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## Table of Contents

### Research Articles

**Croats and Serbs through the Lens of Vuk Karadžić’s Serbian Language Reform and Ilija Garašanin's Serbian National Program**  
By Lucija Balikić, University of Zagreb, Translated by Marko Babić ................................................................. 1

**Crossing Borders? Migration Inside Yugoslavia**  
By Matej Samide, Humboldt University Berlin ........................................................................................................ 10

**Asia Apocalyptica: Identifying invading peoples from the East as ‘apocalyptic’ in the Middle Ages**  
By Marlene Fößl, University of Graz .......................................................................................................................... 27

**The Impact of Antique Medical Theories on the Early Medieval Monastic World: the St. Gall Plan and the Regula Sancti Benedicti**  
By Sophia Tschugguel, University of Vienna .............................................................................................................. 43

**The Outside Revolutions: Wars and Military Change in the Independence Movements in Latin America and the Balkans, 1810-1830**  
By Luis De la Peña, Central European University (Budapest) ...................................................................................... 54

### Book Reviews


Croats and Serbs through the Lens of Vuk Karadžić’s Serbian Language Reform and Ilija Garašanin’s Serbian National Program
By Lucija Balikić, University of Zagreb
Translated by Marko Babić

Introduction

Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin are the two most commonly mentioned names in connection to the ideology of Greater Serbia and its ideas of incorporating all regions of traditional significance to Serbs after the nineteenth century and the period of national integration. Even though these two figures were undoubtedly significant in the establishment of the Serbian national ideology and its implementation in practice, the 'stain' on their names, nevertheless, needs to be ‘washed away’ since it was a result of the subsequent extensions of their ideas and actions. The ideas of the nineteenth century, during which nations were formed across Europe, dictated conflicts and turbulences in future nations and in each one of them there was a force which grappled with neighbouring countries’ nationalisms. However, the bloodshed and injustice of the twentieth century are said to stem from the works of these two figures which are not synonymous and need to be understood separately from their time and space.

Socio-political Circumstances in Serbia at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

In the early nineteenth century, Serbia experienced significant social upheaval, beginning with two uprisings. The First Serbian Uprising, which occurred between February 14, 1804 and October 7, 1813 in the Pashalik of Belgrade, caused the outbreak of the Second Uprising (1815), under the leadership of Miloš Obrenović, by which Serbia acquired a kind of statehood for the first time. Prior to the First Uprising, it was commonly believed that the “Sick Man Upon the Bosphorus” had lost its imperialist integrity, and that its existence was prolonged by the Napoleonic Wars destabilizing its greatest rivals – the Austrian Empire and the Russian Empire. After extensive conflict with the Habsburgs, the Ottoman Empire was forced to grant greater autonomy to the Serbs, particularly as they had (at least until 1812/1813) support from the Russian Empire and its forces. Đorđe Petrović, the leader of the First Uprising, fled with his closest associates in the direction of Vienna when it became clear that the Pashalik of Belgrade would fall back into the hands of the Ottomans. The First Serbian Uprising is also significant for giving Serbia important elements of statehood and autonomy which are mainly evident in the work of the National Assembly, the Ruling Council and the establishment of their own law code. The Second Serbian Uprising was considerably shorter, but of greater significance than the first. Despite the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Serbia continued to be a Russian protectorate, evidenced by Russia’s military intervention after the eighth point of the Serbian-Ottoman Agreement in Bucharest was broken. According to that point, Serbia was promised a kind of autonomy which was, at that time, violated. After lengthy diplomatic negotiations, Serbia’s position greatly improved, enabling the nation to begin to acquire greater privileges and end the Ottoman rule over their territory completely. After the Treaty of Adrianople between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1828 and

1 Dragoslav Janković, Srpska država prvog ustanka (Belgrade: Nolit, 1984), 37.
2 Janković, Srpska država prvog ustanka, 58.
3 Janković, Srpska država prvog ustanka, 175.
significant *hatt-i sharifs* by Sultan Mahmud II in 1830 and 1833 – Serbia was finally able to become an autonomous principality and free itself from the Ottoman's long established rule.

**Vuk Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar in Vienna**

In order to comprehend more thoroughly the linguistic circumstances of Southeastern Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century from the perspective of Vuk Karadžić, it is necessary to describe the relationship Jernej Kopitar, his close associate, had with Croats and elaborate upon his Austro-Slavic orientation which greatly influenced Vuk Karadžić’s work and the Serbian literary language in general. This Slovenian philologist, who would later be appointed as the censor for books written in Slavic languages and Modern Greek in Vienna, and the scribe and custodian at the Vienna Court Library, intrigued many contemporary Slavists with his Carantanian-Pannonian Theory, but also made some influential ‘enemies.’ The best source for studying Kopitar’s conception of the Croatian language is his relationship with a renowned Czech Slavist Josef Dobrovský. Even though Kopitar adhered to Dobrovský’s division of South Slavic languages into two dialects in his work, *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Stayermark*, which was published in 1808, Kopitar quickly changed his position (more precisely, four days after the Treaty of Schönbrunn). Dobrovský argued that the dialects of South Slavic peoples was divided into two distinct groups: the “Illyrian” dialect (consisting of Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians, and the peoples of Dalmatia and Dubrovnik) and “Croatian” consisting of, among others, the so-called “Vindi,” or Slovenes. Kopitar, however, claimed that Dobrovský’s “Croats” were, in fact, Slovenes who had embraced some elements of the Serbian language over time. In accordance with this hypothesis, he constructed two dialects: the Southern or Pannonian (corresponding to the Serbian language) and Northern or Carantanian (corresponding to the Slovenian language). The term Carantania, that is the Carantanian dialect, is a result of the Romantic aesthetic that inspired intellectuals at the beginning of the nineteenth century and guided them towards the medieval heritage of their nations. Jernej Kopitar conceived Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria in the same Romanticised manner; as unified in medieval Carantania. Furthermore, Sigmund Zois, Kopitar’s mentor, also left a considerable impact on the Romantic imagination. Zois extensively engaged in ancestral research on the ethnic subject of Slovenes based on their historical right. We could also say that Kopitar implemented two underlying projects with his Southern-Slavic Theory. The first was a linguistic and cultural dissociation of Serbs from Russia and its influence through the Serbian Slavic language, and the latter was the intensification of the linguistic connections between Serbs and Croats. Kopitar saw the ethnic integration of Slavs within the Habsburg Monarchy as a type of defense mechanism against Napoleonism and Islamism. This perspective formed Kopitar’s Austro-Slavism which would aspire towards the idea of the trialism of the Monarchy, and most likely towards the notion of ecclesiastical Unitarianism.

The Illyrian movement, however, stood in the way of Kopitar's Carantanian-Pannonian Theory. The movement, which accepted the Štokavian standard, shattered the imaginary Slovenian entity and disregarded Kopitar's thesis of the existence of only three ethnic groups among South Slavs (Slovenian, Serbian and Croatian). In his correspondence with Dobrovský, Kopitar explained his recapitulations on Croats, stating in a letter dated 6 February 1809 that he considered ethnic Croats those who had lived in

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4Zajc, *Gdje slovensko prestaje, a hrvatsko počinje*, 33.

Dalmatia since settlement, and that "Lower Slovenes" were simply labelled as Croats when, in fact, they were genetically and ethnically Carantanian. Despite having admitted that the boundaries of the Croatian dialect were not precisely defined, Dobrovský expressed his discontent with Kopitar's "elimination" of provincial Croats in his letter dated 13 March, 1809. Moreover, in this letter, he stated that he was "fonder of Croatian than Slovenian or Carantanian (korotanščina) dialect because the term Croat is an ethnographic name and it denotes a tribe which were called that before they moved there." He argued that Slovenes were a secondary branch of the Croatian ethnicity which "supposedly" relocated with the Avars before the Croats. Kopitar furiously replied on 7 April 1809 that "the authentic Croats, which carry this genetic name, have resided on the other side of the River Kupa in upper Dalmatia and present-day Croatia throughout history. The Slavs living on this side of the River Kupa, along with the Zagreb area, and deeper into the Pannonian circle geographically became Croats after Ferdinand I, but they had no genetic connections with the authentic Croats.” Their exchange of letters continued, until Dobrovský deconstructed the labeling of the Slovene. In a letter dated 6 March 1810, Dobrovský claimed that the Slovene name was solely a rudiment of the generic identification of Slavs from antiquity, much like that of the Slovakian. From this exchange, it is clear that they were both convinced that the provincial Croats and Slovenes belonged to the same linguistic group, but they disagreed on the situation of this group in the history of the South-Slavic peoples.

The essence of Kopitar's Carantanian-Pannonian Theory is embodied in the assertion that around the year 863 AD, the Slavic dialect spoken by the ancestors of Austrian Slavs became the general literary language of all Slavs. Also, that the Slavs in the Danube Region introduced some elements of Old Church Slavonic which ninth century Byzantine missionaries, specifically Saints Cyril and Methodius, incorporated when standardizing Austrian Slavic as a literary language. As such, Kopitar saw only the so-called Vindi language as an authentic and true successor of this Proto-Slavic dialect, which was the basis of Old Church Slavonic. Therefore, he considered the Slovene linguistic circle the center of South-Slavic culture. Dobrovský, on the other hand, argued that Old Church Slavonic was based on the speech of those from the outskirts of Thessaloniki. Despite his respected reputation, Slavic critics completely discredited Kopitar’s Carantanian-Pannonian Theory.

The ideological backbone of Kopitar’s linguistic theory was Austro-Slavism. Kopitar saw the Serbian Slavic language, which was widespread in the nineteenth century, covering the area of modern-day Serbia, Syrmia, and Eastern Slavonia, as an obstacle to the assimilation of Austrian Štokavian Orthodox Christians. He saw its removal as a chance for the expansion of Austrian influence in the abovementioned regions. His important allies in this project were Maksimilijan Vrhovac and Vuk Karadžić, while his primary nemesis was Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović. Maksimilijan Vrhovac only accelerated the admission of Karadžić’s litero-linguistic reform as he sent Kopitar “illyrian” and “Croatian” dictionaries (pro rebus croaticis, de promovenda illyrica lingua) which were the basis for Karadžić’s Serbian Dictionary (Srpski rječnik), published in 1818. All available copies of the dictionary in Southern Hungary were burnt by Metropolitan Stratimirović who was, as were the rest of the Orthodox clergy, on the side of the Serbian Slavic language. Another issue for Stratimirović was

6Zajc, Gdje slovensko prestaje, a hrvatsko počinje, 33.
7Zajc, Gdje slovensko prestaje, a hrvatsko počinje, 33.
8Gričević, “Jernej Kopitar”, 45.
9Ibid. 45.
Karadžić’s translation of the New Testament and the use of *ijekavica* in it. What was ironic about this was the fact that the Austrian authorities would often follow Karadžić and suspected that he was linked with Russian intelligence agents, refusing to fund his pension and employment. At one point, Kopitar even recommended him for a job as an Austrian intelligence agent in Kragujevac, but it fell on deaf ears. In Kopitar’s determination to make use of Vuk Karadžić’s ideas in the making of a new Serbian literary language with numerous elements of Croatian, one can observe the danger of the existence and autonomy of Croatian ethnic and linguistic peculiarity – something which perfectly corresponds with Kopitar’s Carantanian-Pannonian Theory.

**Vuk Karadžić’s Litero-linguistic Controversy**

**Ljudevit Gaj and Croatian Reactions**

As an eighteen-year-old, Ljudevit Gaj was fascinated with Vuk’s work, which was introduced to him by Mojsije Baltić in 1827.\(^1\) He was not an exception among the young Illyrian intelligentsia, as there are numerous claims made by Stanko Vraz, Ivan Deros, Grga Martić and many others, which prove a certain affinity towards the ideas from the period of uprising in Serbia and the collection of “national treasures” in Vuk Karadžić’s manner. Ljudevit Gaj, however, was not one of the blind followers of Kardžić’s opus, especially later when it became clear that he would be the leader of the emancipation of Croatian cultural, political, and national interests in the struggle against increased Magyarisation and Germanisation.

Even though they both used the Štokavian dialect, their conceptions of its belonging to a specific *ethnos*, differed substantially. In the beginning, Karadžić based his conception on folk speech and the Herzegovian dialect substantiated in his “Serbian Dictionary” in 1818. In his later work, however, Karadžić gradually adopted the Bosnian-Dubrovnik dialect and, in his “Serbian Dictionary” from 1852, introduced numerous Croatian words, some of which until then belonged solely to the Čakavian or Kajkavian dialect.\(^2\) The described transition was most likely the result of the influence of the Illyrian cultural movement on Karadžić, highlighting the disputes over the autochthonous Štokavian-spoken corpus as of real concern. In the beginning, for example, Ljudevit Gaj published his literary addition “Daystar” (*Danica*) in “The Croatian News” (*Novine Horvatske*) in Kajkavian dialect, but, later, by 1835, it was published in Štokavian to suit Gaj’s Illyrian ideology and attract a larger audience, affirming the tendency of national integration of Croatian lands. Simultaneously, Karadžić labelled the same Štokavian as “Serbian,” refusing to give up on its name in favour of the Illyrian Movement.\(^3\) This is affirmed in the following quote from his letter to Justin Mihajlović in 1836: “We can’t persuade them to admit they are of Serbian descent [...] and we would be out of our minds to abandon our glorious name and adopt this dead name [...] which has not meaning whatsoever.”\(^4\) Karadžić’s position is clear in this excerpt; the South-Slavic unification was only possible under Serbian leadership, which seemed logical to him, since, from his perspective, Serbs were the only South-Slavic people which managed to successfully secede from an imperial policy that “crushed” other South Slavs of the Balkans, regardless of their religion. Karadžić saw the future of the expansion of the nation in a western direction, so he could rely on the support of the cultural tradition of the

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1\(^{1}\) Popović, “Ljudevit Gaj i Vuk Karadžić,” *Radovi* 3 (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1973), 93.
2\(^{2}\) Popović, “Ljudevit Gaj i Vuk Karadžić“, 95.
3\(^{3}\) Ivan Krtalić, “Viek narodnosti,” *Polemike u hrvatskoj književnosti* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1982), 397.
western Serbian-Croat regions in his democratic resistance to the conservative bourgeoisie of Southern Hungary. Gaj saw the possibility of a Croat-Serb union as a specific Illyrian nation which could skillfully resist Hungarian pressures and enable an unimpeded economic and cultural prosperity of the bourgeoisie in Croatia. From the above-detailed conceptions, we can conclude that Gaj and Karadžić had similar aspirations, but different starting points which were almost in a dichotomous relationship to one another. Apart from advocating for a cultural and spiritual bonding of Croats and Serbs, Gaj’s and Karadžić’s works were significant in their encouragement for all to study the vernaculars, especially the folk lexicons, the various literary “national treasures”, and poems.

Of course, it is important to note that the resistance to unifying Croats and Serbs under one name (be it Gaj’s Illyrian or Karadžić’s Serbia) existed. Stanko Vraz experienced some inconvenience when Count Naum Malin protested Vraz’s idea to dedicate his collection of folk poems to Vuk Karadžić. “Mister Dr. Vuk,” Malin told Vraz in 1839, “lives only for his branch of Illyrians, and despises all others. He is a Serb and his greatest wish is to turn all Illyrians into Serbs.” 15 Many prominent intellectuals in Southern Hungary in the 1840s were against Karadžić, of whom the most notable was Jevstatij Mihajlović. Mihajlović claimed that the Illyrian Movement was taking away the language, name, orthography and nationality from Serbs. Mihajlović’s book, which comparatively analyses and compares the Illyrian Movement with Karadžić’s reforms, harshly condemns both concepts, while at the same time promoting the thesis that all the South-Slavic peoples were Serbs and that all of them should be using the so-called Early Cyrillic alphabet (with letters Ъ (jer) and Ы (jes) which Karadžić had previously discarded). Almost all the Southern Hungarian intelligentsia was on Jevstatij Mihajlović’s side. Apart from him, a prominent opponent of the Illyrian-Serb partnership was Jovan Sterija Popović on whose initiative the pro-Illyrian “Serbian News” (Novine serbske) was censored. Karadžić saw a linguo-cultural union of Croats and Serbs in the dialect of works of writers coming from the Dubrovnik area, the Serbian abandonment of the use of ekavica and Slavic Serbian traditions, and the Croatian abandonment of various dialects and Latin alphabet. In the same spirit, he spoke publicly in favour of the “Serbian language of Zagreb Illyrians,” which was not well received by the pro-Illyrian intellectuals, specifically Vjekoslav Babukić, who, in the “Folk Calendar” (Narodni koledar), explicitly dismissed such a possibility and stood up for Gaj’s Latin alphabet (gajica). After that, Karadžić slowly started excluding Ljudevit Gaj as the central figure of the Illyrian Movement and started, “on his own,” adjusting the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets and devising a special orthographic principle for Southern Slavs of “Roman law.” In its essence, it was an exchange of diacritical marks with appropriate Cyrillic marks. Additionally, their relationship deteriorated with Karadžić’s use of the “Southern Slavic” nomenclature which Gaj vehemently rejected, replacing it with an Illyrian name. Gaj replied to Karadžić’s provocations by publishing an article written by a Slavic Serbian conservative, Vasilije Lazić, in which he criticised Karadžić’s translation of the New Testament. Such a public statement was the first indicator of Gaj’s and Karadžić’s clash of ideas. By the revolutionary year of 1848, the Illyrian name was often replaced in the Croatian lands, causing Vuk Karadžić to place greater importance on the Serbian name. In 1849, in his work Kovčežić za istoriju, jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona, he publicly advocated for the unification of all Štokavians under the Serbian name in the introduction to the text “Serbs All and Everywhere” (Srbi svi i svuda). He explicitly stated that

Čakavians were the only ancestors of Croats; Kajkavians were really Slovenes, and Štokavians Serbs. By making this claim, he eliminated the Croatian ethnonym from its historical territory.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{The Rise of Ilija Garašanin as a Statesman}

Thanks to Miloš Obrenović, Ilija Garašanin received his first appointment as a customs officer. Despite his poor trade skills and incomplete education, the son of a merchant was appointed Member of the \textit{Knjaževski sovjet} (Prince’s Council) in 1837, and later Commander of the military headquarters. It did not take long for his superiors to recognize his political and strategic talents and, the following year, he became the Chief of the Military Department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Not long after that his appointment, however, Ilija Garašanin participated in “Jovan’s Rebellion” (\textit{Jovanova buna}), a rebellion against the repressive rule of the dynasty, on the side of the Defenders of the Constitution (\textit{Ustavobranitelji}). After the young prince Miloš Obrenović abdicated, he was replaced by his younger brother Mihailo, who dealt ruthlessly with the Defenders. For their role in the rebellion, the Garašanin family were exiled to Istanbul.\textsuperscript{17} Ilija Garašanin did not return to Serbia with his family until after the Habsburg and Russian monarchies initiated the process of reconciliation between Obrenović and the Defenders. In 1842, he became an advisor to the new prince, Alexander Karadorđević and assistant to the Minister of Internal Affairs. The Russian and Ottoman Empire agreed on the appointment of the new prince who found himself in an uneasy situation as many of the State’s former ministers remained loyal to the previous prince and abandoned Serbia. As such, he offered Garašanin the Ministership of Internal Affairs. Having accepted the offer, Garašanin closely observed Obrenović’s activities, and successfully put down any rebellion incited by Obrenović’s followers who were dissatisfied with the rule of the new prince. The most prominent ministers exiled as a result of this were Toma Vučić Perišić and Avram Petronijević. They returned to Serbia in 1844 to assist Garašanin in putting down the “Katana Rebellion” (\textit{Katanska buna}).\textsuperscript{18} The same year, Ilija Garašanin wrote his most famous document, \textit{Načertanije}, representing the first program of Serbian national policy. Many factors influenced the formation of \textit{Načertanije}, including Polish emigration, English diplomatic activities, and Garašanin’s views on the Russian and Ottoman Empires.

\textbf{The Influence of Polish Emigration in \textit{Načertanije}}

Polish emigration did not maintain a positive relationship within Serbia during the rule of Miloš and Mihailo Obrenović, due largely to the fact that both nations were both under substantial Russian influence, demanding a discriminative attitude towards the Polish national consciousness. Adam Czartoryski was the leading figure of the period after the unsuccessful Polish uprisings of the 1830s. After a dynastic change in Serbia, Czartoryski started making contacts with the Defenders who established good diplomatic relations with the Karadorđević dynasty.\textsuperscript{19} His agent in Serbia was František Zach who arrived in Serbia in November of 1843. Russian and Habsburg diplomats soon found out about the Defenders-Polish cooperation and actively tried to undermine it without success.

\begin{thebibliography}{999}
\bibitem{Vožić} Bože Čović, Jaroslav Vichra, \textit{Izvori velikosrpske agresije: rasprave, dokumenti, kartografski prikazi} (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), 81.
\bibitem{Ljušić2} Ljušić, \textit{Knjiga o Načertaniju}, 63.
\bibitem{Agičić} Damir Agičić, \textit{Tajna politika Srbije u XIX. stoljeću} (Zagreb: AGM, 1994), 53.
\end{thebibliography}
Under the patronage of the French Ambassador to Serbia, the Polish emigration made an agreement with the Serbs to unify all South Slavs under Serbian domination in a single state which would remain outside of Russian influence.\textsuperscript{20} Interestingly, English diplomacy, led by David Urquhart, Secretary at the Embassy at Constantinople and a declared Russophobe, played a great role in the controversy.\textsuperscript{21} Polish emigration, along with the Defenders of the Constitution, relied on his support in their fight against Russian interests in the Balkans. Urquhart was particularly influential for his paper “Portfolio” in which he speculated viable options for the unification of Slavic peoples. He wrote about a possible Russian or Ottoman primacy over potential unification, and outlined a concept of an independent Slavic state. We could say that the works of David Urquhart made a great impact on Czartoryski and his work “Advice” (Savjeti) which would later influence František Zach’s “Plan”. The content of Zach’s work, with some amendments, was adopted by Ilija Garašanin in “Načertanije”. Zach’s “Plan” was, in fact, composed by Garašanin’s command, and Stjepan Car assisted Zach in writing the chapter on the relations with Croats.

The Content of Načertanije

The content of Načertanije can be nominally divided into two main parts. The first part is a kind of introduction which conveys the essence of Garašanin’s political program. The second outlines more specific plans for the dissemination of Serbian political propaganda in the regions where it was necessary, highlighting which should be aligned to Serbian culture, language, and church practices. The main premise upon which Načertanije is based is the inevitable collapse of the Ottoman Empire on whose remains Serbia would resurrect and extend to the borders of Dušan’s Empire of the fourteenth century. Its nucleus would be the territory of the Principality of Serbia, and Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Northern Albania would be annexed. After that, the assimilation of Serbs in Southern Hungary would follow, and political propaganda would be disseminated in the areas of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia. Garašanin makes use of the principle of legitimacy and historical right by placing the Slavic people who inhabited the then Ottoman territory under the Serbian name, cleverly evading discussion of the Serbian uprisings from the beginning of the nineteenth century and their revolutionary-nationalistic character, and underlining Dušan’s Empire as precedent. The reason behind that is most likely a kind of Turkophilia observable among the supporters of the Defenders and Garašanin. Since its publication Načertanije has been interpreted in numerous ways by the different forms of government in the regions populated by South Slavs in Yugoslav and Great Serbian. Between the Second World War and the Croatian War of Independence, the Marxist interpretation of Načertanije, which portrayed Garašanin almost as a spiritual founder of the first Yugoslavia, prevailed.\textsuperscript{22} Modern-day Croatian historians regard Načertanije as a Greater Serbian ideological manifesto which motivated all subsequent pretentions of Serbia towards the territories and people of Croatia. Additionally, discourse of Garašanin’s copying of Zach’s Plan by substituting all Yugoslav elements with Serbian, and excluding the chapter on the Croatian question is also quite common in Croatian historiography. The insistence of English diplomacy on the domination of Serbia is rarely mentioned. Načertanije entered real politics in 1861 when Prince Mihailo ordered Garašanin to form a government. Garašanin’s condition was the use of Načertanije as a program of Serbian foreign policy. Of course, Načertanije was treated as a secret document and only a handful of people knew of its

\textsuperscript{20}Agičić, Tajna politika u Srbiji u XIX. stoljeću, 67.
\textsuperscript{21}Ljušić, Knjiga o Načertaniju, 68.
\textsuperscript{22}Ljušić, Knjiga o Načertaniju, 94.
existence and substance. The public was eventually introduced to the program in 1906 when it was published by Milenko Vukičević.  

Conclusion

In the end, having laid out the main sources of Karadžić’s linguistic reform and its reception, and the overview of Garašanin’s political, diplomatic, and programmatic activities, we arrive at the following conclusion: Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin, each in his own way, contributed to the formation of the Serbian national consciousness, Serbian integration, and international affirmation. In the spirit of the Romantic aesthetic of the nineteenth century, Karadžić laid the foundations of Serbian language and literacy, and introduced Serbia to the cultural circles of Europe with his reforms and collection of “national treasures.” Somewhat later, Ilija Garašanin, in cooperation with Polish immigrants and English diplomats, attempted to formulate and realize the first political program to free Serbia from “the Ottoman chains” and associate Serbia with other Slavic peoples in the region also fighting the imperialistic policies of different rulers. Unfortunately, they are both held responsible for the Serbian expansionist aggression in the subsequent historic periods in some historical and political circles. “Serbs all and Everywhere” and Načertanije were seen as the origins of the Greater Serbian ideology by many prominent Serbian intellectuals throughout history- beginning with Jovan Cvijić, Nikola Stojanović, and Nikola Pašić, then Vaso Ćubrilović, Stevan Moljević, and Draža Mihailović, and lastly, Dobrica Ćosić, Slobodan Milošević, and Vojislav Ćosović. The anachronistic interpretation and exploitation of such works, which served as an ideological justification for their contemporary political aspirations with the help of an ever-present regime historiography left a “permanent stain” on the names of two greatly talented individuals of the Serbian nation in the nineteenth century. 

Serbia, just like the Medali Idea in Greece, Greater Bulgaria under the Treaty of San Stefano, Starčević’s Croatia, Mickiewicz’s Poland, and Greater Hungary consisting of the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, followed a nationalist ideal which (whether based on the criterion of language, confession, or some other entity) projected Serbia beyond its borders. This was a common phenomenon in the nineteenth century when the concept of 'modern' nationhood was developing. Nevertheless, the later appropriation of these ideologies, which were used to justify the aggressive policies of the twentieth century, cast an incorrect image of these competent individuals, and resulted in a manipulative politicization of their lives and work.

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23Ibid. 16.
Bibliography


Crossing Borders? Migration Inside Yugoslavia
By Matej Samide, Humboldt University Berlin

Introduction

When considering the historical connection between migration and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), one mostly thinks of the Gastarbeiter movement. The movement of Yugoslav citizens to West Germany in pursuit of work was without doubt the biggest migration movement in Yugoslavia, but there was also a considerable movement of people within the SFRY. This is hardly surprising; every country experiences internal migration, people moving from one town to another. With Yugoslavia, however, we have a special case. People were not just moving inside their regions; they were crossing invisible borders. As such, this text will focus on the migration between the five republics – Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia – and to a lesser degree the two autonomous regions – Voivodina and Kosovo – within the SFRY. It will start with the flows of migration between the Yugoslavian republics in general, and then highlight the major reason for this migration; economic migration. Economic factors were so important in motivating the movement of people that one could say that there was a small Gastarbeiter movement within the SFRY. The second part of this paper will focus on Slovenia, looking at the role played by Slovenia in the inner-Yugoslavian migration and in the post-Yugoslavian period.

Most of the literature on this topic comes from the former Yugoslav area, and is for that reason seldom in English. This text is mostly based on articles from the Slovenian journal Dve domovini and the Croatian Journal Migracijske i etničke teme. Additionally, it also references such books and articles as Socialist Unemployment, The Political Economy of Yugoslavia 1945-1990 by Susan Woodward, and 'Some perspectives on Balkan Migration Patterns (with Particular Reference to Yugoslavia)' by Joel Halpern. Additionally, the second part references books focused on the Slovenian case, such as Sloveci v Hrvaški, Slovenci u Hrvatskoj, Slovenes in Croatia by Vera Kržišnik-Bukić.

I. Migration in Yugoslavia

To look at the general migration flows in Yugoslavia, the best way is to look at the data given by the census. There were counts in 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, and 1981. This data was edited in 1987 by Ruža Petrović, and her book on migration in Yugoslavia, which will be the primary source for this chapter.

If we examine the populations of the Yugoslav republics in 1948, we can see very different ethnic mixes. In Slovenia, we have a nearly homogeneous Slovenian population of 97%.

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27Vera Kržišnik-Bukić, Sloveci v Hrvaški, Slovenci u Hrvatskoj, Slovenes in Croatia (Ljubljana: 1995).
29Petrović, Migracije u Jugoslaviji i etnički aspekt, 48.
followed by Serbia with a population, 94.1% of which were Serbs, although this drops to 73.9% if we count the two autonomic regions which belonged to Serbia. The last on the scale is Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), with a population of which 44.3% were Serbs in 1948. The BiH case is special due to the republic’s Muslim population which identified with different groups in each census. The reason for this was the different terms used in each census. Before 1971, there were different answers open to the Muslim population. In 1948, one could be an ‘undefined Muslim’, a ‘Serbian Muslim’ or a ‘Croatian Muslim’, the latter two being counted toward the Serbian or Croatian population numbers. In 1961, ‘Muslim’ in the sense of a nationality was introduced, followed by the term ‘Muslim’ in the abstract and in 1971. As such, the number of individuals who identified with the term rose from 972,960 in 1961 to 1,729,932 in 1971. One can assume that the Muslim population had been the majority in Bosnia all along, but is only quantified in 1971 with the change in the census’ terminology. Despite this change, accounting for 39.6% of the total population, the dominant ethnicity in BiH still had the smallest percentage of all Yugoslav Republics. The following chart shows the change of the dominant ethnicity in the Yugoslav republics through the respective censuses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>97%</td>
<td>96.5%</td>
<td>95.6%</td>
<td>94.0%</td>
<td>90.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>89.5%</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia with AR</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>73.8%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
<td>71.2%</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>68.5%</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>51.1%</td>
<td>54.9%</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>81.4%</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>79.6%</td>
<td>80.3%</td>
<td>79.4%</td>
<td>75.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
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<td>66%</td>
<td>71.2%</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>39.6%*</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 1: *From 1971 onwards the dominant Population in BiH is 'Muslim', before that it was titled 'Serbian.' All Numbers: Petrović, Migracije u Jugoslaviji, 48.

Looking at this chart, we can see that there is no clear trend, but that all the republics are ethnically more diverse in 1981 than they were in 1948. Voivodina is slightly more Serbian and Kosovar is much more homogeneous in 1981 than it was in 1948. The change in Voivodina is so small that it can be neglected. For the change in Kosovo there is a good reason for this; people were emigrating. For the Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo this was easier than for the Albanian population. They would have had to move outside their cultural sphere and, more importantly, into a region in which

30Ibid.
31Ibid., Migracije u Jugoslaviji I etnički aspekt, 48.
32Ibid., 23.
33Ibid.
34Ibid.
36Petrović, Migracije u Jugoslaviji, 46.
their language was not commonly spoken. We should keep in mind that Slovenia, Macedonia and Kosovo all spoke languages which differed significantly from the official language of Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian, something which made moving across the Yugoslav internal borders more difficult. For Kosovo, this ‘language barrier’ was especially significant as, unlike Slovenian and Macedonian which are Slavic languages, Albanian is not. This made adapting into a society outside one’s own cultural sphere even harder. As already mentioned, the dominant ethnicity in Bosnia from 1971 was ‘Muslim,’ the same bureaucratic change is responsible for the significant numbers drop in Montenegro in 1971. That year 13.3% of the population in Montenegro identified as Muslim, most of whom had been counted as Montenegrin before that.

Now we know that in all republics the percentage of the majority was declining but this co-existed with an overall growth of population. In total numbers, there is only one occasion where the total number of the majority dropped. In Croatia, the number of Croats sunk towards the end of Yugoslavia from 3,513,647 to 3,454,661 between 1971 and 1981. In that time period, Slovenia was the only republic where the number of Croats grew. Croats were moving North, something that can be said for many migrants. This trend intensified throughout the years. Before 1971, only Serbia had more immigrants than emigrants, including those leaving Yugoslavia. From 1971 onwards, Croatia and Slovenia experienced the same phenomenon. Since there was little migration from non-Yugoslavian citizens to Yugoslavia, this can mean three things: firstly, people who emigrated before were returning home; secondly, less people left those republics; and thirdly, migrants within Yugoslavian were migrating to those republics. All three factors contributed to a positive net-migration. The numbers of migrants are very different between the republics. For example, 44.8% of all inner Yugoslavian migrants between 1971 and 1981 migrated to Serbia, while only 16.7% left Serbia. In BiH we have almost the opposite picture; 43.2% of migrants in this period had originated in BiH while only 10.6% of them moved to BiH.

Slovenia and Croatia become net winners of the migration flow before 1971, if we do not take into account the people leaving those republics for other countries.

37Ibid.
38Petrović, Migracije u Jugoslaviji. 36.
39Ibid. 39.
40Ibid. 40.
41Ibid. 62.
42Ibid.
43Ibid., 63.
44Ibid.
We can also see that the high numbers accounted to the republic of Serbia are due, to a great degree, to a significant migration of people to Voivodina. When looking at these numbers, they seemed to contradict some of the information found in Petrović’s book. We have to keep in mind, however, that Mikulić only examines migration within Yugoslavia, thereby, ignoring those who left the country in pursuit of employment, only to later return.

People have different reasons to migrate at different times. The fact that BiH had the highest number of immigration in 1981 shows a pattern that cannot account for every movement. Still, if we look at the overall numbers, we can see that there seems to be a tendency to move to the North. Slovenia, Croatia and Voivodina all have constantly decreasing numbers of emigration and increasing numbers of immigration.\textsuperscript{45} While in BiH the immigration numbers were rising, the emigration numbers were rising even quicker; from 1961 onwards BiH emigrants were the majority of Yugoslavian migrants, before that it was Croats.\textsuperscript{46} A steady influx of migrants to Croatia, however, balanced out those numbers.\textsuperscript{47} The immigration to Serbia declined through the years, from 60.6\% of all inner-Yugoslavian migrants going to Serbia, including the Voivodina region until 1948, to 44.8\% between 1971 and 1981.\textsuperscript{48} Still Serbia, including the ARs, stayed the preferred destination for the majority of migrants. In Macedonia, the numbers did not move in one direction, immigration peaked between 1961 and 1971 and emigration reached its peak between 1951 and 1961.\textsuperscript{49} But the numbers did not change drastically, the difference between the highest and the lowest number is 0.8\% for emigration and 2.2\% for immigration.\textsuperscript{50}

Although those numbers indicate some patterns, there is one thing they show even more clearly; that the SFRY was a highly mobile state and there was an active exchange of people across the inner borders. Between 1971 and 1981, 9,187,161 people moved within Yugoslavia. Most moved within a

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
\hline
Slovenia & 1,765 & 3,266 \\
Serbia & 440 & 7,328 \\
AR Kosovo & -3,720 & -3,913 \\
AR Voivodina & 11,730 & 6,815 \\
Montenegro & -1,629 & -1,534 \\
Croatia & 2,126 & 6,368 \\
Macedonia & -2,164 & -162 \\
BiH & -13,220 & -18,328 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{All Numbers: Mikulić, “Mobilnost radne snage,” 79.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{45} Petrović, \textit{Migracije u Jugoslaviji}, 63.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47} Branislav Mikulić, “Mobilnost radne snage u jugoslaviji” \textit{migracijske teme 3-4} (1985) 79.
\textsuperscript{48} Petrović, \textit{Migracije u Jugoslaviji}, 63.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
republic but 15.2% of those or 1,396,448 in total, moved to another republic within Yugoslavia. What motivated them to do so?

II. Reasons for Migration

Obviously, there are many reasons to leave one’s home. We will not be able to reconstruct every single reason, but there are trends evident in the data which highlight the reasons why some may have been swayed to move.

Inside the Republics, we can see a consistent movement of people from the rural areas to the cities. This is hardly unique to Yugoslavia, especially as rural areas became more industrialized and farms required less manpower. Especially, young people were drawn to the cities. Looking at Yugoslavia as a whole, we see that migration between urban areas was much lower than migration from a rural to an urban area. Some migrations were even State-planed; for example, the government supported people moving from the mountains to the rich Voivodina plain where workers were needed. Most of those workers did not move to a non-agricultural area but from small farms in the mountains to bigger farms on the plain. Voivodina had been called the breadbasket of Yugoslavia and so we can call this an agrarian industry.

Many people left their family farms to work in the cities. For many, keeping the farm meant stability, since there was a potential retreat where one could make one’s living by growing one’s own food, as well as providing safety against possible inflation and economical decrease. Most, however, did not earn their living on their farms anymore. The population working in agriculture in 1970 was only half of its 1890-levels.

Here we already see the main reason for migration; the search for work. Most migrants left their homes for economic reasons. When the borders of Yugoslavia were opened in the 1950s, many Yugoslavs went abroad to look for work. By the 1960s, however, living conditions had improved inside Yugoslavia, thus, less people were leaving the country. As such, migration within the SFY borders became more prevalent than emigration to other countries, with people moving from less developed parts of Yugoslavia to better developed parts.

Mobility of workforce is an important factor for migration. Normally, the low qualified workforce is the one that travels a lot in the search for work, this was also true for Yugoslavia. With the agrarian sector dropping to under half of overall employment by 1971, many unskilled workers had

51Petrović, Migracije u Jugoslaviji, 57.
53Ibid.
54Ibid. 85.
56Ibid. 86-87.
58Ibid. 329.
to find other employment. The rise of industrialisation could make good use of the workers that the agrarian sector did not employ. Despite this trend, Yugoslavia experienced a drastic increase in unemployment throughout the 1970s. In 1973 there was 8.1% unemployment, in 1976 this rose to 11.4%. This led to many leaving their homes in the search of work, sometimes out of the country, but often also to another republic. The difference in wealth and development between the republics directed this migration flow. The industrial centers of Yugoslavia were mostly situated in the Northern regions. While there was significant migration of unskilled workers from less developed republics to more developed ones, there was little movement of highly skilled workers or capital in the other direction. Importantly, not all who moved to find work moved permanently. There was a high number of workers leaving their home republics with the intention of returning. These people could be called the inner Yugoslavian Gastarbeiers.

In the 1980s, 3.4% of Yugoslavia’s overall workforce did not work in the republic they were registered in. With 11% of the overall workforce working outside the borders of Yugoslavia, Bosnia leading this list, while Slovenia brought up the tail with 0.4%. With around 100,000 workers not registered as living in the republic, Slovenia lead the receiving list. Seasonal workers were not represented in these numbers, because there were no reliable sources for the seasonal migration of Yugoslavia’s workforce. We do, however know, they existed and there are estimates that there were approximately 10,000 seasonal workers from other republics in Slovenia alone. The second unknown number is that of illegal workers, who also existed and travelled between the republics.

As it can be seen, Yugoslavia was a mobile country and the movement across republican borders was only a small part of its mobility. The same goes for people working in different places than they were registered as living. 43.7% of all Yugoslav workers had to leave their home towns for work in the 1980s. While only 3.4% of them crossed republican borders, 18.1% had to, at a minimum, relocate to another region inside one’s own republic. All the numbers we have just looked at, of course, only show excerpts of the migration flow inside Yugoslavia. Although we can see a movement to the North, there is a different factor that influenced migration; culture and to a stronger degree, language. A lot of this migration was dictated by ethnicity i.e. Bosnian Serbs moving to Serbia. A considerable migration is observable between regions which shared a common language; the border between Serbia and Montenegro, for example, was crossed constantly. So the parts of Yugoslavia with languages distinctively different from the official Serbo-Croatian language play a special role. The

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62Mikulić, “Mobilnost radne snage,” 78.
64Mikulić, “Mobilnost radne snage,” 83
65ibid.
66ibid. 85.
67ibid.
68ibid.
69Malačič, “Međurepubličke i vanjske,” 332.
70Mikulić, “Mobilnost radne snage,” 85.
72Ibid.
following part of this text will focus on Slovenia. As we can see, Slovenia was not only the most homogeneous republic in Yugoslavia, but it was also the net winner of the migration flows, despite its official language, Slovenian, being markedly different from Serbo-Croatian.

III. Slovenia

In 2013\(^{74}\), there were 2,058,821 people living in Slovenia.\(^{75}\) 91,385 of those did not have Slovenian citizenship\(^{76}\), and 86% of those foreigners were citizens of former Yugoslav countries.\(^{77}\) 91,385 is only roughly 4.4% of the total population. Did Slovenia become less heterogeneous again? No, the discrepancy is due to the fact that we only have the information about citizenship. The census used data already collected, and did not hand out papers where people would fill in their ethnic identity. This data sees everyone who obtained Slovenian citizenship as Slovenian, many of those might still have come to Slovenia from other parts of Yugoslavia and even identify as non-Slovenian. If we look at the last numbers that have been collected by handing out papers in 2002, we see that only 83.06% identified as Slovenian.\(^{78}\) The trend of becoming more heterogeneous seems to have survived the end of the SFRY. But let us take a closer look at the Slovenian case and start at the beginning.

III. 1. Slovenes Leaving

The movement of Slovenes in the territory of the SFRY did not start after World War Two. Slovenia had been part of bigger countries or empires before, sharing common borders with other republics of the SFRY. The preferred destination for Slovenes inside the SFRY was Croatia for varying reasons. The most obvious of them is that the two republics shared a long border and migration between the republics was the easiest inter-republic migration and, therefore, the most common.\(^{79}\) This quasi border had not been instituted in the SFRY, both territories had been part of a bigger country for centuries.\(^{80}\) Especially, the border region was often mixed of Slovenian and Croatians and, thus, attracting Slovenians. Since the border between Slovenia and Croatia had been peaceful and easy to cross for a long time, it did not seem that hard to move across it.\(^{81}\) When Slovenia declared its

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74 2013 was chosen because it is the last year where the Slovenian census counted Croats as inhabitants of former Yugoslavia. After Croatia joined the EU in 2013, they are now counted among the EU citizens.


76 Ibid.


81 Kržišnik-Bukić, “O Slovenci v narodnosti sestavi prebivalstva po naseljih v obmejnih hrvaških občinah pred razpadom Jugoslavije,” 229-230

Carnival
independence in 1991, 14,580 people of the 22,376 Slovenians living in Croatia lived in the border region.\footnote{Ibid., 258.}

As already mentioned, Slovene migration to Croatia had a long history and again, one of the reasons was the search for work. The Slovene community in the region of Gorski Kotar can trace its roots back to the seventeenth century, when the iron mines of the region were open and required a substantial workforce.\footnote{Vera Kržišnik-Bukić, “O narodnostnem in kulturnem samoorganiziranju Slovencev na Hrvaškem v 20. stoletju,” in Sloveci v Hrvaški, Slovenci u Hrvatskoj, Slovenes in Croatia, ed. Vera Kržišnik-Bukić (Ljubljana, 1995) 170.} Later, young Slovenes moved to bigger cities, like Varaždin near the Slovenian border to study.\footnote{Ibid., 171.} Most organized Slovene communities in Croatia are situated in cities like Karlovac or Rijeka.\footnote{Ibid., 164; 166.}

Although Croatia was the preferred inner Yugoslav destination, there were Slovenians moving to other republics, too. Slovene movement towards BiH, for example, started when the region came under Austro-Hungarian rule in the late-nineteenth century.\footnote{Metka Lokar, “Zelen kot Slovenija in rdeč kot ljubezen: Slovenski jezik med Slovenci v prostoru nekdanje Jugoslavije (Green as Slovenia and Red as Love: the Slovene Language among Slovenes in the territory of Former Yugoslavia),” Dve Domovini/Two Homelands 38, 146.} Again, most of the people moved there to work in the new territory of the empire. Movement to Yugoslav republics further South started as late as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Today, Montenegro and Macedonia have a very small Slovenian population.\footnote{Damir Josipovič, “Slovenci na Balkanu skozi moderne popise prebivalstva 1880-2012,” in Priseljevanje in društveno delovanje slovencev v drugih delih jugoslovanskega prostora, zgodovinski oris in sedanjost, ed. Janja Žitnik Serafin (Ljubljana, 2014) 85.} Still there are significantly more Slovenes in those countries today, than in the surrounding countries, like Bulgaria or Albania, which had never shared a common state with Slovenia.\footnote{Josipovič, “Slovenci na Balkanu”, 85.}

III. 2. Yugoslavs Coming

As we have seen, Slovenia started being nearly homogeneous in 1948. It does not mean that there was no migration to Slovenia before the SFry. Most immigrants to Slovenia before the World War Two, however, did not settle there. Most of them were only in Slovenia for a limited time, like military personal from Austria during the Habsburg times or railroad workers from Macedonia during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.\footnote{Andreja Vezovnik, “Ex-Yugoslavian Immigrant Workers in Slovenia: between Balkanization and Victimization,” Dve Domovini/Two Homelands 41, 12.} By attracting a longer term workforce from the rest of Yugoslavia, Slovenia became a preferred destination for immigration inside Yugoslavia from the 1960s onwards.\footnote{Ibid.} These immigrants were often there to stay. Living on Slovenian territory, the immigrants had to adapt, mostly by learning the language, but since Serbo-Croatian was the official language in Yugoslavia and the immigrants were citizens of the same country, their arrival was fairly easy.\footnote{Ibid.} Although it became slightly harder to cross the border after 1991, the influx of immigrants from the former Yugoslav
republics was not halted. It only started decreasing after the economic crisis of 2009 hit Slovenia and destroyed many job opportunities for immigrants.92

But why was Slovenia so attractive to Yugoslav workers? There was a difference between the North and the South of Yugoslavia when looking at development and prosperity. Explaining this would be the topic for another paper, and many have been written on this topic, but here we want to look at it very briefly to try to understand it.

In 1945, 75% of the Yugoslav industry was situated North of the Danube-Save line.93 The north had started industrializing heavily in the interwar period.94 The North had a better starting point. This changed through time and by 1968, only 55% of the industry was in the North, but here we have to look at the types of industry.95 Most of the industry in the South was heavy, defence oriented industry often put there intentionally because of the distance to the West.96 This industry was harder to modernize than the light industry of the Northern regions. Additionally, differences in the regional economic systems influenced the modernization of industry. Woodward identifies two economic systems in the SFRY and names them after their origin, the Foča (a Bosnian town) and the Slovenian system.97

While the Foča system dominated the South, the Slovenian was predominantly in the North. Their difference is mostly in how companies were self-managed. In the Foča system, companies were self-managed by the employees, but the profit was mostly socialized.98 In the Slovenian system, the profit was also managed by the employees, and so more often reinvested.99 This made the industry of the Slovenian system more flexible and easier to modernize. Adding to that, there was something like a partition of labour between the Yugoslav regions. The South was mostly focused on internal needs, such as mining, energy and defence industry.100 Especially with the latter, it was seen as a gain, that the Western borders were far away. The North focused on everything that could be sold on the world markets.101 This region had been producing goods since the end of the World War II and the geographical nearness of the West was beneficiary for its exports.102 Slovenia had even a special place among the Northern countries, being the furthest North, and sharing a long border with Austria and Italy. This resonated in higher wages and employment numbers. While the unemployment percentage in Yugoslavia reached double digits in the 1970s, Slovenia was doing comparatively well.103 Here, unemployment did not exceed 1.5% until 1985.104 This was one of the major pull factors.

92Ibid.
93Woodward, Socialist Unemployment, 283.
95Woodward, Socialist Unemployment, 283.
96Woodward, Socialist Unemployment, 283.
97Ibid., 260-309.
98Ibid., 265.
99Ibid.
100Ibid., 284.
101Ibid.
102Ibid.
103Sapir, Ekonomska reforma, 26.
104Woodward, Socialist Unemployment, 296.
III. 3. The Migration Flow in Numbers

In his article, Malačič looks intensively at the migration numbers of Slovenia.\(^{105}\) If we look at the numbers, we see that the net migration was negative until 1960, but this is only true if we include people leaving Yugoslavia.\(^{106}\) From 1975 to 1986, Malačič even provides us with yearly numbers and the net migration quota. In this period, the international number is excluded here, because the highest digit is -0.2 in the year 1985.\(^{107}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Inner-Yugoslavian</th>
<th>International</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Inner-Yugoslavian</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</tr>
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<td>1955-59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-1.7</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<td>1981</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1970-74</td>
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<td>-0.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1978</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 3: All Numbers: Malačič, Međurepubličke i vanjske, p. 328.

If we look at the numbers, we can see that emigration from Slovenia to the West almost ceases to exist in the early-1970s. There are still people leaving, but almost the same number were coming back into Slovenia.\(^{108}\) Still, during all that time the international migration quota is never in the positive digits, Slovenia is not an immigration country on an international scale.\(^{109}\) If we look at the inner Yugoslavian numbers Slovenia becomes an immigration republic in the 1960s, which peaks in the 1970s. Additionally to the fact that Slovenia was the only country, including Croatia, where the absolute number of Croats rose between 1971 and 1981. Slovenia was also the only country, besides Serbia, where the total number of Serbs went up.\(^{110}\) After 1980, the immigration quota seems to fall abrupt but this has different reasons. The immigration numbers peak in 1979 with 13,426 immigrants and then starts to decline, but they do not fall under 10,000 until 1983.\(^{111}\) The reason 1980 seems abrupt is that the emigration numbers were also rising throughout the 1970s, but they only reach their peak in 1981 with 6,661 people leaving Slovenia that year and then start to fall.\(^{112}\)

Looking at these numbers, we have to realize that there is one thing they do not tell us: the ethnicity of the people moving. We do know that most of the people coming to Slovenia were coming there to work, most of them from BiH and Croatia.\(^{113}\)

\(^{105}\)Malačič, “Međurepubličke i vanjske,” 328.
\(^{106}\)Malačič, “Međurepubličke i vanjske,” 328.
\(^{107}\)Ibid.
\(^{108}\)Ibid.
\(^{109}\)Ibid.
\(^{110}\)Petrović, Migracije u Jugoslaviji 40.
\(^{111}\)Malačič, “Međurepubličke i vanjske,” 328.
\(^{112}\)Ibid., 328.
\(^{113}\)Malačič, “Međurepubličke i vanjske,” 338.
The high numbers of immigrants and emigrants in the 1970s show us that this was a very mobile time and the Slovenian border was crossed often in this years. But many of the people leaving Slovenia were non-Slovenians, for example temporary workers, returning home. Looking at migration by the year enlarges the overall numbers, since those temporary workers often cannot be counted if we are looking at a longer time period, since they returned home in the meantime. This might explain why there are more immigrants in 1975 alone, than there have been in the five-year period of 1970-1974. The theory of temporary workers making up a big part of this numbers is additionally supported by the age of the migrants. Most of the immigrants to Slovenia are between the ages of 25 and 49. Most people leaving the country are of older age. Workers seem to came to Slovenia in their youth to make money and returned to their homes when they got older. This truly reminds one of the Gastarbeiter idea.

IV. After 1991

After the SFRY collapsed, five countries emerged in its place – Slovenia, Croatia, BiH, Macedonia and State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. Nowadays, there are seven independent countries on the former territory of Yugoslavia. Montenegro and Kosovo emerged as sovereign states long after the SFRY ceased to exist.

What we want to look at in this chapter is not the ongoing migration, but the new situation people placed in. Many people found themselves being foreigners in a country they may have called their home for generations. People living in the border regions now found themselves living next to a real border, rather than just a line on the map. To narrow down our perspective, the focus shall once more be on Slovenia and Slovenians.

IV. 1. Slovenians in the New Countries

As for the independence, many people of Slovenian descent found themselves being a national minority. As already mentioned before, the largest part of this minority was living in Croatia. There they had to face new tasks. Yugoslavia had been a broader homeland for these people and the question of one’s nationality had not been very important.

In Yugoslavia, they did not need minority rights, they were still in their own country, but afterwards they had to fight for their own rights. Although Croatia hosts the largest amount of Slovenians abroad in the former Yugoslav region, compared to the overall population there are very few. This made the struggle for minority rights even harder, since they did not reach the percentage necessary to be a national minority. The Croatian constitution solved the problem by naming the official minorities, among them Slovenes. In fact, Slovenians were taken off the list of minorities in

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114 Ibid. 334.
115 Ibid.
116 The State Union of Serbia and Montenegro was orginially called the Federal Republic Yugoslavia and later renamed.
117 Lokar, “Zelen kot Slovenija,” 142.
1996 and remained so until 2010.\textsuperscript{121} This did not have a major impact on the lives of Slovenians in Croatia, but it shows that on a political level the lives of inner-Yugoslavian migrants became more complicated and often harder after 1991.

But what about where those people saw their home? Slovenians lived in Croatia without being foreigners for generations. No matter if they moved during the times of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia or the SFRY, they did not really leave their country and became parts of their new society. Then this was all changed, which led to different outcomes.

Some Slovenians rediscovered their Slovenian roots. In a shared country, embracing one’s own culture did not seem that important before, but after 1991 it became very important to some. One of the areas we can see this is the drastic increase in Slovenian language classes after 1991.\textsuperscript{122} People who forgot their native language, or where already born in Croatia and never used it, now felt the need to learn and embrace it.\textsuperscript{123}

Others chose to adapt to their new home country and leave the Slovenian roots behind. The declining numbers among Slovenians in Croatia after 1991 are not all due to migration. Out of the 18,000 people of Slovenian descent living in Croatia in 2011, only 2/3 identified as Slovenian in the census.\textsuperscript{124} This is something we also have to keep in mind. Not all changes in the numbers mean that we are witnessing migration flows. People in the Yugoslav region may identify with the republic they are living in more strongly than the one they came from. This is even truer for children of migrants, who may not call the country of their parents’ origin home. We have to keep in mind that it may also be that not both parents have the same republic of origin. Another phenomenon that arose from this trend is the group identifying as Yugoslav. This group peaked in 1981 when it reached 5.4% of the overall population of the SFRY.\textsuperscript{125} Although Yugoslavia is no longer exists, there are still people identifying as such. In 2009, Yugoslavs, as a group, claimed that there were 80,721, who then tried to become an official minority in Serbia.\textsuperscript{126} This fight was held up, mostly by the Communist party which still attempts to legally obtain this political recognition for Yugoslavs.\textsuperscript{127} The biggest number of people identifying with this term, however, is living in the US, where 291,043 people chose Yugoslav as their ethnicity in 2013.\textsuperscript{128}

The peak in 1981 can be seen as a political sign. People choosing Yugoslav as ethnicity to make a point against the trend of the republics drifting more and more apart. But it would be wrong to see the further existence of this group only as a sign of people who refuse to let go of the old times and want Yugoslavia back. With people moving all across the country, and marriages between the different

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{121}Ibid.
\bibitem{122}Lokar, “Zelen kot Slovenija,” 148.
\bibitem{123}Ibid.
\bibitem{124}Josipovič, “Slovenci na Balkanu,” 73.
\bibitem{125}Petrović, \textit{Migracije u Jugoslaviji}, 31.
\bibitem{128}United States Census Bureau, http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_10_1YR_B04003&prodType=table (31. 05. 2016).
\end{thebibliography}
ethnicities, it can be hard to find one's homeland. Only because there are now new borders, and one's passport states a new nationality, it does not mean that one is part of a single republic now, and loses its ties to the others. By identifying as Yugoslav, some people may be attempting to solve this personal identity problem.

IV. 2. The Border Regions

For people being in a foreign country all the sudden, without having moved, it takes some work to adapt to the new reality. The same goes for people who found themselves next to an international border which separated them from former neighbours. Duška Knežević Hočevar worked on such a case in the upper Kolpa valley. This region is predestined for this question because the River Kolpa, which splits the valley is also the border between Croatia and Slovenia, and for people living in the valley the next settlement is often in the other country. Knežević Hočevar focused on that region, and later especially on inhabitants of Kuželj, a village that exists on both sides of the river.

The Kolpa had always been a border region, but this border was never very strict. It is one of the borderlines that separated Slovenia and Croatia for centuries and is first mentioned in 1744. So when Slovenia and Croatia became independent states, it made sense to draw the border here. But before 1991, both countries had mostly been part of the same bigger construct. Although the border was always there, it only separated two groups and the valley was always envisioned as a unit. The region was separated from both the Slovenian and the Croatian Hinterland. For example, the first Road leading out of the valley into Slovenian territory was built in the eighteenth century, and was only asphalted as late as 1975. People in the valley were close, even living on a language border they often spoke the same language, the regional dialect called Kajkavščina.

When 1991 came and separated the valley, there were several problems. For example, there often were no roads. The roads in the valley had developed naturally, often crossing the river instead of having two separate roads on each riverbank. Now the river was a border, so some farmers had to cross this border several times to get from their house to their farmland. The situation became so problematic that there were many who claimed that the valley should just be annexed by one of the two countries to make life easier. Since the border was not going anywhere, people started becoming more nationalistic through the surrounding conditions.

Knežević Hočevar interviewed inhabitants of the Slovenian Kuželj with strong ties to the Croatian side. Marrying across the river had been common for centuries, but now there was a border between them. This led to a strong feeling of a 'we' and a 'them' accompanied by negative

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130 Ibid., 55.
131 Ibid., 57.
132 Ibid., 59.
134 Ibid., 62.
135 Knežević Hočevar, “Nekateri razmislki,” 34.
stereotypes of the other.\textsuperscript{136} Croats saw the Slovenes as vain and greedy, always acting as if they were better, while Slovenes saw the Croats as lazy and jealous.\textsuperscript{137} Kneževiċ Hočevar went to the valley in 1993 and again in 1996 to find that the negativity towards the former countrymen had only gotten worse.\textsuperscript{138} The conclusion that was not only found by her, but also her interview partners, was that the border causes hatred.\textsuperscript{139}

This might be an extreme example, but it shows how life in the border regions developed. People had to identify with a new state, but for those on the border this meant two special things. People living in neighbouring settlements may not belong to the same group anymore and visiting those settlements became a lot harder since one needed a passport and had to exchange currency before such a visit could occur. The border between Slovenia and Croatia, which had been there for centuries had become a real border for the first time. Since this border was so old, there was no real struggle about where to draw it and officials in Ljubljana and Zagreb were very surprised when the complaints from the border regions came in.\textsuperscript{140} On a piece of paper these borders seemed old and natural, but in the lives of the people, these borders never played a major role before 1991, and they had problems to adapt to this new restriction.

\textbf{IV. 3. Former Yugoslavs in Slovenia}

Slovenia was growing more multi-ethnic throughout the SFRY times. Most of the immigrants were from other Yugoslav regions, what happened with them after Slovenian independence? As the Slovenes outside Slovenia, also those people found themselves to be foreigners where they had been seen as a kind of co-citizens before.\textsuperscript{141} To solve this problem, the Slovenian government offered a possibility for ex-Yugoslavs living in Slovenia to apply for a Slovenian citizenship easier than it would be normally for foreigners. About 170,000 people, which was about 9\% of the population, took that offer.\textsuperscript{142} Although they were seldomly rejected, it was a long bureaucratic method, which made them experience that they did have the possibility to become Slovenian citizens, but they had to go a much longer way than their neighbours who were seen as Slovenes already in the Yugoslav times.\textsuperscript{143} Additionally, we have to briefly mention one of the darkest hours of Slovenian bureaucracy, the so called “Erased” (Izbrisani). In 1992, 25,671 people, all legal immigrants from the other Yugoslav republics during the SFRY times, simply disappeared from the official registers.\textsuperscript{144} Some of these people still do not have a resolved legal status.\textsuperscript{145}

Before Slovenia started to use citizenship data and still asked about nationality in the census, many former immigrants called themselves Slovenian.\textsuperscript{146} One of the reasons was assimilation. As some

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 33
    \item \textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
    \item \textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 41.
    \item \textsuperscript{139} Kneževiċ, “State vs. locality,” 67.
    \item \textsuperscript{140} Kneževiċ, “State vs. locality,” 69.
    \item \textsuperscript{141} Vezovnik, “Ex-Yugoslavian Immigrant,” 12
    \item \textsuperscript{142} Janja Žitnik, “Immigrants in Slovenia: Integration aspects,” Migracijske i etničke teme 2-3 (2004) 226.
    \item \textsuperscript{143} Žitnik, “Immigrants in Slovenia: Integration aspects,” 226.
    \item \textsuperscript{144} Amnesty International Slovenija, http://www.amnesty.si/izbrisani, (31.05. 2016).
    \item \textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
    \item \textsuperscript{146} Žitnik, “Immigrants in Slovenia,” 225.
\end{itemize}
Slovenes outside Slovenia identified stronger with their new than their old homeland, so did immigrants in Slovenia. For many Yugoslav immigrants, this had become their home. Žitnik proposes another reason, fear of consequences.\textsuperscript{147} Although immigrants were included in the society, they had to jump through many hoops to get there. Some may have been afraid there could be more repressions coming their way if they openly admit to not identifying as Slovenian.\textsuperscript{148} The new state brought with it nationalism and nationalism brought xenophobia. As we have seen on the Kolpa border, the rest of the country saw a rise of alienation between former countrymen, who were now foreigners.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Yugoslavia has been a country of migration to the outside but also inside its borders. People were moving around, freely crossing the inner borders mostly on their search for work. The tendency to move North developed due to the better working conditions, wages and simply the availability of work there. As with other migration movements, we can see that the main incentive was an economical one.

The ongoing tendency of the movement to the North can be seen as an indicator for the inability of the Yugoslav government to close the gap between the South and the North. Many people, trying to explain the downfall of the SFRY point towards this gap. There is a point to be made that the nationalist outburst that led to the end of the Yugoslav state was not routed in the inherent differences of the ethnicities, but rather in the very different economical level and living standard between the republics.

Looking at the Slovenian case, we can see that immigrants crossed that border frequently, although they were entering a different language region by doing so. The census shows us that there was an emphasis on the nationality of people in Yugoslavia, but as far as migration and the market for workforce was concerned, nationality did not matter to much. One of the reasons, why migration inside the republics was so much higher than between the republics might just be that migration over short distances is easier than migration over long distances. Until the end of the SFRY people of different Yugoslav nationalities moved freely inside that state and lived among each other with little problems. Being not only a part of one’s nationality but also a citizen of Yugoslavia gave people a feeling of belonging. This changed in 1991 and many had to find their identity anew.

Lastly, at the end we can say that even today the ex-Yugoslav area is a special one if looking at the ethnic mix that was left behind by the SFRY. We can all think of many cases how the countries and ethnicities drifted apart, from some examples given in this text to ethnic conflicts for example in Bosnia. But there is also still an underling feeling of togetherness that can be seen, often on a more personal level. There often seems to be a hierarchy from ‘us’, to a ‘semi us’ between ex Yugoslavs to a ‘them’ towards the rest of the world. For me a symbol for this togetherness is a sign I spotted some years ago at the Ljubljana central railway station, it said: “Tickets to Croatia, BiH, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia can also be bought at the inner national tickets counter”.

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 232.
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Carnival


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Asia Apocalyptica: Identifying invading peoples from the East as 'apocalyptic' in the Middle Ages
By Marlene Fößl, University of Graz

‘[…] Satan will be released from his prison and will go out to deceive the nations in the four corners of the earth - Gog and Magog - and to gather them for battle. In number they are like the sand on the seashore. They marched across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of God’s people […]’

Introduction

The coming of Gog and Magog, apocalyptic nations appearing at the Christian end of time, was a widely feared event during the Middle Ages. A number of different peoples invading from the east were interpreted as clear signs of the imminent end of the world. Ideas about the apocalypse and especially the apocalyptic nations were not only gathered from the Bible but also from various other sources, both ‘heathen’ and Christian. As such, theological beliefs were combined with a number of ancient stereotypes of the ‘barbarians’ of the Asian steppes to paint this apocalyptic picture despite no uniform picture of the apocalyptic peoples, their names (Gog and Magog being only the best-known), origins or habits existing. Knowledge about them was constantly being updated and adapted to match the facts of the time.

But why were certain peoples identified as ‘apocalyptic’? Research on the apocalyptic interpretation of foreign peoples so far only covers certain periods of time or specific groups, but no overall and comparative investigation has been written to date. In this article, I aim to address this phenomenon, based on literary sources from European Latin Christianity which detail violent encounters with previously unknown peoples, from the Huns and Goths of the Migration Period (4th and 5th centuries), and the Magyar threat of the 9th century, to the Mongol invasion of the 13th century. Throughout these periods, the same arguments and (real or alleged) characteristics of peoples were used to ascribe eschatological relevance to them many times over, five aspects of which I analyse in the

150A note on terminology: when referring to biblical groups, including the apocalyptic nations, I use the word ‘nation/s’ in reference to the New International Version of the English translation of the Bible which uses this term in both the Book of Ezekiel (Ezek. 38,15) and, most importantly, the Book of Revelation (Rev. 20,8) to refer to the apocalyptic nations. The same applies to the “inclosed” nations of Alexander, a term I take from A.R. Anderson’s much-quoted Alexander’s Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations (1932).
course of this article: the interpretation of invasions as a fulfilment of prophecies, the etymology of peoples’ names, their origin and descent, their habits and way of living, and their cruelty and way of warfare.

The Topos of the Apocalyptic Nations, its Sources and its Tradition in the Middle Ages

According to the Christian view of the world, time (and history) is a teleological process that is going to end with the return of Christ. As such, the end of the world is seen as a positive objective. But before this happens, a number of dreadful events must take place, including, but not limited to a series of plagues sent by God (hail, rains of fire and blood, the darkening of the stars and sun and swarms of locusts). The Antichrist, the embodiment of evil, will appear but will be defeated by Christ who will then rule in peace for a thousand years until the Devil is let loose. In the Devil’s train will be Gog and Magog, ‘nations [from] the four corners of the world’, who will be defeated in a second battle, followed by the last judgement and a new world or new heaven for the blessed.152

The Book of Revelation in the Bible is the most commonly known text to depiction these events but further descriptions of the world’s end can be found in other biblical or apocryphal books, such as the Book of Ezekiel. This book was the first to mention Gog and Magog in an apocalyptic context, and was then used as a model for the Book of Revelation, wherefore Gog and Magog became the most often mentioned apocalyptic nations.153

In contrast to early Christendom, when thoughts of the last days were based on the hope of a new heaven, the negative aspects of the apocalypse came to the fore of public imagination during the Middle Ages. God’s plagues, the appearance of the Antichrist and fear of the last judgement were threats constantly kept in people’s minds through sermons and depictions in churches. Medieval understanding of the course of history was heavily influenced by the theory of the succession of four world empires originating from the Book of Daniel, according to which the Roman empire – or rather, the Christian empires as its successor – would be the last empire on earth, followed by the last days and the end of the world. Therefore, occurrences such as solar eclipses or the invasions of unknown tribes or peoples were thought to herald the coming apocalypse.154

As I wrote above, Gog and Magog became the best-known apocalyptic nations. They are mentioned in both the Book of Ezekiel and the Book of Revelation. Nevertheless, whether a nation or a people was understood to be a harbinger of the apocalypse is largely dependent on the context in which it is mentioned. In medieval sources, several names appeared and associated nations with the end of time that sometimes originally had no connection to it, such as the Midianites from the Book of Judges

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152Rev. 8-20.
or the Ismaelites from the Genesis. These two nations were often substituted for each other. Generally, medieval traditions and views on the apocalyptic nations were very diverse, so in the next few paragraphs, I will give an overview of the different strands.

The apocalyptic nations, appearing during the apocalypse as God’s punishment or in the retinue of Satan, were usually described as wild, cruel, mounted archers leading a nomadic lifestyle. This topos goes back to the Old Testament that featured the invasion of such peoples as a punishment of God for his own people in several books, probably reflecting historic events. But ideas of them were not only shaped by Christian texts but by other sources, too.

Especially the legend of the inclosed nations was of great influence. It was part of the legends surrounding Alexander the Great (called the Alexander Romance), who was a popular hero in the Middle Ages, and merged with the Christian tradition of Gog and Magog in the 5th century. The so-called Syrian Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius from the late 7th century played an important part in the diffusion of this new narrative. It told of how on his travels in Asia, Alexander met a group of impure nations north of the Caucasus mountains which were said to eat unclean food and even human flesh. Among them, Pseudo-Methodius mentioned Gog and Magog. According to Alexander’s wishes, who wanted to lock these evil nations away to protect mankind from them, God made the mountains move and left only a small space which Alexander then closed with an iron gate. The Revelation prophesied the coming of these nations at the end of time, and included illustrative descriptions of their cruel deeds.

The story of the Red Jews is another tradition that shows the fusion of Alexander’s inclosed nations legend with biblical topics. They were thought to be descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel who appear in the Second Book of Kings where they are taken away from Palestine by the Assyrian King. Since they subsequently were not mentioned again (apart from apocryphal texts), numerous legends about their fate and whereabouts developed. One of them connected these Red Jews to the nations enclosed by Alexander – wherefore they too became associated with the apocalyptic nations. Additionally, ancient stereotypes of Asia played an important role in shaping medieval views and depictions of the apocalyptic nations. These notions of xenophobia were heavily influenced by ideas from Greek and Roman antiquity when the cultural differences between Europe and Asian nomads led to the development of stereotypes and prejudice – different habits were considered to be barbaric. The entire region of the north-eastern Asian steppes was viewed with disapproval. Vaguely

155 In the Book of Judges, God sends the Midianites as punishment for the sinful Israelites; they are defeated by the hero Gideon and with the help of God (Judg. 6,1-6; 7,18-22). Genesis mentions the Ismaelites as descendants of Ismael, the second son of Abraham by his slave Hagar (Gen. 25,12-16).
156 Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung, 44.
summarised under the term ‘Scythia’, without exactly defining the area and without having actual knowledge of the local conditions, the region was thought to be climatically inhospitable and inhabited by monstrous human races such as *cynocephali* (humans with dogs’ heads) or *anthropophagi* (cannibals). This opposition can also be read as a reaction to the meeting of settled farming communities with tribes following nomadic lifestyles. Also reflected in texts from the Old Testament were military aspects- descriptions of hordes of skilful mounted archers attacking villages; tactics of fighting which were not only unknown in the west but often proved superior to western styles of warfare.

Widely spread by Herodotus’ writings, these prejudices of Asia and its inhabitants were circulated well into the Middle Ages through encyclopaedic works such as Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* and became part of the medieval worldview, and consequently, also of the topos of the apocalyptic nations. The fear of foreign cultures suddenly appearing on Europe’s borders was therefore not only evoked by their presumed apocalyptic meaning but can also be seen as a reaction to a confrontation with previously unknown peoples.160

**Analysing the Sources**

After looking at classical and biblical sources as well as medieval views of the apocalyptic nations, let us now turn to the main focus of my article: the phenomenon of identifying real and historic peoples as ‘apocalyptic nations’.

The literary sources I selected for analysis were chosen from cases of military encounters that led to the identification of the enemy as harbingers of the apocalypse. They are twofold in a way that it is not clear as to whether facts were added and fitted to descriptions and interpretations in accordance with foregone, stereotypical conclusions, or whether certain circumstances led people of a medieval mind-set to draw a connection between contemporary incidences and the events of the apocalypse. Sadly, this later issue, due to space considerations, falls outside the scope of this article.

The sources I consulted in the preparation of this piece derive from several periods of the Middle Ages. I drew on various texts that deal with some of the migrating peoples of the Migration Period – writings of St Ambrose and Isidore of Seville on the Goths and of St Jerome on the Huns. These groups threatened the crumbling Roman empire that was also associated with Christianity itself, wherefore the end of time must have felt dangerously near. Similar thoughts found their way into the perception of the Magyars who continually kept Middle Europe on its toes with their invasions between the 9th century and the Battle of Lechfeld in 955. They followed in the footsteps of the nomadic groups from the Eurasian steppes of the Migration Period, leading to the construction of a common source

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location for these ‘threats from the East’, an apocalyptic interpretation I found in sources such as e.g. Pseudo-Remigius’s letter about the Hungarians.

Perspectives on the Mongols moving towards Europe from approximately 1220 differed at first. Initially, some believed them to be led by the mythical Prester John and believed them to be coming to the Christians’ aid against the Muslims. The first violent encounters in Eastern Europe quickly made people change their minds, however, so that fear and panic dominated reports on the movement of the Mongols, leading to apocalyptic interpretations of their migration. Sources on this are plentiful – I quote examples from the writings of Thomas of Split, Roger of Torre Maggiore, Matthew of Paris, Friar Iulianus, Archbishop Peter, and an unknown Hungarian bishop.

The reason that I chose sources that deal with violent encounters is that during these times of crisis, the topos of the apocalyptic nations was used to explain events. Therefore, not only its tradition was incorporated in the interpretation, but it was simultaneously altered to match with the current events. The extracts I quote are to be understood as mere examples of this view of these historic peoples, and do not represent all relevant passages within these texts.

The type of texts (reports, letters, chronicles) that produced such an interpretation can be called apocalyptic literature. Just like the apocalyptic texts they drew upon – mainly the Bible but also apocryphal revelations such as that of Pseudo-Methodius – they aimed at ascribing a special relevance in salvation history to the present and thereby offered orientation in times of crisis. Dreadful contemporary events could be explained by framing them withing ‘God’s plan’ and were given a certain degree of sense and purpose in order to make the suffering of the present easier. In this way, violent encounters with unknown peoples from the East were fitted into the medieval body of knowledge about geography, ethnology and the course of history by identifying them with the well-known apocalyptic nations. I found five characteristics of this process of identification which I will now use to demonstrate how these processes and the stereotypes they were based on were both ever-present and consistent.

**Fulfilment of Prophecies**

The depiction of historic peoples as apocalyptic nations always drew upon some kind of prophecy, be it the Bible itself or the Syrian Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius, thereby interpreting the present as its fulfilment. Nevertheless, not all sources explicitly mentioned the texts they refer to – sometimes though, the reference can be recognized without direct quotes or mentioning of some author, e.g. by the use of certain formulations. Explicitly naming the source from which the information was

161 Göckenjan, “Die Landnahme der Ungarn.“ 3f.; 8; 14; Kellner, Ungarneinfälle, 14; 64f.; Göckenjan, “Endzeitstimmung und Entdeckergeist.“, 581ff.; Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung, 100; 153ff.; Folker Reichert, Erfahrung der Welt: Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter (Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne: Kohlhammer, 2001), 182; Schmieder, Europa und die Fremden, 268; 284.

162 Michael Wolter, “Der Gegner als endzeitlicher Widersacher: Die Darstellung des Feindes in der jüdischen und christlichen Apokalyptik,” in Feindbilder: Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, ed. Franz Bosbach (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), 23-26; 40. Please note that both the terms apocalypse as well as eschatology include both the negative as well as the positive aspects of the end times, their original meaning being revelation and studies concerned with the end times in general, respectively.
drawn can be seen as a way of giving increased credibility to one’s arguments by referencing established knowledge, especially when it comes to books of the Bible. This way, writers could also demonstrate their education.

This is what St Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, did in his interpretation of the Battle of Adrianople in his account *De fide ad Gratianum*, written probably just after the battle in 378 AD which makes it resonate with the shock of the Roman defeat. He drew upon the Book of Ezekiel in his association of the Goths with the apocalyptic Gog. To Ambrose, Ezekiel had predicted the wars against the Goths and their victory in his description of the attack of the Gog from the land of Magog. He then called upon the Emperor Gratian to fight the Goths and told him not to fear for his victory since this, too, was predicted by Ezekiel in God’s victory over Gog and his host.

Thomas of Split, describing the Mongol attacks of the 1240s in his *Historia Salonitana*, offered a less optimistic interpretation of events. According to Thomas, scholars had been looking for answers to this unknown threat in old writings and found one in the Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius, whereby the Mongols were thought to be apocalyptic nations and the Antichrist was soon to follow.

But knowledge of the apocalyptic nations was not only present in the clergy’s minds but also in the laity’s world view, as can be seen in a letter written by Henry II, duke of Brabant, to bishop William of Paris in 1241. It is quoted by the St Albans monk Matthew of Paris in his *Chronica Majora*. According to the duke, the Mongol invasion was a punishment for the sins of the people and therefore the fulfilment of biblical prophecies. Even though he did not specify which prophecy he meant, it is nevertheless interesting to see how not only churchmen but also laymen drew upon these prophecies to interpret events. Matthew quoted a similar letter by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II to Henry III of England in which Frederick states that the Mongols had been chosen by God to punish or even eliminate Christendom, again without mentioning which prophecy was the basis of this belief.

Matthew reported on the Mongol invasions to a great extent, disclosing the rumours that the Mongols were the Ten Lost Tribes enclosed behind the Caspian Mountains, and claiming that they now were coming to the aid of the European Jews to eliminate Christendom, a narrative that clearly draws from the Alexander Romance.

The Hungarian Dominican friar Iulianus offered an especially interesting account of the Mongols whom he had met on a missionary journey to the East. His report, written down in a letter to a papal legate in 1237, demonstrates both his authentic observations and apocalyptic stereotypes. On
the one hand, he reported ideas of the Mongols being the sons of Ismael (i.e., the Ismaelites), and on the other hand discussed a Russian clergyman who believed them to be the Midianites who had fled to a river called Tartar after having been defeated by Gideon, hence their name tartari.\textsuperscript{170} What is especially interesting about Frater Iulianus’s account is that he did not simply reproduce existing interpretations but made it clear that these were opinions he had heard on his travels but did not necessarily agreed with.

It is also intriguing to see how the Mongol invasion was connected with the Ismaelites and Midianites. As I pointed out before, these two nations initially had no connection to the End Times but nevertheless repeatedly became associated with it, as shown in the example of Frater Iulianus and the account of the Russian archbishop Peter. In 1245, Peter was present at the First Council of Lyon where he gave some information on the Mongols, thereby summarising contemporary stereotypes and interpretations.\textsuperscript{171} He might have been influenced by the prophecy of the Syrian Revelation in his account of how the Midianites, being the Mongols’ ancestors, had fled to a desert, which is a similar story to the one Pseudo-Methodius told us (even though he calls them Ismaelites – again, these two nations can be substituted for each other). Peter’s report featured the fusion of the Ismaelites/Midianites with the tradition of the inclosed nations: the Midianites used to live behind inaccessible mountains and ate unclean animals and even human flesh\textsuperscript{172} which clearly associated them with the apocalyptic nations, even though Peter did not say so explicitly.

**Etymology of a Person’s Name**

Above, I addressed the issue of how the identification of unknown peoples with the apocalyptic nations can be seen as a ‘chicken-and-egg’ problem: what came first, the identification based on real facts or a previously held conclusion to which facts were fitted? Now, I must state that this applies especially to the phenomenon of how peoples’ ethnic designations led to their connection to the last days. In an attempt to prove their apocalyptic status, sometimes etymological derivations were constructed, e.g. through similarly sounding syllables.

Interestingly, Isidore of Seville (560-636) contradicted the opinion that the Goths’ decadency from Magog was apparent in their name. In his *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, he explained that scholars used to call them ‘Geths’, not ‘Goths’, a name unconnected to ‘Magog’. Nevertheless, Isidore did not deny that the Goths were indeed descendants of Magog. He tried to argue ‘scientifically’ and to refute this common opinion but nevertheless, he too believed in a connection between the Goths and the dreadful apocalyptic nations.\textsuperscript{173}

When writing about Frater Iulianus’s account, I already mentioned how the term tartari or ‘Tartars’ was used in Europe to refer to the Mongols. This term also lead to the belief that they came straight out of hell itself – because of the similarity between tartari and the name of the Greek

\textsuperscript{170}Frater Iulianus, “Account of the Life of the Tatars,” in *Mongolensturm*, ed. Göckenjan and Sweeney, c. 1,1; 6,1ff.
\textsuperscript{171}Dörrie, *Drei Texte*, 182.
\textsuperscript{172}Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung*, 174ff.

*Volume 18/19 July 2018*
underworld, Tartaros.\footnote{Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung*, 155f.; Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, 258f.} Frederick II held this opinion in his letter to Henry III of England, quoted by Matthew of Paris.\footnote{Matthew, *chron. maj.* 114f.} An interesting thesis elaborated by Charles W. Connell states that the medieval spelling of tartari – instead of tatari – only developed due to their association with Tartaros. This seems to be refuted, though, by Axel Klopprogge’s observation that earlier sources used both spellings. Klopprogge also argues that the play on the words tartari and Tartaros was not understood as an actual explanation of geographical origins but rather to demonstrate their cruelty, godlessness and dreadfulness.\footnote{Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung*, 157f.} This thesis seems to be confirmed by Frederick’s statement on the Mongols originating from the underworld, which was followed by a more precise description of their geographical origins.\footnote{Matthew, *chron. maj.* 114f.; 121. The description has no direct connection to the underworld or hell. According to Frederick, the Mongols used to live under a burning sun in lands to the south-east before moving north where they multiplied ‘like locusts’. Interestingly, this is reminiscent of the legends surrounding the Ismaelites and Midianites who used to live in a desert, as well as passages including locusts in the Book of Revelation (9,1-11).}

Associations with the well-known Gog and Magog were made through the names of the great khans Güyük and Möngke as well as the Mongols’ alleged origins from a river called Gozan (known as the place where the Ten Lost Tribes were supposed to settle\footnote{2 Kings 17,6.}). The attempts to find an etymological argument for their apocalyptic status went as far as to claim that their name ‘mongoli’ was wrong and that they were actually called ‘magogli’. This argument was put forward by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce.\footnote{Reichert, *Erfahrung der Welt*, 182f.; Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*, 260.}

**Geographical Origins**

To locate the apocalyptic nations in certain places is a phenomenon that goes back to the times of the creation of the apocalyptic texts. According to A.R. Anderson, “the term Gog and Magog became synonymous with barbarian, especially with the type of barbarian that bursts through the northern frontier of civilization. This frontier extends the whole length of the Eurasian continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific [...].”\footnote{Anderson, *Alexander’s Gate*, 8.} Just as the known or ‘civilized’ world expanded to new geographical horizons, the Gog and Magog’s places of residence moved further north and east. At the time of writing the Genesis, they were thought to live south of the Caucasus, whereas during the times of Ezekiel, it was the side north of the mountains, ‘the far north’,\footnote{Ezek. 38,6; 38,15.} which is also where Pseudo-Methodius located them.\footnote{Anderson, *Alexander’s Gate*, 5ff.; 87.}

In the medieval worldview, special characteristics were attributed to certain regions and their climate. The oecumene (i.e., the known and habitable world) extended over zones of temperate climate reaching from East to West, whereas the ‘corners’ of the world, where the climate was extremely cold or hot, were thought to be inhabited by strange races and monsters, including the *anthropophagi*. These
ideas mixed with the legends of Gog and Magog from the Bible, so that the apocalyptic nations were usually located in such regions of extreme climate.\textsuperscript{183}

Moreover, the fusion of biblical tradition with the Romance of Alexander also led to the fusion of geographical information. St Jerome, for example, explicitly referred to Alexander and the inclosed nations by explaining that the Huns (who had just appeared in Eastern Europe in the late 4\textsuperscript{th} century) had come from the region north of the Caucasus, between the Sea of Azov, the Don River and the Aral Sea, where Alexander had enclosed them.\textsuperscript{184} They were ‘wolves’ let loose to invade the Roman provinces.\textsuperscript{185} It is interesting to note Jerome’s choice of the passive words ‘let loose’ which might refer to the episode of the Book of Revelation where Satan, followed by the Gog and Magog, is released after the Thousand Years to come upon the people once more, rather than breaking out by himself.\textsuperscript{186}

Since about the 12\textsuperscript{th} century, Alexander’s Gates were thought to be the Iron Gates of Derbent between the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea. The 13\textsuperscript{th} century Mongol route towards Europe led right through these gates when crossing the Caucasus which might have contributed even more to the belief that the Mongols were indeed the apocalyptic nations and used to live behind a huge mountain chain.\textsuperscript{187} An example for this can be found in the letter of an unidentified Hungarian bishop, dated 1239 or 1240. He questioned two captured Mongolian scouts who told him that they lived beyond a mountain chain on a river called Ego or Gog (according to tradition in either the Annals of Waverley or the Chronica Majora of Matthew of Paris). They were kept behind this mountain chain by a barrier for 300 years and had only now managed to cross it. This brought the Hungarian bishop to the conclusion that they must indeed be Gog or Magog.\textsuperscript{188}

I already mentioned how the region of Scythia was not clearly defined in its extension but nevertheless stigmatized by a great amount of negative stereotypes. Therefore, the use of the term ‘Scythians’ as synonymous with ‘barbarian’, and the association of the region with the apocalyptic nations, go back to ancient times\textsuperscript{189} and are continued in the Middle Ages. A very interesting case is

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item 184Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus [Jerome], Des heiligen Kirchenvaters ausgewählte historische, homiletische und dogmatische Schriften vol. 1, trans. Ludwig Schade (Kempten/München: Kösel & Pustet, 1914), ep. LXXVII.8.
\item 185Jerome, ep. LX,16.
\item 186Rev. 20,7.
\item 187Anderson, Alexander’s Gate, 91f.; Göckenjan, “Endzeitstimmung und Entdeckergeist,“, 581; Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung, 169ff.
\item 188“Letter of an unidentified Hungarian bishop,” in Mongolensturm, ed. Göckenjan and Sweeney, 277f.; Göckenjan and Sweeney, Mongolensturm, 273ff., 280.
\end{thebibliography}
provided in a letter attributed to the Carolingian scholar Remigius of Auxerre (around 841-908) which was sent to the bishop Dado of Verdun. The author had been instructed to find arguments based on the Bible against the belief that the invading Hungarians were Gog and Magog and would bring about the end of the world. He did so by rejecting a literal understanding of the prophet Ezekiel: according to Pseudo-Remigius, Gog and Magog were not Scythian tribes from the region of the Caucasus, Caspian Sea and the marshes on the mouth of the Don River, but rather heretics – enemies within the church. Having to refute this opinion obviously meant that it must have been common but the letter also shows that another point of view existed. Theological scholars rejected a reading of the present based on apocalyptic writings and rather favoured an allegorical understanding of the work. Throughout the early Middle Ages, these two approaches were not always clearly distinguished, but Pseudo-Remigius seems to be an exception to this rule.

His efforts in overcoming these prejudices and the literal reading of prophecies seems to have had little effect, however. When commenting upon the letter by Frederick II, Matthew of Paris wondered why, if the Mongols did indeed originate from south-eastern parts of the world, they were not known in Europe. Seafarers and merchants had been to all nations of this world, he argued, therefore the Mongols (he called them Tartars) could only be a people already known and that was the Scythians, living in the northern mountains like animals and as anthropophagi.

**Habits and Ways of Living**

Strange habits and a different way of living played an important role in identifying or describing the apocalyptic nations. On the one hand, such descriptions came from actual encounters and therefore emphasized the perceived strangeness of these cultures. On the other hand, they drew upon older sources, such as the Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius. Cannibalism especially was a frequently evoked feature. Some of these ethnographic observations might even contain an element of truth but nevertheless they must have appeared monstrous and barbaric to Europeans. Again, these ideas were shaped by prejudices and stereotypes of Asian nomadic tribes.

The Mongols were often identified as Gog and Magog by their ways of eating and living. In doing so, Thomas of Split named the most important characteristics of an apocalyptic nation; eating unclean food, drinking blood mixed with fermented milk, and the absence of bread in one’s daily diet. His account neglects the explicit consumption of human meat but nevertheless shows how strange these habits must have appeared to Europeans. The fact that food was called ‘unclean’ refers to Christian food standards, of course; drinking milk must have been normal for a nomadic people, of course; drinking milk must have been normal for a nomadic people,

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191 Cohn, Neue irdische Paradies, 15; 27; Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung, 57-61.

192 Matthew, chron. maj. 122f.


194 Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung, 165.

whereas the lack of bread must have been especially strange or foreign since it is an important and symbolic meal in Christianity.\textsuperscript{196}

\textbf{Cruelty and Style of Warfare}

Especially when it comes to the descriptions of cruelties committed and the strange people’s way of warfare, very often certain phrasings were used, sometimes even to the extent of a direct quote of earlier sources. The emphasis of the attackers’ cruelty and brutality was constantly present. The style of fighting with bow and arrow from horseback was often mentioned, too, since it was unusual in Europe. The unidentified Hungarian bishop, whose account I already discussed, and Thomas of Split both mentioned the dreadful efficiency of the Mongol mounted archers.\textsuperscript{197} Thus, the ‘clash of cultures’ went hand in hand with military superiority in bringing about a series of negative stereotypes.\textsuperscript{198} Moreover, several hostile invading peoples in the Bible were described as mounted archers, so a line of tradition might have been seen.

St Jerome provided the basic vocabulary for describing these cruelties in his account of the ‘barbarian’ tribes threatening the Roman Empire. He gave a list of their dreadful deeds which included the murder and rape of women of all ages and ranks, the murder of clergymen and the destruction and desecration of churches by turning them into horse stables and scattering their relics.\textsuperscript{199} Jerome’s text is both reminiscent of the Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius and other later sources that might have drawn upon the church father’s writings.\textsuperscript{200} Similar phrasing was also used to describe the cruelty of the invading Hungarians and later on the Mongols.\textsuperscript{201} It is revealing to look at the connotations of these actions: from a Christian-European point of view, cruelty to women and clergymen meant violence against society’s defenceless groups and was therefore considered especially vile. Similarly, the destruction of churches must have been seen as an act of total disrespect for the Christian faith. Both reproaches fit well within the idea of the apocalyptic nations as the most dreadful and evil of beings.

Roger of Torre Maggiore delivered an account based on first-hand observation, as he had been in Hungary during the time of the Mongol attack in 1241 and was also captured by the Mongols, with whom he then lived for more than a year. After his escape, he wrote a history of the invasion to make it clear that the end of days was soon to come. Roger probably drew upon St Jerome or other older texts in his description of the Mongols’ deeds in Hungary which include pillaging, murder of men, women, clergymen and children and desecration of churches by plundering the church treasury, raping women in the holy place and devastating saints’ tombs. Their stratagems in battle, e.g. a feigned retreat followed by an attack on people fleeing, were named as signs for their inherent malice,\textsuperscript{202} probably because they contradicted European ideas of honesty and bravery in warfare. This ‘canon’ of cruelties was enhanced by Thomas of Split, who added the scattering of relics and the misuse of liturgical

\textsuperscript{196}Jackson, \textit{The Mongols}, 140.
\textsuperscript{197}“Letter of an unidentified Hungarian bishop,” 277f.; Thomas of Split, “Historia Salonitana,” c. 36.
\textsuperscript{198}Gießauf, “An den Tellerrändern,”, 56ff.
\textsuperscript{199}Jerome, ep. LX,16f.
\textsuperscript{200}See e.g. Pseudo-Methodius, c. XI,16ff.
\textsuperscript{201}Göckenjan, “Die Landnahme der Ungarn,“, 1f.; Klopprogge, \textit{Ursprung und Ausprägung}, 173.
clothing as dresses for concubines or blankets for the horses. When compared to St Jerome’s account or Pseudo-Methodius’s Revelation, one notices both the similarities in content as well as phrasing.

Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that the identification of actual Eurasian nomadic peoples as apocalyptic nations was a phenomenon that occurred throughout the course of the Middle Ages. It originates partly to ancient stereotypes about the ‘barbarian’ nomads of the Eurasian steppes, including the Alexander Romance, and partly to Christian apocalyptic thinking. These topoi were called upon again and again, with the sources used by authors being sometimes named explicitly, sometimes quoted indirectly and sometimes not at all. Of course, the ‘chicken-and-egg’ question of how authentic the observations and how established these conclusions were must remain unanswered. Likewise, we have to wonder how literal or allegorical these interpretations were.

But what might have been the aim of such texts? Were they simply trying to arouse panic? It is important to consider the purpose of these apocalyptic texts, which was to offer orientation and consolidation in times of crisis and confusion in the face of an unknown threat. By identifying strange peoples with the apocalyptic nations, they were put inside the framework of salvation history and integrated into the body of knowledge of both the world and history. Thereby, inexplicable events were given sense and meaning.

It is interesting that the differences between European and Christian culture are central to the common characteristics I identified. The apocalyptic nations, or who were thought to be, lived far away in inhospitable lands, they ate and lived differently and had different ways and norms of warfare. Interestingly, hardly any author questioned these stereotypes but most simply reproduced them, except maybe Frater Iulianus who at least presented them as other people’s opinions.

This leads me to the question of how this article relates to the topic of ‘Migration’. While these views, which were reproduced for centuries, were heavily influenced by stereotypes and theological beliefs, they were also heavily influenced by encounters with unknown cultures. Migration nearly always leads to the meeting of previously unfamiliar cultures, peoples or nations. It is very likely that both groups were trying to fit the other into their own worldview, especially the resident populations who had preconceived notions of what newcomers represented. Thus, stereotypes can easily be created. While this was especially true in the Middle Ages, when knowledge of the world derived in great part from the Bible and sources from Classical Antiquity rather than first-hand observation, it is, in my opinion, still the case today. Therefore, my article offers an example of how migrating nations were viewed by inhabitants of the regions they moved to, and highlights how stereotypes were hardly ever questioned simply because they confirmed a preconceived notion of the world and its history, forming a pattern of interpretation observable today.

Thomas of Split, “Historia Salonitana,” c. 36.
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The Impact of Antique Medical Theories on the Early Medieval Monastic World: the St. Gall Plan and the Regula Sancti Benedicti
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The early medieval monastic world deals in many ways as a topic of research. More exact it bears lots of different possible point of views in historical sciences. This article tries to state a different one by connecting history and furthermore religion with natural science, which is nowadays often seen as antithetic. In the beginning it may seem oppositional, but in fact in the Middle Ages, medicine was part of the monastic world. A source, which supports this point of view, is the St. Gall Plan. It shows some medical issues, which - examined more closely - not only involve a pagan-Christian connection, but also adhere to charitable practice as a connection between the monastic and secular world.

The Regula Sancti Benedicti of Benedict of Nursia is seen as an effective ideal, which caused a multitude of political and social impositions in the Early Middle Ages. These impositions crystallized, among other aspects, in the striving for a uniformity of cloisters by Louis the Pious modeled after the Regula Sancti Benedicti and expressed in three Aachen Synods (816, 817 and 818/19).204 According to the historian Giles Constable, this uniformity should have been in favor of belief rather than architecture.205 In more general terms, a cloister seems to have been a way of isolating monks, while at the same time preserving the possibility of interaction with the "outside world”, Constable continues.206 At this juncture, the St. Gall Plan shows which functions monks and nuns ought to fulfill and how far caritas, seen as medical and pastoral exercise, can be understood as a link between a monastic and secular life.

The St. Gall Plan was an ideal plan for a cloister based on the Regula Sancti Benedicti. Eventually, the Regula became a foundation for monastic medicine. This article examines this process and shows the impact of antique medical theories on the creation of the St. Gall Plan. Furthermore, it examines the ways the Regula influenced the architecture of cloisters. By this means, medical theories are presented not only as theoretically practised, but also practically, and in general terms as influencing monastic living as a connection between pagan and Christian doctrines.

This paper is divided into five parts. The first section explains the implementation of antique medical theories in the Early Middle Ages. Next, the pagan background of these theories and their usage in the Christian world is discussed by examining the Codex Bambergensis medicinalis 1, or more commonly known as, the Lorscher medicine-book. In the third section, the concept of caritas in the Regula Sancti Benedicti is envisioned as a connection between the worlds of pagan and Christian medicine. The importance and practical usage of these concepts in the medical wing of the St. Gall Plan is demonstrated in the fourth section. Lastly, the conclusion ties the sections together and argues that

205 Giles Constable, Carolingian monasticism as seen in the plan of St Gall in Le monde carolingien. Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches, Actes du colloque international de Poitiers, ed. Wojciech Falkowski et. al., Culture et société médiévales, 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 202.
206 Ibid.
the Early Middle Age medicine was based on a complex mixture of pagan and Christian medicinal theories that when implemented formed a heterogeneous assembly of practical medicinal techniques.

Antique Medical Literature in an Early Medieval (Monastic) World

Kay Peter Jankrift reminds us that antique medical literature, such as the Corpus Hippocraticum, the sources of Galen, Dioscorides and other antique authors, were gathered in monastic scriptoria that then found their way into the early medieval corpus. 

Furthermore, the author presents cloisters as places of copying, preserving and interpreting traditional scripts. Also, Erwin Ackerknecht not only mentions this as well, but also describes these practices as “medieval custom.” Vivian Nutton has a more sophisticated point of view. He does not observe such a wide range of medical writings in Latin, because only a “handful of works by Galen and Hippocrates were translated into Latin.” Additionally, he sees a replacement of theoretical discussions on medical theories through the accumulation of ideas, definitions and scripts concerning practical medicine. Moreover it can be described as a development from theoretical discussions about medicine to practical usage in scripts. Most importantly, Nutton describes authors, such as Isidore of Seville (Etymologiae) or Pliny the Elder (Naturae historiarum), which were not only seen as antique authors, but also as medical sources. Isidore is presented by the author as a sort of key source for medieval acquirement of medical theories, while he considers Pliny the Elder as the most important source for pharmacology in the Middle Ages. In the following centuries, handbooks for practice, as well as combinations of different kinds of handbooks concerning diagnosis and therapy or herbal books, were based on the ancient, medical sources accessible in the Latin West, such as the ones presented above. One can hereby notice the development of former theoretical ideas to practically orientated medicine as an early medieval phenomenon. Also, the privilege of access needs to be mentioned as a monastic one. Furthermore cloisters are a place of reusing and interpreting antique sources because the monks alone had access to these sources. Eventually, the ancient lore was re-used and interpreted, as well as the further development of ancient medical theories and knowledge in the monastery.

A Pagan Problem? Theories vs. Christian Doctrine

One late eight century source, the so-called Codex Bambergensis medicinalis 1, which was written in the Benedictian cloister Lorsch by an unknown author around 795, contains, short introductions of anatomy, the humoral pathology as well as prognoses and recipes, according to Vivian

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207 Kay Peter Jankrift, Krankheit und Heilkunde im Mittelalter in Geschichte kompakt, ed. Martin Kintzinger et. al. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 11.
208 Ibid.
209 Erwin Ackerknecht, Geschichte der Medizin in Kurze Geschichte der Medizin, Enke Reihe zur AO [Ä], (Stuttgart: Enke-Verlag, 1979), 74.
211 Ibid., 332-4.
212 Ibid., 333-4.
213 Ibid., 334.
214 In German the book is called Lorscher Arzneibuch as a simplification of the Latin title Codex Bambergensis medicinalis 1. An English translation of the German title therefore could be ‘The Lorsch medicine-book,’ which will be used in this article.
A very important chapter is the *Defensio artis*. This section is meant as a justification and defense of the book. Specifically, it justifies the use of pagan theories and literature in Christian medicine. The unknown author explains that disbelief and arrogance would have made antique authors ‘bad,’ but because they were humans, they would have been good as well. What is more, he perceives the pagan wisdom and doctrines to be worthy of imitation (*imitanda esse*), because one should preserve and do everything that is necessary for the present and future. He even describes these scripts as “gold in a fertilizing place” and quotes the Gospel of Matthew as an explanation for their use. At the end, the author mentions other *fratres* (brothers of the convent), which suggests that the author might have been part of the convent of Lorsch. Regardless, the author presents a sort of embodiment in the conflict between pagan and Christian doctrine, but, as mentioned before, he equally tries to solve this conflict by means of *The Holy Bible*. In short, antique theories must have been problematic, otherwise the author of the Lorscher medicine-book would not have justified their usage. Even an adoption is mentioned as important, because Christian monks could draw a lesson from former pagan theories. Therefore, pagan theories served as a role model set in a Christian context. This aspect shows the extent to which the pagan-Christian conflict could be solved in a Christian intellectual world.

Additionally, the *Defensio artis* contains suggestions that authors, such as Dioscorides or Caelius Aurelianus, were available in some form. Hence it can be assumed that, at least in Lorsch, there was a possibility of reception and interpretation of pagan theories and literature. Presumably, the authors’ hypothesis and approaches were interpreted as a foundation for future doctrines. Unfortunately, the reception of these works remains of critical importance.

In terms of mentioning Dioscorides, the unknown author refers to *De Materia Medica*, a book describing herbal and animal drugs and primary text of pharmacology until the end of the fifteenth century. Moreover, the author mentions Caelius Aurelianus by linking him to *De morbis acutis et chronicis*, a number of books which are Latin translations of Seranus of Ephesus’ *Tardae* and *Celeres*. The books of Caelius Aurelianus deal with “internal medicine and mental diseases,” which were linked to Greek medicine. Also, Galen’s *Therapeutica ad glauconem* and Hippocrates’ *De herbis et curis*

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217 Ibid., 48: ‘Si ergo cuncta, quae deus creauit, ulde bona sunt, utique sapientes mundi boni per naturam fuerunt; sed per superbiam et infidelitatem mali extincter et idcirco boni, quia homines, ideoque mali, quia superbi fuerunt. Quorum tamen sapientia atque doctrina, quia a domino data, imitanda esse uidetur dicente domino in euangelio: Omnia, quae dicunt, facite; ut subau-dias: Omnia, quae in dictis eorum ad necessitatem tam praesentis quam et futurae pertinet uitaee, seruate et facite; secundum opera, inquid, eorum facere nolite (Mt. 23,3), ut: Quod ipsi non ad dei sed ad suum fauorem fecere, us ad dei gloriam omnipotentis agite. Itaque quando in scriptis eorum aliquid utile sumitur, quasi aurum, quod sepe contigit, in sterquilinio repperitur, sicut quidam ur dei interrogatus, cur gentilem legeret, ostendit dicens: aurum in sterquilinio quaero (Phaedrus 3,12).’
218 Ibid., 62: ‘Quod si ubbis non fuerit Grecarum litterarum nota facundia: Est liber herbarum Dioscoridis […]. Post haec legite Yppocra-tem atque Galienum Latina lingua conuersos, idest therapeutica Galieni ad philosopham Glaucenom […]. Deinde Caeli Aurelii de medicina et Hyppocrates de herbis et curis diversos alios medendi arte compositos.’
220 Konstantinos Laios, Marilaita Moschos and George Androutos, The Ophtomogical Observations in Caelius Aurelianus Text on Acute and on Chronic Diseases in *Acta medico-historica Adriatica*, ed. Ante Škrobonja et al., 14 (2) (Rijeka: Carnival *Volume 18/19 July 2018*
Hippocrates developed a theory of humoral pathology around 400 BC which describes four elements - water, earth, fire and air - “boiled” to four humors - blood, phlegm, yellow and black gall. These four humors are connected with qualities - namely warmth, moisture, coldness and dryness. Importantly, the classification of different conditions is based on these humors and qualities, according to Hippocrates. Galen developed Hippocrates’ theory further by connecting the qualities and humors with “the most important” organs – described by Jankrift as the heart, liver, spleen and brain – the different ages – juvenile, young man, man and old man – and the four seasons. By means of these enhancements, four temperaments were formulated – the sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic and choleric type. Thus, the choleric type, which is determined by the yellow gall, expresses itself in an irascible manner. On the other hand, the melancholic type, which Galen describes as sad-natured, is evoked through the black gall, while the sanguine type is said to be expressed through a hypothermic and excited temperament. Finally, the phlegmatic type is described as “slow, superficial and hesitant” due to phlegm. Significantly, the Corpus Hippocraticum and Galen are considered as the foundation of medieval medicine.

Caritas - A Connection between the Monastic and Secular Worlds

Caritas is mentioned three times in the Regula Sancti Benedicti. In chapter two, the abbot is described as a central figure for the monastic organization. With regard to caritas, the abbot is told that he should treat all monks with equal caritas and shall enforce the Regula the same way on a daily basis. In the commentary on the Regula, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel explains that the charity must be applied regardless of the monk’s origin. Also, punishment should be considered equal for all monks. Caritas is presented not only as a mental act of uniformity, but also as a discipline of the body. Hildemar of Corbie describes the position of the abbot slightly differently. The abbot must love all equally, but he “ought to love good men more than bad men.” Hildemar does not consider all charitable acts as equal. The author continues by stating that charity happens in two ways, namely, “one only in the heart, but the other in the heart and in work.”

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Caritas - A Connection between the Monastic and Secular Worlds

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offer the “same amount of love to all and ought to extend the same amount of goodness of charity to all those men, whom he recognizes to be better in the same degree.”

In chapter 27 of the Regula, *caritas* is presented as an instrument of inclusion for formerly excluded monks, who were punished for misconduct. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel comments on this aspect by using Paul as an example. Paul was thought to have “strengthened charity” towards a man, “who had committed in Corinth a sin of such a kind as is not found even among pagans.” Meanwhile, Hildemar interprets this charitable act as an act of mental breaking of an excluded monk. One the one hand, *caritas* is described as an act of love and forgiveness; while on the other hand, *caritas* is an act of convincing a monk to do penance, rather than hurt himself, which is presented as a harsh act. In chapter 35, *caritas* is expanded to include kitchen service. In ordering monks to serve on kitchen duty, Hildemar sees a possibility for harmony among monks and a working process, which is seen as important for the “labor one assumes to be as great as the reward that will follow in heaven.” Smaragdus equally interprets this chapter as serving in a charitable way and therefore increasing the “reward in God’s sight.” In essence, *caritas* bears a lot of meanings. First, it can be understood as care for others. Conversely, it can be seen as an expression of friendship between *fratres* of the convent. Thirdly it can be an act of mental breaking or correcting in order to include formerly excluded monks. Lastly, *caritas* can describe an act of labor. *Caritas* includes more aspects of monastic order than merely social ones. In relation to medical aspects, the first interpretation can be seen as social interaction, too. Thus, *caritas* is very important, as it can be viewed as medical care for others.

In addition, *caritas* can be understood as charity, concerning contact with the secular outside world and charitable acts. Even though the Rule of Saint Benedict treats this issue in section number 67, the Rule does not provide specific information concerning charitable acts in the secular world. For example, even if the monks performed missionary activities on a journey and returned to the cloister, they were not to speak of it, according to the Rule. Only the ´bad things´ of the secular world are described “as idle talk or seeing and hearing some evil talk for which one had to repent.” Section 53, which details the reception of unknown monks, establishes a contact zone as well. While Hildemar states that unknown monks who “[criticize] or [point] out something reasonably” should be treated


238 Ibid., 522.
“judiciously,” Smaragdus argues that guests, who correct or say something with “the humility of charity” should be heard “willingly.” Due to the ability of unknown monks from outside the cloister criticizing the monastery, caritas can also be a passive means to interact with the secular world. On the one hand, acting as a monk in the secular world is not described at all. In fact, no missionary order about the way monks should carry out charity is explained in the Rule. Although, charity in the form of correctional proposals from unknown monks is presented as something possibly influential from outside the monastery. Charity may have been implemented in the secular world, but it also influenced monastic life.

In regards to medical care, chapters 36 and 53 of the Rule of St. Benedict are an important source to understand the implementation of monastic medicine. Chapter 36 deals with sick fratres and proclaims that each patient is to be assigned his own room, as well as a person nursing them back to health. Moreover, this chapter provides a perspective on the importance of care for patients or sick persons. Significantly, it even claims that the care for the sick outranks everything else. Chapter 53 discusses the admission of guests into a cloister. These guests ought to receive special treatment if they are poor or pilgrims, because it is thought that through them “Christ could then be admitted” to the monastery. Consequently, one might ask whether poor people also included sick people. If this was the case, cloisters might have served as sanitaria for ill people who were not part of the convent. Thereby creating a contact zone between a Christian world and pagan theories through practical means. The importance of this cannot be underestimated, since by treating the poor and pilgrims, the monks were treating Christ himself, as seen from a religious point of view.

The only possibilities for monks, as well as for outsiders, to leave or enter the cloister were the rooms meant for foot-washing and talking. Foot washing was considered an act of purification, while talking served to spread the Christian doctrine. Both actions, when considered an act of caritas, cannot be merely described as important monastic duties, but also established another zone of contact between the monastic and secular world.

Eric Shuler describes caritas and the hospital as an institutional step that sometimes was connected with medical care. Primarily, a poor traveler was given accommodation and received food supplies, but as the author also concludes, monks and clergy might have applied medical care on poor

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239 Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Commentary, 490.
240 Ibid.
243 Giles Constable, Carolingian monasticism, 212.
246 Eric Shuler, Almsgiving and the Formation of Early Medieval Societies. A.D. 700-1025 (PhD., Notre Dame, Indiana: Medieval Institute, 2010), 172: ´[…] [T]hese institutions [i.e. the church] existed to serve the guest, the stranger, and the needy, although sometimes their charity also included medical care as a subsidiary service´.
or sick guests as well.\textsuperscript{247} Generally, it can be observed that caritas and in the form of medical care could have become a usual practice for people from outside the cloister.

**The Medical Wing of the St. Gall Plan**

The St. Gall Plan is a commonly known source concerning the ´ideal´ cloister in the Carolingian period. The exact dating is not known, but there are different theories. While Beat Brenk dates the plan between 820 and 830,\textsuperscript{248} the leaders of the St. Gall Plan project, Patrick Geary, Richard Pollard and Joshua Westgard, consider its creation between 816 and 837 to be more likely because of the dedication of St. Gall by Abbot Heito of Reichenau.\textsuperscript{249} Some parts of the St. Gall Plan correspond to the Rule of St. Benedict as shown by the domus medicorum and the cubiculum ualde infirmorum (the room for the critically ill). The Rule of St. Benedict requires a room and a special person dedicated to the care of the patients. Giles Constable considers guesthouses and infirmaries in monastic planning as an architectural integration of provisions for hospitality and care.\textsuperscript{250} The two bath houses in this wing, for ill people as well as neophytes, is not only a requirement of the Rule\textsuperscript{251}, but also an expression of the special position sick or ill people experienced in the cloister.

On the St. Gall Plan, some herbals, such as clary, flag, rosemary, rose, lily or mint, and more are mentioned.\textsuperscript{252} Their effects were described by *De cultura hortorum* written by Walahfrid Strabo in his position as Abbot of Reichenau. Since he was he was named the Abbot of Reichenau by Louis the Pious in 838,\textsuperscript{253} it can be concluded that the *Hortulus* (a short form of *De cultura hortorum*) was written after the St. Gall Plan. Importantly, the *Hortulus* is another zone of contact between science and religion. According to *this source*, clary is described as a cure for some diseases, which are not elaborated upon.\textsuperscript{254} Meanwhile, flag was used to treat vesicant ache\textsuperscript{255} and mint was said to cure hoarseness.\textsuperscript{256} The spectrum of possible illnesses and the plants used to treat them reveal exact observations, as well as a profound knowledge of the matter. The rose was used for oil production and anointment, whereas the lily, with its white blossoms, was seen as a metaphor for purity and a life

\textsuperscript{247} Eric Shuler, *Almsgiving*, 171-172; note: guests are here meant as pilgrims, sick and real guests.
\textsuperscript{250} Giles Constable, *Carolingian monasticism*, 205-206: ´The guest-houses and infirmary have been seen as an effort to integrate into monastic planning the elaborate provisions for hospitality and care of the sick and elderly which are […] pilgrims, […] the poor and infirm, […] the sick, […] orphans, […] the aged, and […] children´.
\textsuperscript{254} Ibid., 128: „Pluribus haec hominum morbis prodesse reperta […]“
\textsuperscript{255} Ibid., 136.
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid., 143.
without sin. A mixture of the two held a promise for eternal life.\textsuperscript{257} In this respect, the herbarium on the St. Gall Plan represents a cycle of life. The lily, representing the pure beginning of life devoid of sin was located at the beginning of the patch, whereas the rose, a metaphor for death, constituted the end of the patch according to the St. Gall Plan.\textsuperscript{258} The importance of both plants was derived not only because they represented symbols of the Christian church, but also as another zone of contact between the natural sciences and Christian belief.

Hans-Dieter Stoffler also refers to the number of patches, which is four-to-four, in the case of the St. Gall Plan, which he sees as “taken out of nature.”\textsuperscript{259} The author hereby refers to hippocratic and galenic humoral pathology, which plays with the number four; recall the four qualities, four seasons, and four elements. Further evidence of the impact of hippocratic and galenic theories can be seen in the bloodletting-house. Bloodletting and its therapeutic and siphoning method involves humoral pathology.\textsuperscript{260} The main purpose was to reach harmony and “eucrasia,”\textsuperscript{261} which was investigated through uroscopy and pulse theory in medieval times.\textsuperscript{262} The inscription of the St. Gall Plan reads “place, were people who [let blood] or are in medical treatment should be provided with [a] meal.”\textsuperscript{263} Although bloodletting’s foundations were antique pagan theories, it was still practiced in medieval cloisters. The approach of having a herbarium can be seen as influenced by Dioscurides’ \textit{De Materia Medica} and the Lorscher medicine-book because of their description of patches. Both sources describe plants and their medical effects in a similar literary style. Ultimately, the medical wing of the St. Gall Plan not only refers to ancient medical theories, but also places them in a physical Christian context by presenting some references, such as the number of patches or bloodletting. Thus, a theoretical transformation process pursued in the scriptoria where ancient sources were copied and enhanced, and then ended with its manifestation of the ideal conception of monastic living represented by the St. Gall Plan. Most importantly, medicine acted as a link between the Christian and pagan worlds.

\textbf{Conclusion}

A cloister built according to the St. Gall Plan was an architectural and intellectual contact zone between the monastic and secular world. The contact took place not only socially by the admission of guests, poor people and pilgrims, according to \textit{Regula Sancti Benedicti}, but also theoretically and scientifically through the amalgamation of antique, scientific knowledge and Christian belief and doctrine. The social aspects of \textit{caritas} were important to enable this contact. At the same time, an architectural manifestation of \textit{caritas} by the \textit{Regula} can be spotted in the makeup of the St. Gall Plan. In reference to the plan, ancient theories were in some ways used in the Christian world. Although from

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Stoffler2001} Stoffler, \textit{Der Hortulus}, 148-51.
\bibitem{Eckhart2009} Eckhart, \textit{Geschichte der Medizin}, 28.
\bibitem{Ibid.2009} Ibid., 28-9.
\bibitem{Ibid.2009a} Ibid., 62.
\bibitem{Ibid.2009b} The leaders of the St. Gall Projected translated “\textit{fleotomatis hic gustandum vel potionaris},” as the cited sentence.
\end{thebibliography}
pagan origin, these theories could be used since the foundation was laid beforehand by the author of the Lorsch medical book and its *Defensio*. The St. Gall Plan is thus not only a visualization of the *Regula*, but also reflects the unison of Christian and antique doctrine. Ultimately, an early medieval cloister can be seen as a place of medical supplies, whereby *caritas* served as a metaphorical bridge to the secular world, as well as a place for further development of antique medical theories.

Medical theories represented a very important link between ancient pagan and Christian doctrines, because through them ancient theories entered the Christian world and were used for monastic and Christian living. *Caritas* enabled a Christian understanding in the usage of medicine and care for others, too. Also, *caritas* organized monastic living by connecting the Rule of St. Benedict with Christian belief. Hippocratic and galenic humoral pathology, especially the theories established in the Dioscurides’ *De Materia Medica*, were important theories and connectors between the ancient theories and Christian medicine. In conclusion, antique medical theories not only had a theoretical impact, but a practical one as well. This impact, at least on monasteries, was highly influential and climaxed in the physical ideal represented by the St. Gall Plan in a monastic and secular early medieval world.
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Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


The Outside Revolutions: Wars and Military Change in the Independence Movements in Latin America and the Balkans, 1810-1830
By Luis De la Peña, Central European University (Budapest)

When the last bullet was fired at the Waterloo camp, contemporaries thought that the silence of the cannons had brought peace and stability similar to the pre-Napoleonic Wars. Absolutist monarchies gathered in Vienna in 1814 to devise such a system that would be maintained at all costs. However, the germ of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars that had broken out in the heart of Europe, already crossed its borders and began to sprout in the periphery of Europe. The old empires received the strike of the Grand Armee and the message of the ideals of revolution traveled at the tip of their bayonets, but for their subject populations, dominated for centuries by metropolis placed oceans away, that message of a new order or at least, an order that could be called their own, did not fall on deaf ears or erring minds.

This is the case of the conflicts that were waged between empires and colonies in the early nineteenth century. The struggles for independence of the American colonies of several European empires are particularly striking. From the independence of the United States (confirmed by the result of the war of 1812) was added the surprising, and often overlooked but important independence of Haiti, and then, the remaining pro-independence insurrections throughout Spanish America in an almost simultaneous process because of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain. A regional process in which the independence of New Granada played a fundamental role for the liberation and later political configuration of the continent. At the same time and due to the commotion that the Napoleonic invasion of its territory in 1798, the Ottoman Empire started to experience a steady decline that had been accentuated since their defeat in the Russo-Turkish war of 1774. In 1806, the Ottoman Sultan was facing a rebellion of Wahabbite religious fanatics in Arabia, and important parts of the empire were governed by autonomous administrations that often despised the orders and authority of the Sublime Gate since the late eighteenth century.

It is interesting to see the parallelism between the divisions and losses of controlled territory in the Ottoman and Spanish Empires, who were in turn protagonists and antagonists of history for centuries. Each of these empires went through a phase of expansion, which surprised all in their respective times. Also each had their respective "Golden Age" or was considered at a time as a banner, a representative, and the savior of their respective faith. For this and other reasons, the Spanish and Ottoman Empires clashed directly on more than one occasion. In short, the similarities and examples in which they reflect each other are sometimes discarded by their structural differences of imperial experiences and their comparisons with other empires; in the case of the Spanish Empire, either the French or English, and either the Russian or Persian Safavid for the Ottoman Empire. This discarded, premeditated ignorance of the other is reflected in historiographical and editorial production, both in the Spanish and Turkish language on the history of the Ottoman Empire and its relationship with the Spanish Empire and vice-versa.

The main intention of this work will be to search for the comparative aspects and start to build bridges between the common aspects of the Colombian and Greek Revolutions, which are significant, especially from the perspective of military history. In the same way, this article is aiming to provide a contribution to some of the most important debates currently addressed by the scholarship from this historiographic field, such as insurgency and global perspectives and comparative histories. Despite the spatial distance between the two case studies, the comparative possibilities besides its contemporary time framing establishes a platform that resonances and concordances between both independence processes, which are almost impossible to ignore. Perhaps the most essential similarity is the nature of these two conflicts; both are post-Napoleonic wars, mainly waged as an irregular war; repowered in proto-total wars by the way of dealing with human and economic resources; a character and indoctrination of the combatants; geographical difficulties of a theater of operations in Greece and Colombia. In short, this comparison would elucidate new contingencies of a period of global history that deserves to be assembled in a more coherent and inclusive way.

At the moment of accounting the events of both struggles for independence, a myriad of similarities come to the light. As it is the case of two iconic political leaders of the new states, Simón Bolívar and Yiannis Kapodistrias, and their struggle to found whole nations from scratch. Also, both leaders needed to conduct military operations with similar difficulty in the geography of Colombia and Greece. Likewise, the creation of new independent states from prominent empires played a preponderant role in the international concert. Other processes are less familiar, such as having intellectual figures serve and provide the ideological foundation of the state based on the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. In this manner, secret organizations of the time can filter, disclose and adapt to the national context, as in the case of Antonio Nariño, Francisco José de Caldas or Adamantios Korais and Rigas Fereos.265

However, the revolutions are not completely symmetrical processes and there are several substantial differences that would imply different developments in the construction of the Colombian and Greek states. The fundamental difference was the geopolitical location of both processes. The position of the primitive Greek state was clearly much more jeopardized than its revolutionary peers in New Granada. The imperial authority of Sultan Mahmud II was not separated by an ocean and thousands of kilometers of distance. Also, the Sultan was not absent of the ruling position as in the case of the American territories and Ferdinand VII. Importantly, the support, interference and direct intervention, from European powers in the Greek Revolution, due to Greece’s strategic position, can hardly be compared with the Colombian case.

Another fundamental difference is the cultural factor, which could be divided into some aspects, the most important of which were religious and linguistic. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonial system had achieved considerable homogeneity in the implementation of language, beliefs and customs on the American continent. Despite the ethnic and linguistic diversity that increased with the arrival of African slaves and Europeans, which lived alongside the native populations, the American colonial society was primarily Christian Catholic and Spanish-speaking. Likewise, this process also was enriched by centuries of syncretism in the faith as in speech. This

265 Miguel Castillo Didier, Dos precursores Miranda y Rigas, América y Grecia Catedra Francisco de Miranda, (Catedra Francisco de Miranda Convenio Senado de Venezuela-Universidad La Republica, Centro de Estudio Griegos Bizantinos y Neohelénicos, Universidad de Chile 1998), 208.
homogeneity was practically inherent to the leaders of the revolution and they did not seek nor attempt to replace it.

This case is distinct from the Ottoman Empire, which conquered territories that were inhabited by nations and peoples that lived in the conquered lands for centuries or millennia before the arrival of the Turks. In order to mitigate this issue, the first Ottoman sultans created the millet [nation] system. This system was meant to protect subjected people of the Sultan along with their basic traditions of language and religion. A long-term objective of the newly independent Greek state was the rupture of the millet system. Nevertheless, both the Greek and Colombian revolutions are surprisingly similar.

Transformations of History, Historiography, and War

Throughout the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, at the borders of the great empires, the guerrilla, der kleine Krieg or small war, was fought. It was a model of war, a state of warlike art that lacked a decisive character and was based on continuity. Irregular war has been a permanent component in the history of armed conflicts since antiquity, but the guerrillas of the Spanish mountains, the mountaineers of Calabria and the Cossacks of the Russian steppe will go down in history as the dreaded scourge of the Napoleonic regular armies, being in many cases, the germ of the later nationalisms of the 19th century. With the innovations, ‘nation in arms’ and levée en mass, in Revolutionary France, the Napoleonic wars expanded across the European continent and by default to their colonial possessions overseas.

A levée en mass system of obtaining new troops was used by both the French and their enemies expanding to Spain, Sweden, Prussia, Russia, while Great Britain relied on parliamentary laws to govern rules of enlistment. Along with the development of ‘nation in arms,’ war no longer applied only to a select class of society; the participation of civilians in war increased exponentially. During the Napoleonic wars, the concept of ‘guerrilla’ had its first appearance in military history. This irregular war was of vital importance during the post-Napoleonic conflicts that would affect the European periphery and eventually lead to the replacement of colonial units by nation-states. Thus, and due to its social composition, its rural nature and its location in inhospitable and ‘non-Europeaness,’ the guerrilla war became a fundamental part of the wars of independence in Greece and Colombia.

For the comparative study of these revolutions there are two major historiographic difficulties that arise. The first has to do with the conceptual and practical difficulties in the proper construction of comparisons, both by the presence or absence of the data and adequate sources for such comparisons. Each source that was written and framed in a particular cultural tradition must be given special attention. By doing so, different aspects and points of view can be highlighted, but not marginalized. In this paper, the sources are used either from the perspective of the analysis of irregular warfare or classical influence on cognitive change in the military during the revolutions. The construction of these

268 Charles Esdaile, Las guerras de Napoleón: una historia internacional, 1803-1815, 305.
historical comparisons is a challenge that is worth taking, if the undeniable benefits of interdisciplinary theories in human and social sciences are considered.\textsuperscript{270}

The other great difficulty is eurocentrism. Written history, and especially military history, is discussed and consumed around a western and markedly Anglophone axis\textsuperscript{271}. Other histories and historiographies are derived and dependent on this quality, which generates important gaps within the historiographic production that are reflected later in the attitude and general reaction towards the historical facts and the past from the most diverse spheres of power and opinion. A recent example of this eurocentrism is demonstrated in the emergence of the "non-Western" in many works only when it conflicts with the West. This ensures that the military cultures of the former are not properly measured. This became clear in the discussions of the conflicts in Afghanistan in 2001 and the subsequent Western invasion of the Taliban regime.\textsuperscript{272} There is a fundamental fact that defines the particularity of the development and subsequent focus in the military historiography of the period after the Napoleonic wars; the significant absence of conflicts that imply a direct confrontation of the great European powers until at least the Crimean War. Even Eric Hobsbawm said that except for Crimea, during the period between the 20 years of revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and the outbreak of World War I, there was no general European war or at least a war involving more than two powers.\textsuperscript{273}

But these times of peace do not correspond fully with the historical reality. Represented now by the Vienna Congress, the system exported revolution to its periphery, rather than breed conflicts in Europe. The first battlefields will be those of the wars of independence in Spanish America, which were fought in their first phases before the end of the coalition wars and the various insurrections and proto-national movements in the domains of the Ottoman Empire. ‘Modern’ warfare, or rather the western mode, was extended in its ‘modern,’ enlightened and revolutionary form to the borders of a Europe transformed by two decades into war.\textsuperscript{274} For example, the conquest by Napoleon's forces of the old republics that played an important role in the modern history of Europe, such as Genoa, Venice or the United Provinces, would conclude in a process where more monarchies existed after 1815 than in 1789. This was because the French emperor installed part of his new aristocracy of marshals and relatives to run his newly created states. After the independence of Greece and Belgium, the number of monarchies increased further, which was imposed, to some extent, by the powers of Congress of Vienna. \textsuperscript{275}

In this way, the Napoleonic way of war, from the Italian campaign in 1799 until the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, established the parameters and tone of the conflicts in Europe and its periphery until the outbreak of the First World War. The logistic speed and war capacity, alien to France’s adversaries during its first successes, established a pattern of imitation for the armies of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{276} In both the War of Independence of New Granada and the Greek Revolution, this paradigm was not alien

to their respective protagonists; Yiannis Kapodistrias and Theodoros Kolokotronis in the case of Greece, and Simón Bolívar and Francisco de Paula Santander in the case of Colombia.

Colombia: born from the ashes of the Empire.

The news of the changing political and war landscape in the ‘Old World’ that came to America, specifically to the Viceroyalty of New Granada, caused concern, excitement and curiosity. To some extent, the War of Independence of Colombia is still perceived as a monumental history of heroes. Although, this could be nothing further from the historical reality and the historiographical possibilities. The leaders of the revolution had to formulate a general conceptual foundation for the revolution, supply and fund an irregular war, and build political legitimation for a new state. The independence period is anything but monolithic.

One way to perceive this historical mobility is through the irregular warfare. The guerrillas have always played an important role in the political and military development in Colombia. Although, guerrillas and militias were considered a disturbing element that created fear and terror that generates a justified distrust towards them by those who sought to wage war in a more ‘civilized’ way. As the war sharpened and prolonged, the guerillas became a fundamental force in the tactical scheme because of their effectiveness in various armed confrontations. These guerrillas had their heyday during the crisis of the first republics in both New Granada and Venezuela during the so-called "War to Death." Bands of insurgent laborers and llaneros [plainsmen] continued conducting guerilla actions against the white landowners. These half-bandits, half-rebels were not followers of either side. They seized the economy and terrorized the countryside. However, their mere existence served the cause of independence. They provided a source of recruits for the republican forces when the struggle was renewed. Meanwhile, they demonstrated to the criollos [creole] that the restoration of real power was not a guarantee of social order.

These guerrilla groups were led by the caudillos [chieftains] of the revolution, such as José Antonio Páez and José Monagas. These warlords derived their power from access to available men-in-arms and resources for war. This power was due to their access to land, which held these armed bands together by creating links based on clientelism between the caudillo and follower. Also, these links were driven by the constant promise of war booty. Theserelations existed before the independence wars, but their importance affected the development of military actions in the Wars of Independence after the fall of the first republics in Venezuela and New Granada because of the arrival of the Spanish reconquest in 1815. The surviving fighters of the forces fled to the plains, jungles and forests to avoid reprisal from the royal army. After regrouping under a leader of their choice, the main objective of the soldier was their own survival, which helped maintain the ideals of the revolution. For a guerrilla to surrender or be captured was a synonym of execution. In this sense, as John Lynch argues, resisting

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281 Ibid., 72.
was the way to survive the Reconquest. The practices of the guerrillas gradually shaped the political customs that would later govern the nascent Latin American republics. These early foundations were built on *caudillismo* [warlordism] and the leadership of the local landowners as a mode of political cohesion.

The final campaign for the liberation of New Granada, planned by Bolivar and his staff at the beginning of 1819, was the regularization of the war by the independence army. After 20 July 1810, despite the proper regular armies that were formed, much of the fighting was fought in the style of the "little war" of the nineteenth century. With the exception of the campaign of the South, carried out by Antonio Nariño in 1814 during the first Colombian Republic, the war of independence was conduct outside the contemporary canons established for a nominal and established army. Over the years, the irregular war changed its character. The guerrillas of Cauca, the western Andean mountains and the middle Magdalena moved from a pro-Spanish attitude to a republican position. These guerrillas then adopted a more regular transformation in the way of making war, especially in the formation and promotion of various officers. The most relevant case is that of Santander; from a guerrilla to an officer of a fully constituted staff.

By analyzing the influence of Napoleonic conflicts during the war of independence, it could be considered that during the Liberation Campaign of 1819 there were tactical innovations and strategic both in theory and in practice. The theoretical changes occurred in the training of troops through the influence of the character genius of their leaders and the spirit of the armed contingent. In practice, weapons (Fusil "Brown Bess", cannons "Griveaubal"), uniforms (change of the typical tricorn hat, the ponytail and the jacket for the shako, the sideburns and the frock coat), vocabulary and vision, understanding and involvement of the armed conflict (hussars, dragons, cuirassiers, volunteers, homeland, nation, glory, victory, to list some terms) resembled the ones used during Napoleonic wars. In spite of the fact that revolutions had already taken place in the American colonies in the British colonies, in Haiti and in the Andes, the Napoleonic wars were the definitive tactical influence of the wars of American independence because of their temporary proximity to the Spanish Empire. Likewise, the implementation of this way was due to the transfer of the war to other theatres that were not limited to the European continent. After 1815, both the actors and models used in the Napoleonic Wars were adopted in South America because of the experiences of veterans who served during the Peninsular War, as well as in the Spanish Expeditionary Army and the Foreign Legion of the Patriot Army.
Greece: the Pass from the Old to the New Conceptions of Warfare

When analyzing the composition of the forces that fought for Greek independence, certain fundamental changes in their nature become obvious. To reach the stage of the first regular army constituted after the formation of the Greek state in 1830, the prerevolutionary bases of resistance were transformed and extended by the klepthes [literally, "thieves"] and armatoloi [term from the Latin word 'weapon' and which can mean armed man]289 gangs that remained quite active for almost a decade after the struggles. The klepthes were brigands and bandits who lived on the margins of society and in the mountains, but in their favor, they had a significant advantage; protection and approval from the Orthodox Church. When a new klepth was initiated, their weapons were blessed in a special ceremony by an Orthodox priest. This helped to establish the foundations of the ideal that klepthes were filled with a pseudo-patriotic sense based strongly on their Eastern Christianity faith.290 Conversely, the armatoloi were military bodies commissioned by the Ottoman authorities in order to maintain order in the fields and villages, as well as face the bandits who opposed the Sultan's authority since the conquest itself.291 Since the battle of Vienna in 1683, which caused a steady Ottoman retreat from the Balkans, banditry became an everyday element in the mountains. Likewise, confusion became the norm. Indeed, confusion became so common that even contemporary commentators had difficulties distinguishing between the different kinds of banditry.292

Although the importance of klepthes and armatoloi are fundamental for the Revolution of 1821, the traditional Greek historiography has taken for granted the patriotic feelings of both groups by overlapping the actions of banditry as a form of resistance of the Greek proto-nation against the Ottoman occupation. The conjoining of the klepthes and armatoloi to the cause of the revolution was a natural consequence. This conception has been seen from a more critical perspective during the last decades by exposing economic and social reasons.293

The systematic persecution and the imposition of authoritarian measures on the klepthes and armatoloi during the years between the revolt incited in Rumelia by the Russian officers Alexei and Grigory Orlov in 1770 and the Greek Revolution of 1821 gave the former ‘bandits’ an opportunity to regain employment as men-of-arms that had ceased for many with the end of Napoleonic wars; especially during the political and financial crisis that the conflict in Epirus between Ali Paşa and the Sultan brought to Rumelia. 294 These circumstances led the klepthes and armatoloi to fight in the Greek Revolution for the basic ideals of subsistence and with the hope of social ascent and the improvement

291 Ibid., 139.
292 David Brewer, Greece, the Hidden Centuries: Turkish Rule from the Fall of Constantinople to Greek Independence, Londres ; Nueva York: I.B. Tauris, 2012, 248.
of their quality of life if the victory was achieved. In the second instance of revolt, a transformation of the political and social structures, along republican and seemingly revolutionary ideals, occurred in the future borders of the ‘modern’ Greek state.295

The events in the region of Epirus with the armatoloi of Ali Pasa took a secondary character, but these warriors never raised their swords and flags to proclaim the principles of freedom, liberty and equality of the French revolution, which was counterproductive to their interests.296 On the contrary, their battle cries of aera [literally “air”] were directed to older and well-constructed ideals of the orthodox faith and patrida [Fatherland]. This misunderstanding of these revolutionary concepts by the urban and ‘enlightened’ leaders of the revolution failed to understand or lead towards the success of the revolution, which would cause a long and tortuous civil war. In 1821, the klephes and armatoloi rose in arms because their chiefs and leaders rose up, but also their sense of duty to support their chiefs required them to also rise up in revolt.297 After March 1821, the Greek troops were mainly composed of klephes and armatoloi, as well as green peasants and Greek volunteers educated abroad.298 In turn, the soldiers were rudimentary and could not have faced any professional army of the time.299 Fortunately for them, the Ottoman army was far from its apex. This in large part explains the successes of the revolutionaries in the early years of the revolution.300

The military successes of the Greek guerrillas are due to several factors. First, both klephes and armatoloi knew their land and its provisioning capacity, the logistic and commercial lines, and the character of the population where the battles were fought. On a more relevant level, second, the fundamental psychological-ideological preparation of Greek society by members, such as the Filiki Eteria,301 had germinated in the combatants. Without that ideological preparation, which was based on the evocation of the glorious past of ancient Greece and Byzantium that was cloaked indifferent dyes of orthodox faith, generated in the Greek troops a basic characteristic for the maintenance and success of any guerrilla based on their unshakeable faith in its causes and objectives. Through these means, the irregular armed force translated a shortage of capital and distinguished functionality into military success.302

But the philhellenes [friends of the Greeks], like Lord Byron, who fought with the Greeks, discovered that the Greek rebels of 1821 did not fight like the idealized heroes of Ancient Greece. Moreover, philhellenes realized that the war objectives of the Greeks were limited to the conquest of

301 Giannis Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, Greece: the modern sequel: from 1831 to the present, 16.
freedom, a continued kleph-ti-style authority in the mountainous border areas throughout continental Greece. Political autonomy trumped the supposed identity between ancient and modern. The soldiers of the Greek Revolution wanted to continue subsisting precariously thanks to banditry. They were accustomed to changing sides according to personal or clan convenience, assassinating their enemies of religion when the occasion arose, filling their pockets with denigrating bribes, and moreover, never fighting until the last man standing, unlike Themistocles, Leonidas or Miltiades did during antiquity. Upon discovering these trends and being greatly disappointed with them, the philhelllenes had no choice but to come to the conclusion that only a break in the lineage between the ancient and ‘modern’ Greeks could explain the decline of such a heroic culture and its separation from its main warlike creation, the ‘western’ style of warfare.

Petros Pizanias argues that the outbreak of civil war saved the Greek revolution, clarified the ideology of the Greek movement, highlighted the interests of the European powers that rescued the revolution, and influenced its outcome. Due to European influence, serious questions about the governance of a future state was raised by Pizanias’ commanders. Eventually, the superiority of the ‘Great European’ powers become present, which caused the ideological liberalism of the revolutionaries stagnate definitive with the promulgation of the Greek political constitution of 1827. The Congress of Vienna became guarantors of the Greek constitution despite the clear difficulties between the rural and the urban world, as well as between clan and tribal structures of governance, which was against the ‘enlightened’ bourgeoisies of the islands and the diaspora. In a strikingly similar case to Bolivar and Colombia in 1828, these dichotomies made Kapodistrias a clear example of ruling through Bonapartist parameters of the time, especially when Kapodistrias promulgated a constitution for the new Kingdom of Greece, but without any liberal institution or denomination in it.

This process of change has been perfectly exposed by Georgios Paparrigopoulous, father of the ‘modern’ Greek historiography. In one of his works discussing the Greek Revolution, Paparrigopoulous states:

Karaiskakis can in fact be considered in some way as the most authentic product of the Greek revolution. [...] at the beginning of the revolution, Karaiskakis was no more than one of the old klepthes and armatoloi; his manners were coarse, his words inceiblemente vulgar, the moral value of the governmental unity of the nation was incomprehensible to him. But around 1825, this man gradually raised his strategic spirit to a strange change.

Karaiskakis went from being banished from the country to a "wonderful field marshal," "general of the Attica camp" and head of the "Armament of the Rumelia." All of which further demonstrate the political mobility of factions and the importance of the spheres of influence to the leaders of the Greek guerrillas. In the same way, forms of loyalty based on localism and blood were eroded or diminished by the new and triumphant loyalty to the national administration. A new, essentially 'modern' standard was created thanks to these political and ideological transformations, which culminated with the dismantling of the bands of the armatoloismos system and the gradual and cemented prevalence of military institutions. Giorgos Karaiskakis is an example of a military officer who served the national cause obeying the political authorities of the nation.

Conclusion

When the wars ended, the real challenge for the new nations began. Both for Bolívar and Kapodistrias, the impulse of the revolution and its warlike development had allowed the demolition of a foreign dominant order that had been consolidated for centuries in the now independent territories. Both leaders realized that the effort spent by blood and gunpowder smoke was nothing compared to the wills of the local leaders and the quarrels between them for power. Both characters despised Napoleon for having annihilated their revolutions and destabilizing the entire European continent. Although, they themselves took, in their own way, authoritarian political measures very familiar to those of Napoleon and his natal Corsica.

The results of both wars differ dramatically in their scope. When the liberating army entered Santa Fe de Bogota, ending the Independence war, it also began another military campaign that would remove Spanish rule from South America and guide its armies across the Andes to Upper Peru. These were also the years of consolidating the project of a great unified state in the north of South America, known as “Gran Colombia”. On the other hand, the Greeks considered themselves well served with the de facto independence of the regions of Peloponnese, Attica and part of continental Greece. This new Greek state did not exceed the size of the Cundiboyacense highlands in Colombia. One of the frustrations of the Greek revolution was the impossibility of totally liberating the diverse populations and territories with Greek majorities throughout the nineteenth century. However, this would be the seed of the irredentism of the Megali Idea. The region of Thessaly deeply active during the revolution of 1821 would not be annexed until the 1870s, Crete would join the Greek state only until 1903, the regions of Epirus, Thrace and Macedonia would be annexed after the Balkan wars and the Dodecanese only until 1948. Cyprus and Asia Minor would only be annexed on paper, and for a short period of time.

(georgios karaiskakis, according to early biographers, official documents and other credible elements), athens, 1867.
308 Ibid., 146
309 Ibid., 147
310 Ibid., 146-147.
312 Ibid., 322.
313 Michael Broers, Napoleon’s Other War: Bandits, Rebels and Their Pursuers in the Age of Revolutions, Witney: Peter Lang, 2010, xxii, ill., maps, 24 cm. 14.

*Μεγάλη Ιδέα “Great Idea” or the nationalist conception of the unification of all territories considered Greek under a single nation.
The wars of independence and the secession of the colonial territories, both for Madrid and for Istanbul, meant a severe blow in numerous fields. Despite the gradual and irreversible loss of the colonial territories, these events did not generate the general debacle of these old empires. After facing internal crises fomented by the need for substantial reforms within the nucleus and ethos of the very imperial systems; either with the revolution of Rafael del Riego in 1820 in Spain and the subsequent Carlist wars, or the long and tortuous process of the application of the Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire. Regardless, both empires would survive until the dawn of the twentieth century. Kings and sultans watched and tried in vain to avoid the end of their empires. Besieged by several flanks, exhausted by the wear and tear of their internal mechanisms and shocked by the lack of reaction and responses in a changing world that no longer belonged to them, eventually, the empires fell.

The implementation of a new way of warfare, which was heavily influenced and determined by the Napoleonic Wars, was gradually adopted by the Greek and Colombia guerrillas. Ultimately, these guerillas became their respective nation’s first organized soldiers under regular and ‘modern’ armies. In turn, these new states implemented new institutions and mentalities based on their time by replacing the colonial administrative institutions. The Great Colombia and its Greek counterpart –despite sustaining its independence in an externally imposed monarchy–, entered the threshold of the constitutions, parliaments and political institutions of the ‘modern’ world. Meanwhile, the military establishment, which was represented by the army itself and its components, served as a living witness of the pro-independence fight and helped shape the course of their respective nation in the following decades.
Bibliography


*Carnival*


Come racconta Lorenzo Braccesi nel suo libro ‘‘Livia’’ (edito per Salerno Editori, 2016), la protagonista fu la consorte del primo grande imperatore romano, al cui fianco ella rimase per mezzo secolo. L’autore ci presenta la protagonista proponendo entrambi i due filoni storico-letterari che sono giunti a noi: le fosche tinte di Tacito e l’immagine della Augusti Uxor tradizionale. Tacito, nato in epoca successiva all’età augusta, accusa Livia di azioni subdole alle spalle del marito, nell’ambiente politico di Roma. Uccisioni, avvelenamenti e nomine politiche di favore vengono spesso ricondotte a lei contrastando con la figura divina e con l’esempio di mos maiorum che la propaganda le aveva assegnato. La consorte fu una presenza fondamentale per Ottaviano il quale promosse il ritorno alla morale tradizionale. All’austerità di Livia ed al suo ruolo di madre e moglie tutti si dovevano conformare, in opposizione al comportamento libertino della figliastra Giulia. Venne promosso il culto della Dea Livia, sia a Roma che in provincia, come mostra l’Ara Pacis, fino a giungere alla definitiva canonizzazione per mano del nipote Caligola (37-41 a.C.). Tuttavia sia l’autore degli Annales che parte della storiografia insistono nell’individuare Livia come manipolatrice della successione di Augusto.

La coppia imperiale non ebbe figli e quando il princeps morì nel 14 d.C. in Campania, gli succedette Tiberio. La decisione di Ottaviano fu sofferta: prima della nomina di Tiberio, la scelta era caduta sui collaboratori Marcello e Agrippa, entrambi mariti della figlia Giulia. Questi, però, morirono e stessa sorte toccò anche ai nipoti Lucio e Caio Cesare. Morto anche il valoroso Druso, fratello dell’erede, nella campagna delle terre germaniche, Ottaviano si rivolse finalmente a Tiberio.

Alla serie di funerali, che si susseguirono nella dimora imperiale del Palatino, è collegata la figura di Livia, che fino alla sua morte (avvenuta nel 29 d.C.) tentò di difendere il suo primogenito destinandolo alla guida dell’Urbe. Si suppone che abbia perfino avvelenato Ottavio ed ordinato la morte del nipote, figlio di Druso, Germanico. Ottaviano adottò Tiberio con la clausola che questo adottasse a sua volta Germanico. Quando Tiberio venne nominato imperatore, l’esercito si ribellò eleggendo Germanico che, anche se istigato dalla moglie Agrippina, decise di non rivoltarsi allo Stato. La grande popularità del figlio del condottiero che marciò fino all’Elba, fu il primo segnale della debolezza dell’impero di Tiberio che durò fino al 37 d.C.
Nel suo libro l’autore indaga i rapporti dei membri della famiglia giulio-claudia. Al fine di vedere il primogenito imperatore, Livia incontra il contrasto con Giulia, la quale verrà allontana nel 2 d.C. a Ventotene per aver violato il codice morale. Augusto sarà vittima di tentativi fallimentari di colpi di stato e dell’imposizione della moglie di rendere suo figlio princeps anche quando preferì rivolgersi segretamente al nipote relegato Agrippa Postumo. La vita di Livia, donna capace di sostenere il ruolo a lei assegnato, viene raccontata da Braccesi seguendo il filo cronologico di un impero in costruzione. L’autore insiste sull’essenzialità che per il princeps e per Roma rappresentò Livia. Ottaviano, nonostante l’incapacità o il rifiuto di mettere al mondo eredi diretti, non divorziò. Alla morte dell’autore consorte, il Senato ed il popolo guardarono a Livia come sicurezza in contrasto all’erede sgradito.


azijskim zemljama tumači pretežito ekonomskim te geostrateškim činiteljima: na azijskome prostoru živi više od polovice svjetske populacije, što ujedno predstavlja široku potrošačku bazu za američku ekonomiju; Azija danas postaje važno globalno trgovinsko i energetsko čvorište. Nemali utjecaj na autoricu, pored iskazanih argumenta, imala je i pesimistična projekcija svijeta za 21. stoljeća iznesena u izvješću stručnjaka Nacionalnog obavještajnog savjeta, u kojemu autori predviđaju daljnji pad američkog utjecaja u svijetu usred uzdizanja „novih ekonomskih sila“ – Kine, Rusije i Irana.


Okretanje prema Aziji, pored izazova koje takva politika donosi, za H. Clinton ne znači i zanemarivanje tradicionalnih američkih saveznika – Europoljana. Međutim, snažnija usmjerenost ka jednom području/problemu nužno za sobom iziskuje i manjak fokusa na drugoj strani. Stoga tvrdnja da revidiranje američko-europskih odnosa – poglavito djelatnosti NATO saveza – započinje/ ili ćezapočeti dolaskom nove republikanske administracije nikako ne može biti točna: ono počinje već za vrijeme prve Obamine administracije kada se od Europoljana počinje zahtijevati sve jači angažman u savezu, što se naročito pokazalo za trajanja libijske krize koja je u većoj mjeri razriješena zahvaljujući europskoj inicijativi. Dok se s jedne strane politički odnosi s tradicionalnim saveznicima pokušavaju izmijeniti i postaviti na čvršćim temeljima – nužno se nameće i potreba *resetiranja odnosa* s nekadašnjim suparnikom, Rusijom. Iako je proces ponovne uspostave odnosa otputao s manjim diplomatskim gafom (ruska riječ *peregruzka* koja se nalazila na gumbu za resetiranje koje je H. Clinton poklonila Sergeju Lavrovu doslovno prevedena značila je „preopterećeno“) – autorica nedvojbeno taj proces promatra u okvirima osobnih odnosa s ruskim čelnicima (Lavrovom, Medvedom) a koji doista u pravom smislu postaju „preopterećeni“ izborom Vladimira Putina za ruskog predsjednika.


Razrješavanje pitanja Iranskog nuklearnog programa za H. Clinton predstavlja još jedan uspjeh koncepta pametne sile: kombinaciju niza diplomatskih (promoviranje novih mogućnosti opskrbe energije kao alternative ovisnosti o iranskoj nafti), ekonomskih (sankcije) i medijskih pritisaka (održavanje rada Twittera kao platforme širenja utjecaja iranske opozicije) u konačnici je dovela do napuštanja iranskog nuklearnog programa. Diplomatski angažman oko razrješenja iranske krize na vidjelo je iznio i postupno slabljenje američkog utjecaja u svijetu, što se ponajviše ogleda u samostalnoj politici koje su neke države počele voditi bez usuglašavanja sa SAD-om (diplomatski angažman Turske, Brazila i Omana u okončanju iranske krize). Da koncept *pametne sile* nije apsolutno primjenjiv u svim situacijama najbolje pokazuje primjer Sirije i Paleistine. Sirjsku krizu Clinton naziva „gadnim problemom“ – upotrebjujući tako termin kojim se označava vrlo kompleksna diplomatska situacija u kojoj svaka od ponuđenih opcija predstavlja daleko gore a time i nemoguće rješenje. U slučaju Sirije to se svodi na dvije opcije: intervenirati i stvoriti još jedan Irak/Afganistan – ili ne činiti ništa i dozvoliti da se kriza prelije na cijelu regiju? Razmrašavanje izraelsko-palestinskih odnosa za autoricu se čini još većim gorijskim čvorom – diplomatskim živim blatom – koji je polučio polovičan uspjeh: pregovori oko formiranja zasebne palestinske države nisu urodili plodom zbog nerazumijevanja obiju strana, poglavito izraelske (inzistiranja na gradnji naselja u palestinskih predjelima Izraela). Unatoč propasti nastavka dijaloga i pregovora o uspostavi palestinske države posredstvom SAD-a, kao manji diplomatski uspjeh H. Clinton ističe zaustavljanje krvavog sukoba u pojasu Gaze 2012. godine.

Alternativa koju autorica nudi jest upravo razvoj i promoviranje tehnoloških otkrića (robotika) i ekološki prihvatljivih grana ekonomije (solarna energija, plin, vjetar). Što se tiče odnosa prema radništvu, Clinton je tu najmanje principijelna nego po pitanju ljudskih prava (Žena, LGBT zajednica) i održivog razvoja. Budući da je neupitno autoričino prihvaćanje „borbe“ za poboljšanje prava radnika (jednakost plaće) te njihovo ravnomjerno usklađivanje s potrebama „novog razvoja“, oni ipak ostaju na jednoj načelnoj razini: ne iznose se nikakve konkretnе ideje i promišljanja glede načina poboljšanja položaja radništva i života srednje sloja uopće, što postaje jedna od neostvorenih ideja H. Clinton. Potpoglavlje o digitalnoj diplomaciji kod čitatelja upućenog u recentna zbivanja američke politike, nesumnjivo pobuđuje dozu ironije: autorica se zalaže za implementaciju suvremenih oblika komunikacije i tehnologije u diplomaciji zajedno s pozitivnim i negativnim izazovima koje oni donose, ne znajući da će se i sama u konačnici naći na meti istih.

A collection of essays edited by A. K. Sandoval-Strausz of The University of New Mexico and Nancy H. Kwak of The University of California San Diego, *Making Cities Global: The Transnational Turn in Urban History* proposes a complex and layered reading of the transformations and developments in cities by linking them to the transnational flows of information, capital, and individuals and by exploring how these connections influence the experience of those who inhabit the urban space. *Making Cities Global* aims to contribute to the study of transnational history by emphasizing the geography of places that have engaged with the United States, by focusing on the built environment and the particular experiences of people in urban spaces, and by sharing a common concern with the role of governance and politics within these processes of urbanization and globalization. Overall, the collection of essays adds complexity to the study of the city through the lens of transnationalism, showcasing the different methodologies and perspectives throughout which the urban and the global can be understood.

Part I of the edited volume, “Globalization and Governance,” focuses on how cities have been shaped by the interaction between transnational companies, international institutions, foreign aid, local governments, and residents. In the first chapter, “Silicon Dreams,” Margaret O’Mara looks at the historical developments of high-tech suburbs in the United States, Singapore, and India, by illustrating how capital flows and public funding become intertwined in the creation of technological parks. In all three examples, O’Mara shows, transnational actors such as real-estate development agencies and technological companies had a key participation, interacting with local and national governments that provided infrastructure, subsidies and public investment.

The second and third chapters focus on the influence of the United States on Latin American housing policy during the early 1960s under John F. Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress. “Homeownership and Social Welfare in the Americas: Ciudad Kennedy as a Midcentury Crossroads” by Amy C. Offner, is a study on the specific case of Ciudad Kennedy, a housing project built in the outskirts of Bogotá, Colombia under this transnational alliance. The case illustrates the contact between American and Colombian policymakers, and how developments in the territory differ from the expectations and mythologies gathered from First World experiences. In the following chapter, Leandro Benmergui explores the The Guabara Housing Program, a low income housing program in Rio de Janeiro in 1962-67. Benmergui argues the program acted as a “contact zone” for global and local actors formulating competing languages and practices of development and modernization (p. 75). Foreign influence on housing policy is also studied in the fourth chapter, where Nancy H. Kwak analyzes “slum clearance” policies in Manila through a transnational lens. Kwak sheds light on the relations between transnational organizations, such as nonprofits and institutions like the World Bank, and local actors, including governments and informal dwellers.

The first part of the edited volume closes with Carola Hein’s “Crossing Boundaries: The Global Exchange of Planning Ideas,” where she begins with a conceptual history of “transnational urbanism”
and goes on to review the instrumental role of migrant planners, professional groups and associations, global corporations, intergovernmental institutions, and sociocultural factors in shaping cities. The chapter works as a theoretical contribution to supplement the specific cases illustrated in the previous chapters. In its entirety, Part I showcases the ways in which foreign governments, capital and organizations influenced urban policy, which is simultaneously strengthened by a conceptual background that explores the nature of these links.

Part II, “Place, Culture, and Power,” focuses on the flow of people and ideas, and how these transformed the urban experience. Its initial three chapters explore migrants, specifically, how they live in the urban space and how they are affected by both local and foreign agents. In chapter six, Erica Allen-Kim provides an interesting account of the development of Chinese condominium malls in the city of Markham, Canada in the ‘90s, which sheds light on the intertwining of foreign capital, migration, and territoriality in Canada. Chapter seven, “Requiem for a Barrio: Race, Space and Gentrification in Southern California,” is a thorough exploration by Matt Garcia on the life and erasure of Arbol Verde, a neighborhood (barrio) inhabited by Mexican immigrants in Claremont, California. The essay reviews the tense relationship between local governments, residents of distinct ethnicities, and the faculty, student body, and administration of the Claremont Colleges. The essay illustrates how higher education institutions can influence urban development. “Transnational Performances in Chicago’s Independence Day parade,” chapter eight, shifts the focus to the recent past by analyzing the India Independence Day parades in Chicago in 2009 and 2010. In his study, Arijit Sen reflects on how migrants negotiate their identities in the context of the city. Sen argues that the parade showcases the performative logic of “mimicry,” which allows an immigrant to produce a expressions of ‘Indianness’ while simultaneously expressing a sense of belonging as an American (p. 213).

Chapters nine and ten illustrate the case of a transnational flow of ideas, focusing on the passage of the concept of “suburbanization” from Great Britain and the United States to India. In “Transnational Urban Meanings: The Passage of ‘Suburb’ to India and Its Rough Reception,” Richard Harris traces the semantic trajectory of the word “suburb” to India, and suggests that the failure by Indians to appropriate the term mainly relates to the absence of the coherent and uniform ordering of the urban periphery found in Anglo-American cities. In the tenth chapter, “Suburbanization and Urban Practice in India,” Nikhil Rao draws from Harris’ conclusions and provides a more detailed study on the partial appropriation of the concept of suburbanization by Indians. Although its transnational passage was not complete, the colonial state embraced some aspects by incorporating features, such as regimes of land acquisition, land use conversion and the institution of the cooperative housing society.

The last essay of the edited volume is Carl H. Nightingale’s, “Will the Transnational City Be Digitized? The Dialectics of Diversified Spatial Media and Expanded Spatial Scopes,” which is an interesting reflection on how the “digital turn” of urban history can be intertwined with the “transnational turn” in the discipline. Nightingale reviews digital projects related to urban spaces, and suggests digital tools can be useful allies in understanding connections between cities in their largest possible scale (p. 264).

One of the collection’s main merits is to combine case studies with theoretical background. While the rest of the articles concern specific historical cases, Hein and Nightingale provide conceptual frames that strengthen the historical analysis. While Hein’s article is closely related to the case studies in the first part of the edited volume, Nightingale’s article may seem disconnected from the second part,
where it is placed. However, if *Making Cities Global* is to be understood as a general contribution to the discipline, then Nightingale’s projection of future scenarios implementing digital tools is an effective ending to it.

The edited volume also illustrates the present networks between scholars of the discipline and the shared research agendas. Harris’ and Rao’s aligned approaches result in valuable chapters, as Rao takes Harris’ conclusions as a starting point. However, this is not the case in the second and third chapters of Part I, concerning the Alliance for Progress. While including the articles jointly is laudable, fostering a fluent exchange between the authors writing about housing policy could have strengthened their chapters by eluding repeated information and by stressing the differences in their approaches.

*Making Cities Global: The Transnational Turn in Urban History* provides an important contribution to the study of both transnational and urban history. Comprehending the impact on the built environment will add complexity to the “transnational turn,” allowing to better explore the territorial implications of globalization. At the same time, by showing how urban historians can think of cities beyond the nation-state and evolve their methodologies to comprehend the transnational dimension, urban historians will surely benefit from the inclusion of these connections, flows, encounters and disruptions that permeate the urban experience.