

THE GREEKS AND THE SERBS AS AN INTEGRATED SOCIETY
IN ZEMUN DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF GREEK AND SERBIAN
COLLABORATION IN THE SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL FIELDS

If one travels from the Southern Balkan countries in the general direction of Central Europe, immediately after Belgrade one comes upon a most picturesque town. This is the Serbian town of Zemun (Semlin in German, and Σεμλῖνον in the Greek sources).

At the end of the sixteenth century Zemun was a small village. But since it was situated on the main junction of a very wide network of navigable rivers and roughly in the middle of the continental trade route between Constantinople and Thessaloniki, and Central Europe and Vienna, during the next two centuries it was destined to develop into an important transit-trade centre¹. When the Treaty of Belgrade (18 September 1739) transformed the Zemun region into a border zone between the Hapsburgs' realm and the Ottoman Empire and into a genuine defence for the Austrians against the powerful Turkish-held Belgrade, then this small town experienced striking economic and demographic development. Furthermore, because of its strategic and convenient position the Austrian emperors were to favour Zemun with special privileges of self-administration, which boosted its economic prospects still further².

Zemun's development naturally aroused the interest of the Greek inhabitants of the Turkish-occupied areas, and these people migrated to the town and created one of the most flourishing Greek colonies in the north-west Balkans³.

1. Tanasije Ž. Ilić, «Privredne i društvene prilike u Zemunu, 1770-1820». In a collection of studies entitled *Spomenica Zemunske biblioteke, 1825-1965*, Zemun 1966, p. 13. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia (1354-1833)*, Thessaloniki 1973, pp. 382-383.

2. Tanasije Ž. Ilić, *Iz prošlosti Zemuna i Vojne Granice. Separat predgovora za I knjigu gradje iz zemunskih arhiva za istoriju prvog srpskog ustanka*, Beograd 1955, p. XXXII. Miodrag Dabičić, *Zemun. Pregled prošlosti od postanka do 1918*, Zemun 1959, pp. 19-20.

3. At the time of its greatest strength (at the end of the eighteenth century) Zemun's Greek community numbered more than a thousand individuals, out of

The Greek immigrants worked in close collaboration with the Serbian inhabitants of Zemun in the fields of politics, finance, spiritual life, culture, and social life, and they lived together in harmony throughout the eighteenth century. However, not a single study has been devoted to the harmonious co-existence in Zemun of these two peoples who also happened to share the same religion. One can find only isolated references and allusions in the various works which broadly concern either the history of Zemun or the migration of Greeks to the north-west Balkan countries⁴. It was precisely this absence of any systematic monograph on the collaboration between the Greeks and the Serbs of Zemun in various areas of their life which persuaded us to approach the subject, seeking our information not only in the work of more recent researches, but even more so in the surviving archive documents. However, since a paper of this type is necessarily restricted by limitations of time, we are forced to deal with our subject only from the point of view of the Greeks' and the Serbs' collaboration in the areas of their spiritual and cultural life.

1. First of all, let us consider the collaboration between these two peoples in the religious field. The earliest evidence we have concerning the religious life of the Serbians and the Greeks of Zemun goes back to 1740, for it is this year that the town's first Orthodox church is mentioned. A small timber structure, it stood on the site upon which the church of St Nicholas was later to be built. Two people are mentioned in this year as the priests of this small church: their names Moschos and Theodoros Stergiadis. Apart from Greek, which was their mother tongue, these men also knew Slavonic, and consequently con-

a total population of nine thousand (see Franz Sartori, *Historisch-ethnographische Übersicht der wissenschaftlichen Cultur, Geisterthätigkeit und Literatur des österreichischen Kaiserthums und seinen mannigfaltigen Sprachen und deren Bildungsstufen*, Erster Theil, Wien 1830, p. 181. J. Schilling, *Adressen-Buch der Handlungs-Gremien und Fabriken der k.k. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien, dann mehrerer Provinzialstädte für das Jahr 1834*, Wien [1834], p. 581). In other words, one ninth of the population of Zemun was Greek.

4. Concerning the general history of Zemun, see: Ignaz Soppron, *Monographie von Semlin und Umgebung*, Semlin 1890; Petar Marković, *Zemun od najstarijih vremena pa do danas*, Zemun 1896. Of the studies which examine the migration of the Greeks to the north-western Balkan countries, the most detailed and extensive is Dušan J. Popović's work, *O Cincarima. Prilozi pitanju postanka našeg građanskog društva*, 2nd edit., Beograd 1937.

ducted services in both languages⁵. We cannot be certain, however, on which Sundays and festivals at that time the liturgy was celebrated in Greek and when the Slavonic language was used. The matter was to be cleared up later, following a formal agreement between the Greek and the Serbian inhabitants of Zemun.

In 1745 the Serbs, the Greeks, and the other Orthodox Christians obtained the permission of the Austrian authorities to build a new church. The building process took until 1752, when the church of *St Nicholas* (Svetonikolajevska crkva) was consecrated. To begin with it had no bell-tower. It did, however, have a lovely iconostasis, which was painted in 1762 by the artist Dimitrije Bačević⁶.

Until 1769 Zemun's Orthodox community had no special representative of its own at the Holy Synod of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci), but shared a delegate with the neighbouring town of Bežanija. That year, however, the town's Orthodox inhabitants (Greeks, Serbs, and others) achieved independence and sent their own representative to the Holy Synod. His name was Marko Nikolic and he had also been the town's mayor for several years⁷.

The Serbs and Greeks managed to acquire a second church in addition to St Nicholas's. On 10 December 1776 eight of them appeared before the Town Council and announced that they were giving up their houses so that another Orthodox church might be built. The Council looked closely into the matter and the following year gave its permission⁸. The new Orthodox church of *the Birth of the Virgin Mary*

5. Soppron, *Monographie*, p. 297. Popović, *O Cincarima*, pp. 204, 219. Lazar Čelap, *Zemunski vojni komitet (1717-1881)*, Beograd 1967, p. 61.

6. Marković, *Zemun*, pp. 106-107. Pavle Vasić, «Dimitrije Bačević, ikonopisac karlovački», in *Doba baroka*, Beograd 1971, pp. 191-205. Dejan Medaković, *Tragom srpskog baroka*, Novi Sad 1976, pp. 213-214.

7. Soppron, *Monographie*, p. 425. Marković, *Zemun*, p. 107. Concerning Marko Nikolić's term in office as mayor of Zemun, see Tanasije Ž. Ilić, *Beograd i Srbija u dokumentima arhive Zemunskog magistrata of 1739. do 1804. god.* Knj. 1, 1739-1788, Beograd 1973, pp. 156-157, no. 64; pp. 194-197, no. 73d; pp. 273-275, no. 108; p. 280, no. 112; pp. 462-463, no. 196.

8. *Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, section: Zemunski Magistrat*, year 1778, file 1, no. 91 (hereafter *IAB, ZM*). This document states quite categorically that in 1777, as soon as permission was granted, the work of building the church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary commenced. P. Marković, *Zemun*, p. 107, however, erroneously dates this event to 1774. The same error is repeated by D. Popović, *O Cincarima*, p. 205.

(Bogorodičina crkva) took three years to build, and was concentrated in 1780⁹.

A Greek emigrant living in Zemun was particularly active in the ecclesiastical field. Theodore Apostolou (Apostolović), originally from Thessaloniki, was a soap manufacturer, and in 1786 he obtained the Austrian authorities' permission to build a chapel in the town's *Contumaz Anstalt* (quarantine) at his own expense. This Orthodox chapel was dedicated to *the Archangels* and the liturgy was celebrated by its own deacon, to whom Apostolou paid a yearly stipend of 120 florins¹⁰.

The year 1794 marked a new stage in the history of the relations between the Greeks and the Serbs of Zemun, for it was then that the two communities settled once and for all the irregularities in their ecclesiastical and educational matters. Specifically, following a proposal by the Metropolitan of Karlowitz, Stevan Stratimirović, the Orthodox community elected a committee consisting of twelve Serbian and six Greek citizens of the town, with the function of dealing, on behalf of all the Orthodox Christians, with all matters connected, it was decided that it would be conducted in Greek on alternate Sundays and on the important feast days, such as St Dimitrios' day, Easter, Pentecost, and the second day after Christmas¹¹.

The Greeks sat on the right-hand side of the church and the Serbs on the left. Those in the right-hand choir-stalls chanted the *Kyrie Eleison* and those in the left the *Gospodi pomiluj*. The liturgy continued to be conducted in Greek up until the eve of the First World War, when the custom was discontinued¹².

9. The date 1780 is given by an inscription above the main entrance to the church. Ch. also Soppron, *Monographie*, p. 358; Marković, *Zemun*, p. 107; Popović, *O Cincarima*, p. 205; Miodrag Dabižić, «Dva stoleća Bogorodičine erkve u Zemunu», *Glasnik srpske pravoslavne crkve*, 10(1980), p. 233.

10. *IAB, ZM*, year 1787, file 2, no. 302. *IAB, ZM*, year 1793, file 21, no. 4.

11. *IAB, ZM*, year 1821, Publicum 14. Ioannis Papadrianos - Vasilija Kolaković, «Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Έλληνικῆς Κοινότητας τοῦ Σεμλίνου. Πέντε ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα τοῦ ἔτους 1793», *Μακεδονικά*, 11 (1971), p. 29-37. P. Marković, *Zemun*, p. 113, appears to have no clear knowledge of this, for he reports that the agreement between the Greeks and the Serbs provided for the Liturgy to be conducted in Greek only every fourth Sunday.

12. See the newspaper *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 2, column 5. Cf. also Popović, *O Cincarima*, p. 205; Čelap, *Zemunski komunitet*, p. 63.

II. The Greeks' and the Serbs' close collaboration in the educational field is also of particular interest to the researcher. The Greeks did not acquire their own school until 1794¹³; until then they had educated their children either through private tutors or at the school maintained by the town's Orthodox community, which was intended for all Orthodox children, whether Greeks, Serbs, or of any other nationality.

The Historical Archive of Belgrade (Istorijski Arhiv Beograda) contains valuable information about the functioning of this common Orthodox school. An extensive report in the Archive, sent on 3 October 1770 by the Town Council to the Hofkriegsrat of Vienna, offers us interesting details: from 1745 the Orthodox community had been running an elementary school; it was housed in a special building in the courtyard of St Nicholas's church and was constructed from sound materials; the Church paid for repairs and met other expenses¹⁴.

In 1770 Zemun's Orthodox elementary school boasted 110 pupils. The children's parents supplied their school books. Lessons were held from seven until eleven o'clock in the morning and from one until four o'clock in the afternoon, and the children had two free afternoons per week. The school year was eleven months long—from 12 October to 12 September¹⁵ - and the children had only one month's holiday.

By 1782 the school had 200 pupils, according to a document sent on 6 September of that year by the Zemun Town Council to its superior authority the General Administration of Slavonia (Slavonisches Generalkommando). We also learn from this document that the classrooms for the school's 200 pupils were three rooms in the building which had been constructed a short time previously next to Orthodox church of the birth of the Virgin Mary¹⁶.

III. Only those Greeks who were not financially off sent their children to the Orthodox school; the rich Greeks, as we have already

13. Concerning the establishment of the Greek school, see Ioannis A. Papadrianos, «The Greek Teacher Georgios Auxentiadis at the Town of Zemun, 1793-1802», *Balkan Studies*, 19₂(1978), p. 360, including relevant bibliography.

14. *IAB, ZM*, year 1770, file 2, no 50. The information given in this report is quite clear: this school belonged to the town's Orthodox inhabitants generally, and not exclusively to the Serbs as L. Čelap, *Zemunski komunitet*, p. 80, erroneously maintains.

15. *IAB, ZM*, year 1770, file 2, no. 50.

16. *IAB, ZM*, year 1782, file 2, no. 123.

mentioned, engaged private tutors to educate their children. These tutors taught the Greek children the Serbian language as well as Greek, for it would be essential for their future professional careers. Indeed, to speed and improve their learning of Serbian, in 1770 the Greek community of Zemun financed the printing in Venice of a school book written in both Greek and Slavonic letters¹⁷.

Amongst the Greek private tutors in Zemun one man stands out for his wide learning, his prolific writing, and his significant contribution to Serbian literature - *Dimitrios Nikolaou Darvaris*, known to the Serbs as *Dimitrije Nikolajević Darvar*. Dimitrios Darvaris was born in Klissura, a small town in western Macedonia which is now part of the Greek state, on 13/24 August 1757¹⁸, one of the five children (four boys and a girl) born to Nicholas and Octavia Darvaris. The fact that there were five siblings very probably explains the occasional use of the name «Pentades» (lit.: fives; groups of five) by his brothers John, Marcus, and, especially, Peter¹⁹.

After attending the first classes of the elementary school in his home town, in 1769¹ at the age of just twelve, Dimitrios with his brother John came and settled in Zemun, where his father had been running a store since the middle of the eighteenth century. As soon as he reached Zemun Dimitrios Darvaris, who was a studious boy, began to learn German, Serbian, and the Slavonic languages in general, at-

17. *Bukvar s Literami Greko-slavenskimi v polzu i upotreblenje datjam* (Grečeskim) učaštimsja (slavenskimi bukvam). See Stojan Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost, 1741-1867*, Beograd 1869, p. 11, no. 42. Georgije Mihailović, *Srpska bibliografija XVIII veka*, Beograd 1964, p. 93, no. 91. Dušan Pančević, *Srpske bibliografije 1766-1850*, Beograd 1982, p. 208, no. 120.

18. The exact date of Dimitrios Darvaris birth is provided by his brother Peter in *Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια Ἀπλοελληνική. Πόνημα ὀψίγονον τοῦ σοφολογιωτάτου μακαρίτου Κυρίου Δημητρίου Νικολάου τοῦ Δαρβάρεως... φιλοπόνω ἐπιστάσις τοῦ ἔλλογιμου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πέτρου Νικολάου τοῦ Δαρβάρεως τοῦ καὶ Πεντάδου*, Vienna 1829, footnote on page ε'. Georgios Lyrizis, *Αἱ μακεδονικαὶ κοινότητες τῆς Ἀστροσυγγαρίας ἐπὶ τοῦροκρατίας*, Kozani 1952, p. 47, wrongly reports that Dimitrios Darvaris was born in 1754.

19. N. Bees, «Δημητρίου Νικολάου τοῦ Δαρβάρεως, Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Πήγαν Βελεστινῶν - Φερραῖον μετ' αὐτογράφων σημειωμάτων τοῦ Πρωτομάρτυρος», *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 19 (1944), p. 364, expresses the opinion that «Pentades» was not a nickname, but the family name before Darvaris, during back to the time of Dimitrios N. Darvaris's grandfather, who was himself one of five children. For further information on this subject, see Despina Loukidou-Mavridou, Ioannis Papadrianos, «Dimitrios Darvaris: sa contribution à l'évolution littéraire bulgare», *Α' Ἑλληνοβουλγαρικό Συμπόσιο. Πρακτικά*, Thessaloniki 1980, p. 212, note 3.

tending the town's German and Slavonic schools²⁰. His Slavonic languages teacher was the Serb Timotej Jovanović²¹. As we are informed by reliable evidence, he perfected his knowledge of the Slavonic at the Latin-Slavonic school in the neighbouring town of Ruma, which he attended for three years, from 1771 to 1773²².

After Zemun and Ruma, the second important stage in his studies was Novi Sad (the Νεόφυτον of the Greek sources), where, under George Leontiou, who had recently settled there from Pest, he studied Ancient Greek²³. It seems, however, that a more decisive stage in the course of his studies was his attendance at the Academy of Bucharest (1770-1780), where he was taught by Theodore Silistrianos and Manassis Iliadis, amongst others²⁴. He completed his studies at Halle

20. Joh. Bapt. Rupprecht, «Demeter N. Darvar, Eine biographische Skizze», *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunste*, 7 (1816), 220. A. Dimitracopoulos, *Ἐπανορθώσεις σφαλμάτων ἐν τῇ Νεοελληνικῇ Φιλολογίᾳ Κ. Σάβα, μετὰ καὶ τινῶν προσθηκῶν*, Trieste 1872 (reprinted by the «Karavias» publishing house, Athens 1965), p. 39. Bees, «Δημητρίου Ν. Δαρβάρεως, Ἀφιέρωμα», p. 364.

21. As we shall see farther on, Dimitrios Darvaris dedicated to his teacher his translation *Zercalo Hristianskoje*. Concerning Zemun's importance as a Slavonic cultural centre, see amongst others Veselina Dimova, «Zemun, edin ot srabskite centreve na balkansko knjigopisatane prez razrazdeneto», *Studia Balkanica*, 8 (ed. BAN, Institut za Balkanistika), Sofia 1974, pp. 153-190.

22. For relevant evidence, see Rupprecht, «Demeter N. Darvar», p. 220; C. von Wurzbach, «Demeter Nikolaus Darvar», *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, drittel Theil, Wien 1858, p. 166. Sp. Lampros, «Σελίδες ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἐν Οὐγγαρία καὶ Αὐστρία μακεδονικοῦ ἐλληνισμοῦ», *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 8 (1911), p. 290, expresses the opinion that Dimitrios Darvaris learnt Slavonic in Pest. Later researchers have also shared the Greek historian's view, although the sources seem to offer it no support; on the contrary, the extant sources inform us quite clearly that Darvaris began to learn the Slavonic languages in Zemun and completed this aspect of his studies in the town of Ruma.

23. Dimitracopoulos, *Ἐπανορθώσεις σφαλμάτων*, p. 39. Bees, «Δημητρίου Ν. Δαρβάρεως, Ἀφιέρωμα», p. 364. A. Gioblakis, «Δημήτριος Νικ. Δάρβαρις (1757-1823), ὁ ἐκ Κλεισούρας τῆς Μακεδονίας διδάσκαλος τοῦ Γένους», *Γρηγόριος Παλαμάς*, 54 (1971), 317.

24. It was quite characteristic of Dimitrios Darvaris to decide to dedicate his work *Ἀσφαλὴς ὁδηγία εἰς τὴν γνώσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἤτοι Θεοφράστον χαρακτήρες...*, Vienna 1795, to the sons of his teacher Manassis Iliadis, Theodossius and George. In the text which accompanies this dedication the Greek scholar expresses his deed gratitude to and his great respect for his teacher «Your good father», he writes, «had done me many great kindnesses and I am indebted to him completely, for it was he who first opened up the way to culture and knowledge for me...For this reason I honour him, I respect him, and ever express my infinite gratitude to him...».

and the Leipzig in Saxony (1780-1783), where he studied Philology and Philosophy²⁵.

All researchers agree that after his brilliant studies in Saxony Dimitrios Darvaris returned to Zemun and began to teach as a private tutor. The problem which remains to be solved, however, is when exactly did he begin teaching in Zemun? The Serbian historian Dušan Popović believes that Darvaris commenced teaching in 1791²⁶. But a careful examination of the sources at our disposal helps us to pinpoint the start of his teaching career more accurately and to date it to 1785²⁷.

Dimitrios Darvaris devoted himself completely to the education of the Greek children of Zemun; which is why his teaching was fruitful, as successive pupils of his proved, who were later to distinguish themselves in a variety of social sectors. Indeed, many of Darvaris's pupils were to continue their teacher's work, taking upon themselves the education of the Greek children of the Diaspora²⁸.

Dimitrios Darvaris was eventually to leave Zemun and settle in Vienna. We must date his settling in the Austrian capital to the beginning of 1795 with a terminus ante quem of May 1 of that year²⁹. He seems to have gone to Vienna in the hope of being appointed to the post previously held by Athanassius Jököress, the censor of Slavonic books who had died in 1794, but this was not to be. With his brothers he had also transferred the head office of the Darvaris trading house to the Austrian capital; his brothers assisted him financially, so that he was able to give his undivided attention to his writing. For many years he himself was the director of the Viennese Greek Orthodox community's school, which flourished greatly thanks to the financial support of Vienna's Greek merchants and above all thanks

25. Rupprecht, «Demeter N. Darvar», p. 220, Wurzbach, «Darvar», p. 160. Dimitracopoulos, *Ἐπανορθώσεις σφαλμάτων*, p. 40, Bees, «Δημητρίου Ν. Δαρβάρεως, Ἀφιέρωμα», p. 364-365. Loukidou-Papadrianos, «Dimitrios Darvaris», p. 213.

26. Dušan J. Popović, *O Cincarima*, p. 219.

27. See the newspaper *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 46. Cf. also Tryphon Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας*, Volume 2, Athens 1936, p. 380.

28. See *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no 6, column 46.

29. According to a letter sent on 1 May 1795 by the teacher at Zemun's Greek community's school George Auxentiades to his friend Constantine Koumas in Larissa (see Ioannis Economou Larissaios, 1783-1842, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων. Μεταγραφὴ, παρακολούθηση, πρόλογος Γιάννη Α. Ἀντωνιάδη. Φιλολογικὴ παρουσίαση, μελέτη, πιννακὲς Μ. Μ. Παπαϊωάννου*, Athens 1964, pp. 31-32).

to the significant bequest with which Count Christopher von Nakou, who was of Greek descent, endowed it in 1800³⁰.

Dimitrios Darvaris died in Vienna after a short illness on 21 February/5 March 1823 at the age of sixty-five years and six months³¹. In his will he ordered that the numerous books he had written were to be distributed amongst the schools operating in the various provinces of the Hapsburg empire³².

Darvaris was a prolific writer on many subjects. He published thirty-seven works altogether, of which twenty-six were more or less entirely original. Of the rest, four were translations from Ancient Greek into Modern Greek, two translations from Russian, into Greek, three translations from Greek into Slavonic or Slavo-Serbian, and one a translation into German. He also published a German grammar in the Modern Greek language and German-Greek dialogues. He published an Ancient Greek text, and at least one of his works was never published — the translation of Baumeister's *Metaphysics*, which we know from two manuscripts which are to be found in Panteleimon Monastery on Mount Athos and in the library of the Academy of Bucharest³³.

An analysis of all Darvaris's works is outside the scope of the present study. We shall restrict ourselves to a consideration only of his three translations from Greek into the «slavenski» (Slavonic) or the «slavenoserbski» (Slavo-Serbian) language.

The first of these three translations was published in Vienna in 1786 under the following title: «*Blagonravije ili knižica ko ukrašeniju pravov junošeskih zjelo poleznaja. S jelinskago ka slavenskij dialekt v polzu i upotreblenije slavenoserbskih otrokov. Prevedena Dimitrijem Nikolajevičem Darvar; razemotrena že i ispravljena nekim svojego o- tečestva suštim ljubiteljem, a na svet izdana Nikolajem Darvarom.*

30. Rupprecht, «Demeter N. Darvar», p. 221. Anast. Pallatides, 'Υπόμνημα ιστορικόν περί τῆς Ἀρχῆς καὶ Προόδου καὶ σημερινῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ ἐν Βιέννῃ ἑλληνικοῦ Συνοικισμοῦ, Vienna 1845, pp. 7-8, 14, 40f. Loukidou-Papadrianos, «Dimitrios Darvaris», p. 215.

31. Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια Ἀποελληνική..., Vienna 1829, footnote on page ε'.

32. Seventeen thousand two hundred and fifty copies of his works were distributed amongst 687 pupils at twelve Greek schools [see Franz Sartori, *Historisch-ethnographische Übersicht*, p. 190. Cf. also Pol. K. Enepekides, «Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν συντρόφων τοῦ Ρήγα», *Θεσσαλικά Χρονικά*, 6 (1955), p.114-115].

33. Concerning Darvaris's literary output, see Loukidou-Papadrianos, «Dimitrios Darvaris», pp. 216-217, including relevant bibliography.

Napečatasa že v Vijen Austrinskoj, ljeta Gospodnja 1786. V tipografiji blagorodnago ot Kurcbek»³⁴. This Slavonic title may be translated as follows: «*Good Conduct* or a very useful manual for the improvement of young people's moral qualities. Translated from Ancient Greek into Slavonic by *Dimitrios Nikolaou Darvaris* for the benefit and use of Slavo-Serbian young people. This manual was studied and corrected by a genuine patriot, and then published by Nicholas Darvaris. Printed in Vienna, Austria, in the year of Our Lord 1786, at the printing-house of the honourable von Kurzbeck».

As we can see from the title, Dimitrios Darvaris's translation was studied and corrected «neko svojego otečestva suštij ljubitelj» (a genuine patriot). It is quite possible that this person was Darvaris's Slavonic languages teacher in Zemun, Timotej Jovanović³⁵.

But what was this *Blagonravije* translation of Darvaris's? The Serbian researcher Vladimir Grujić has expressed the opinion that it is a translation of Erasmus's work «*De civilitate morum puerilium*»³⁶; but we do not agree that it is a direct translation of this work. Specifically, the «*De civilitate morum puerilium*», which was first published in 1526 (Antverpiac, M. Hillenius), was translated into Modern Greek by someone whose name, unfortunately, we do not know, since the manuscript of his translation has been lost. However, before it was lost, the Greek scholar Anthony the Byzantine re-adapted this translation into Ancient Greek, altering and supplementing the text, and printed his adaptation in 1780 under the title «Χρηστοθήθεια» (*Good Conduct*)³⁷. It was this adaptation that Darvaris translated, as he himself categorically states³⁸, and not the original text, as Grujić believes.

34. Cf. Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija*, p. 22, no. 88, Mihailović, *Srpska bibliografija*, p. 175, no. 184. *Katalog knjiga najezicima jugoslovenskih naroda 1519-1867*, Beograd 1973 (published by the Narodna Biblioteka Srbije), p. 7, no. 37, Panković, *Srpske bibliografija*, p. 212, no. 153.

35. Cf. also the view of Nićifor Vukadinović, «Dositejeva Hristoitija i njeni uzori», *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 3(1923), 66.

36. Vladimir Grujić, «Pedagoška školska knjiga Srba XVIII veka», in the collection of studies entitled *Srpska štampana knjiga 18. veka*, Novi Sad-Beograd 1963, p. 109. Grujić's opinion is also shared by Stevan Radovanović, *Iz kulturne istorije Zemuna*, Zemun 1970, p. 64.

37. Darvar, *Blagonravije*, p. 3, Vukadinović, «Dositejeva Hristoitija», pp. 57-59.

38. Darvar, *Blagonravije*, p. 3.

The *Blagonravije* translation is printed in octavo and consists of ninety-eight pages, the first eleven of which are unnumbered. It begins with a *Preduvedomenije* (Introduction), in which Darvaris says: «Kotoruju az videvšij, i zjelo potrebnu i poleznu Slavenoserbskoj junosti biti razsudivši, prevedoh siju po mojej sile na slavenskij jazik v polzu i upotreblenije Slavenoserbskih sinov da mogut otsjudu sebe blagoumno upravljati, i svoja nnavi ukrašati...»³⁹; that is to say: «When I discovered this Good Conduct I considered that it would be very necessary and beneficial for Slavo-Serbian young people; and so, as far as I was able, I translated it into the Slavonic language for the benefit and use of the children of the Slavo-Serbs, so that, in accordance with its teaching, they may comport themselves righteously and improve their moral qualities...».

There follows (pp. 6-8) the *Predislovije* (Preface), which is a close translation of the original. After the Preface comes the *Oglavlenije* (Table of Contents) (pp. 9-10), listing the titles of nine chapters of the *Blagonravije*. The rest of the book (pp. 11-96) comprises the main text of the translation.

As we have seen, Dimitrios Darvaris's *Blagonravije* translation—which was a purely pedagogical and moralistic work—was published for the children of the Slavo-Serbs, many of whom were his pupils. However, the translation was so faithful—almost word for word, in fact—that in many places it is quite obscure and very difficult to understand⁴⁰.

The *Blagonravije* translation also made its mark in Bulgarian literature. In 1837, when the Bulgarian scholar Rajno Popović (1773-1858) translated Anthony the Byzantine's *Χρηστοθήθεια* into Bulgarian and had it printed in Buda⁴¹, he consulted Darvaris's translation, as

39. Darvar, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

40. Cf. Vukadinović, «Dositejeva Hristoitija», p. 164. Jean Tarnanides, «Traductions serbes d'oeuvre grecques au XVIII siècle», *Cyrrilomethodianum*, 1 (1971), 100.

41. Rajno Popović's translation bore the following title: «*Hristoitija* ili blagonravije prisovokupena s istoriite, na koito se pomjanuvat v neja za polza i upotreblenije na bolgarskoto junošestvo i sekimu, kojto ljubi da sa polzova; ot elinskiat na slaveno-bolgarskijat naš jezik...»; that is to say: «*Good conduct* or a manual of ethics together with the stories it refers to, for the benefit and use of Slavo-Bulgarian young people and whoever else might wish to use it; from the Greek into our Slavo-Bulgarian language...», Buda 1837 see Manjo Stojanov, *Bäl-*

researchers acknowledge⁴². We should like to add at this point that Rajno Popovič also imitated Darvaris's word-for-word method, preferring to stay close to the text rather than produce a free translation.

Thirteen years later, in 1799, a second translation into «Slavo-Serbian» by Dimitrios Darvaris was printed in Buda, under the following title: «Kevita Tivjejskago *Ikona* ili izobraženije čelovječeskago žitija i Epiktita stojećeskago *Ručnica* ili nравоučitelna knjžica. Prevédene s Grečeskago na Slaveno-Serbski jezik *Dimitrijem Nikolajevičem Darvar*, a izdane Gospodarom Bratom ego Joanem Nikolajevičem Darvar. V Budime Pečatano pismeni[ma] Kraljeskago Vseučilišta Peštan[skago], 1799»⁴³. This Slavonic title translates as follows: «*The Table of Kebes the Theban or picture of human life and the Manual of the Stoic Epictetus or book of moral education. Translated from Greek into the Slavo-Serbian language by Dimitrios Nikolaou Darvaris, and published by his most honourable brother John Nikolaou Darvaris. In Buda. Printed in Pest by the Royal University printing-house, 1799*».

The same year Darvaris translated both these works into Modern Greek⁴⁴. But we are concerned here only with his translation of these two ancient writers into «Slavo-Serbian».

The translation was printed in octavo and consists of seven leaves at the beginning of the book, followed by a further 128 pages.

Darvaris dedicated this translation to the «ljubeznoj serbskoj junosti» (his beloved young people of Serbia) and addresses them in

garska vāzroždenska knižnina, vol. I, Sofia 1957, p. 218. A second edition of Popovič's *Good conduct* translation is also available and was published in Constantinople in 1855 [see Uroš Džonić, «Bugarski prevod Hristoitije», *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 3 (1923), 231].

42. Afr. Alexieva, «La littérature scolaire pendant la renaissance bulgare et la littérature pédagogique grecque de la première moitié du XIXe s. (jusqu'à la guerre de Crimée)», *Études Balkaniques*, 3 (1972), 41. Loukidou-Papadrianos, «Dimitrios Darvaris», p. 225.

43. Cf. Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija*, p. 48, no. 202. Mihailović, *Srpska bibliografija*, p. 339, no. 381. Tarnanides, «Traductions serbes», p. 100. *Katalog knjiga na jezicima jugoslovenskih naroda*, p. 181, no. 1156. Panković, *Srpske bibliografije*, p. 226, no. 253. In the library of the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade there is a copy of this translation which Darvaris personally presented to the eminent Serbian metropolitan Stevan Stratimirović.

44. This translation bears the following title: «Χρυσούν Ἐγκόλπιον ἦτοι Κέβητος Θεβαίου Πίναξ καὶ Ἐπικτήτου Ἐγχειρίδιον. Μεταφρασθέντα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς

the following words: «Tebi posvjaštavam ja ovu Nравουчителну Knjižicu; jer tebe radi je ona i napisana i prevedena, koja ne samo te mudro nastavljava, no i soveršeno izobražava i vazbuždava u tebi želju i ljubav k svemu tomu, što može nas blagopolužnim iučiniti... Primi, dakle, ljubezna junoste, rado i userdno ovu malu knjižicu, i čitaj ju prilježno s razsuždenijem...»⁴⁵; that is to say: «To you I dedicate this little book, which teaches about morals, for it was written and translated for your sake; this book is not only a good teacher for you, at the same time it also creates and stimulates within you the desire for and love of everything that can make us happy... Accept then, dear young people, this little book with joy in your hearts, and read it with understanding...».

The dedication is followed (pp. 4-7) by the translators *Predisloviје* (Preface) dated Zemun June 15 1799. Here Darvaris explains what impelled him to produce this translation and stresses that the comments and notes accompanying it are for the benefit of those who have not yet acquired great learning and are thus not in a position to understand the ancient writers.

The Preface is followed (pp. 1-128) by the translations of the *Table* of Kebes the Theban and the *Manual* of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus, together with brief summaries of the contents of both works. At the end of the book there is a picture measuring 224×326 mm.⁴⁶ representing the Table of Kebes the Theban.

As far as the Serbian translation is concerned, we may say that it is very carefully done and notable for its clarity and elegance.

Two years later, in 1801, and in Buda once more, a third translation by Dimitrios Darvaris was published, in the Slavonic language and under the following title: «*Zercalo Hristianskoje. Soderžašte misli spasitelnija i uveštanija dušepoleznaja i nužnejšaja svjakomu Hristijaninu želajuštemu poznati hristianskoje svoje žitije i jevangelskuju*

εις τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς κοινοτέραν Διάλεκτον μετὰ τινων Σημειωμάτων, οἷς ἐν τέλει προσετέθη καὶ Σχεδιασμα περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων τῶν πιστευόντων Θεῖαν Πρόνοιαν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολάου τοῦ Δαρβάρεως τοῦ ἐκ Κλεισοῦρας τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμιωτ. ἀυταδέλφου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου Νικολάου τοῦ Δαρβάρεως. Ἐν Βιέννῃ τῆς Ἰουστρίας 1799» (cf. Nikolaos P. Delialis, *Katálogos ἐντύπων Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης*, vol. 1, Thessaloniki 1948, p. 65, no. 228).

45. Darvar, *Kevisa Tivojskago Ikona*, fol. 2-3.

46. These dimensions were ascertained after we had personally measured the picture. However, Nić. Vukadinović, in 'Dositejeva Hristoitija', p. 65, gives the dimensions as 230×350 mm.

istinu. Prevedeno s grečeskago na slavenski jazik v polzu slaveno-serbskago naroda *Dimitrijem Nikolajevičem Darvar*, a izdano G. Bra-tijami jeho Joanom i Markom Nikolajevičami Darvar. V Budime 1801. Pečatano pismeni[ma] Kraljes[kago] Vseučilišta Peštanskog⁴⁷. This Slavonic title translates as follows: «*The Christians' Mirror*, containing salutary thoughts and guidance of benefit to the soul and the needs of every Christian who wishes to know his Christian life and the truth of the Gospel. Translated from Greek into the Slavonic tongue for the Slavo-Serbian people by *Dimitrios Nikolaou Darvaris* and published by his most honourable brothers John and Marcus Nikolaou Darvaris. In Buda 1801. Printed in Pest at the printing-house of the Royal University».

The *Zercalo Hristianskoje* translation was printed in octavo and comprises 184 pages, of which the last five are unnumbered.

Darvaris dedicates this translation to the «blagorodnomu i visokoučenomu gospodinu Timoteju Jovanoviću, dražajšemu učitelju mojemu» (most honourable and learned Master Timotej Jovanović, his much beloved teacher). Darvaris mentions that he is dedicating the translation to his teacher not «po običaju» (from convention) but «po dolgu» (from duty), for in this way he wishes to express «počitanie i blagodarenije» (his respect and his gratitude)⁴⁸.

The dedication is followed (pp. 7-10) by the *Predisloviје* (Preface), in which the translator addresses his readers as follows: «V sej knjižicje, ljubezni čitatelije, ne obrjaštete besjed neudoboponjatnih; ne soderžit vo visoka razsuždenija npravna i graždanska, jakova sut ona Epiktitova i inaja podobnaja, jaže ne ot vsjakago i bez velikago truda urazumjevajutsja, no prosti misli hristijanskija i kratka uvještanjaja smotrjaštaja tokmo k jevangelskoj istinje i vjerje Hristovoj, jaže ot vsjakago udobno i beztrudnje ponimajutsja...»; that is to say: «In this little book, dear readers, you will not find words which are difficult to understand, for it does not contain lofty moral and word-

47. Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija*, p. 53, no. 225. *Katalog knjiga na jezicima jugoslovenskih naroda*, p. 7, no 38. Panković, *Srpske bibliografija*, p. 230, no. 284. In the library of the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade there is a copy of this translation, which Darvaris personally presented to the great Serbian hierarch Stevan Stratimirović, as he did (as we have seen - note 43) with his translation of Kevis the Theban's *Table* and Epictetus's *Manual*.

48. Darvar, *Zercalo Hristianskoje*, pp. 3-6.

ily judgements, like those of Epictetus and other such men, which cannot be comprehended by anyone without great effort. On the contrary, here are simple Christian thoughts and short teachings which concern simply the truth of the Gospel and the Christian faith. Anyone may understand these thoughts and teachings easily and effortlessly...».

After the Preface comes the main content of the translation (pp. 11-170) in thirty-nine chapters, the titles of the first few of which are: 1. *O vjerje* (Concerning faith). 2. *Kojego radi konca sozdesja čelovjek* (For what purpose Man was created). 3. *O prezrjenii mira* (Concerning contempt for this world). 4. *O smerti* (Concerning death). 5. *O posljednjem Sudu* (Concerning the Last Judgement). 6. *O Adu* (Concerning Hell).

But what exactly was Dimitrios Darvari's *Zercalo Hristianskoje*? Judging only from the book's title, the researcher might suppose it to be a translation of some specific Greek work entitled «Κάτοπτρον τῶν Χριστιανῶν» (The Christians' Mirror). But a careful study of the content of the translation leads us to a different conclusion, namely that it is very likely that Darvaris selected Christian teachings of various Greek writers, translated them into Slavonic, and then published them in a book which he entitled *Zercalo Hristianskoje*⁴⁹.

Apart from the three books we have mentioned as being translated by Dimitrios Darvaris for the Serbs, this Greek scholar, a Serbian source informs us, also wrote other works in Serbian. They were not published, but in manuscript form they graced the libraries of the metropolis and the various episcopates of Serbia⁵⁰. We have no way of knowing just how reliable this Serbian source is, but whatever the case may be, despite repeated efforts we have been unable to locate any such manuscripts of works by Darvaris.

To sum up, then, it is clear from our account up to this point that throughout the eighteenth century the Greek and Serbian inhabitants of Zemun lived together in complete harmony, and that, sharing the same faith, they worked closely together in the spiritual and cultural field. However, this exemplary collaboration and friendship did not

49. Cf. also the views of Nič. Vukadinović, «Dositejeva Hristoitija», p. 67.

50. See the newspaper *Novina Srbski*, číslo (number) 1, 10 February 1820, dodatak (supplement).

end at this point, but continued undiminished thereafter. And so it came about that a few years later, in 1804 and in 1821, when the Serbian and the Greek Revolutions broke out, the Greeks and the Serbs of Zemun were again working together in close collaboration, doing all that they could to help their own and each other's native countries to cast off the burden of the Turkish yoke⁵¹.

51. Valuable information concerning this matter can be found in the Proceedings of the First Greek-Serbian Symposium [see «*I. Ἑλληνοσερβικὸ Συμπόσιο, Πρακτικά: Συνεργασία Ἑλλήνων καὶ Σέρβων κατὰ τοὺς ἀπελευθερωτικοὺς ἀγῶνες, 1804-1830*», Thessaloniki 1979].

Л.
VII
20

ЗЕРЦАЛО ХРІСТІАНСКОЕ

О ОДВРЖАЩЕВЪ

МЫСЛИ СПАСИТЕЛНЫМЪ И ОУВѢЩАНІА
ПОЛЕЗНАМЪ И НЕЖИЖИШАМЪ ВСАКОМУ ХРІСТІА-
НИНУ ЖЕЛАЮЩЕМУ ПОЗНАТИ ХРІСТІАНСКОЕ
СВОЕ ЖИТІЕ И ВЪЛЮБИТИ ИСТИНУ

ПРЕБЕДІННО

СЯ ГРЕЧЕСКАГО НА СЛАВЕНСКІИ ЯЗЫКЪ
ВЪ ПОЛЗУ

СЛАВНО-СЕРБСКАГО НАРОДА
ДИМИТРІЕМЪ НИКОЛАВНИЧЕМЪ

Д А Р В Я Р Ъ,

І ИЗДАНО

Г. БРАТІАМИ ЕГО

ІОАННОМЪ И МАРКОМЪ НИКОЛАВНИЧАМИ

Д А Р В Я Р Ъ.

ВЪ БУДИМЪ 1801.

ПЕЧАТАНО ПИСАНЫИ КОРАЛЕВЪ : ВСЕУЧИЛИЩА ПЕШТАДСКАГО.

2. The frontispiece of the translation of the work «Zercalo Hristianskoe» by Dimitrios Darvaris.

ΕΓΩ
Препосходителствъ
высокопреосвѣщеннѣише
Гдѣе Гдѣе
Стефанъ ѿ Стравимировичъ
къ Гдѣе приносилъ сѣю Книгу

Н. В. Гарвардъ

3. Dimitrios Darvaris dedicated a copy of the translation of «Zercalo Hristianskoje» to the Serbian Metropolitan Stevan Stratimirovič.