

CLASSICAL HERITAGE, ARCHITECTURE, MYTH, AND MYTHOLOGY AS BASES IDENTITY

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THE ANCIENT HERITAGE AND THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY OF SERBIA

Abstract: This paper examines the role that the classical heritage, tangible and intangible, played in the formation of the European identity in Serbia during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. During this period, in European countries the presence of elements of the ancient heritage was emphasized as a proof of affiliation to the civilized European cultural space. Members of the Serbian intellectual elite, educated in European university centers, adopted and brought to the Serbian society the view that the achievements of ancient heritage represent the pinnacle of civilization. These intellectuals have, as well, seen the classical languages and classical spiritual and material heritage, as a link that could bring Serbia closer to the generally accepted standards of European cultural and scientific trends, and help incorporate Serbia into a wider European framework. Therefore, they were persistent in their dedication to approach the classical heritage to the Serbian public. This paper aims to explore the results of their endeavors, and to compare their achievements with contemporary efforts to build a common European cultural identity.

Key words: ancient heritage, intellectuals, identity, Serbia, Europe.

During the period of the formation of national identities, holders of national ideology have transformed folk tradition and the idealism of the intellectual elite into the political program. National values were rediscovered and rebuilt by selective use

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of inherited symbols, myths and material remains.² This process had an entirely pragmatic goal: politicized tradition was a powerful tool of political mobilization. Intellectual elites were involved in the formulation and realization of national programs, and great attention was paid to the development of the collective consciousness of the common origin. The need for a central, state-controlled and managed care about the tradition induced the national states to establish institutions - universities, libraries, museums, institutes – with the aim of exploring the origin and development of each nation and its distinctive “spirit”.³ Memory was institutionalized. Folk traditions in the entire Europe were based on certain beliefs, folk songs, and church relics. Eventually, customs were adjusted to state needs, secularized and institutionalized for new national aims.⁴ The Church, as a former medieval storehouse of the past, was replaced by a museum, while the church relics were replaced by the works of national art and material culture that was being shaped as a part of the tradition.

Classical heritage, classic literature and classical languages above all, have influenced the Serbian literature and culture in the Middle Ages, mainly due to the strong cultural ties with the Byzantine Empire. With Turkish rule, Serbian literature became extinct, and literacy and culture have withdrawn into the fold of the Church, whose authority has strengthened in the absence of a secular rule. The Turkish occupation was a turning point in terms of the reception of classical heritage – from that moment, the classical heritage had different faith and performed different impact on the Serbs subordinated, on the one hand, to the Porte, and to those subordinated, on the other hand, to Vienna.

A revival of Serbian literature occurred in the 18th century in Vojvodina, among the Serbs who fled from the Turks in the territory of the Habsburg monarchy. Classical heritage has played an important role in this revival, but due to the changed historical circumstances, the older, “Byzantine type of knowledge and reception of ancient books” was replaced by the “Western-European, first in the form which was developed in the 17th century in Kiev for the needs of the Orthodox environment, and later in authentic form, present in Western Europe”.⁵ The right of Serbs in the Habsburg monarchy to organize the schools under the auspices of the Church played major role in the revival. In the 18th century in Vojvodina *Latin schools* were founded, which were (together with the Serbian language), until 1770, under the Russian cultural influence. In them, Latin language, as the official language of the empire, was studied, sometimes

² Philip L. Kohl, „Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote past“, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, p. 225.

³ Staša Babić, „Still innocent after all these years? Sketches for a social history of archaeology in Serbia, *Archaeologies Europas: Geschichte, Methoden und Theorien/Archaeologies of Europe: History, Methods and Theories*“, *Tübinger Archäologische Taschenbücher* 3, 2002, pp. 6-7.

⁴ Erik Hobsbom / Terens Rejndžer, *Izmišljanje tradicije*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2002, p. 13.

⁵ Ненад Ристовић, *Хришћанство и античко наслеђе*, Институт за теолошка истраживања, Београд, 2010, p. 88.

along with the Greek, as well as the basics of classical literature.⁶ Church authorities have supported the study of the Latin language and founding of Latin Schools for practical reasons. Latin language occupied a central place in European culture, as the language of communication and literature, until the mid-19th century. Latin was the language of the elite and, in contrast to German and Hungarian language, Latin did not cause fear of assimilation.⁷ At the same time, the knowledge of the Latin language enabled business and communication with authorities, necessary for the defense of the gained rights of the Serbs, in and for the further struggle for their rights, and was a prerequisite for admission to the university.⁸

With the reform of the school system at the time of Maria Theresa, and educational law *Ratio educationis* (1777), education in the Habsburg monarchy was secularized, and put under the supervision of the state. This law prescribed curricula for the entire school system in the Habsburg monarchy. Latin became the language of instruction in secondary schools and the main subject, the major one after the catechism, and more important than national language or German.⁹ Greek had a status of an elective subject. Classical languages and literature, and ancient heritage as a whole, have had a central place in this educational system, including the culture of Serbs in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. In fact, until the mid-19th century, all that was written was considered literature, and education was mainly based on the study of language and literature. Literary style and moral attitude were formed by the imitation of classical models.¹⁰ Contact with the classical heritage has enticed the revival of the Serbian culture. The writers who created the modern Serbian literature, formed their own style and moral position, in large part, based on the knowledge of the classical literature.¹¹

The secularization of education took place in parallel with the secularization of society, European and Serbian: a new bourgeoisie was formed, whose members were educated in the Latin schools and, later, in secondary schools. In this way, the conditions for the renewal of cultural ties between the peoples of Europe were created. Knowledge of classical culture, as a sign of education, became a constitutive identity element of the new educated elites. The reception of ancient heritage was secularized, as well: it ceased having value only as *Praeparatio evangelica*, and became a value in itself.¹² Interest in antiquity is distinctly reflected in the content of the magazines from

⁶ Милена Јовановић, *Из Хермесове палестре – прилог историји класичне филологије код Срба*, Филолошки факултет Универзитета у Београду, Београд, 2011, pp. 32–4.

⁷ *Ibid.* 16, pp. 27–30.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 30.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 39–40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 7, 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 16, 50.

¹² Ненад Ристовић, *Хришћанство и античко наслеђе*, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–7.

the first half of the 19th century, when Serbian publications are becoming more numerous, and when translations of ancient, primarily Roman authors, are being published.¹³ Classical culture reached the Serbian readers also through information about the ancient philosophers, historical figures and writers and their works. Classical works were read in the original and found their way into private collections of educated individuals.¹⁴ At the turn of the century, interest of the “Serbian readership, cultural community and the printed word” was aimed at exploring and the ancient world, and at bringing it closer to the contemporaries.¹⁵ The literary taste of the bourgeoisie found its reflection in the Serbian classicism of Aleksij Vezilić, Lukijan Mušicki, Jovan Sterija Popović and Jovan Hadžić.

In Europe, a new function of the education, determining the profession and earning, was being gradually defined. The goal of a new democratic education became the acquisition of basic knowledge, which is achieved by more balanced ratio between individual subjects. The study of national languages, in line with the romantic tendencies of the epoch, became a priority. With educational reform and *Organizational Draft* (Organisation-Entwurf) in 1849, the teaching in the Habsburg monarchy became based on subjects, and the native language became a language of instruction. Latin lost a central place in the educational system, and became equal with the other subjects, although it had the largest number of classes for a long time. The aim of the study of the Latin language changed - it was no longer a communication and style formation, but the study of the ancient heritage and European cultural influences. Latin and Greek retreated to schools and got the status of classical languages.¹⁶

The afore-mentioned changes are reflected in Serbia along with the construction of the modern Serbian state. In the period of Ottoman rule, the Church preserved Serbian culture, thus enabling the formation of the Serbian state in the tradition of medieval Serbia. In the period when the Ottoman government was in decline in the Balkans, religious and national symbols have been intensively intertwined. Symbolism was transferred from the Church to the state, while not losing sacred nature of religious shrines, but this role was transposed into the background.¹⁷

In Serbia south of the Sava and Danube, classical languages and cultures obtained significance only after the liberation from the Turks, and under the influence of educated Serbs from Hungary. Later, a class of influential educated men, who became

¹³ For more complete list, see Милорад Павић, *Класицизам, Досије/Научна књига*, Београд, 1991, pp. 101-6; Јован Грчић, *Матица српска и стара класична књижевност*, in: *Матица српска 1826-1926*, Матица српска, Нови Сад 1927, pp. 245–7.

¹⁴ For more complete list, see Милорад Павић, *Класицизам*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 107.

¹⁶ Милена Јовановић, *Из Хермесове палестре – прилог историји класичне филологије код Срба*, *op.cit.*, pp. 17, 91, 119–21.

¹⁷ Ivan Čolović, *Balkan – Teror kulture, Ogledi o političkoj antropologiji 2*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2008, p. 21.

the stake-holders of economic and cultural progress, was formed.¹ The cultural revival in Serbia was encouraged by impulses from Serbs from Hungary, and based in the improvement of the education system, at whose head were classically educated individuals. Enlightening work of Dositej Obradović was largely shaped by his characteristic reception of ancient heritage.¹ The teachers of the Higher School (1808-1813), mostly students of the high school in Sremski Karlovci, were almost all educated in classical spirit. Most deserving of them, Ivan Jugović, founder of the school, had a good knowledge of the Latin language.²⁰ The democratization of education was carried out in parallel with the democratization of literature and language. Serbian literary classicism withdrew before the increasingly influential Romantic movement, which in Serbia developed in the context of the struggle for liberation from Turkish rule, and in the center of which are Vuk Karadžić and his linguistic program. While leaders of the uprising sought to obtain freedom and autonomy for the Serbian people, they noted a need for educated Serbian bourgeoisie.² At the Lyceum taught Classicists by education or by choice, the most famous among them Jovan Sterija Popović and Janko Šafarik. Nevertheless, for a long time, the mythology was the only classical discipline taught in high schools. Only when Jovan Sterija Popović became a Minister of Education (1842-1848), course of classics and the study of the Latin language (from the second to sixth grades) were by the law introduced in high schools, and the Greek language was introduced as an optional subject. At the same time, a large number of hours was devoted to the study of "Greek and Roman antiquity."²² By a new law of 1853, the study of the "Greek-Hellenic" language, from the third to the seventh grade, was introduced in high schools as a non-elective subject.

Due to attachment to the traditions of the Church and to the Serbian medieval statehood, in the nation without an educated elite, which would take care of the material heritage, in the first half of the 19th century, ancient material heritage did not represent an element of identity at the territory populated by Serbs. All tangible heritage that did not belong to the Church was considered Turkish, alien legacy, which among the people caused resentment toward the monuments, and morally justified loose excavation of antiquities. During this period, only foreign travelers, such as Sir Arthur Evans and Felix Kanitz, paid attention at those monuments. Most of the monuments, which they drew and described in his works, were later destroyed. Travel

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 18.

¹⁹ Ненад Ристовић, *Хришћанство и античко наслеђе*, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²⁰ Радован Самарџић (ур.), *Сто година филозофског факултета*, Народна књига, Београд, 1963, p. 10, 301.

²¹ Serbian rulers and scarce elite, mostly arriving from Hungary, organized and initiated building of the serbian intellectual elite, while already Vuk Stefanović Karadžić felt the need for the offspring of the local intelligentsia in his letter to Prince Miloš, see Вук Стефановић-Караџић, *Писмо Кнезу Милошу*, Београд, 1947, pp. 18–19.

²² *Ibid.* p. 301.

books abound with stories of greed of Balkan peasants who sell their ancient or medieval heritage.²³ Ancient and medieval buildings were used as stone quarries in the process of Serbia's urbanization. Only part of the tangible heritage that has survived Ottoman rule, which can be subsumed under the Serbian medieval ecclesiastical heritage, became a national symbol in the process of the nation-state creation.

Opening of schools, the adoption of laws on education and reaching out to the European examples of educational reforms during the reign of the Defenders of the Constitution was aimed at bringing Serbia closer to modern European societies and states. Simultaneously with the education organization modeled on educational systems of France and Germany, from the year 1839 the sending of Serbian students abroad started.²⁴ In the mid 19th century, during the reign of the first educated ruler of Serbia, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, and with the arrival of the first generation of Serbs educated abroad, there have been numerous changes in Serbian society, all with the aim of joining the European mainstream. With the adoption of laws and the development of institutions according to the European model, the importance of cultural ties with Europe was emphasized. During the 19th and the early 20th century Serbian intelligentsia was educated within the three cultural circles: Middle-European, French and Russian.²⁵ Education of individuals in many countries has brought diverse influences into Serbia, but their adoption was all more selective as the 19th century progressed. Paris, Vienna, Pest, Heidelberg, Munich, Zurich, Lausanne were magically attractive for young Serbs eager to become part of the European mainstream. On their return home, Serbs who were educated in France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Switzerland took important positions in the state apparatus, the school cathedras, founded associations and magazines.

While the period of bourgeois revolutions in Europe, at the level of culture, was characterized by looking up to the Roman tradition, in the era of national revolutions, contemporaries turned to ancient Greece. The European educational system of that time, instigated by the exploration of the past, spread among the members of the European elites the belief that the ancient culture is the cradle of the of European civilization. Generations of Germans, French and British formed their identity on this

²³ Marija Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2006, p. 141.

²⁴ On education of Serbs on European university centres and their impact on their return to Serbia, see: Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Planirana elita*, Istorijski institut, Beograd, 2003; Jovan Milićević, „Prva grupa srbijanskih studenata, državnih pitomaca, školovanih u inostranstvu (1839-1842)“, *Istorijski časopis*, IX–X (1959), Beograd, 1960, pp. 363–73; Michael Karanovich, *The Development of Education in Serbia and Emergence of its Intelligentsia (1838–1858)*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1995; Vojislav Pavlović, „Srpski studenti u Parizu 1839–1856“, *Istorijski časopis*, XXXIII (1986) Beograd, 1987, p. 187–202; Ljubinka Trgovčević, „Savants serbes-élevés français 1880–1914“, *Les relations entre la France et les Pays yougoslaves du 18e au 20e siècle*, Ljubljana, 1987, p. 84–91; Душан Т. Батаковић, „Француски утицаји у Србији 1836–1914. Четири генерације Паризлија“, *Зборник Матице српске за историју*, 56, Нови Сад, 1997, pp. 73–95.

²⁵ Љубинка Трговчевић, *Планирана елита*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

belief. Popularity of Darwin's theory influenced the formation of the theory of the evolutionary development of society, in which classical models represent the pinnacle of civilization. This premise is the base of the belief that knowledge of classical antiquity ensures superiority to the new elite, making it destined to rule others.²⁶ European fascination with classical culture was transferred to Serbia thanks to the individuals educated in European universities and found supporters among the elite, which had the goal of bringing Serbia closer to the developed countries of Europe.

The definitive institutionalization of archeology as a separate field within the higher education system, in the second half of the 19th century, encouraged the scholarly study of material culture in entire Europe.²⁷ In the modern Serbian state, as well, the attitude towards the material remains of the past has changed. The first act of protection "of certain ruins and castles in Serbia as monuments of antiquity" was passed during the reign of the Defenders of the Constitution (1844, the same year Latin was introduced in Serbian high schools), and was signed by Prince Alexander Karađorđević.²⁸ The first organized endeavors to protect the heritage and the first archaeological excavations in Serbia are linked to Jovan Sterija Popović and Janko Šafarik. Reports from this study indicate that Roman remains, in addition to national material culture, had the primacy.²⁹ Excavations of the first researchers were similar to those undertaken in Europe in the same period.³⁰

Janko Šafarik is one among polyhistorians, who paved the path for the science in its initial development. He came to Serbia in 1843, and had influenced the Serbian state to take over the care of heritage conservation in an institutionalized manner. He undertook the first archaeological research under the auspices of the state, and in 1865 he organized an archaeological voyage through the Rudnik and Čačak district. The report from thereconnaissance consisted of diaries, sketches, drawings and list of expenses, and was submitted to the Ministry of Education. Preserved documents testify that great attention was devoted just to the classical heritage. The report singled out his encounters with Prince Mihailo. During a meeting within the walls of the old city of Rudnik, when a plate with a Roman inscription was brought in front of them, Šafarik read it and translated it to the Prince.³¹ With his enthusiasm of the romanticist, Šafarik suggested excavation of a large number of sites, which was not realized.

²⁶ Сташа Бабић, *Грци и други*, Клио, Београд, 2008, p. 47.

²⁷ Margarita Diaz Andreu/Sam Lucy/Staša Babić/David N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of Identity – Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*, The Cromwell press, London/ New York, 2005, p. 10.

²⁸ Дејан Медаковић, *Истраживачи српских старина*, Просвета, Београд, 1985, p. 248.

²⁹ Сташа Бабић, *Грци и други*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

³⁰ Staša Babić, „Janus on the bridge“ у: *Images of Rome: perceptions of ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the modern age*, Portsmouth, 2001, p. 172.

³¹ Михаило Милинковић, *Истраживања Јанка Шафарика у рудничком и чачанском округу и почеци археологије у Србији*, *Гласник САД 2*, Београд 1985, pp. 77–9.

However, the need for establishing institution, whose prime goal would be research and the protection of the tangible heritage in the entire region, witnesses the high awareness of the importance of tangible cultural heritage. Founding of the *Fellowship for Archaeology and Ethnography in the Balkan Tropolje* (1867) was planned, and the founders intended to be oriented towards a wider context: the study of the Balkan, not only national material culture.³²

A frequent guest in Serbia in the second half of the 19th century was an Austrian, Felix Philip Kanitz, who in his book *Serbia - Land and Population*, by describing the classical heritage in Serbia, presented the land adjoining the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the Central European audience of those days, educated in the spirit of humanism.³³ In addition to the descriptions and drawings of archaeological remains, customs and life of the inhabitants, Kanitz made an assessment of the geopolitical position of Serbia. Although he noticed the zest of the Serbian state, he describes Serbs as incomplete Europeans, reflecting the discourse of Balkanism in the observation of this region. Foreign writers and their audiences saw Roman heritage as their own, while the residents of the region where these monuments were located, were completely indifferent to it, and did not recognize it as their own tradition. Scattered and unrelated Roman past has left the general Serbian public indifferent. The book of Kanitz was printed in German, it was intended for foreign audiences, and influenced the future archaeological work in Serbia.³⁴

Interest in antiquity is, in that period, reflected in the architecture and decoration of the buildings. Also, noticeable are attempts to transmit the ancient spiritual heritage to future generations through education, culture and science. The German school system was used during the 19th and early 20th century as a model for the formation of Serbian national educational institutions. Many young scientists went as scholars to German universities, wherefrom they have transferred the education and knowledge model, and implemented them in the scientific system of the Serbian state. That way the principles of German classical philology and archeology schools penetrated the scientific community in Serbia.

At the Higher School from its very beginning (1863) "explanation of the Latin Classics and Literature" was taught, but only when in 1873 The Faculty of Philosophy was divided into two sections, Philological-Historical and that of Natural Sciences, on the first of these Greek and Latin language were first studied (both in the first four out of five semesters).³⁵ At the invitation of the Serbian Government, in 1875, Jovan Turoman, teacher of the High School in Novi Sad and a member of the Literary Committee of Matica Srpska, and

³² Михаило Милинковић, „Филозофски факултет у Београду – Одељење за археологију“, in: *Енциклопедија српске историографије*, Београд 1997, p. 134.

³³ Феликс Ф. Каниц, „Србија, земља и становништво“, Логос Арт, Београд, 2007.

³⁴ Staša Babić, „Janus on the bridge“, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

³⁵ Радован Самарџић (ур.), *Сто година филозофског факултета*, pp. 16–7, 24–5, 302.

later the member of Serbian Scientific Society (Društvo srpske slovesnosti), came to Belgrade, and began working as a professor of classical philology at the Higher School.³⁶ With his arrival, at the Faculty of Philosophy was Department of Classical Languages and Literature was founded.³ When, at the invitation of the Serbian Government, in 1894 Luka Zima came to High School, the Department was divided into the Department of Latin language and Roman literature under the guidance of Turoman, and the Department of Greek language and literature, which Zima took over.³⁸ On the Philological-Historical section of the Faculty of Philosophy at the time, the Latin language with the Roman literature was studied during all four years, and Greek language with literature from the second to the fourth year (studies were extended to four years in 1880, the same year when the subject Archeology was introduced).³⁹ With regulation from 1896 classes were organized within four sections: Linguistical-Literary, Historical-Geographical, and two sections that were natural-mathematical in nature. At first, the classical languages and literature were expert (main), and at the second, they were auxiliary subjects. Archeology was taught as an auxiliary subject at the Historical-Geography section, while the same decree introduced a new subject in the field of antiquity: Ancient History, which had the status of the auxiliary subject at the Linguistical-Literary section. In that year, Seminary for Latin and Greek language and literature was founded.⁴⁰ Founder of the Department for Ancient History and the Seminary for Ancient History was Nikola Vulić.⁴ Finally, in 1900, by a new decree, classical philology was organized as a special study group, with clearly differentiated plan, which, as such, became part of the University (1905).⁴

Long period of the fascination with the Roman and Greek traditions was followed, in the late 19th and early 20th century, in Europe and in Serbia, by an “anti-classical” reaction. This period was marked, in terms of the classical heritage, by the struggle between “realists” and “humanists”. In the 19th century all more often real-Gymnasia were founded, while classical models were given less importance; in the end, classics were reduced to a minimum and proclaimed elitist.⁴³ Due to reaction against the purely humanistic education system, the study of the Greek language in the gymnasia

³⁶ Војин Недељковић, *Јован Туроман*, in: Александар Лома (ур.), *Saecula confluentia*, Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Београду, Београд, 2004: pp. 92–3.

³⁷ Радован Самарџић (ур.), *Сто година филозофског факултета*, p. 302.

³⁸ Војин Недељковић, *Јован Туроман*, in: Александар Лома (ур.), *Saecula confluentia*, op. cit., p. 94; Милена Јовановић, *Из Хермесове палестре – прилог историји класичне филологије код Срба*, op. cit., p. 169.

³⁹ Радован Самарџић (ур.), *Сто година филозофског факултета*, pp. 32–6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 39–40; 303.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 240.

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 40–2; 240, 303.

⁴³ М. Јовановић, *Из Хермесове палестре – прилог историји класичне филологије код Срба*, op. cit., p. 84.

was abolished, and the study of Latin limited to the higher grades of high school.⁴⁴ Jovan Turoman, founder of the Department of Classical Philology at the Faculty of Philosophy, has invested a great deal of energy in the defense of the classical education model. As a member of the Education Council, he has influenced extension of the Latin language study starting from the third grade of high school (number of hours dedicated to the Latin language was then ten or more times higher than it is today).⁴⁵ Turoman advocated humanistic ideals at the Higher School in his acceptance sermon *Why it is worth to study classical languages and culture* (*Šta vredi izučavati klasične jezike i kulturu*, 1875), in his sermon *Teaching classics in our gymnasia* (*Klasična nastava u našim gimnazijama*), given on Saint Sava's Day (1884), and in his acceptance sermon *Struggle for humanistic gymnasium and the fight against it* (*Borba za humanističku gimnaziju i borba protiv nje*) given at the Serbian Royal Academy (1895).⁴⁶ Vasilije Vujić translated with this purpose the homily of Basil the Great *How to draw benefit from the Hellenistic Literature* (*Kako se može crpsti korist iz helenske književnosti*, 1885), and wrote the program study *Teaching Classics* (*Klasična nastava*, 1889), Nikodim Milaš, one of the most learned representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, on St. Sava's Day gave sermon titled *The need for classical education for the candidates of the Seminary* (*Potreba klasičnog obrazovanja za kandidate bogoslovije*, 1887), and Gligorije Lazić wrote his work *True interpretation of Greek and Roman authors* (*Stvarno tumačenje grčkih i rimskih pisaca*, 1902).⁴⁷

Mihailo Valtrović, an architect by profession, was appointed in 1881 as the first professor of archeology at the Higher School. Valtrović's main goal was well-organized teaching modeled on the German model. On the basis of his reports and notes it can be concluded that, in that period, study of ancient arts was in the focus of archeology teaching, and special attention was paid to the Greek and Roman heritage.⁴⁸ Valtrović accepted the concept of "scientific archeology" that prevailed in Europe of that time, and stressed its role in the future Serbian society stating: "Antiquarian [archaeologist] will seek the help of geographers, chemists, natural scientists, and then he will include the objects into phaenomena ... of the public and private life, industry, the arts."⁴⁹ The then Serbian intellectuals, like the ones in Europe did, saw the Roman presence in the territory of Serbia as an evidence that their own tradition is based on ancient roots, and they saw it as a chance to prove the civilization value of the past and of the

⁴⁴ Радован Самарџић (ур.), *Сто година филозофског факултета*, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁴⁵ Војин Недељковић, *Јован Туроман*, у: *Saecula confluentia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 93.

⁴⁷ Ненад Ристовић, *Хришћанство и античко наслеђе*, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6, 108 and *passim*; Милена Јовановић, *Из Хермесове палестре – прилог историји класичне филологије код Срба*, *op. cit.*, p. 144, 158.

⁴⁸ Сташа Бабић, *Грци и други*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–9.

⁴⁹ Михаило Милинковић, „Филозофски факултет у Београду – Одељење за археологију“, *op. cit.* p. 134.

inherited material culture.⁵⁰ Therefore, Valtrović focused his field research on the ancient site of Viminacium.

The first trained archeologist in Serbia was Miloje Vasić, a personality that marked the Serbian archeology in the first half of the 20th century. His approach to material culture was inspired by magnification of ancient arts. As a scholar of the Serbian government, in 1897 Vasić went to Berlin to specialize in the field of archeology. Two years later he became PhD in archeology in Munich in the class of Professor Furtwängler, the greatest authority for archaeology of the time. Vasić discovered one of the most important Neolithic cultures in Europe, the culture that marked Serbia and its Neolithic past in the large map of the European past.⁵¹ His initial interpretation of the site as the Neolithic was correct, as proved by the later surveys, from 1930s. However, seeking to determine Serbia as one of the modern successors of the most worthy Hellenic tradition, and therefore worthy of respect, Vasić gradually changing his point of view. For a certain period, he defined Vinča as a culture of the Bronze Age, and later declared the site to be Ionian colony on the Danube from the 6th century BC. This a false argument stemmed from excessive affection for classical Greek culture.

In the late 19th and early 20th century, Serbian intellectuals, being the holders of national and state plans of Serbia, which then suffered growing political pressure of Austria-Hungary, paid special attention to the political and cultural linking of Serbia to Russia, France and Great Britain. During the *fin de siècle* in Serbia number of educated individuals increased, and the state systematically sent state cadets to the schools abroad, while some of the wealthier classes independently funded the education of their children. Belgrade High School, The University since 1905, was led by alumni of European universities. Serbian scientists and artists were trying to reach their European counterparts. With their political activity, they overcame the scope of science and spread the ideas present in Europe among the Serbs. In order to strengthen the position of their political option and to enhance Serbian culture, Serbian intellectuals started magazines, which at that time were the most important means of mass communication.⁵² *Delo, list za nauku, književnost i društveni život* (*Work, paper for science, literature and social life*) and *Srpski književni glasnik* (*Serbian Literary Gazette*), the two most important journals of the epoch, published the poems, novels, scientific papers, book reviews and comments of current political, economic and cultural events in Serbia and Europe.⁵³ Foreign

⁵⁰ Staša Babić, "Janus on the bridge", *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁵¹ Сташа Бабић, *Грци и други*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–33.

⁵² Слободан Јовановић, „Политичко порекло Српског књижевног гласника“, *Српски књижевни гласник* XXXII, Нова серија, Београд, 1931, pp. 129–30.

⁵³ Associates are focused on issues of Constitution and parliamentarism development, economy, education, health, science and culture. Besides daily press from France, Germany and, from 20th cent. on, from Great Britain, as well as professional magazines, Serbian intellectuals mostly used French journals: *Revue blue*, *Journal des debats* и *Revue des deux mondes*. For more on *Delo* and *Srpski književni glasnik* see: Добривоје Младеновић, „Дело на раскрсници векова и епоха“, *Библиотекар*, 1–3,

magazines and literature quoted by Serbian intellectuals, and the selection of topics point to the acceptance of certain cultural patterns, which led to the enrichment of literary expression and animation of scientific research.⁵⁴

The mission of *Delo* and *Srpski književni glasnik* to transform the Serbian society by influencing its culture, aided the development of scientific disciplines in Serbia; among them, history, classical philology, history of arts and archeology held an important position. Already in the late 19th century *Delo* publishes reports on the work of the most important cultural institutions in Serbia.⁵⁵ Selected articles from foreign professional magazines were published with the aim to show “how difficult and serious are the questions about the ancient monuments of classical art.”⁵⁶ *Srpski književni glasnik* and *Delo*, in whose pages Nikola Vulić, classicist and archaeologist published papers on Latin literature, brought news on new papers and books of foreign experts in Antiquity.⁵⁷ Among the contributors of the *Serbian Literary Gazette* the most active ones in popularizing ancient heritage were Miloje Vasić, Marko Car and Veselin Čajkanović. Vasić has published reviews of new books on archeology, monitored the work of *Starinar (Antiquarian)*, which was edited by Mihailo Valtrović, and at the same time he began his research in Viminacium.⁵⁸ Veselin Čajkanović published his own original papers, along with book reviews.⁵⁹ Translations of the classical works into

⁵⁴ Палавестра, „Идеологија и мисија књижевних часописа“, in: *Традиционално и модерно у српским часописима 1894–1914*, Нови Сад – Београд, 1992, pp. 17–21; Слободанка Пековић, „Модел часописа на почетку века“, in: *Традиционално и модерно у српским часописима 1895–1914*, Нови Сад – Београд, 1992: pp. 9–16.

⁵⁵ Report of the Management of the National Museum in Belgrade for 1895 indicates the lack of finances, but also the intensified collecting of various items; Miloje Vasić contributed much to it. *Дело*, 1896, p. 465.

⁵⁶ *Дело*, књ. 12, pp. 183–4.

⁵⁷ „Private docent for archaeology on the University of Leipzig Artut Schneider“ published *Das Alte Rom Entwicklung seines Grundrisses und Geschichtte siner Bauten auf 12 Karte und 14 Tafeln dargestellt*; this was only one among many notifications published on the pages of Serbian magazines. *Дело*, књ. 12, 1896, p. 181.

⁵⁸ Милоје М. Васић, „Археолошка Истраживања у Србији“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 5/1905, књ. 15, св. 7–9, pp. 520–527, 593–603, 675–687; Idem, „Старинар, орган Српског Археолошког Друштва, Новог Реда, Год. II (1907)“, pp. 1–189; and Додатак Старинару Нови Ред. Год. II, pp. 1–92. 4^o. „Уредник Михаило Валтровић, професор Велике Школе у пензији“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 8/1908, књ. 21, св. 8, 9, pp. 625–628, 700–713; Idem, „Неколике гробне конструкције из Виминацијума“, *Старинар*, год. II, Београд, 1907, pp. 66–98.

⁵⁹ Веселин Чајкановић, „Хвалиша, комедија од Плаута, превео Др Данило Трбојевић“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 5/1905, књ. 15, св. 7–8, pp. 537–541, 615–621; Idem, „Friedrich August Wof's Prolegomena zu Homer. Aus dem deutschen über tragen von prof. Dr Hermann Muchau. Leipzig, Verlag von Philipp Reclam“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 8/1908, књ. 21, св. 1, pp. 72–74; Idem, „Др Никола Вулић: Monumentum Ansgarum. (Српска краљевска академија, *Глас* 78 (1908), pp. 1–59)“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 9/1909, књ. 22, св. 3, pp. 228–229; Idem, „О трагичном песништву и позоришту код Грка“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 10/1910, књ. 24, св. 6-7, pp. 429–438, 521–533; Idem, „О жени код Грка и Римљана“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 11/1911, књ. 27, св. 7–9, pp. 519–526, 615–621, 682–696; Idem, „Прослава Миланског Едикта у Нишу“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 14/1914, књ. 32, св. 1, pp. 79–80.

Serbian resulted in the appearance of critical reviews. Marko Car in his critique of Virgil's *Aeneid* in translation of Nikola Vulić emphasizes the importance of the fact that Srpska književna zadruga (Serbian Literary Association) chose Virgil for the translation because it "gave its readers this great, good and patriotic poet," who is "gentle and humane painter of men's passions, whom friends of true poetry will always read with a pleasure."⁶⁰ Serbian intellectuals presented new books of the experts in antiquity, wrote critical texts on translations of classical Greek and Roman literature, and thus, through press, spread the idea of the importance of the ancient heritage.

A large cultural gap between intellectuals and less educated population, together with the indifference of the authorities, caused the lack of interest of the general public for the ancient heritage. Archeology and classical sciences were established in Serbia in response to the need for knowledge of a narrow circle of educated, enlightened individuals, and not in response to the needs of society. Archeology, as an elitist discipline with the aim of exploring the material culture in Serbia, with its strong individualism and elitism closed circles of knowledge within a narrow intellectual society. There was never a serious intention to adapt the material cultural heritage to the local community and to incorporate it into national plans; its main aim was to gain legitimacy in the European framework of that time. This approach oriented research projects towards external expectations. Impact of archeology on public in the 19th and early 20th century was quite marginal, while the work of Valtrović and Vasić remained largely unknown to the general public.⁶¹ The process of building the Serbian identity and the first steps in the study of material heritage were undertaken in parallel, which set the element of identity aside to some extent. Unstable events left the shaping of the meanings of cultural tangible heritage into popular tradition for some time in the future.

Universal spirit and universal themes, focused on the man, are the main features of the ancient culture. The mentioned features are reason why ancient heritage in different periods found its way to various nations and found admirers among the followers of various ideological orientations, permeating all aspects of European civilization. The universality and humanism of the ancient heritage enabled the Serbian intellectual elite of 18th, 19th and 20th century to accept it as its own, in the search for its modern identity and trying to establish that identity according to the model of other European nations. Universal and humanistic character of classical culture, on the other hand, are what is keeping antiquity alive and receptive for the modern man. In the moment of building a common European identity, due to modern demographic and geographic factors and tendencies, it is all more obvious that common identity should be based on the culture. Ancient heritage, whose unifying power transcends national and religious dimensions, based on the aforementioned, has great potential.

⁶⁰ Марко Цар „Енејида у српском преводу Г. Николе Вулића“, *Српски књижевни гласник* 8/1908, књ. 20, св. 1–2, р. 42.

⁶¹ Staša Babić, "Still innocent after all these years? Sketches for a social history of archaeology in Serbia", *op. cit.*, pp. 309–22.

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