

# STOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ LIFE, WORK, TIMES

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 175<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY  
OF STOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ'S BIRTH



SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

## STOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ AS A HISTORIAN

Aleksandar RASTOVIĆ

*The Institute of History, Belgrade*

Stojan Novaković, who was undoubtedly one of the best and the greatest Serbian historians, stood out in the modern Serbian historiography in terms of his thematic and chronological interests. He was also one of the most sagacious and educated Serbs, the leading Serbian intellectual at the turn of the twentieth century and one of the most important representatives of the Serbian scientific, educational and cultural elite.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to the time and thematic diversity he resorted to during his almost five decades long scientific and political career, he was considered to be one of the most prolific and reputed Serbian poly-historians. Prolific scientific and journalistic work presents the fundamental opus of his activities. He commenced his professional career in the year of 1865 as a substitute teacher, to become Serbian language and literature teacher in a Belgrade grammar school the following year. In 1869 he filled the post of a librarian in the National Library and of a curator in the museum. Starting with the year 1872 he taught Slavic philology at the Grande école. He was appointed professor of Slavic and Serbian literature at the Grande école in 1876.

Novaković was distinguished by extraordinary erudition, patience, honesty, sobriety, systematism, comprehensiveness, providence, but also preciseness, reliability, levelheadedness when reaching historical conclusions and estimations. He wrote and created diligently and

continuously for almost half a century. He never gave up the pen and the book. Even in the moments when he was overwhelmed by impor-

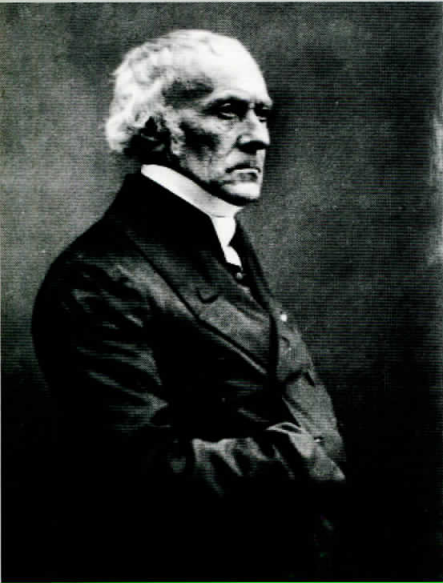


tant domestic and international political issues of the Serbian state as well as delicate diplomatic-state tasks that had been entrusted to him, he never stopped writing. On the contrary, he dedicated every day several hours to historical topics that he investigated diligently and attentively. When acting either as a politician, diplomat or a statesman, the scientific trait of his character would prevail. He was the least dynasty-oriented Serbian historian. We may well say he was a great connoisseur of history and mastered the subject he was investigating and wrote about. His sentences were clear, free of artistic excursions and phrases.

## I

In addition to general and philological knowledge, Novaković was also interested in and acquainted with the situation in the European historiography, primarily in the German and French historiography. He was a great connoisseur of the work of German historian Leopold von Ranke and he held in high esteem one of the greatest French historians François Guizot. He was influenced by a large number of people, movements and learnings that contributed to the development of his scientific and historically-philosophical attitudes and views. Đura Daničić, his professor and friend, undoubtedly influenced tremendously both his theoretical and methodological theses, as well as his entire scientific life. One should not overlook the influence of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Ilarion Ruvarac and other romanticist historiographers, representatives of Vienna philological school and Russian positivists. His both theoretical and historical inspirations were coming from the works of the French historian Fustel de Coulanges.

Historical estimates and attitudes stated in his books and scientific papers are topical even today, *i. e.* they have not lagged behind the times. Thanks to his attitudes he became well-defined as a visionary, an objective, reliable and modern historian, whereby that modernity did not collide with historical truth he mentioned that often and advocated continually. He held the view according to which the fundamental task of history should be to find out the truth, deprived of any subjectivity and tendency. Historical truth presented for him a sort of a moral axiom.

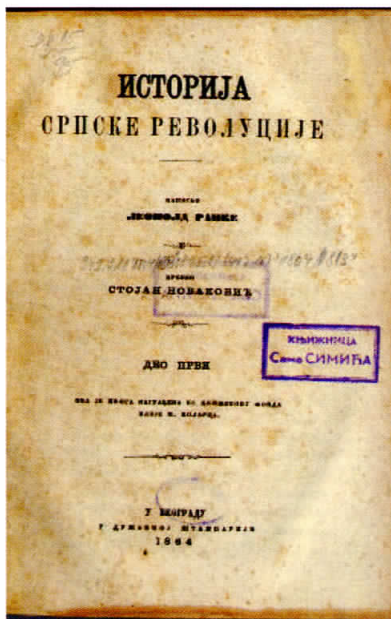


François Guizot (1787–1874), French historian, Minister of Education, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister from 1847–1848

A large number of Novaković's studies referred to historical topics. He was quite interested in the long-lasting phenomena. His works dealt with great events and important stages of Serbian history, whereby history was not reduced to the mere sequencing of events. He got deeper into all areas of Serbian history in terms of both time and topics. According to him, the real history lay in people's lives and social conditions. He was passionately interested in the Nemanjić dynasty, but he also dedicated his works to the Branković family, as well as to the beginning of the resistance of the Serbian people during the First Serbian Uprising *i.e.* the Serbian Revolution. He was specifically interested in the issues dealing with historic geography, but also dealing with medieval and modern Serbian political and cultural history, history of Serbian statehood, history of Serbian revolution, *i.e.* the history of the First and the Second Serbian uprising, economic history, history of the church, folk tradition. At the beginning of the twentieth century he wrote increasingly on contemporary historical topics and events (situation in the European parts of the Ottoman Empire, Annexation crisis, Young Turk revolution, Balkan league). His contribution to collecting and critical examining of medieval sources, primarily diplomatic materia, autobiographical and narrative writings, chronicles, genealogies, apocrypha, beadrolls, studying Serbian grammar and the Old Serbian Literature is essential. He affirmed himself as one of the founders and most consistent representatives of Serbian critical historiography of the nineteenth century owing to his serious work on collecting and critical examining of Serbian sources. As a supporter of theoretical and methodological postulates of Leopold Ranke and positivists, he thought that the task of historians was to break away from tradition and their obligation was to examine "essential historic truth". He additionally superposed these principles by his understanding that historians have to be devoted to the main subject of their research, that history should be deprived of any tendencies and that historians have to study the past with an interest and loyalty, whereby historical awareness ought to be deprived of personal strivings and sentiments. He accepted with enthusiasm Ranke's standing on the need to critically evaluate the source as an efficient means in the combat against "wasteful traditions attired in historic clothing". In his opinion, Ranke was an "archival magician", objective and pragmatic.<sup>5</sup>

Accepting deeply Ranke's purview and principles, Novaković pointed out proudly in the prefaces of the Serbian edition to his major work *The History of Serbian Revolution* of 1864, supplemented by the study *Serbia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century* of 1892, which he also translated, that the Serbs "are indebted" to Ranke, as thanks to his writings the door of Europe opened for the Serbian issue, adding that the Serbs should be thankful to him and show respect for all he had done for them.<sup>6</sup> Apart from that, according to Novaković, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar helped Ranke greatly when writing his major study on the Serbian revolution, while Ranke's interest in the Serbs in the period of revolution was explained by his interest in the studies of the past connected with the activity of contemporary movements and events.<sup>7</sup>

The number of scientific papers written by Novaković in his professional career is voluminous amounting to over 400 bibliographical units, out of which up to 50 were books. A large number of writings and studies were published under a pseudonym, whereas a completed



Leopold Ranke's *History of Serbian Revolution*, translated to Serbian by Stojan Novaković, published in 1864

bibliography of his works still does not exist.<sup>8</sup> Partial bibliographies have been published so far on several occasions, and they remained incomplete. The first bibliography containing Novaković's biography was composed by Svetislav Vulović in *Godišnjak* (Annual Report) of the Serbian Royal Academy of 1887.<sup>9</sup> The said bibliography is rather imprecise containing a lot of inaccurate biographic data. The second, selected bibliography including biography was composed by Momčilo Ivanić in *Nova iskra* of 1899.<sup>10</sup> The drawback of mentioned bibliography is that it states only some of the most important Novaković's writings. Novaković himself composed in *Godišnjak* of the Serbian Royal Academy XXIV of 1911 an incomparably more detailed bibliography than the previous two, titled *Bibliography of Stojan Novaković's Writings*.<sup>11</sup> However, it is limited in time to the period until 1911 containing only some of his most valuable studies and articles, *i.e.* it is not complete and it does not contain his writings in the field of literary critics, poetry, politics and translation.

Radmilo Dimitrijević published *Contributions to the Bibliography of Stojan Novaković's Writings* in "Contributions to Literature, Language, History and Folklore" in 1958. He focused on his writings in the field of translation, poetry, politics, *i.e.* reports and various notes that had otherwise been omitted in the earlier bibliographies.<sup>12</sup> The mentioned writings were published under the abbreviations of his name or surname, initials of his name or his baptised name (Stojan, Stojan N, St.Nov, K.N) or using pseudonyms and codes (Šarplaninac, Šabac-born, Dardanus, Kostadin, 2x=x+x). The bibliography of his special editions of works, consisting of his original and arranged writings, was composed by Miodrag Živanov for journal *Bibliotekar* (The Librarian) of 1965.<sup>13</sup> This bibliography was also incomplete as it did not contain writings in the field of legislation, as well as the writings Novaković had signed as an official. Ljubomir Nikić published contributions to the bibliography of special editions of Novaković's works, titled *Contributions to the Bibliography of Special Editions of Stojan Novaković's works* in the *Historic Journal* of the Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1979, presenting a supplement to the bibliography formerly written by Miodrag Živanov.<sup>14</sup> The contributions contain his scientific and professional papers, contributions in the field of education and canon law, literary publications, editorial works, translations as well as writings and letters published following his death.

Stojan Novaković during his five decades long scientific work published over 100 historical monographs, studies, articles, contributions, dissertations that may be classified into several large thematic circles.<sup>15</sup> He won reputation of scientific curiosity expressed in the wide range of his research starting with the early Middle Ages till the events which he witnessed and took part in. However, there is not a significant synthesis in the plethora of his monographs and writings. Nevertheless, three synthetic writings stand out in terms of their monumentality. The first two writings deal with two large ridgelines in the history of Serbian peoples and state: the fall of medieval Serbian state<sup>16</sup> and the revival *i.e.* the resurrection of the Serbian state in the nineteenth century,<sup>17</sup> while the third writing deals with the historic continuity of Serbian identity preserved through the institution of folk life and Serbian countryside that survived the fall of the Serbian state under the Turkish rule and experienced the revival and the creation of the new Serbian state at the beginning of the nineteenth century<sup>18</sup>.

He published his scientific articles in the most famous and reputed scientific journals and magazines not only in Belgrade, but also in Novi Sad, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Mostar, Vienna, Berlin (*Glasnik (Herald) of the Serbian Learned Society, Spomenik of the Serbian Royal Academy, Nikola Čupić's Anniversary, Otadžbina (Fatherland), Letopis Matice Srpske, Prosvjeta, Activities of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, Narod (Folk), Archiv fur slavische Philologie*). The first two scientific-historiographic works were published in 1866 in the *Glasnik* of the Serbian Learned Society XX titled: *Contributions to the Serbian History around 1790*; and *King Milutin's Chrysobull to the Monastery of Ratac*. Nevertheless, he published the first real historiographic writing in 1890 titled *Despot Đurađ Branković and the Reconstruction of Constantinople 1448*, where he portrayed excellently the profile of despot Đurađ and his rule. Using the available documents, he classified his life and rule into three stages. The first stage encompassed the period starting with the death of his father Vuk Branković in 1397 until the reconciliation with Despot Stefan Lazarević in 1412; the second phase covers the period starting with the reconciliation with Despot Stefan till 1444; while the third phase covers the period starting from the Peace of Szeged until his death in 1456. By analysing this time, he reached a conclusion that the period between 1412 and 1444 presented the most glorious period in Despot Đurađ Branković's life when he formed alliances with the Hungarians on the one hand, and the western forces on the other hand, with the aim of resisting Turkish invasion. He characterized Serbian Despot as a great philhellene, honest admirer of Eastern Christianity and culture. In his opinion this Serbian despot was the most sa-



Esphigmenou Charter with image of Despot Đurađ Branković and his family. The charter was issued in 1429 by Despot Đurađ Branković upon request of monks from Esphigmenou monastery to become the monastery's ktetor. It was made in Žiča monastery

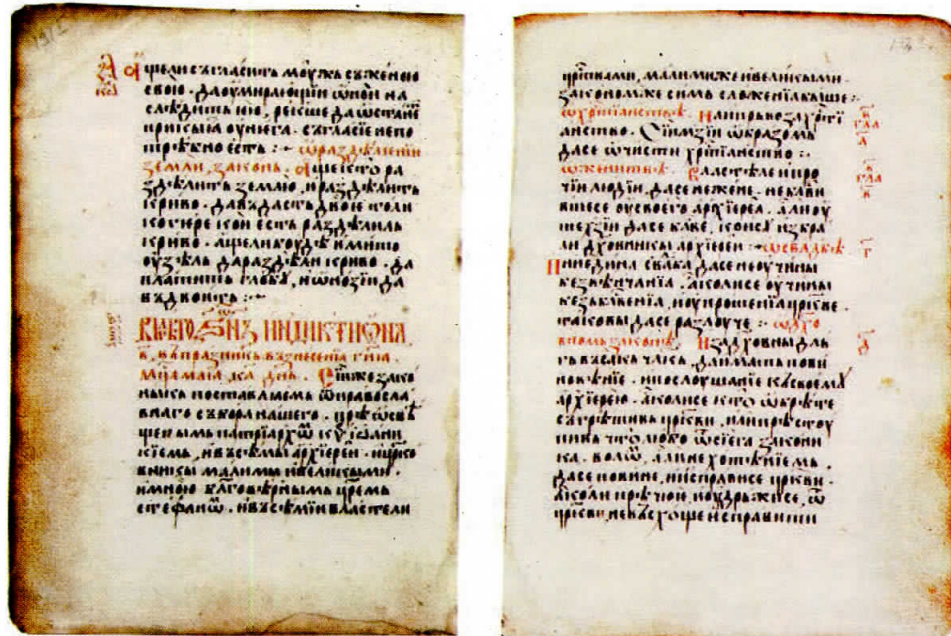
pient representative of the Branković family. The writing represents a brilliant description of Serbian spirit of that time, time, culture that was about to fade away, at the moment when the end of an era symbolised by the Byzantine state and civilization was perceived. The fall of medieval Serbian state was generally his favourite topic.

## II

The first Novaković's thematic circle includes his research work and publication of historical sources, that is statutory monuments from the Serbian Medieval studies, with particular emphasis on research of the old Serbian state law which was a reliable support for people's existence. This group also includes biographies and hagiographies of Serbian and other saints and Serbian patriarchs. His efforts on publishing historical sources marked his entry into the world of science to which he remained faithful until his death. The total number of papers from this first thematic area was about ninety. With his dedicated and continuous work on publishing the historical sources, he gave a permanent contribution to Serbian historiography. What captures attention and deserves special respect is that he was not only a mere publisher or editor of historical sources, in other words, of charters, chrysobulls and statutory monuments of the Serbian Middle Ages. On the contrary, in the introductory notes or prefaces, he provided detailed, professional and precise comments of philological, historical, palaeographic or diplomatic character, so that his interventions in essence represented excellent scientific studies. He published his historical sources in the most prestigious journals such as *Glasnik* of the Serbian Learned Society, *Spomenik* of the Serbian Royal Academy, *Starine* (the Antiquities) of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Art.

As a newly graduated student of the legal department of the Lyceum in 1866, in *Glasnik* of the Serbian Learned Society, he published the first charter of King Milutin to the Monastery of Ratac. Two years later, in the same journal, he edited the Charter of the Bosnian King Stjepan Ostoje to duke Hrvoje, and in 1869 the Letter of St. Sava to the people of Hilandar of 1193, which was a contract on the purchase of Hilandar's land and vineyards. During 1870 and 1891 he published three chrysobulls of Tsar Dušan addressed to the people of Dubrovnik and to the tomb of Queen mother Theodora. After this, he no longer published individual charters, but turned to organizing collections of diplomatic material.

The Serbian medieval law owes Novaković a debt of gratitude for his publication of the monumental Dušan's Code (*the Code of Stefan Dušan, Tsar of Serbia 1349 and 1354*), in 1870 and 1898. For the base of the first edition of 1870, he took the Prizren Manuscript of the Code, but made a methodological error by changing the order of the articles of the Code explaining it as an intention to publish it in a logical order. However, he soon realized that he had made an unacceptable methodological failure. Đura Daničić and Teodor Zigelj were some of the contemporaries who reproached him for impermissible alterations of Dušan's Code.



Prizren manuscript of Code of Stefan Dušan (beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), Fol. 131<sup>v</sup> and Fol. 132<sup>r</sup>. Taken from the book: *Dušan's Code, book III, Baranja, Prizren, Šišatovac, Rakovac, Ravanica and Sofija manuscript*, Belgrade 1997

Secondly, the critical edition of 1898 has the Prizren manuscript as its basis as well, and it includes an exhaustive accompanying study called *Pristup* (the Approach) of one hundred and fifty pages with several chapters, explaining the history of Serbian written laws, institution of the Assembly in the old Serbian state, the structure of the Code, the review of preserved originals and transcripts of the manuscript of the Code, as well as the necessary comments, registers and corrections. This edition is considered to be the best critical edition of Dušan's Code, and even today, after a hundred and twenty years since its publication, it has not been surpassed. Besides, his idea was to publish Dušan's Code together with the *Sintagmat* of Matija Vlastar because it was in the interest of science. He explained his idea in detail in a comprehensive letter sent on January 26, 1886 to Vatroslav Jagić, a professor of Slavic studies at the University of St Petersburg.<sup>19</sup> With the critical publishing of Dušan's Code he did an immense number of important things. Among other things, he established the text of the Code which, as claimed by Alexander Soloviev, was the most similar to the original. He re-published the Prizren transcript of the Code relying on the manuscript, adding the numbering from Articles 1. to 186. He also added three articles from Atonski and Bistrički manuscripts and twelve articles of Rakovački manuscript, which makes a total of two hundred and one articles.<sup>20</sup> An important work in this area is also a supplement *Administrative Function of a Logothete (or Great Logothete) in the Old Serbian State. Supplement to the Interpretation of Dušan's Code*, published in 1886. He continued research and



publishing of statutory monuments of the Middle Ages in the period from 1903, when he was a Serbian deputy in St Petersburg, till the Annexation Crisis in 1908.

In studying the Serbian Medieval Law, he greatly benefited from excellent knowledge of Old Slavic and Medieval Serbian language. His professors, especially Đuro Daničić, were meritorious for his acquisition of the language skills. Besides, owing to his efforts two other important Medieval codes were published: *Matija Vlastar's Sintagmat. Alphabetical Collection of Ecclesiastical and State Laws and Rules of Byzantium. The Slovene Translation of Dušan's Age* from 1907 (the first edition was awarded from the Fund of Nikola Krstić's Foundation), which is a Byzantine monument of ecclesiastical, state and civil rights that was translated during the reign of Tsar Dušan, and *the Statutory Monuments of the Serbian Medieval States* from 1912 which represent the most complete corpus of diplomatic material. *The Statutory Monuments* contain hundreds of chapters, texts of city laws (Kotor, Budva, Bar, Ulcinj, Skradin, Belgrade, Novo Brdo, Srebrenica, Šibenik), Dubrovnik laws on stanak (gathering of the nobility) and the intertribal court of the people of Dubrovnik and the neighbouring Serbian states, contracts and edicts of Serbian rulers on trade and other affairs with the municipality of Dubrovnik, contracts and edicts of the Serbian rulers.<sup>21</sup> Apart from that, as far back as 1885 he came up with the idea of unifying Serbian legal documents from the Middle Ages

As for biographies and hagiographies of Serbian and other saints of the Middle Ages, and Serbian patriarchs, he published the Function and Life of Đurđe Kratovac, (St. George of Kratovo) Life of Serbian Anchorite Petar Koriški, Life of St. Basil the New, Life of St. Petka (Venerable Mother Paraskeva) by the Bulgarian Patriarch Jefimije, Life of Joachim Sarandoporski, Life of Petar Koriški, Life of St. Sava by Domentian, Life of Serbian patriarch Jefrem. This corpus also consists of annals, chronographs, apocrypha, books of prayers, which contain lists of deceased Serbian male and female rulers, ecclesiastical and state prelates, monastery donors and patrons.

Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Novaković was mainly interested in the history of the Serbian Middle Ages, and the largest number of his historical works is related to this chronological -thematic period of Serbian history. One of the first works from the history of the Middle Ages, and the first work of historical geography published by him in 1877 under the name *Brskovo, Danj and the Customs of the Holy Saviour. Roads from the Adriatic Coast to the old Serbian Countries. A Supplement to the Geography of the Serbian Medieval States*. Certain conclusions which he put forward in this paper were disputed a few years later by Konstantin Jireček, based on new available material that had been unknown to Novaković at the time of preparation of this study for publication. In that same year he also published a supplement *Land Activities of Nemanja. A Historical-geographical Study*, in which he successfully demonstrated the geographical expansion of the state of Stefan Nemanja. Here he presented the thesis that all Serbian states were divided into two halves: the Zeta part (coastal), and the Danube one (Sava-Danube). He deemed that the political centres of the coastal states were located in Zeta and Zahumlje, and in the Sava half in Rasa (Ras). Serbian states were rarely united until the appearance of Stefan Nemanja. With this supplement he laid foundations for the study of historical geography of medieval Serbia,<sup>22</sup> and with these works within Serbian historiography he laid foundations for the study of historical geography.<sup>23</sup>

Being the one to cut the first turf among the Serbs in the study of historical geography, he showed his brilliant scientific talent, the inexhaustible breadth in being familiar with general as well as specialized knowledge necessary for perceiving the complex issues that are the subject of research of historical geography. For him, the geographical space, the soil, the ground, was a stage where history was occurring and being created, and only the examination of the causes for which some area has become the driving force of an event helps the historian define certain historical laws. However, his attention was not only concerned with the issues of the borders of the Serbian state in the Middle Ages, identifying locations of cities, squares, monasteries, cemeteries, and drawing historical maps. On the contrary, he was becoming more and more engrossed in studying the issues in the field of law, economy and culture. This thematic circle also includes works: *Serbian territories of X and XII centuries prior to the rule of Nemanja. The Historical-Geographic Study* (1879), in which using the data of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and referring to *the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja*, he defined the borders of Serbian territories during the period of the creation of Serbian countries. Here he also embarked on a territorial division between the Serbs and the Croats, claiming that the border between these two peoples drawn in the X century went along the line: the river Cetina-Livno-Gornja Pliva-to the west of Vrbas towards the Sava river.<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to mention his interpretation that Serbia and Bosnia formed a single geographical unit, whereas Serbia denoted the main name for the areas through which the tributaries of the Sava and the Danube flew, and that Bosnia was an area that was subordinate to Serbia.<sup>25</sup> At the end of this interesting study, he explained why Raška was political centre for the Serbs, justifying that with geographical factors, since this Sava-Danube region was vaster than the coastal basin.

He published his writing titled *Novo Brdo and Vranjsko Pomoravlje in the History of Serbian XIV and XV Century* in 1879. It was right after a part of these regions came into possession of the Principality of Serbia following the Serbian-Turkish wars and the Congress of Berlin. The aim of publishing this work in addition to its scientific importance was also its strictly political dimension. It was necessary to demonstrate the territorial but also state-legal and national continuity of Serbia in this region before both the domestic and the foreign public. His writing *Nikolj-Pazar and Bihor-town* was somewhat less successful and it met with disapproval of scientific circles. However,



Novo brdo – fortress built at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century for protection of rich mines

one work in this field stands out. It is his study *The Nemanjić Capital Ras-Pauni-Nerodimlja*, published in 1911 and unprecedented even nowadays in the field of historical geography thanks to its manner of writing and the way conclusions were presented.

### III

The third Novaković's thematic section covers the writings dealing with theoretical and methodological issues, even though their number is low. Nevertheless, the level of quality of the estimates and conclusions he stated with regard to this topic exceeds their quantity. He decisively rejected the views of the representatives of romanticist Serbian historiography, which observed the past of Serbian people and generally history through the prism of epic poetry, myths, legends, *i.e.* it regarded them as the only and relevant historic sources. He criticised such views and tended to support the attitudes of positivist and genetic historiography, imperatives of Ilarion Ruvarac and other representatives of critical historiography in Serbia, who accentuated the review and analysis of historic resources, determining their authenticity and credibility (external and internal review of sources), *i.e.* they gave primacy to historical facts originating from sources. It was of great importance for him to define the causes of a certain historical event and the consequences that may arise out of it. We can line up Novaković as one of the most persistent disciples of Ilarion Ruvarac and one of the most eminent representatives of Serbian critical historiography. Furthermore, he left Ruvarac far behind, primarily in the methodology of his work.<sup>26</sup>

The question that especially drew his attention dealt with relation between traditional oral Serbian poetry and tradition, *i.e.* oral folk history and critical analyzing of historical facts. Even though he was not the supporter of romanticist historiography, on the contrary, he was regarded as its severe critic since he believed that the folk tradition that was favoured by romanticists hardly ever represented an objective picture of a certain period and events, he was still of the view that oral folk history presented the most valuable material for conceiving spiritual physiognomy of popular public opinion.<sup>27</sup> According to him, one can find out some apparently inconceivable things (attitudes, ethical codes) in oral tradition which he regarded as a sort of historical source. While disputing its validity when drawing



Ilarion Ruvarac (1832–1905),  
archimandrite of the Grgeteg monastery,  
rector of the Karlovci Seminary, member  
of the Royal-Serbian Academy, founder  
of Serbian critical historiography  
(SASA-F 273/2)

historic conclusions, he still observed its cultural value.<sup>28</sup> The importance of his studying of folk tradition lies in the attitude according to which it can be understood as a part of historic awareness, *i.e.* it gets tied to the environment it descended from and in which it was preserved. The most important writings in this thematic circle are as follows: *Serbian Folk Songs on the Battle of Kosovo* of 1878, *Folk traditions and critical history. The Death of King Stefan Dečanski and Tsar Uroš. Contributions to the Evaluation of the Sources of Serbian History*, published in 1880. *The Great Leader Radič or Oblačić Rade 1413–1435. Picture from Traditional Folk History* by Stojan Novaković, printed in 1881, *Heraldic Customs of Serbs in Practise and Literature* published in 1884 and *The Last Brankovićs in History and Folk Songs 1456–1502*, of 1886, for which Pavle Popović claimed to be one of the best Novaković's studies.<sup>29</sup> In the mentioned writing he expressed all the drama in the last moments of Serbian despotate, *i.e.* the fading of the ultimate splendor of the Serbian medieval state.

In his excellent theoretic and methodological article *Folk Traditions and Critical History* of 1880, he took part in a sort of a scientific debate between Ilarion Ruvarac and Ljubomir Kovačević on the one hand, and Panta Srećković and other disciples of romanticist traditionalism on the other hand who did not agree on the question related to the exact date of death of Tsar Uroš. During this severe dispute that agitated Serbian historiography he took the side of Kovačević and Ruvarac, who somehow, by performing simultaneously the review and the comparison of historical sources, came to a conclusion that Tsar Uroš, Tsar Dušan's son, died in early December 1371. Consequently they concluded that King Vukašin who had died in the Battle of Marica on 26 September 1371 could not kill Tsar Uroš as claimed by the oral folk tradition. Owing to this Copernican turn, representatives of critical course disproved the oral popular story according to which King Vukašin was responsible for the death of Tsar Uroš, whereby mere righting of historical injustice was less important than the crucial victory of critical historiography over traditionalists.

The importance of this writing is reflected in the fact that Novaković expressed in it clearly his attitude to oral folk tradition and romanticist historiography. Stating that every history is based on sources and is dependant on them, he classified them into three groups: monuments (letters, inscriptions and money), writers (foreign and domestic) and public opinion or folk tradition regarding



Panta Srećković (1834–1903), historian and member of the Royal-Serbian Academy (SASA-F 277/5)



Banjska monastery, built between 1313 and 1317 as endowment by King Stefan Uroš II Milutin

historical events. Observed from the aspect of credibility, the primary sources are monuments, they are the most reliable and their reliability depends on the authenticity that is defined by critique. They are followed by writers, whereas the folk tradition is the tertiary source that is the least reliable, but rather widespread with Serbian people.<sup>30</sup> Folk tradition represented an intentional testifying on past events, *i.e.* it had an intention or a goal, whilst the remains as sources presented spontaneous testimonies of the past. He believed that the best combination was when all three categories of sources complemented each other. However, the folk historical tradition as a source is rather peculiar; it presents the remains or tradition of a previous popular opinion on an event, whereby “it rarely reflects an objective image of time or event that could satisfy a critical historian”<sup>31</sup>

His attitude according to which the folk tradition should bear the critique is interesting. However, he did not go deeply in what that critique ought to be like, even though he was of the view that tradition is unstable and changeable. Still, he held a view that folk oral tradition may be compared with literary critical history.<sup>32</sup> Through this work, but also in some other writings, he endeavoured to perform comparative analysis of real history and folk tradition. Disproving the thesis on the existence of unique folk epic on the battle of Kosovo, which was advocated by certain authors, he left room for several separate songs dedicated to the problematics of Kosovo to present an epic arrangement in his writing *Serbian Folk Songs on the Battle of Kosovo*, which presents one of his best writings on the tradition of Kosovo.<sup>33</sup>

The fourth topical section could be titled *People and the Country in the Old Serbian State*. Its title was composed by Novaković himself. His most important contributions from political, social, economic, cultural and Serbian medieval church history published in the period between 1887 and 1893 are contained inside. Except for Konstantin Jiriček and him, none of the Serbian historians went deeper into the problematic issues dealing with the development of the Serbian medieval state and society. Planning to compose a writing with an ambitious title, he planned to cover the most important issues and moments in the Serbian political, economic, social and cultural history of the Middle Ages. It should have contained, *inter alia*, contributions on the king, squires and commoners, administration and state high officials, merophe, medieval slaves (otroci), craftsmen, priests, issues regarding immovables, heritage and pronoia, inheritors and pronoiars, cities, squares and villages. One of the fundamental Novaković's theses that runs through his writings from this topical section is the existence of a powerful influence and well-foundedness of the Byzantine model, *i.e.* the institutions in the Serbian state tissue that culminated during the reign of King Milutin and Tsar Dušan, whereby he absolutized that influence.<sup>34</sup>

Novaković strongly advocated the opinion according to which the Serbian Medieval Empire presented just a Slavic variation of Byzantine Empire, and also that Serbian Tsar Dušan aimed to regulate judiciary in his country according to Byzantine rules, *i.e.* separate judiciary from administrative authority. As opposed to Ilarion Ruvarac who stuck only to issues regarding genealogy and chronology, Novaković was courageous enough to enter previously unknown preserve of social, economic and cultural history and lay the foundation for the future complex studies of complex problems in these areas.

One of the most important writings in this cycle is undoubtedly *Pronoia and Inheritors: (Sipahi and Owners of a Čifluk (type of a feudal estate): Contribution to the History of Immovable Property in Serbia XIII-XIV Century: a Chapter from More Voluminous Writing "People and the Country in the Old Serbian State"*, printed in 1887. This extraordinary work in the field of economic history explains the development of one of the most important institutions in the Middle Ages. It is rather interesting that Novaković himself was not satisfied with this writing, but its worth was observed by academician Georgije Ostrogorski, who was of the view that a clear distinction between pronoia and heritage was made in this writing.<sup>35</sup>

*The Village*, a great monograph belonging to the mentioned opus is also worth mentioning. It was published in 1891, presenting part of the writing "*People and the Country in the Old Serbian State*", and according to Radovan Samardžić it may be the best Novaković's scientific work.<sup>36</sup> He studied various forms of an old rural community in Serbia and the importance of villages in the Serbian Middle Ages in this brilliant contribution dealing with the history of Serbian society in the Middle Ages, that may easily be compared with the studies of Coulanges, Lamprecht or Durkheim. In his view, the village represented a specific social organism, an important element of folk life, and he also did not neglect its importance in the context of historical ethnology.

During this period he wrote an interesting essay *City, Square, Town*, as well as studies on legislation and Serbian leaders in Macedonia, on the old Serbian army. His writings in the domain of the history of church are also quite important. The discussions related to the history of Šabac and Valjevo eparchy stand out, as well as to the Ohrid Archbishopric in XI century. His monographs on the monastery of Banjska and the Church of Saint Athanasius in Constantinople are also useful. Owing to the text on the Monastery of Ubožac of 1911, he resolved one of the graver problems Serbian historiography was facing and that was the ubication of monasteries. Thanks to his studies the issue of the location of this monastery was finally resolved. An interesting writing titled *Byzantine Ranks and Titles in the Serbian lands of VI-XV Century*, published in 1908, where he implemented primarily the matrix on the inflow and the borrowings of the Byzantine titles in the Serbian medieval state, also belongs to this group. Several important conclusions derived from this writing, among other things, that the Tsar enjoyed an exclusive right to grant ranks, and also that the practise of granting ranks without specific obligation was present primarily in the following period.<sup>37</sup>

The fifth topical section of Novaković's interests covers the publications of travelogues and travel notes of foreigners who visited the Balkans and Serbia in the past. This section includes his writings on this topic as well. A description of Serbia from the first period of Tsar Dušan's reign published by Adam, the Archbishop of Bar, is invaluable, as well as the travelogue written by the French knight *Bertrandon de la Broquière* from Burgundy about Serbia and his encounter with Despot Đurađ Branković. This writing reconstructs in detail the sojourn of Broquière in Serbia starting with his entry in Pirot to his leaving near Belgrade. He also published the journals written by the Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević and Jerotije Račanin from their journey to Jerusalem in 1682, the travelogue by Dr Brown, an Englishman, dealing with his journey to Serbian lands of 1699, and the note written by Russian Archimandrite Antonin on the antiquities in Macedonia of 1863. The notes by Turkish geographer Hadži Kalfa (scribe-effendi) on the Balkans peninsula from the seventeenth century are invaluable.

Novaković's writings in the field of travelogues were made during his diplomatic service in Constantinople 1886–1891. In addition to everyday diplomatic activities, he used his presence in the territory of the Ottoman Empire for travel which enabled him to get to know political, social and cultural circumstances in the Ottoman Empire of that time. He carefully noted down his observations in the form of special reports that represented serious scientific studies on the past, tradition, culture, language, customs, religion, both in the European parts of the Ottoman Empire and its Asian parts. He titled one of those precious travelogues that represent his travel notes *From the river of Morava to the river of Vardar. Under the ramparts of Constantinople, Brus*, and published in 1894. These notes were adapted and shaped into a book *Balkan Issues and Brief Historical and Political Notes on the Balkan Peninsula 1886–1905*, which was published in 1906. It contains seventeen essays and discussions on the Serbian issue in the Ottoman Empire, which is the topic to which he dedicated a good deal of his life, but also of his political and scientific career. He finished the final adaptation of articles for this book following his return from diplo-

matic service in Russia in 1905. A number of papers in the book deal with his diplomatic moves in Constantinople with regard to the Serbian issue. One can also observe or perceive in the mentioned papers his specific proposals primarily related to resolving the Serbian issue in the Ottoman Empire, but also his concern for the status of Serbs in Old Serbia and Macedonia.

Some contributions tackle medieval issues, but they are consciously included into the book, as he wanted in that manner to demonstrate the continuity of Serbian presence and historical grounds for the existence of Serbs in the European parts of the Turkish Empire. This really useful scientific study abounds with the data in the area of history, geography, cultural history, ethnology, folk culture and tradition, literature, language, religion, anthropology of the European parts of the Ottoman Empire, and it also contains important statistics on the number of citizens, ethnical diversity and intertwining of people on the Balkans.

The contribution titled *The Balkan Peninsula and Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian Ethnographic Disputes* stands out of the corpus of works united in this book for its meticulousness, factual well-groundedness and reconcilableness. It actually represents his work *Greek Thoughts on Ethnography of the Balkan Peninsula*, published for the first time in 1890. He portrays an incessant, centuries-old fight of the people on the Balkans caused by the dispute about ethnographic issues, and this fight was the reason why those people suffered the most. At the same time, he was convinced that if this stumbling block between them had removed, the basic obstacle that was preventing their happy future would have also disappeared. Being impartial, apologetic and visionary gazing at the future, he appealed to unity, togetherness and fellowship of the Balkans peoples on the pages of this marvellous study: "The Balkans people have to resolve their hardships on their own and on time, write down their requests, bring their rights to the light, take care themselves of the political success of their aspirations."<sup>38</sup> He believed firmly that the mutual agreement between the Balkans peoples may be attained through mutual balance amongst Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, whereas that agreement should be deprived of an old tradition and modern ethnography, as well as of "fantastic ethnographic cards". He was of the view that the Balkans could host each one of them, and that the reconciliation and compromise were necessary.<sup>39</sup> He presented his opinion in this paper according to which the Ottoman Empire could not stay in Europe any longer and that there were two options,



Archimandrite Antonin (Kapustin)  
(1817–1894), priest of the Russian  
Orthodox Church, byzantinologist





Panorama of Skopje in 1903–1904 (ASASA 14243/5164)

either its territories should be conquered by new invaders or the land should be given back to the earlier owners, *i.e.* the Balkan peoples, which would be less possible if they continued with the old clashes. His unambiguous answer on how to resolve inter-Balkan frictions was to better understand each other on the Balkans.<sup>40</sup>

His other writings published in the scope of this important study reveal his incessant wish and striving to achieve cooperation, understanding and establishing the union amongst Balkans people and states, primarily amongst Serbs, Bulgarians and Greek people with the aim of liberating their fellow countrymen in the European parts of the Ottoman Empire. He wrote rather vividly on the need to understand each other and overcome mutual conflicts in the second chapter of *Balkan Issues*, titled *Two Days in Skopje 14–15–16 July 1905*, where he cried out because, in his view, Macedonia could not achieve economic progress while “insane and hot-headed revolutionary agitation of heated brains lasts, as they neither see anything, nor can they calculate anything, as they are led primarily by their stubbornness and conceit, and also while the wretched national-clerical friction amongst the next of kin with knives and rifles in their hands lasts. The combat amongst nationalities that was in this case brought to its sick extreme will ruin eventually the nationalities in Macedonia. The Turkish policy also skilfully uses divide and rule principle!”<sup>41</sup>

The book *Balkan Issues*, as well as all other Novaković’s monographs, was received in the public with full attention both in domestic and international scientific circles. His close friend Emile Haumant, the French slavist, was touched by the abundance of facts and data he found out when reading this book. In the beginning of 1907, in the letter addressed to the Serbian historian, he confirmed that he found out a plethora of new information owing to which he observed the Balkan reality from a totally new perspective. He was especially impressed by the second

and eleventh chapter on the Balkans and on ethnographic disputes amongst its peoples.<sup>42</sup> After reading this book, Haumont abandoned his formerly ingrained views on the Balkans, whereas he completely changed his attitude to the Serbian issue, with Novaković's role being crucial for the alteration in his views.<sup>43</sup> He proved using numerous arguments and historical facts that the Patriarchy of Constantinople had made numerous errors toward the Orthodox peoples in the Ottoman Empire throughout different centuries in the discussion titled *Constantinople Patriarchy and Orthodoxy— Considerations regarding the Discussion of Clerical-educational Issue in European Turkey*, which was firstly published independently in 1895. The contribution titled *Travel Notes on the Balkan Peninsula of XVII and XVIII century*, of 1897, being a part of different travelogues, depicts the Balkans viewed from the perspective of several British, Russian, Austrian, French and Turkish travellers who at that time visited this region.

#### IV

The sixth, voluminous topical section of Novaković's writings includes the issues and events from modern political history of Serbian people from the so called uprising phase, into which he plunged relatively late, as late as the beginning of the twentieth century, with the nearing of marking the centenary of the outbreak of the First Serbian Rising, *i.e.* the beginning of the Serbian revolution. Firstly he had an idea to write down a diplomatic and historical debate to be titled *Turkish Cities in Serbia 1812–1867*. This idea emerged in the moment when he was in Constantinople for the second time at a diplomatic service, having the collection of documents from the French archives as a model for the mentioned topic in the period 1860–1869. As a serious and thorough scientist he also managed to develop the layout of the writing and the arrangement of chapters. However, he lacked Serbian sources on the issue. Owing to this, he gave up writing the said work.<sup>44</sup> The next study having the New Age theme should have been titled *Serbian Thought Once, Nowadays and in the Days to Come*, whereby the accent would have been put on the Serbian politics. However, he did not succeed in completing this writing.<sup>45</sup> He found incentive to commence research concerning the Serbian uprising period in Saint Petersburg, where he served as Serbian Ambassador and had an opportunity to leaf through a number of Russian sources.

Nevertheless, his first voluminous writing that covered the period of the late Middle Ages and the early modern era presented a kind of introduction into the series of writings from the nineteenth century. He published it in 1893 titled *Serbs and Turks of XIV and XV century. Historical Studies on the First Fights against the Turkish Invasion before and after the Battle of Kosovo*. The said writing was criticized by Konstantin Jireček and Ilarion Ruvarac. The critiques dealt primarily with the selection of sources and insufficient review. However, Stanoje Stanojević estimated the study as one of the best writings in the Serbian historiography, as well as one of the most important and the best Novaković's writings.<sup>46</sup> The book takes into consideration a

successive downfall of Serbian state in the Middle Ages, Turkish invasion to the Balkans, conquering and consolidation of the Ottoman Empire in that region. Novaković portrayed that conflict as fight and clash of different civilizations, two cultures, two religions, two social structures. The book depicts Serbian-Turkish issue and mutual relations in dramatic times, in the period of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century and it also shows the tragic in the downfall of Serbia, its people, state and dynasties. Novaković's thesis that deserves attention is that the catastrophe of the Serbian fall under the Turkish rule presented also the moral temptation of the strength and peoples' vitality as the country had collapsed. However, the Serbian people came out of that tragedy as only stronger and battle-hardened.<sup>47</sup>

He also dealt with the personality and the historic role played by Vuk Branković on the pages of this book. By analysing the Battle of Marica he concluded that neither him, nor Prince Lazar had ever wanted to fight in the East, as well as that both of them were the main opponents of the King Vukašin Mrnjavčević. He accepted the opinion given by Ljubomir Kovačević according to which Vuk Branković had not committed an act of betrayal during the battle of Kosovo. However, he did not justify his behaviour upon the completion of the battle, whereby he insisted especially on his animosity toward the Lazarević family.<sup>48</sup> He focused on the life and the reign of Despot Đurađ Branković, whereby in relation to his conflict with Stefan Lazarević, he took the side of the latter. He accused Despot Đurađ of working in his own personal and dynastic interest, and contrary to the interest of peoples. He even used the term the "treacherous" policy of Despot Đurađ Branković. In his view, the climax of the wrong politics led by Đurađ Branković had occurred in 1409. Novaković seems to have been too rigorous, even one-sided toward the Branković family in that conflict between Branković and Lazarević.<sup>49</sup> Anyway, his depiction of the life and work of Đurađ Branković is rather useful, if one takes into account that in the moment when this book was emerging he disposed of sparse resources, especially in relation to the material from the Archives of Dubrovnik.

This study depicts comprehensively the arrival of Turks in the Balkans and Europe, their conflict with the Serbs that was finalized by Turkish destruction of the Serbian medieval state. Novaković meticulously notices huge similarity between the situation on the Balkans following the completion of the Congress of Berlin with the situation that was dominating in that area in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century upon the arrival of Turks, with the only difference that the Ottoman Empire following 1878 was stronger than the Byzantine Empire of that time.<sup>50</sup> In this book as well he repeated his formerly stated postulates of history as the teacher of life and the fact that people should learn a lesson from history. Specifically, he believed that Serbian people should not be gazing at the Middle Ages, as the guarantee of their future did not lie there. The Middle Ages "bestowed" on the Serbs only discord, decay and fall under the Turkish rule. The very source from which the Serbs should be supplied and where from they should anticipate their future is their national life, unity, citizen values, authority of the ruler. With his predictions, Novaković exposed himself to the risk of being criticized because of the unusual method to not

Despot Stefan Lazarević, fresco painting in the Manasija monastery (15<sup>th</sup> century)



only interpret the past events, but also to contemplate how something should have happened or how it should be.<sup>51</sup>

In the period 1901–1908 some of his most important studies and scientific articles dealing with the nineteenth century, *i.e.* the Serbian revolution and the First Serbian uprising were published. Such examples are his scientific contributions published in 1901: *The Last Attempt. Serbian Deputation in November 1813 before Tsar Alexander I in Frankfurt am Main, not to be forgotten. Contribution to the Serbian History of 1807*, and the writing *Dorđe Arsenijević Emanuel, cavalier general (1775–1837)*. Afterwards, under the impression of vastness of Russian historical sources, he intended to complete a study on the development of the Serbian vassal state in the period 1804–1830, which would present a sort of an introduction to writing *The History of Serbia* until 1876.

Political and historical study *Ičko's Peace: an Attempt of Immediate Reconciliation between Serbia and Turkey: 1806–1807*: Political and historical study, contains six chapters and was edited as early as the summer of 1901, and it was published in the Russian and the Serbian language in 1903. This writing was the first amongst the writings from the so called uprising trilogy published in 1903–1904. Invoking the published historical material, narrative and diplomatic historical sources, he reconstructed the attempts of direct agreement between the Serbian rebels and the Turks, led by Petar Ičko on the Serbian side in 1805 during his intermediary mission at the Porte. The book also portrays his life and sheds light on his diplomatic activity with the Turkish authorities. The book also criticizes and analyzes, *i.e.* elaborates on the text of Ičko's agreement with the Turks, which is actually the book's worth. Novaković was of the view that Ičko's peace was also a sort of a programme or the platform of vassal Serbia, as its contents, *i.e.* provisions, were initiated by Prince Miloš in the negotiations with the Turkish representatives in 1915 and 1818 on the models of Serbian autonomy. Nevertheless, Ičko's Peace was only a sort of

an alluring offer the Turks used to delude Serbs, *i.e.* the means that would help them to buy some time in the confrontation with rebels.<sup>52</sup>

Uncovering Petar Ičko's biography he pointed out that by his mediation at the Porte with the aim of reconciling the Serbs and the Turks he gained the fame of one of the greatest humans of his time, an educated man who contributed to the status of revolting Serbia. He also addressed the issue of Ičko's death in 1808, distancing himself from the claim that he had died of poisoning, but also adding that if his death had been motivated politically, then the reason could have been his opposing to the alliance with Russia and the wish to perform reconciliation between Serbia and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>53</sup>

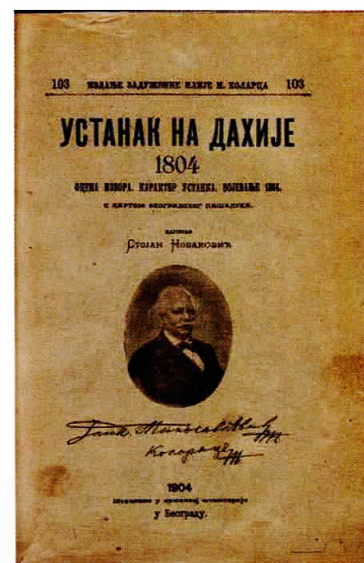
He pulled through the thesis on Ičko's great diplomatic abilities several times in the book. He demonstrated for the first time his diplomatic skills when he composed the text of requests which the rebels had lodged to the Turkish authorities in April 1804. It was the first clearly defined list of requests that the rebels had formulated in ten points and stated publicly. Ičko demonstrated his diplomatic virtuosity especially during his negotiations with the Turks in 1806 in Constantinople. Novaković stated that this mission took place at the wrong time in the moment when the Turkish army had been preparing to attack the rebels. In such circumstances, Ičko sacrificed himself for the Serbian interest and showed personal loyalty by going to Constantinople in rather unfavourable circumstances in order to represent the interests of Serbia. The proposal of the agreement consisted of 12 points and it presented an attempt to reconcile the Serbs and the Turks. By the means of this document, the Serbs were offered a sort of autonomy by introducing "mutual possession", *i.e.* the existence of the institution of grand vizier and the supreme Serbian Prince. Novaković noticed that neither of the parties had accepted reconciliation sincerely, *i.e.* the conversations on the proposals contained in the Turkish firman.<sup>54</sup>

In Novaković's opinion, the main drawback of this agreement is that foreign guarantees for the implementation of its provisions were not mentioned. He also posed the question, *i.e.* expressed the dilemma about what would have happened with the agreement if the Serbs had really accepted it and became Turkish allies in February 1807 if one bears in mind that by getting closer between Russia and Napoleon's France in June 1807, the French almost became the enemies to the Ottoman Empire. There was no dilemma for Novaković. In spite of the fact that Russians did not always fulfil the expectations of Serbs, the alliance of 1807 gave them a sort of an international guarantee for obtaining autonomy guaranteed by the Bucharest Agreement of 1812. If Serbia had not had the support of Russia in its negotiations with Turkey, Serbia would not have done anything, which was also confirmed in case of Prince Miloš and his negotiations with the Turks.<sup>55</sup>

The book *Uprising against Dahijas 1804: the Evaluation of Sources, Character of Uprising, Warring in 1804: with the Map of Pashalik of Belgrade* published in 1904, divided in fifteen chapters, firstly gives an overview of the sources on that event which represented the milestone not only in the Serbian history, but also in the history of Yugoslav political idea, but also in education and literature. Next, the causes of the uprising were established and its character was

examined through the critique of sources and analysis of facts.<sup>56</sup> Taking into consideration the sources for the first Serbian uprising, Novaković classified them into memoirs, acts, notes and reports. The memoirs he singled out are the works by Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, priest Mateja Nanadović, Ante Protić, Janićije Đurić. As for the notes, reports and acts, he used the notes composed by Archbishop Stefan Stratimirović, Austrian border authorities, the book written by Gavriilo Kovačević, but also the poems written by Filip Višnjić, Karađorđe's *Registry*, *Beadrolls of Eminent People in Serbia* by Milan Đ. Milićević, books written by Russian historians Dubrovin, Nil Popov, archival records from the Russian, French and Austrian archives. As for the sources relevant for the period of Prince Miloš's reign, he drew attention to the importance of a study written by an Italian, Dr Bartolomeo Cuniberti, Prince Miloš's personal doctor, and his famous study titled *The Serbian Uprising and the First Reign of Miloš Obrenović 1804–1850*, as well as the writing by Rashid Bay titled *The History of Astonishing Events in Belgrade and Serbia*, which was printed in Belgrade. Finally, he underlined the importance of the writings composed by Jovan Hadžić and Lazar Arsenijević Batalaka. He pointed at some methodological principals with regard to historical sources for the uprising. He was of the view that it was necessary to print as soon as possible the unpublished original archival records, acts and documents dealing with the First and the Second Serbian Uprising, publish all transcripts by Valtazar Bogišić, Mihailo Gavrilović regarding the documents from the Russian and French archives and glance over the documents from the Prussian, English and Austrian archives with the aim of printing collected material. He proposed the drawing up of the registry for all of the published material.<sup>57</sup>

Analysing the nature of uprising, its genesis and the idea of liberation and national independence, he stated his conclusion according to which at the beginning of the uprising none of the organizers had in mind that the goal of the rebellion should be the Serbian independence and total Serbian liberation. He supported this claim with two arguments. The first is that none of the rebellions wanted an interruption of relations with the Porte, and another is that the uprising did not flow outside the borders of the Pashalik of Belgrade, *i.e.* it preserved a strictly local character. He also pointed out that the uprising was conducted under the slogan of loyalty of rebels to the Sultan and the central powers, *i.e.* the fight of Turkish subjects in the Pashalik of Belgrade

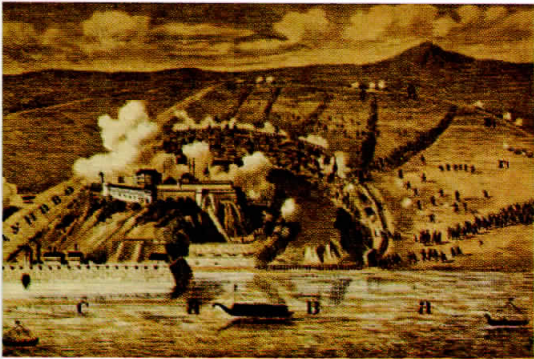


*Uprising against Dahijas in 1804, evaluation of sources, nature of the uprising, fightings in 1804, published in 1904*

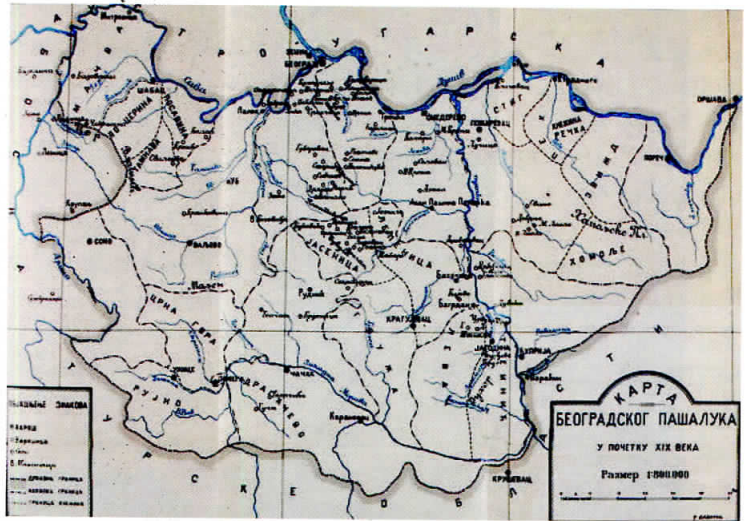
against the illegitimate authorities of rebels from the Turkish sultan, janissaries and dahijas. was defensive.<sup>58</sup> As regards the plans for the organization of uprising, he was convinced that the uprising sparked off spontaneously, and that only afterwards the appointment of the uprising leader and the organization of the uprising ensued.

In several chapters he described in detail the clashes between rebels and dahijas, spreading of the uprising in Šumadija, Serbian possessing of Rudnik, Jagodina, Šabac, Smederevo, Požarevac and the siege of Belgrade. He also pointed at the process of gradual development of disciplined and firmly organized revolting national army that was different from brigand troops from the beginning of the uprising. The fact that the border cordons had been placed in the liberated areas of revolting Serbia served him as a proof that the rebels had made the initial move toward the constitution of a nation-wide or state army.<sup>59</sup>

He explained a formerly unnoted phenomenon on the Balkans in this book. It dealt with the cooperation of better elements in the Muslim society, the so called “good Turks”, “Sultan’s Turks” with the rebels in the fight against riotous dahijas. It would not have occurred if it had not been for the fanaticism in the behaviour and their bad governance in the Pashalik of Belgrade. It had been the arrogant behaviour of dahijas that had pushed Serbs into the arms of “good Turks”, *i.e.* moderate Muslim strata who had lived in Serbia. He described the assistance of certain Turkish pashas to the leaders of uprising (the ones from Niš, Leskovac, Novi Pazar) and the participation of individual Turks in the uprising. This temporary alliance had lasted until 1806 as there was a prevailing conviction at the Porte as early as 1805 that the uprising in the Pashalik of Belgrade was overcoming local setting and was obtaining a wider meaning than just the fight against dahijas, *i.e.* it was directed against the central Turkish authorities. He provided invaluable data on the geographical boundaries of the Pashalik of Belgrade in the nineteenth century, connecting it, historically speaking, with the destiny of the Serbian state under the rule of Despot Đurađ Branković. The Pashalik of Belgrade had been consisted of thirteen nahias at that time. The fact that the resurrection of the Serbian state which initiated in 1804 took place within the same



Siege of Belgrade in 1806



Map of Pashalik of Belgrade at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

boundaries as those of the Serbian medieval state, that is Despotate, after it had finally fallen under the rule of Turks in 1459 and that the seat of that state was also in Smederevo in 1805, where it also had been in 1459 when the Serbian state was about to lose its independence, made a strong impression on Novaković.<sup>60</sup>

The monograph *Resurrection of the Serbian State: Political and Historical Study on the First Serbian Uprising: 1804–1813* is in the view of Novaković's contemporaries and critics, but also in the view of contemporary historians his best book and one of the best studies in the Serbian historiography on the First Serbian uprising in general. In the author's opinion expressed in the preface to the first and the second edition, the First Serbian Uprising had had incalculable repercussions on Serbs, Yugoslavism and the Balkan Peninsula in general, as it presented the impetus of Christian nationalism on the Balkans. The most significant attainment of the uprising was the resurrection, *i.e.* the revival of the Serbian state in the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> This book has also become one of the most popular reading material amongst the readers in the field of uprisings.

The prehistory of its genesis is rather interesting. Editorial staff of *Matica Srpska* in September 1903 invited Novaković to write down for *Letopis Matice Srpske* an appropriate article on the year 1813 and the Serbian uprising. He almost brought his entire activities to an end for six weeks' time and in January 1904 the writing was published in Novi Sad in the printing house belonging to the Popović brothers. In the same year, the Serbian Literary Cooperative published the second amended edition of this study which was awarded a literary prize from Đorđe Đorđević's fund. The book was published twice more during Novaković's life. It was published in Sarajevo in 1912 in German by the Institute for Balkan Studies, whereby some changes and amendments were introduced in the seventh chapter. New publications were used during the preparation of



this edition, which came out following the publication of the second edition in 1904. Novaković consulted the French collection of materials on the history of the First Serbian Uprising which Mihailo Gavrilović edited for the Serbian Literary Cooperative in 1904, then the first book by Milenko Vukićević on Karađorđe covering the period from 1752–1804, publicised in 1907 and his article *La Serbie regeneree et sec historiens*, published in Jagić's Archives for Slavic Philology as a reaction to the publication of Kallay's study on the history of the First Serbian Uprising. The book was published for the third time in Serbian in 1914 by the bookstore Cvijanović, with new supplements and corrections, whereby Romanian documents publicised by the local Ministry of Education and the Academy of Science were included in this edition. Following Novaković's death, the book saw four more editions: in 1931 in Zagreb including the preface of Ferd Šišić, in 1954 including the critical preface of academician Vasa Čubrilović, in 2000 the publisher was the Institute for Textbook Publishing and Teaching Aids, while the writing was published in the fifth book of selected works by Stojan Novaković and in 2002 including the voluminous preface of academician Mihailo Vojvodić. The critical review of this book, written by historian Jovan N.Tomić for *Serbian Literary Herald* of 1904, stated that "Novaković as the most eminent representative of the older generation of Serbian scientists wrote a clear study presenting a useful contribution to examining the influences of external factors on the outbreak and development of Serbian uprising"<sup>62</sup>

Novaković depicted all grandeur of the First Serbian Uprising, *i.e.* the Serbian revolution which represented the basis for the revival of Serbian statehood in his book *The Resurrection of the Serbian Statehood*. An interesting fact is that the Serbian national revival, which commenced with the uprising and the revolution, is called the resurrection, on the model of terminology accepted from the Italian language. This terminological preciseness was not accidental. Using the syntagm resurrection, which has both its religious and emotional meaning, he wanted to demonstrate continuity, *i.e.* permanence and the connection between Serbian history and the statehood of Serbian people in the period between the end of medieval and the emergence of modern Serbian state.<sup>63</sup> In doing so, he wanted to apostrophize a deep rootedness of Serbian statehood, *i.e.* the persistence of Serbian state and national institutions. Using this terminological coined word he also demonstrated a certain amount of social engagement at the moment when the centenary of the outbreak of the First Serbian uprising was marked. This symbolic and powerful syntagm was supposed to raise national self-confidence and awareness, but also the self-respect of Serbian people and provide a kind of hope at the time when black clouds were hanging over its national and state tissue.

This book is composed of 10 chapters, having an emphasis on diplomatic, political and military history, *i.e.* an international political component of the uprising in the context of the fight amongst great powers with the aim of primacy in resolving eternally turbulent Eastern issue. The nature of this writing may be perceived from the title itself which points out that it is a political and historical study on the First Serbian Uprising. The book *Resurrection of the Serbian State* presents a comprehensive retrospective of different factors which preceded and provoked the outbreak of the uprising. It explains the flow and the consequences of one of the most

important phenomena in the modern political history of Serbs, the ideas of liberation and of the Serbian state are illuminated, a complicated fight amongst great powers is unveiled, primarily between Russia and Austria for the primacy over the Balkans, whereby the uprising is observed in the context of Eastern issue, *i.e.* it is displaced within the wider European frames. The book also sheds light on Petar Ičko's intriguing diplomatic mission in Constantinople as well as the attempt of direct negotiations between Serbs and Turks, Russian influence on the uprising and the actions of Russian diplomatic representative Rodofinikin during his sojourn in Serbia. Military dimension of the uprising was not neglected, *i.e.* accomplishments and the failures of rebels. Tense relations between the leaders of uprising and their insidious fight for the primacy, the emergence of the uprising institutions which presented the sprout of new state institutions, work on the development of Constitution, attempts to establish monarchist power in Serbia were analysed.

Novaković addressed the causes that led to the outbreak of the Serbian uprising in 1804. He did not support the conventional wisdom according to which the general decline of the Ottoman Empire, primarily in its European parts, had been reason for the uprising. On the contrary, he gave it a wider European dimension and emphasized as the main reasons the rivalry between the European powers regarding the establishment of control over the Balkan Peninsula, whereby he apostrophized primarily Austria and Russia. He also highlighted the impact of the French revolution on the conduct of Austria and Russia regarding the Eastern Issue. As one of the reasons for the commencement of rebellion he stated fierce internal Turkish debates, *i.e.* the conflicts between the reform and anti-reform currents in the Turkish army and the state apparatus, whereby he implied imperial authority under the reform powers, while he classified janissaries and outlaws from the Porte as rebels and anti-reformists. Finally, one of the crucial causes for the outbreak of the uprising had been the willingness of the leaders of uprising to maintain autonomous privileges *i.e.* the institution of princely self-government guaranteed by the 1793 firman. Those privileges protected from the autocracy of janissaries and dahijas who at the beginning of the nineteenth century strengthened their power in the Pashalik of Belgrade and cancelled Serbian privileges. Novakovic drew a conclusion that the rebels on account of the loss of privileges had protested against the illegal authorities, and not against the Porte. The fundamental leitmotiv prevailing in the first part of the book is that the rebels commenced the fight against the outlaws from Sultan aiming at the establishment of infringed half-autonomous and personal rights.<sup>64</sup>

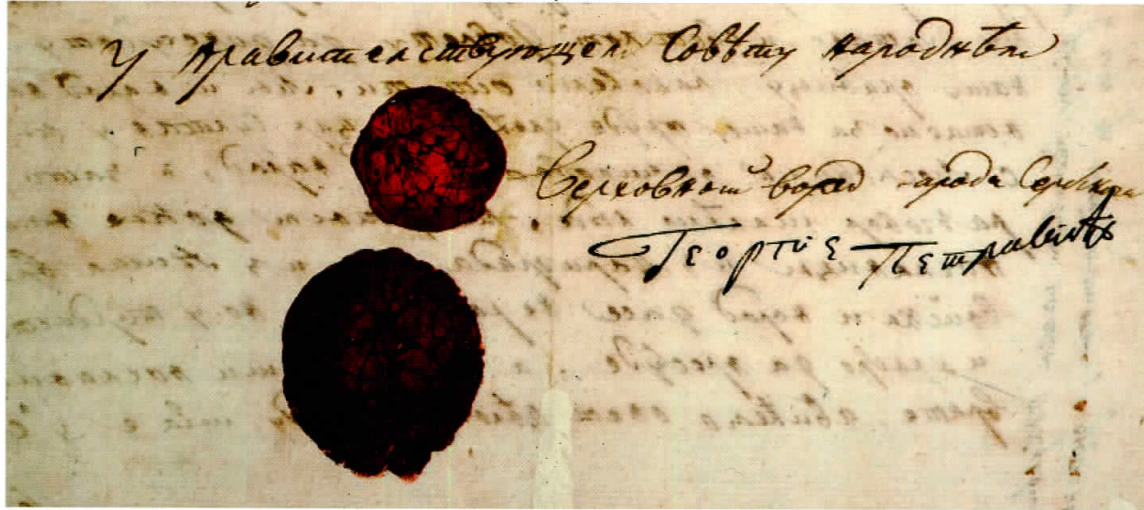
Novaković noticed that in the first part of the uprising which had lasted until 1806 there was no mentioning of wider political programme that would aim at the national liberation and the establishment of the Serbian statehood. Earlier, the uprising had had a limited goal and it was locally oriented. Nevertheless, military accomplishments of rebels in 1805 and the strengthening of their power in the villages, as well as increasing distrust of central Turkish authorities toward the rebels, resulted in the revision of revolting goals, *i.e.* the birth of an idea on the liberation from the Turkish rule and the establishment of the Serbian state.<sup>65</sup>

Novaković revealed the importance of the first diplomatic steps that rebels made by sending deputations to Saint Petersburg and to Constantinople. He attached great importance to the establishment of diplomatic contacts of rebels with Russia since the leaders of the uprising

stated clearly and publicly for the first time their autonomous programme to a major power. Nevertheless, the mission had more symbolical than real meaning as Russia except for the financial assistance did not undertake any other diplomatic offensives in favour of the Serbs. The uprising was important for them in the context of Serbian alliance when implementing its policy in relation to the Ottoman Empire. He also reconstructed in detail Petar Ičko's diplomatic mission in Constantinople and entering into the peace agreement with Turks, which offered autonomy to Serbs, the establishment of the institution of Supreme Prince and payment of taxes (tribute) at a flat rate. Shedding light on this event is especially important since little was known previously about it in the Serbian historiography.

In Novaković's view, the decisive phase in the uprising occurred at the end of 1806 and the beginning of 1807 owing to the establishment of firmer connections, political and military cooperation with Russia, when the rebels encouraged by the support of a major European power commenced to formulate unrealistic requests for that moment overcoming the scopes of autonomy, and were dealing with the wish to liberate oneself entirely from the Turkish rule and to create Serbian state. The leaders of the uprising, he noticed, did not take into account the relations between the European powers, between Napoleon's France and its opponents, general situation on the European front, but they observed things from a narrow local perspective. At the constellation of powers of that time, the Serbian situation was getting worse as the Austrians looked with distrust at the crossing of Russian troops over the Dniester river toward the Balkans and Serbia, since they regarded Serbia, that is the Pashalik of Belgrade, as their preserve. Because of this the initial sympathies for Serbian rebels increasingly melted with the strengthening of the Russian influence in Serbia. Frightened that its interests on the Balkans may become jeopardized, Austrian diplomacy performed offensive operation in order to create a powerful anti-Russian front to which England and the Ottoman Empire joined. That coalition lasted during the entire nineteenth century, as Novaković observed rightly, whereby especially "Yugoslav nationalism" stood at its gunpoint.<sup>66</sup> Austrians went that far to make plans regarding the military occupation of Belgrade at the beginning of 1807. Starting with the 1807 Russian-Turkish agreement in Slobozia, Serbia was isolating itself increasingly at an international level, as it was not treated as a Russian ally, *i.e.* it yielded to the will of the Ottoman Empire. The mentioned isolation exposed itself in 1809 with the defeat of Serbian rebels against the Turks, which led to the creation of rebels and Karadorđe's distrust toward the Russian Empire.

In addition to the international political aspect of the First Serbian Uprising, Novaković dealt really thoroughly with the internal aspect of the uprising. He dedicated a lot of space to the structure of the Serbian state, establishment and operating of institutions and authorities, pointing rightly at the tendency of conflicts and disunity, quarrels that followed the Serbs and their society like doom as of the Middle Ages. He warned of the weak rootedness of the idea of collectiveness and statehood with the leaders of the uprising where the personal interest always prevailed over the general one and over the mutual goals. He also addressed the institution of Assembly composed of all the leaders of the uprising whose domain of activities was limited to the general uprising issues and the liberation of the state before obtaining ingerences over the counties and cantons.



Karadorde's letter in which he signed himself as "supreme leader of Serb people" (ASASA 586)

He also noticed that the three models or concepts of the state structure crystallised during the uprising and they were thoroughly analysed by him. The first model dealt with the creation of the federal princely autonomy, which represented a sort of the medieval Turkish self-governing model that inherited the tradition of the Balkan Peninsula. This model was the least appropriate since it verified the absolute power of the leaders of the uprising and dukes in those new-old principalities. The only federal connection between the leaders in case of the acceptance of that model would have existed if the country had been at risk of war, *i.e.* it would have been established with the aim of general defence and general danger from the Turkish assault. This matrix was represented by the majority of the leaders of the uprising.<sup>67</sup>

The second concept was represented by the Russians and it implied the existence of the Council as a body that would symbolise general state and collective power, and if necessary it would have control over the dukes. The drawback of this model lay in the exaggerated interference of Russians into the internal problems of Serbia and their will to control the leaders of the uprising and Karadorde through the Council. The third concept, represented by Karadorde, was reduced to the unification of military and civil affairs in the personality of one man, and that was the leader of the uprising, *i.e.* Karadorde. The culmination of personal commander's power, in Novaković's view, took place in November 1808 when the supreme and unique land administrative power was regulated via his decree. The power belonged to the commander from that moment, who was appointed master, as well as to his lawful descendants. By this act, a limited monarchistic hereditary power was established, *i.e.* Karadorde strengthened his personal power. Nevertheless, during the uprising certain constitutional and democratic institutions were established including the Governing Council, *i.e.* the government (*Praviteljštvojušći sovjet*), land court and the constitution that was adopted on two occasions.<sup>68</sup>

As a patriot and a man to whom national and state interests of Serbia were more important than personal disagreements and conflicts, Novaković clearly at the closing pages of this chapter expressed his opinion on the internal structure of the country and the disagreements between the leaders. Rising above all the conflicts, he directed a critique to the leaders of the uprising as they had bowed to personal interests neglecting the general and the national ones. In his opinion, it would have been much better if the leaders had firstly completed the process of liberation and only then dedicated themselves to the internal organisation of power and the putting the country in order.

He analysed in detail the Bucharest peace treaty, in the context of the importance of this document for Serbia and the uprising movement. Except for being an international agreement, its most significant provision dealt with the eighth article which guaranteed autonomous rights of Serbs in the state administration and when paying the tribute, as it was the case with Turkish subjects on the islands of the archipelago and in other regions. The unfavourable part of the arrangement dealt with the return of Turks into towns.

Regardless of the fact that it was not perfect, this treaty in his opinion had provided to Serbs the basis for the revival of national being and acknowledged the existence of internal autonomy for Serbs.<sup>69</sup>

The final part of this study is dedicated to the analysis of the end of the uprising. Novaković was of the view that the break of the uprising had been inevitable. Demoralising rebels and their leaders, but also people after military defeats in 1809, gradual Russian abandoning of former allies, increasingly reserved attitude of France, revival of hostile attitude of Austria toward rebels weakened the power of Serbia and encouraged the Porte which quelled the uprising in 1813. We hold the view that Novaković in this book successfully explained how the generation of rebels who were having the rural background had managed to liberate themselves and establish the Serbian state with all the difficulties having the domestic and international political character. Wishing to round off completely the research about the First Serbian Uprising, *i.e.* create a closed whole, Novaković in 1905 published a small contribution *Prince Miloš and Turkophile Policy in 1815–1816*, where he contemplated on the situation in Serbia following the uprising, *i.e.* he analysed in detail the consequences of the Serbian uprising movement in the Sarajevan calendar *Prosvjeta*.

The book *Turkish Empire on the Eve of Serbian Uprising: 1780–1804*, published in 1906 and consisting of 8 chapters, aimed at clarifying the causes that had led to the outbreak of the First Serbian Uprising and the revolution, whereby it depicts in detail political and economic relations in the Ottoman Empire and the Pashalik of Belgrade prior to the outbreak of the uprising.<sup>70</sup> The study faced negative comments of Stanoje Stanojević who criticized the author for portraying the situation in Turkey too extensively, whereas Vasa Čubrilović claimed that the material having been used in the writing was too chaotic, incoherent, and the problems were presented in haste and were not resolved accurately.<sup>71</sup> These reviews were disputed by academician Radovan Samardžić, who claimed that this study presented the foundation for studying the

internal life of the Ottoman Empire in that period.<sup>72</sup> Novaković wanted to show the prehistory of the First Serbian Uprising through this work, *i.e.* reveal elements that had brought about the outbreak of the first in chain of the national revolutions on the Balkans in the nineteenth century. Having that as a goal, he started from the year 1780, concentrating primarily on the turbulent situation in the Ottoman Empire, agrarian question, military issues and reforms, Serbian autonomous privileges that he connected to the 1804 Serbian requests and the establishment of the institutions in the uprising period.

The book *Constitutional Issue and Laws in the Era of Karađorđe. Study on Genesis and Development of Supreme and Central Power in Serbia 1805–1811* is also invaluable. The book was printed in 1907. Slobodan Jovanović reviewed it in 1931 by saying that “Novaković presented in this writing the most comprehensive description of conflicts between Karađorđe and his dukes”.<sup>73</sup> The genesis of the development of revolting supreme and administrative state institutions was shown in the mentioned writing very successfully. Novaković portrayed brilliantly the clash of two conceptions between the leaders of the uprising: centralistic and autonomous-separatist. The main dispute dealt with whether in the conditions of unceasing revolting combats one should have worked on the revival of principal autonomy with the predominance of prominent local leaders, or the primacy should have been given to the establishment of central state administration under the rule of Karađorđe Petrović and the Governing Council (Praviteljstvujušći sovjet). Criticising severely Karađorđe for the intention to establish military-monarchist power, he was at the same time of the view that the principal self-government as a model of governance had been obsolete since it presented the impediment to development of Serbia as a unique state creation.

Novaković provided a useful periodization of constitutional and legislative order of the revolting Serbia. Speaking roughly, the mentioned periodization could be divided into four phases. The first phase lasted from 1804 to 1807 and it was characterised as the beginning of the fight for the internal order of Serbia that was completed by the introduction of the institution of Council. The second phase commenced with the arrival of Konstantin Rodofinikin in Serbia, when the activities related to the constitutional order of Serbia started (1807–1808). The third phase included the activities related to the strengthening of Karađorđe’s power through the adoption of a new Constitution and it lasted until 1811. The fourth period lasted from 1811 *i.e.* since the introduction of reforms and the confirmation of absolute Karađorđe’s power until the quelling of the uprising in 1813.

By analysing the circumstances in Serbia as of 1804, he brought out the thesis according to which it had been Karađorđe’s intention from the beginning of the uprising to impose his supreme power, which happened finally in the 1811 reforms. Drawing attention to the fact that until the autumn of 1804 there had been only military power in Serbia, he pointed out also that separatism had prevailed across the counties in Serbia. The first idea was to establish general rules in Serbia on how to organize institutions and authorities in the entire territory of revolting Serbia. The mentioned idea was realized at the Ostružnica Assembly of National Leaders at the end of April 1804.

The book is also focused on the comparative analysis of two constitutional projects, *i.e.* Constitutions. The first is the Constitution composed by Konstantin Rodofinikin in 1807, and the second is the Constitution drawn up by Karađorđe Petrović in 1808. As for Rodofinikin's Constitution he wrote that it was an act that had aimed at subduing Serbia to the Russian supreme power, *i.e.* holding vassal relation to Russia. Through his Constitution, Karađorđe had wanted to complete his supreme power in Serbia, which met with constant resistance of local dukes and leaders.

As regards Rodofinikin's constitutional proposal, Novaković noticed that his activities on the constitutional order of revolting Serbia had not met with the approval of Karađorđe and his disciples. Constitutional proposal of the Russian representative had implied a considerable limitation of Karađorđe's ingerences *i.e.* authorities, as he would have retained only ceremonial authorities without any specifications on the inheritance of the throne, while the main part of the power should have been given to the Senate. Novaković noticed rightly that the importance of this Constitution had been much more in practically subduing Serbia to Russia, and not in limiting Karađorđe's power.<sup>74</sup>

By analysing Karađorđe's Constitution of 1808, he noticed that this legal act was the first written and formal document in the area of individual organizing (governance) of Serbia even though it had resulted from Karađorđe's wish to strengthen his own power.<sup>75</sup> It was an act composed by Karađorđe's supporters and Governing Council (Praviteljstvujušći sovjet) never adopted through the regular procedure, *i.e.* never ratified by the Assembly. He regarded it as an act of autocracy of Karađorđe and some leaders of the uprising. The Constitution of 1808 had not managed to overcome a deep gap between the leaders, on the contrary, their conflicts deepened even more.<sup>76</sup> Novaković concluded that following the adoption of Karađorđe's Constitution of 1808, the principal self-government had been cancelled and the model of centralistic-absolutist monarchy was promoted with the Karađorđević dynasty and the Council as supreme state authorities in Serbia.<sup>77</sup>

The estimates Novaković expressed about Karađorđe Petrović and his opponents are also important, whereby we can notice that he did not spare each of the parties from criticism. Karađorđe Petrović came out a winner of the primacy fight for the role of the supreme leader of Serbia, which took place from 1804 to 1811. He managed to introduce personal power, *i.e.* create centralistic-absolutist monarchy. During the



Konstantin Konstantinovich Rodofinikin (1760–1838), diplomat, chief of Russian mission in Serbia from 1808–1813

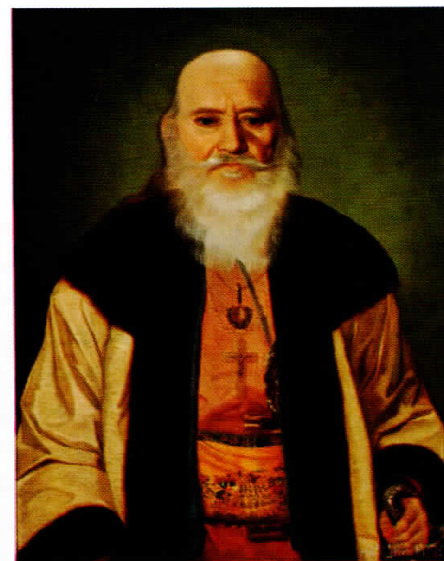
uprising Karadžorđe was not guided by the principles of the state, but his own interests. Nevertheless, his opponents and rivals were also prone to autocracy and love of power. However, Novaković believed that there were positive elements in the establishment of Karadžorđe's personal power, including the development of a firm centralistic-monarchist power, which had been the antipode to autonomous fragmentation to which local masters aspired.<sup>78</sup> Summing up the balance of the First Serbian Uprising and Karadžorđe's power, he brought forth two positive achievements that presented important capital in the continuation of diplomatic-state struggle continued by Miloš Obrenović in 1813 several years after the quell of the uprising. The first was the eighth Article of the Bucharest Treaty and the second was the principle of the establishment of central and autocratic power, *i.e.* centralization as ballast to separatist-autonomist strivings of local leaders.<sup>79</sup>

The last study in the series of writings having the uprising as a topic titled *The Resurrection of the Serbian State and its Historians*. It was published separately on the occasion of posthumous book written by B. Kallay *Geschichte des serbischen Aufstandes 1807–1810*. Wien 1910 in 1910, and afterwards it was also published in two sequels in the Nikola Čupić's Anniversary of 1911 and 1912, and on the occasion of posthumous publishing of the book written by Beni Kallay on the history of Serbian uprising in the period 1807–1810. This is where Novaković further elaborated his conclusions stated in his voluminous monograph on the resurrection of the Serbian state. Commenting critically on the posthumous Kallay's writing, he stated his views regarding the role of Habsburg and Russian Empires in the development of the uprising in Serbia, noticing changeability of their policies when resolving the Eastern issue. He brought out the thesis that major powers' attitude to observing and resolving Serbian issue had been selfish.

In his view, there had not been a specific political programme document rebels referred to in the beginning of the rebellion against the Turks, but they were guided exclusively with the principle of self-defence from dahijas' autocracy and terror. They even wanted to revive the power of the Porte and privileges on the principal self-government. The uprising broke out as a consequence of the reaction to dahijas' governing and the taxes they imposed. As late as 1805–1806 the uprising got the wider national liberating character. He confronted with this attitude Milenko Vukićević, a great connoisseur of uprising-related issues, who ascribed to the uprising from the very beginning pronounced national and political attributes.



Seal of the Governing Council



Prota Matija Nenadović (1777–1854),  
Serbian duke and president of the  
Governing Council from 1805–1807





(Left) Duke Janko Popović, "Tsintsar Janko" (1779–1833). In the First Serbian Uprising he distinguished himself in battles on Drina and on Mišar, and during liberation of Belgrade. (Right) Uzun-Mirko Apostolović (1782–1868), military commander in the First and the Second Serbian Uprising

A special segment of this book deals with Serbian-Austrian relations. He noticed that the Austrians always had had a conservative view of the Serbian state, whereby they believed that the Serbs outside Serbia had nothing in common with the Serbs in Serbia. When it comes to differences, they especially emphasized the Serbs from the Habsburg monarchy who they were striving to assimilate into the Germans and Hungarians. Led by its imperial and narrow-minded goals, Austria denied historical rights to the Balkan peoples, especially to the Serbs. In that sense, Austrian circles were especially interested in keeping medieval fragmentation and dichotomy of Balkan tribes *i.e.* peoples.<sup>80</sup> Austria did not want Serbian people to become independent from the Porte, out of the fear that an independent, or even autonomous Serbian unit, could disable joining of that creation *i.e.* the Pashalik of Belgrade, with the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>81</sup> He believed that the second reason for objecting to the Serbian independence or autonomy had lain in the antagonism that existed between Russia and Austria, which was almost insuperable. The fundamental stumbling block between these two powers was Serbia because it was ready to support the continuity of the Ottoman Empire, with small corrections related to the improvement of the status of Serbs. He described the overall policy of Austria toward rebels, that had been in its essence hypocritical, as "fearful, indecisive, petty, without any initiative", and he reprimanded it as short-sighted and mean. In his opinion, Austria was always expressing Slavophobia and antipathy to the Greek and Orthodox faith. It had paid its arrogant imperative to Serbia by non-establishing a protectorate over it. Novaković here expressed one psychological trait of Serbian peoples, and in the context of bad Serbian-Austrian relations: "The Serbs are by their national character

soft to everyone whose attitude is mild and mellow, and they are, on the contrary, persistent and obstinate to everyone who treats them in a rigid and arrogant manner.”

Novaković considered in detail the attitude of Russia to the Serbian issue during the First Uprising. He claimed that it had been ready only to mediate in the first years of the uprising in favour of the Serbs at the Porte, acting purely in its own interest, whereby this mediation narrowed down to form without any real essence. Everything was done to mend *status quo ante*. The formulations on granting autonomy or the right to nationality were excluded from the proposal on the enhancement of the former condition. Austria, led by its interest and fear from the Russian influence on Europe, *i.e.* prospective Russian protectorate in Serbia, wanted incessantly to limit that influence as much as possible. There were fears in Vienna that Russia could solve itself the Eastern issue to its advantage over Serbia, *i.e.* inherit the Turkish possessions on the Balkans.

Novaković remarked that the Russian protectorate over Serbia had commenced in 1807, which deterred it from Bosnia and Montenegro and directed it to the East. A conclusion may be reached on the basis of his reflections that he was more prone to the idea of Austrian protectorate over Serbia since Serbia would focus then all its attention on Montenegro and Bosnia where the majority of Serbs lived and where the nucleus of the Serbian nation was concentrated. The Serbs were brought to the exasperating “side track” by falling under the Russian protectorate. Vienna regarded the mere mentioning of Russian protectorate in the Western parts of the Balkan Peninsula, which would encompass Serbia as well, as a nightmare. An agreement between the Russian Empress Catherine and the Austrian Emperor Joseph II of 1782 (the so called Greek Project) was the only relevant for Austria. Frightened of the Russian influence in Serbia, Austria spread propaganda in 1807 against Russia. Its basic task was to disable the establishment of Russia in the Danubian principalities Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia.

Through this group of studies and articles, Novaković once again tackled the pioneering job in the Serbian historiography of creating the basics for the development of a new movement—researching the Serbian national revolution. His research and interpretations of Serbian revolution were based on new and unrevealed historical sources, primarily of foreign provenance. By applying scientific and critical methods used less earlier in the Serbian historiography burdened by romanticist spirit and exaltation, mythomania and tradition, he managed to define a new critical movement for a short period of time, which was increasingly based on historical facts and myths, and less on epic poetry and myths, as insisted by the representatives of romanticist Serbian historiography (Miloš Milojević, Pantelija Srećković). He mentioned in all the studies belonging to this topical section historical importance and values of the Serbian revolution, *i.e.* the First and the Second Uprising, which had launched several national liberation revolutions of other Balkan peoples and states in 1804. Through his objective observations of revolting and revolutionary events and fact-based conclusions he denied the former romanticist course of Serbian historiography which had interpreted these events through the epic discourse and based its conclusions exclusively on memoirs. Owing to his clear and critical approach, he laid foundations of scientific historiography with the Serbs. A new generation of Serbian historians of that time (Milenko M.



The Greek project (1782) – Memorandum of Russian Empress Katarina II (1729–1796) and Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790) about division of Ottoman empire, i.e. about creation of new countries on the territory of the Ottoman empire, Dacia and Greek empire

Vukićević, Mihailo Gavrilović, Jovan N. Tomić, Radoslav Grujić, Aleksa Ivić, Dragoljub Pavlović) followed in his footsteps of scientific and critical approach to the Serbian history in the first half of the nineteenth century, and primarily the revolting phase of its modern history.<sup>82</sup>

Owing to his thorough research of the history of Serbian revolution, he reached a conclusion that the foundations of national goals and rebels' strivings should not be sought in the myth or fame of Serbian Middle Ages that vanished long ago, *i.e.* it should not be based on the heritage of Dušan's Empire, but on the national life and the movement whose fundamental ideals were freedom and independence. Sticking to the principle that one should always learn certain lessons from history, he was of the view that it should be learned from the Serbian Middle Ages that mutual discord, quarrel, party and aristocratic conflicts, envy but also separatism, particularism and local dichotomy may just contribute to the general national, state and spiritual plunge of Serbia and the Serbian people, *i.e.* only the Serbian enemies may avail of it.

Excellent knowledge of German helped him translate the first part of Ranke's *History of the Serbian Revolution* at the age of 22 (1864) being a scribe in the state printing house administration and, which is even more important the editor of the magazine *Fairy*. Upon its publication in 1829, this book presented a particular affirmation of Serbia in Europe, which had known little previously about the Serbs. The second part of the book was not printed at that time because of the censorship. This book was awarded out of the literary fund of Ilija Kolarac. An interesting fact is that Novaković in 1892 also translated Ranke's writing titled *Serbia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century* which was awarded out of the literary fund of Ilija Kolarac. He devoted great attention to the publishing of the sources important for the history of Serbia and the Serbs

in the nineteenth century. Pouqueville's notes on the situation in Bosnia and the Old Serbia of 1807 belong to this group, as well as The Memoirs of Ibrahim–Mansur Effendi on the events in Bosnia and Serbia in 1813 and 1814, the French official notes on western Balkan countries of 1806–1813, as well as the letters written by *Count Bois Le Comte* to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Rigny on the situation in Serbia in 1834.

## V

Novaković also dealt with contemporary political and historical themes, primarily as of 1906 in his old age, whereby the writings having that topic compose a separate whole. He published writings in the field of contemporary political and social history of Serbia also under the pseudonyms of Šarplaninac and *Dardanus*. The study titled *Several More Difficult Questions in the Serbian History (on the occasion of the book Geschichte der Serben von Konstantin Jireček Gotha 1911)* and *Several More Difficult Questions in the Serbian History (Les Problemes Serbes)* were prominent within this corpus of works. These studies were published in two sequels in *Nikola Čupić's Anniversary* of 1912 and 1913. Academician Radovan Samardžić appraised this book as Novaković's most mature historical work written in the form of his free observations developed as a reaction to the publication of Jireček's first book *The History of the Serbs*, printed in 1911 in the German language.<sup>83</sup> He defined several crucial questions through a sort of a polemic with Jireček, including the development of the Serbian people through history, their nature and character, their strivings and finally, their perspective in the future. This study entered the domain of cultural history as well. He put forward his views concerning national and cultural life of the Serbs, but he also expressed some of his views concerning the future of the Serbs. The book owing to its messages presented a sort of a legacy and the author's testimony. He presented his opinion inside that a phenomenon that had lasted long was present on the Balkans; it was "an old geographical, administrative and religious system" persisting in time.

Novaković was of the view that what was happening in the present time was the consequence of several historical moments and he came to a conclusion that one should dig deeper into the past to understand the present moment and events. He also warned the future generations to follow new turbulent and difficult temptations and times, advising them to abandon "the thoughts of medieval restless feudalism" and medieval tradition, and also that educated peoples should strive to cultural unity, cultural values, knowledge and personal values. "The bland past should belong to the bygone times: national life should be rearranged freely, and without second thoughts and guided by firm hand be directed in the way aligned with the fundamentals of contemporary critique."<sup>84</sup> His intention was to study seriously lessons from the past, warily, dispassionately, soberly, without ideological influences, in order to avoid the repetition of errors and prepare as well as possible for upcoming political and geostrategic turbulences.<sup>85</sup> His numerous political articles fall within this topical section where he expressed his scientifically based political convictions and attitudes.



Konstantin Jireček (1854–1918), Czech historian who devoted his research to history of Balkan peoples and countries, especially of Bulgarians and Serbs

We would like to point out some of the most important ones: *Mačedonija I–III* (1906), *Novopazarski sandžak* (1906), *Economic Independence* (1906), *Plunder over the Balkan Peninsula* (1906), *The Serbs in Turkey* (1908), *Liquidation in Turkey* (1908), *Patchwork agreement* (1908), *Stojan Novaković on Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1908), *The Balkan Peninsula or Central Europe* (1908) as well as the plethora of interpellations he submitted to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia as an MP on the occasion of current political and international events (diplomatic relations between England and Serbia, slaughter in Macedonia, events in the Ottoman Empire). Acting in the whirl of turbulent and decisive international events that marked the direction of actions of the Serbian state and the faith of the Serbs, he never lost sanity. His motto always was that Serbian national and state interests may be equally efficiently defended with a pen and a book and the book and education and with knowledge and culture, as well as by using arms and force.

He clearly put forward his attitudes on the importance of cultural and educational work in order to realize Serbian national and state interests in the article *Let Culture Unite Us* published in Dubrovnik-based *Srđ* in 1908, within the scope of *In Memory of the Dubrovnik Republic Fall*. Pointing out that the spirit of the Serbs did not abate, he drew attention to the fact that it survived literally owing to the faith, books, language, poems. He suggested that the Serbianhood should be raised by culture, beautiful language and overall national education. "Let us unite, let us unite the hearts of those on the river of Timok with that one at Gruž on the Adriatic coast; the one on Shkoder Lake on the Buna with the one on the river of Morava, the one on the river of Una with the one on the cold Vardar... The Serbs may become cultural whenever we want them to become. It may be the product of our spirit and our own will. It is our duty to land it on our country's soil from the height of its future. There are no prohibitions to it."<sup>86</sup> Hence, he pointed out that the Serbianhood may be successfully impelled by culture, beautiful language, overall national education, *i.e.* peacefully. As opposed to the armed struggle which is short-lived, the struggle which uses the book and education is limitless in time and more efficient. Sagacious Novaković recommended over one hundred years ago that all Serbian regions and tribes should be united by spirit, language, national awareness and education.

He presented his political and conservative views also in an extraordinary study *On the Role of the Leader in the State Organism* published in 1908. In the twilight of his life, accepting the ideas of the Serbian revolutionary youth and preoccupied with the idea of Yugoslavism, he wrote the study titled *Problemes Yougoslaves* and brought it to an end only several days before his death, in February 1915. Thanks to the efforts of his son Mileta the book was published posthumously in September 1915 in Paris. In this work he put forward his views concerning the Yugoslav state that would be composed of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian states, whereby he did not express his opinion on the structure of that creation.<sup>87</sup>

The biographies of prominent people from the Serbian and European history comprise a separate topical section of Novaković's works. He published, *inter alia*, the biography: *The Empress Mara. Historical Streaks from the Fifteenth Century* (1893), where he presented the tragic of self-sacrifice of this wise woman, even though the book abounds with numerous inaccuracies and contradictions, including, for instance, a detail that Despot Đurađ Branković gave over Mačva with Belgrade and Golubac to the Hungarians. Obsessed with this ascetic, he described her life from the moment of entering the Sultan's harem until the end of her life. He also gave an overview of her return to Serbia in 1451 and of escape to Turkey several years after, when Sultan Muhammad came under her influence. He illumined her concern with regard to the protection of the Mount Athos monasteries. In his view, Serbia of that time was torn between the simultaneous vassalage to the Turks and the Hungarians, which was a real catastrophe. He characterised the decision taken by Despot Đurađ of 1444 to stop its vassal relation to Hungary and make separate peace with the Turks as his best diplomatic move. The biography of a Russian diplomat Rodofinikin that he published under the title *Konstantin Konstantinovič Rodofinikin. Biographical notes* (1908) is also interesting. He focused here on the Russian influence in Serbia which was in those years the greatest. Apart from that, the biography titled *Dr Nikola Krstić, His Life and Work* (1908) about his professor and role model is also important.

Finally, we can classify a certain number of Novaković's works into a separate corpus of memoir literature, even though he never wrote memories that dealt with everyday issues and the events he witnessed. His school diary for the period 1858–1859 is saved and it was published in 1995.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, there were people who believed that he had been writing his own diary. Pavle Popović was of the view that Novaković in the twilight of his life commenced writing memoirs, which was the conviction held by Tihomir R. Đorđević, but he interrupted his writing on the year 1869, while Jovan M. Jovanović noted down that "Novaković died with a pen in his hand, putting down his memories".<sup>89</sup> Academician Mihajlo Vojvodić, an excellent connoisseur of Novaković's life and his work, pointed out that the manuscript of the memoirs had been neither saved in his legacy nor found, *i.e.* there was a conviction that the memoir manuscript had been destroyed during the First World War.<sup>90</sup> Novaković put forward his personal expressions and appraisals, or even the narratives about himself that was really rare, into several of his works, whereby he added determinant *memoir leaflets* to the subtitles of those works.

The most important work from the memoir corpus of Stojan Novaković's works is a political, legal and historic study: *Twenty Years of Constitutional Policy on Serbia: 1883-1903: Historical Memoir Notes of that Time and the Genesis and Implementation of the Constitution of 1888 and 1901*, which is composed of nine chapters and published in 1912. Apart from that, this is his most important book dealing with the contemporary Serbian history interwoven with an incessant struggle concerning the constitutional issue as the most delicate issue in the internal policy of the Serbian state. The estimation he made at the very beginning according to which it had not been noted before that a country had had such a big problem with its constitutional legislation the way Serbia had it.<sup>91</sup> The book covered the period starting with July 1883 when the draft of the Constitution made by the members of the Progressive Party was submitted to King Milan, with Novaković himself taking part in its development, until 1903 when the change to the Serbian throne came about. This book presents an overview of the constitutional history of Serbia and its turbulent political history during the period of almost one century. Its value is reflected in the fact that Novaković for the first time in the Serbian scientific public shed light on the Constitution of 1901, the so called Octroyed Constitution, regardless of the fact that it was valid for a short period of time.

The fact that Novaković was at the heart of fierce constitutional struggle at the end of the nineteenth century, both as a participant and an immediate initiator of constitutional changes he endeavoured to introduce gives special significance to this study. He wrote the book on the basis of his personal memories and notes he took concerning this sensitive issue. He completed editing of the manuscript in 1911. Firstly, the book was supposed to be titled *The Genesis of a Constitution*. However, he used his sojourn in spa Nauheim to make certain corrections into the text and give the study a new, *i.e.* the final title under which it was printed.<sup>92</sup> There are two contributions in the book: the proposal of the Constitution of 1869 and 1901 and the draft of the Constitution from the 1883 Cabinet of Milan Piročanac.

The basic conclusion that derives from this extensive monograph is that the introduction of the constitutional issue in Serbia during the reign of King Milan and Aleksandar Obrenović was caused by personal intentions, specifically by martial relations, *i.e.* they were not led by noble state ideas, but only the protection of personal power. This was all the consequence of autocratic exercise of state power by the leaders from the Obrenović dynasty.<sup>93</sup> King Milan's basic motive to adopt the Constitution of 1888 and abdicate in the following year, lay in his wish to divorce from the Queen Natalija owing to the affection he had for Artemiza Hristić. On the other hand, King Aleksandar Obrenović adopted the 1901 Constitution in order to secure the throne and dynasty by introducing the provision on the female successor to the throne.

Making the sectional view of the development of constitutionality in Serbia from Prince Miloš's reign to 1903, he brought out statistics on twelve adopted constitutional laws. He was of the view that Prince Miloš was only the successor of autocratic central power established by his predecessor, and that the Turkish Sultan's edicts of 1830 and 1833 presented basically

the first Serbian constitution that laid foundation for the internal structure of the country.<sup>94</sup> And while the Sretenje Constitution presented the first step toward the serious constitutional order of Serbia, the Turkish Constitution of 1838 was adopted to the detriment of Serbian autonomous rights, whereas the 1869 Constitution was founded on shaky principles. He was personally against the Constitution of 1869, which he repeated several times in the book, while he advocated the adoption of the Constitution that would legitimize bicameral system and be founded on the European principles. As regards the 1901 Constitution, he thought that the king had approved of it only after he managed to get the consent of amending it with an Article on bicameral Parliament and of adopting it by a decree. He was of the view that the bad sides of this constitutional solution were contained in the provisions on defining the succession to the throne and the female successor, as well as those regarding the elections for the Assembly using the system of electoral district slates.<sup>95</sup>

Novaković criticised severely the reign of King Milan, which he supported vividly with the words: "The King was the fellow only to autocratic personal rule and because of this he regarded every Constitution as a matter of idleness or necessary concession to contemporary coterie strivings and fantasies (as the king intimately estimated)." His following comment put forward on the pages of this book shows the level of his indignation caused by the behaviour of the Serbian ruler: "because he never cared for more reputed and independent ministers, wanting all ministers to be only the swift executors of his wishes and orders, while his strength and initiative should have been evident everywhere!"<sup>96</sup>

From this topical section we are putting the accent on the book of interviews and articles titled *The Latest Balkan Crisis and the Serbian Issue: Notes, Reflections, Interviews and Political Articles in 1908–1909*. This book was published in 1910 and it dealt with delicate issues and dilemmas the Serbs and their country were facing during the Annexation Crisis. This is the issue concerning which he declared himself publicly in the newspaper articles, interviews and speeches in the National Assembly. The book is composed of eleven articles: *Bosnia and Herzegovina before the Congress of Berlin*; *Bulgaria and Bosnia*; *Interview with the Editor of Pester Lloyd*; *Interview with the Editor of "Constantinople Herald"*; *The Balkan Peninsula or Central Africa*; *Revision of the Berlin Treaty and the Serbian Issue*; *The Serbian Issue*; *The Twentieth Century or the Middle Ages*; *Balkan Issues and Europe*; *Interview with the Associate of Neue Freie Presse*; and *Quid Nunc?*.

Novaković's thoughtfulness, sobriety and patriotism, but not the belligerent and popular one, orientation to the future of the Serbian state and peoples are evident in all of these writings. This is how, for instance, in the article titled *The Balkan Peninsula or Central Africa*, he brilliantly unveiled the aggressive policy of Austria-Hungary toward Serbia and the Serbs, which Austria tried to hide behind the accusations for great Serbian propaganda that allegedly was coming from Serbia. Serbia was guilty only for defending its language, name and its books. Being a sagacious and long-sighted politician he believed that the peace on the Balkans and in Europe may be assured by Austria's abandoning "its central African territories", i.e. by its understanding that it was situated in Europe and taking the road of "tolerance, tenderness and freedom".<sup>97</sup>



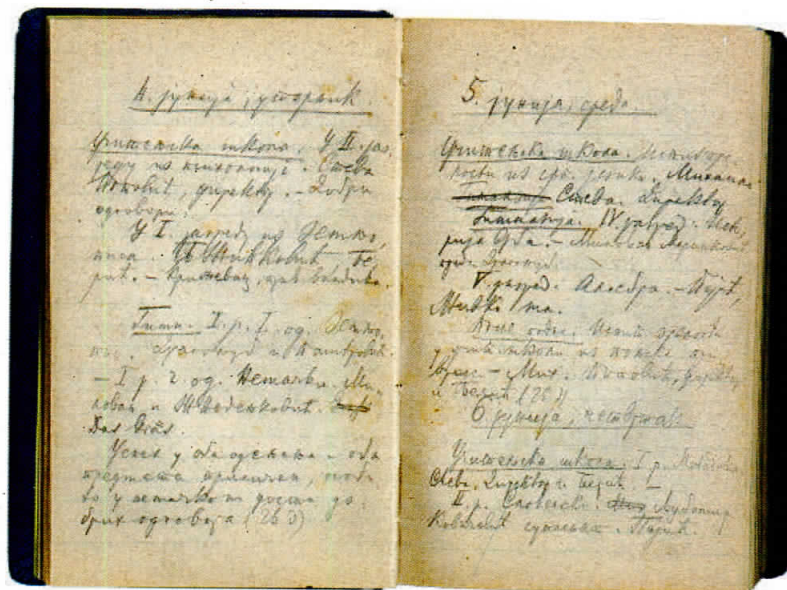
He showed his unequivocal attitude to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its status but also to the Serbian issue and the decisive role of Serbia in its resolving in the article titled *The Serbian Issue*. Novaković could never accept the decisions taken by the Congress of Berlin that had put an end to the strivings of Serbian people, of the state but also of the political and intellectual elite in relation to that region being the core of the Serbian people. He reminded in this writing as well that a huge error had been made by allowing Austria to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina thereby opening the Serbian issue. There was no dilemma for him, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina composed one national being, Bosnia and Herzegovina were the heart of Serbian and Croatian nationality, the core of language, national strivings and customs. He believed that it was neither possible for Serbia to exist without Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor could any foreign powers settle in Bosnia as long as Serbia was an independent and autonomous state.

Taking into consideration the Serbian issue, he put the accent on several factors that had contributed to the survival of independent Serbia on the turbulent Balkans in the previous 100 years. First of all, it was the rivalry of major powers, next it was the strength of the Serbs in their struggle for freedom, but also the need to attain balance of powers in Europe.<sup>98</sup> He pinned his hopes on the role of Serbia regarding its intercession for the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, bringing out the Serbian issue before Europe, *i.e.* before the local diplomacy. He believed firmly that time was on the Serbian side and that the principles of nationality and the natural law presented the pledge for the Serbian survival in the future. "Let's just embrace wholeheartedly our general national issue, which will be emphasized, defended and led to victory by our largest and the most powerful ally – the time, it belongs to us, it is on our side and against the Austrian side", he recommended.<sup>99</sup>

In the text *Quid Nunc* that was composed as a reaction to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, he unequivocally repeated his belief that the Serbian national life may be protected against the attacks and troubles not only by arms and fight, but also by education, books, newspapers, national unity and beautiful language. At the end of this text he warned: "Let's make sure that the actions taken to unite the Serbs are peaceful, using the resources of evolution, in one spirit and one direction, through education and culture, constantly, vividly, restlessly – and the victory will be ours... We must keep our spirits up... and we, however, must always conceive and endeavour, let's do our best to constantly and incessantly endure in this bloodless struggle of peace, education and culture for our peoples. This struggle is harder than the one that uses weapons, but there is no defeat in it, the victory is imminent, and when it finally arrives – it is eternal."<sup>100</sup>

In the discussion titled *The Catholic Church in Serbia: the Letters of Bishop J.J. Strossmayer of 1881–1885*, published in 1907, he presented his attitude to the attentions of bishop Strossmayer to conclude a concordat between Serbia and Vatican, and he explained the genesis concerning the status of the Catholic Church in Serbia. The writing *Notes on Đura Daničić. Contribution to the History of Serbian Literature* presents a sort of a homage to his professor and

Stojan Novaković's  
notebook (HMB, KI 1 2069)



years-long friend and associate, but also to his great protégé Đura Daničić, whom he held in high esteem which is obvious on the pages of this writing as well. In Novaković's view, Daničić was an indefatigable initiator of progress, science and national education.<sup>101</sup> In this writing, he observed a great role Daničić played in overcoming the national direction in the Serbian literature and the victory of Serbian literary language. Nevertheless, he also gave credit to Daničić for making the impact on the Serbian youth that had an affection for literature.

The study *The Serbo-Bulgarian War and the Crises of that Period: 1885–1886: memoir leaflets of Stojan Novaković* was published in *Nikola Čupić's Anniversary* of 1908. It presented the brief history of Serbian-Bulgarian war without going into details. In Novaković's view, the war fought between the two Balkan nations had been an entirely personal and political move of the Serbian sovereign. His reflections on this unnecessary war were based on his personal sentiment and impressions concerning that conflict, which gives a special dimension to this study.<sup>102</sup> The reign of King Milan was also portrayed in this writing prior to and during the Serbo-Bulgarian war, whereby in this writing he looked back at his reign dividing it into three periods. The first period covered the times of wars for independence and liberation in the Great Eastern Crisis, the second period covered the transformation of the country reflected in the construction of railways and domestic reforms in 1880–1885, whereas he titled the third and the central phase of his power "personally militant reign", with the supreme power of personal king's authority. Milan had aspired to this sort of power incessantly and the war with the Bulgarians presented a chance to achieve it. Nevertheless, it was this war that turned into the complete opposite and hastened the way to his abdication from the throne.

Novaković criticised the fundamental reason why King Milan had made war with the Bulgarians qualifying it as “miraculous military action”. There was a risk that the unification of Bulgaria may lead to the breach of the Berlin Treaty and disturb the status quo. He believed that this motive of the Serbian ruler was pretentious, as neither King Milan nor Serbia could have been the guarantors or the protectors of the Treaty of Berlin. He believed firmly that the Treaty of Berlin was more detrimental to Serbia than to Bulgaria since the Serbian national interests were affected by this peace treaty and “the Congress of Berlin had an anti-Slavic character since it disabled the establishment of harmonious community of the Balkan peoples”.<sup>103</sup>

The emphasis in this topical section is put on the article *Luka Vukalović at Prince Mihailo's Court*, published in the journal *Narod* (The Nation) in December 1911 and January 1912 and on the writing *Vidovdan 1889 in Constantinople: Stojan Novaković's Memoir Leaflets* of 1907.

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Stojan Novaković was one of the most significant representatives of modern Serbian historiography, as well as one of the founders and most passionate exponents of its critical direction. With almost 500 published bibliographical units he was classified amongst the most prolific scientists and historians Serbia has brought to the surface. With the determined stroke of a pen and the disposal of relevant sources, he got around masterfully within long timeframes and indented thematic frames starting from the medieval Serbian history to the modern political history and events he had created and taken part in. He was a politician, diplomat and statesman, but above all he was a modern socially engaged scientist and historian for whom insight into the historical truth deprived of any impurities, partialities and tendentiousness was the fundamental scientific imperative. Owing to his vast knowledge and experience, he grasped skilfully and revealed the spiritual dimension of the Serbs. He respected and accepted sincerely the idea of the nation, peoples and national state. However, he was also of the view that the Serbian national and state interest may be realized really successfully through the affirmation of education and knowledge. His patriotism may be the best depicted in the words referred in the summer of 1900 from Paris to Aleksa Jovanović, the Serbian Prime Minister: “With that aim there shouldn't be any ‘Russophiles’ or ‘Austrophiles’ in Serbia, but only the Serbs who will be guided dispassionately and without enthusiasm purely by the permanent benefits of their patria.”<sup>104</sup> The Serbian historiography, Serbian people and his state are eternally indebted to him for his persistent scientific work.



Stojan Novaković with his wife Jelena and family.  
Photograph from 1904 at the time when Novaković was Serbian envoy to Russia (HMS, F 8909)