustanak i prva vladavina Miloša Obrenovića*, I–II, translated by dr Milenko Vesnić, epilogue written by D. T. Bataković, Beograd 1988.

³³ Cyprian Robert, *Les Slaves De Turquie: Serbes, Monténégrins, Bosniaques, Albanais et Bulgares*, Paris 1844.

³⁴ At the session of the Presidency of the Serbian Royal Academy of 22 March / 4 April 1906, the manuscript of Bartolomeo Kunibert that was given to the Academy by Felice Kunibert, head of the military library in Turin was accepted "with gratitude" (*Godišnjak Srpske kraljevske akademije XX* (1906), Beograd 1907, 73). The manuscript is preserved in the Historical Archives Collection of SASA, no. 7124.

³⁵ M. Vesnić, op. cit., XXV. Kunibert wrote another work with the governor of the Serbian state printing works, a German Adolf Berman. *Определение времена, кадъ се по свакой дань преко целе године по турскимъ саатима сунце рађа, и кадъ є подне; и по европейскимъ саатима кадъ се сунце рађа и кадъ залази [сочинено одъ Доктора Куниберта и Адолфа Бермана]*, (Крагујевац) 1835.

towards Russia. Namely, in the thirties and forties in Italy, especially in the Kingdom of Sardinia, it was believed that the struggle for pressing out Austria from northern Italy should be linked to solving the Eastern question and that in this struggle the link must be made with the Hungarians, Poles and South Slavs. Mazzini's revolutionary movement and the moderate-liberal movement of Balbo and Cavour observed the Balkans, particularly the Serbian ethnic area as a territory subject to a strong Russian influence. Mazzini advocated the overthrow of the Austrian and Ottoman empires by a revolutionary struggle and the formation of the confederation of those nations which would prevent Russian expansion, while Cesare Balbo, an ideologue of a moderate liberal direction in the Resurgence (Italian: Risorgimento) advocated directing the Austrian expansionism towards the Balkans to weaken the Austrian influence in Italy.³⁶

For the purpose of reconciliation of the Hungarians and the South Slavs and the creation of a single Hungarian-Slavic block against Austria during the War of Piedmont and Austria in 1848/49, it was decided in Torino to establish a Consulate of the Kingdom of Piedmont in Belgrade.³⁷ Such policy of the Sardinian government was supported by the Polish emigration with Prince Adam Czartoryski in Paris. Marcello Cerutti was appointed consul, and Colonel Monti was sent earlier in Hungary through Serbia to whom the Serbian government helped to cross the border and get in touch with the leader of the Hungarian revolution, Lajos Kossuth in Debrecen.³⁸ A merchant from Piedmont, Giuseppe Carrossini was also coming to Serbia with Monti – a fervent advocate of the alliance of Italians and Hungarians. He remained in Belgrade in order to prepare the ground for the Piedmont consul, establishing contact with the Belgrade Pasha, other consuls in Belgrade and Serbian authorities.³⁹ The consul Cerutti had the first official meeting in Serbia with Avram Petronijević, the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Principality of Serbia to whom he presented credentials on 26 March 1849. However, Cerutti's main support in Serbia became Ilija Garašanin, the Minister of Internal Affairs, at that time the opponent of Russian influence in Serbia, who allowed him to maintain a relationship with Colonel Monti and Hungarians.⁴⁰ As Angelo Tambora noted, the action of Monti and Cerutti in

³⁶ N. Stipčević, *Dva preporoda: studije o italijansko-srpskim kulturnim i političkim vezama u XIX veku*, Beograd 1979; Isti, *Srbija i Italija u XIX veku*, Glas SANU, Odeljenje jezika i književnosti 16 (1995) 27–35.

³⁷ Lj. Aleksić, *Ujedinjenje Italije i nacionalni program Kneževine Srbije (dilema: podunavsko-balkanske konfederacije. Austro-slovensko carstvo. Južna Slavija)* in: Spomenica dr Danice Milić, Beograd 2013, 171–195.

³⁸ A. Tambora, *Kavur i Balkan*, preface Nikša Stipčević, translated by Snežana Milinković, Beograd 2007, 50–54.

³⁹ A. Tambora, op. cit., 54, 56, 57, 66–68.

⁴⁰ Thanks to the consul Cerutti, in the *Napredak* newspaper no. 21 of 22 March /Julian calendar/ 1849 which was published in the Serbian Vojvodina, a manifest of the Association of Friends of the Slavs from Turin was published. "Slavs! Wanting to come together with the Hungarians you give notice that you want to secede from Austria, so we extend a brotherly hand. And instead of the enemy of Austria you will have friends, allies, brothers, fifteen million Italians for

respect of establishing the Hungarian-Serbian cooperation started too late, as the gap between the two nations was too deep to be overcome by diplomatic mediation.⁴¹

When the Hungarian Revolution was crushed in August 1849, veterans of the Italian and Polish legions who fought on the side of the Hungarians moved to Serbia. On 20 August 1849, commander of the Italian legion colonel Monti addressed Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević from Tekija, i.e. Serbia, asking asylum for 465 combatants of the legion. "Your honour, in the fight against the tyranny of Austria and Russia, the sacred ideal of defence of libertarian rights of the people led the Italians to the soil of Hungary", begins Monti's letter. The trouble forced him to seek asylum and "to put the remains of the Italian legion which I command at the disposal of all interested liberal foreign governments. Europe can be proud of the legion for its discipline and importance." Monti asked Prince Aleksandar for help in food, housing and animal feed. "In exchange for the help that Serbia gives my legion we cannot offer anything in return except for the hands that we put in the service of Serbia."⁴² The list of Italian legionnaires who fought in Hungary and then crossed into Serbia is kept in the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade. It can be seen from it that the legion was made up of soldiers from all parts of Italy, from north to Sicily.⁴³ A longer stay of the Italians in Serbia was not possible because of the Austrian and Russian pressure and the legionnaires left Serbia and moved to Turkey a week later.

Since the Sardinian government policy was compromised after the collapse of the Hungarian Revolution, Consul Cerutti was recalled from Belgrade in November 1849, and his brother Luigi Cerruti was appointed in his place. Finally, the Sardinian Consulate in Belgrade was closed on 19 March 1850, and the consular archive given for care to the British consul Fonblank. Leaving Belgrade, Luigi Cerutti wrote that he

now... let us unite and do not seek help from the Russians and Germans... Unite with us, and our joint forces will be enough to determine our nationality." About the manifest in: A. Tambora, op. cit., 58.

⁴¹ A. Tambora, op. cit., 64.

⁴² AC, fond Ilije Garašanina 596.

⁴³ Officers in the Italian legion (Legione Italiana – prima divisione) who moved from Hungary to Serbia near Tekija on 20 August 1849 were the following: colonel Aristodimo Monti (Tortona/Piemonte), majors Marco Rodano (Aosta/Piemonte), Carlo Grandolin (Asti/Piemonte), captains: Luigi Bocaforte (Roma/Roma), Francisco Pavanelo (Civitavecchia/Roma), Gasparo Gasperi (Firenze/Toscana), Allesandro Collona (Reggio/Napoli), Roberto Scandanello (Siena/Toscana), Valentino Cervelli (Modena/Modena), Carlo Volonti (Genova/Piemonte), Giuseppe Casa (Vigsa? /Piemonte), Francisco Buttichio (Bologna/Romagna), Napoleon Cerri (Salenna/Napoli), Fioravante Pollo (Portin/Napoli), Allesandro Fapaura (Allessandria/Piemonte), Luigi Zapapian (Mirandola/Modena), Giovanni Panzagrosa (Saluzzo/Piemonte), Antonio Barlaro (Parma/Parma), Luigi Castracani (Parma/Parma), Gaetano Gruzzo (Mirandolla/Modena), Gaetano Bosco (Tivoli/Roma), Luigi Robert (Sarollo/Modena), Luciano Rosini (Paggio/Toscana) and lieutenants: Lorenzo Pipo (Gaeta/Napoli), Giacomo Binfo (Pisa/Toscana), Michelle Bufet (Velletri/Roma), Franco Cessare (Cosenna/Sicilia). Names of non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the legion are in the list (Arhiv Srbije, fond Ilije Garašanina, 460).

enjoyed the favour of the Serbian authorities all the time and thanks to the attitude of his brother, the government of Piedmont and the consulate were not less respected, "what will be a valuable factor in the future and the new Consul here will be welcomed as an old acquaintance."⁴⁴

After that, among the Italians in Belgrade there was only Karozini, who as an agent of Piedmont and Lajos Kossuth followed the situation in Serbia and the neighbouring monarchy. At one time, he was infatuated with the thought of building a trade route through Serbia to the Adriatic Sea to establish trade links between Serbia and Italy. However, his presence bothered the Austrian authorities, who brought about his removal from Belgrade on 1 May 1851.⁴⁵

The tradition of Italian medieval craftsmen, who built sacral and secular buildings in the Balkans, was continued in Serbia in the first half of the 19th century by Giuseppe Antonio from Lugano, in Serbian sources named *Anthony the Italian*. He stayed in Serbia with interruptions from 1823 to 1857. It can be concluded from the source that he was engaged in the construction and renovation of churches and monasteries in Serbia: Čokešina, Petkovica. His mastery in the construction and decoration of ceilings seems to have been especially appreciated.⁴⁶

Upon completion of the revolution in 1848/49, an epoch ended during which the Italians came to Serbia in phases, due to the military and political upheavals on the Apennines during the first half of the 19th century. Since the sixties of the 19th century diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Italy and the Principality of Serbia were established. The Resurgence produced the ideologists of the Serbian national unification, giving a new meaning to the Serbian-Italian political and cultural ties. Seeds for this were sown in the first half of the 19th century.

⁴⁴ A. Tambora, op. cit., 68.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Miodrag Kolarić, *Građevine i građevinari Srbije od 1790 do 1839*, Zbornik Muzeja Prvog srpskog ustanka 1 (1959) 27–28.

Radomir J. POPOVIĆ

GLI ITALIANI IN SERBIA NELLA PRIMA META' DELL' OTTOCENTO

Sommario

Nell'Europa della prima metà del XIX secolo, i rivolgimenti politici e militari spingono vari italiani a recarsi in terra serba. In quel periodo, il processo di unificazione nazionale italiano fu uno dei più importanti eventi europei. Da parte loro, i serbi furono il primo popolo dei Balcani a condurre, dal 1804, una lotta armata per la loro liberazione nazionale. Durante il regno di Napoleone in Italia, il marchese Filippo Paulucci (1779-1849) di Modena fuggì da casa ed entrò al servizio della Russia. Come inviato del governo russo, nel 1807 vicino alla città serba di Negotin incontrò Karađorđe, il capo della Prima insurrezione serba, e il risultato di questo incontro fu la cosiddetta *Convenzione Paulucci*. Dopo il Congresso di Vienna, nel 1814-1815, sotto la pressione della politica reazionaria della corte viennese, molti carbonari italiani furono costretti ad emigrare. Vito Romita (? -1828) e Bartolomeo Kunibert (1800-1815), medici e carbonari, fuggirono prima a Costantinopoli, e poi a Belgrado. Il dottor Romita rimase a Belgrado per circa quattro anni (1823-1827), e tuttora a Belgrado esiste una testimonianza della sua presenza. La Casa di Romita, detta *Torre del Medico*, fu costruita nel 1824, e oggi è un monumento di grande importanza protetto dallo Stato. Bartolomeo Kunibert, fu medico personale e consulente politico del principe Miloš Obrenović e visse a Belgrado dal 1826 al 1839. Le sue memorie, pubblicate in francese in due volumi nel 1850 e 1855, sono una fonte imprescindibile per comprendere la situazione politica e sociale in Serbia durante il primo regno del principe Miloš Obrenović (1815-1839). In seguito ai moti rivoluzionari del 1848-1849, il governo piemontese decise di istituire un consolato a Belgrado, nel 1849, come parte di un progetto politico volto alla creazione di un fronte comune anti-asburgico che riunisse italiani, jugoslavi e ungheresi. I soldati della legione italiana che combatté con gli ungheresi, dopo la sconfitta della rivoluzione ungherese, nell'agosto del 1849, si ritirarono in Serbia. Dall'apertura alla chiusura del consolato, avvenuta nel mese di marzo del 1850, il ruolo di console fu ricoperto da Marcello Cerutti (marzo-novembre 1849) e da suo fratello Luigi Cerutti (novembre 1849-marzo 1850).

Parole chiave: Italiani, Serbia, 19° secolo, Filippo Paulucci, Vito Romita, Bartolomeo Kunibert, Marcello Cerutti, legione italiana.

Радомир Ј. ПОПОВИЋ

ИТАЛИЈАНИ У СРБИЈИ У ПРВОЈ ПОЛОВИНИ 19. ВЕКА

Резиме

Политички и ратни вртлог који је захватио Европу у првој половини 19. века довео је Италијане на територију Србије. Процес италијанског националног уједињења један је од најважнијих националних покрета у Европи у првој половини и средином 19. века. Срби су били први народ на Балкану који је 1804. покренуо оружану борбу за национално ослобођење. У време Наполеонове владавине у Италији, маркиз Филипо Паулучи (1779-1849) из Модене побегао је од куће и прешао у руску службу. Као руски изасланик, 1807. године преговарао је у околини града Неготина са Карађорђевићима, вођом Првог српског устанка. Резултат ових преговора била је такозвана *Паулучијева конвенција*. Након Бечког конгреса 1814/15, под притиском реакционарне политике бечког двора у Италији, многи карбонари били су присиљени да емигрирају. Вито Ромита (? - 1828) и Бартоломео Куниберт (1800-1815), лекари и карбонари, побегли су најпре у Цариград, а потом у Београду. Доктор Ромита је у Београду остао око четири године (1823-1827), а траг његовог присуства и даље постоји. Ромитова кућа, тзв. *Докторова кула*, саграђена 1824, данас представља културни споменик од изузетног значаја и под заштитом је државе. Бартоломео Куниберт, лични лекар кнеза Милоша Обреновића и политички консултант живео је у Београду од 1826. до 1839. Године. Његови мемоари издати на француском језику у два тома, 1850. и 1855. године, незаобилазни су извор за разумевање политичке и друштвене ситуације у Србији за време први владавине кнеза Милоша Обреновића (1815-1839). Револуционарне дешавања у Европи 1848/49. утицали су на одлуку пијемонтске владе да успостави конзулат у Београду 1849. године као део свеобухватног политичког плана чији је циљ био стварање заједничког италијанско-јужнословенско-мађарског фронта против Аустрије. Борци италијанске легије који су се борили на страни Мађара, након колапса мађарске револуције у августу 1849. Повлачили су се преко Србије. На месту козула од отварања конзулата до његовог затварања у марту 1850. године нашли су се Марчело Черути (март-новембар 1849) и његов брат Луиђи Черути (новембар 1849 – март 1850).

Кључне речи: Италијани, Србија, 19. век, Филип Паулучи, Вито Ромита, Бартоломео Куниберт, Марчело Черути, италијанска легија.

