

UDC 930.85(4-12)

ISSN 0350-7653
eISSN 2406-0801

SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS
INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

BALCANICA

XLVIII

ANNUAL OF THE INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

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BELGRADE
2017



Vasilj Jovović*

Faculty of Philosophy
University of Montenegro
Nikšić

<https://doi.org/10.2298/BALC1748229J>
UDC 050(497.16)"1835/1941"
930.85(497.16:450)"1835/1941"
008(497.16:450)"1835/1941"
Original scholarly work
<http://www.balcanica.rs>

Contacts between Duklja/Zeta and the Apennine Peninsula in the Middle Ages as a Topic in Montenegrin Periodicals in 1835–1941

Abstract: This paper shows that continuity of connections between Duklja/Zeta and the Apennine Peninsula during the middle ages, which were manifested both in the political and in the cultural sphere, attracted attention as a topic in the periodical press issued in the territory of present-day Montenegro from 1835 to 1941. The paper offers a systematized overview of such, for the most part descriptive, texts on political and cultural links between what now are Montenegro and Italy in the middle ages.

Keywords: Montenegrin periodicals, middle ages, cultural contacts, Duklja, Zeta, Apennine Peninsula

The periodicals published in the territory of present-day Montenegro from 1835 – when the first periodical was started, the almanac *Grlica* (Turtle-dove), until 1941 – when the Second World War began, allotted some space to political and cultural links between Duklja/Zeta¹ and the Apennine Peninsula during the middle ages. Contributors to the Montenegrin periodical press in the observed period found inspiration for their texts in the common political framework of lands that now constitute Montenegro and Italy (within the Byzantine Empire, under the Republic of Venice), the spreading of Christianity and literacy (Beneventan script), the cult of saints (St Michael and St Nicholas), the practice of founding and endowing churches (St Nicholas in Bari) or marriage ties between ruling families (Vojislavljević, Crnojević).

During the period under study Montenegro went through different forms of government and different statuses as a polity: a theocracy in the Njegoš era, a secular principality (1852), a kingdom (1910), and eventually (from 1918) part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929). Since the periodically issued publications were generally in step with the official government line, texts in them as a rule echoed the views of the official political

* vasilj@ac.me

¹ The medieval Serbian states of Duklja and Zeta occupied more or less the same territory which nowadays is part of Montenegro. The territory between the river Bojana and the Gulf of Kotor was a part of the kingdom of Duklja (Dioclea) until the 11th century, when the same territory began to be known as Zeta. Both terms, Duklja and Zeta, were in use until the 15th century when they were replaced by the name Crna Gora (Montenegro).

elite. The approach to medieval topics should also be seen in that light. Since the period was one of intense development of cultural, educational and intellectual life in Montenegro, the publication of periodicals which would support such development was an expected tendency. It is important to note that a certain number of periodicals which were similar to those published in Montenegro in content and concept were being published in the Gulf of Kotor which was part of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1815 until 1918.

From 1835 until the end of the First World War

In the period from 1835 until the end of the First World War in 1918 the Montenegrin periodical press was marked by the magazine *Glas Crnogorca* (The Voice of the Montenegrin), the official organ of the Montenegrin government. Montenegrin journalism had begun with the weekly *Crnogorac* (The Montenegrin), which was devoted to political and cultural issues. Owned by Jovan Sundečić and edited by Simo Popović, it was published in Cetinje from 23 January 1871 to 15 February 1873. Although the weekly did not have any official subtitle, it in fact was the organ of the Montenegrin government. Because of its anti-Turkish and anti-Austrian content the *Crnogorac* was banned both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Habsburg Monarchy. Without giving up its role in encouraging the Serbs to rebel against the Ottomans or its anti-Austrian agenda, the weekly changed its name and reappeared on 23 April 1873 as the *Glas Crnogorca*. Publication continued until 1 October 1877, when it was ceased due to the Montenegrin-Turkish War of 1876–1878. Its publication was resumed on 6 January 1879 and continued until 20 December 1915, when it was ceased once more due to war, this time the First World War. Publication was resumed on 22 January 1917 and it remained in print until 18 June 1922, sponsored by the Montenegrin government-in-exile and printed in Neuilly-sur-Seine near Paris, and then in Rome. The *Glas Crnogorca* was the longest-running Montenegrin magazine. In the period of Montenegro's existence as an independent state (1987–1918), it was printed in Cetinje.² It should not be seen merely as the official organ of the Montenegrin government. Namely, it contains exceptionally rich material for studying the political, cultural, educational, scientific and literary history of Montenegro in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The *Glas Crnogorca* brought parts of the book about Montenegro written by the Russian scholar Pavel Apollonovich Rovinskii.³ Devoting several instal-

² N. S. Martinović, *Razvítak štampe i štamparstva u Crnoj Gori 1493–1945* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenski institut za novinarstvo, 1965), 379.

³ P. A. Rovinskii (1831, Gusevka – 1916, Petrograd) came to Cetinje, the old royal Montenegrin capital, in May 1879 and, with minor breaks, lived there for some twenty-seven years.

ments to the period when Zeta was ruled by the local lords of the Balšić family (1360–1421), Rovinski describes their relations with the Republic of Venice.⁴ He claims that all members of the Balšić family were careful to maintain friendly relations with the Republic of Venice, guaranteeing freedom of trade and protection to its merchants. The Republic of Venice considered them to be its citizens, gave them assistance against the Turks and provided haven for their families. But despite all that friendship, Venice feared the Balšić family and did not permit them to have armed ships at sea.⁵

The historian Jovan Tomić⁶ contributed a history of the Crnojević family.⁷ Under the Turkish pressure, the lord of Zeta/Montenegro Ivan Crnojević (1465–1490) had to flee to Italy (Apulia), where he stayed from 1479 to 1481.⁸ Ivan Crnojević asked the Turkish sultan for permission for the marriage of his elder son Djuradj and Isabetha (Elisabetta), daughter of a Venetian nobleman, Antonio Erizzo. By arranging this marriage towards the end of his life Ivan Crnojević managed to allay the hostility of the Venetian Republic. He betrothed his son, but did not live to meet his daughter-in-law, who arrived in Kotor in 1490.⁹ During his exile in Italy Ivan Crnojević visited the famous pilgrimage church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Loreto, and vowed to build a monastery in her honour if he returned home safely. He fulfilled his vow by founding the Cetinje Monastery in 1484.¹⁰

For more than thirty years he was engaged in research about Montenegro, which resulted in his life's work, the multivolume *Montenegro in its Past and Present (Chernogoria v ee prošlom i nastojashtem*, St. Petersburg 1888–1915), which remains a very important source. His history of Montenegro was published as a serial in the *Glas Crnogorca*. See D. Martinović, "Pavle Apolonovič Rovinski (1831–1916)", *Portreti* (Cetinje: Centralna narodna biblioteka, 1987), 127–141).

⁴ P. A. Rovinski, "Crna Gora", *Glas Crnogorca* (1891) no. 6, 1–3; no. 7, 1–3; no. 8, 1–3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 7, 2.

⁶ Jovan N. Tomić (1869, Nova Varoš – 1932, Belgrade) completed elementary and secondary education in Kragujevac, and graduated in history from the Great School in Belgrade in 1890. As director of the National Library in Belgrade from 1903 to 1927, he greatly contributed to enriching its book and manuscript holdings. He was elected a corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy in 1903, and a full member in 1906. Many of his works are based on archival material dating from the second half of 15th century to the end of 18th century, especially from the Venetian archives, see M. Janković, "Jovan Tomić", in *Enciklopedija srpske istoriografije* (Belgrade: Knowledge, 1997), 678–679.

⁷ J. Tomić, "Crnojevići i Crna Gora od g. 1479–1528", *Glas Crnogorca* (1900), nos. 31–39.

⁸ *Ibid.* no. 33, 2. King Ferdinand I of Naples helped Ivan Crnojević to return to his homeland and reestablish his power, cf. I. Božić, "Vladavina Crnojevića", in *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. II-2 (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1970), 321.

⁹ Tomić, "Crnojevići i Crna Gora", no. 37, 3; no. 38, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* no. 37, 2.

The *Glas Crnogorca* borrowed many articles from the foreign press, among them being a text on the Crnojević family from the Italian magazine *Rivista Militare Italiana* published in two instalments under the heading “Crnojević family in Venice”.¹¹ It was written on the occasion of the marriage of the future Italian king Victor Emanuel III of the House of Savoy and the Montenegrin princess Jelena Petrović in 1896. Drawing on Venetian chroniclers (Marino Sanuto, Domenico Malipiero), it portrays the last ruler of the Crnojević family, Djuradj (1490–1496), in a new light, and gives some historical notes relating to Djuradj Crnojević from a book by the Italian historian Giuseppe Marcotti. The text says that Djuradj, the lord of some regions and mountains near Kotor in “Slavonia”, arrived in Venice in late 1496, since his brother Stefan had deposed him with the help of the Turks. Stefan was also helped by their third brother, Skanderbeg, who had converted to Islam and lived in Turkey. Marino Sanuto describes Djuradj Crnojević as a tall and very handsome man clad in gold in the Greek style. Upon his arrival in Venice, Djuradj Crnojević was appointed as commander of the city of Bergamo, and then as *proveditor in campo* under the city of Alessandria.¹² He was incarcerated for some time because of his attempt to return to Zeta and stir up a rebellion against the Turks. The Republic of Venice had good relations with Turkey at the time and it was not in its interest to spoil them. According to Marcotti, Djuradj Crnojević was imprisoned from 30 June to 25 October 1498, when he was released upon the intervention of the French king Charles VIII. In 1499 Djuradj arrived in Zeta and submitted to the Turks.¹³ The sultan assigned him to rule in Rhodes, and then in Anatolia, and set his pay at 25,000 aspers, which is 3,000 liras.¹⁴ Djuradj Crnojević died in exile in Anatolia sometime about 1520. His wife and children were granted an annual stipend of sixty ducats by the Venetian Senate.¹⁵

Another text from the Italian magazine *Rivista Militare Italiana* published in the *Glas Crnogorca* was written by E. Barbarić on the Ottoman siege of

¹¹ “Crnojevići u Mlecima”, *Glas Crnogorca* (1896), no. 48, 2–3; no. 49, 2–3.

¹² *Ibid.* no. 48, 2.

¹³ Having lost all hope of regaining rule over his territory with the help of the Republic of Venice and Western states, Djuradj Crnojević turned to the Turks. At the beginning of 1500, he left Italy secretly and went to Firuz Bey, sanjak-bey of Scutari, to negotiate about switching his allegiance to the sultan. He was at the Sublime Porte as early as March the same year, but instead of the territory he desired, the sultan granted him only a *timar* in Anatolia, cf. M. Blagojević and M. Spremić, “Slom Crnojevića”, in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. II (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1981), 429.

¹⁴ “Crnojevići u Mlecima”, no. 49, 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 3. References to Djuradj’s descendants in the Republic of Venice occur until 1636, cf. R. Dragičević, “Veze Zete-Crne Gore sa Jadranskim primorjem”, *Zapisi* 4 (1935), 194.

Scutari in 1474.¹⁶ According to Barbarić, the Turkish siege of the city was described by a contemporary chronicler, Domenico Malipiero, in his *Annali veneti dell'anno 1457–1500*.¹⁷ In 1474 the Turks tried to capture the Venetian-controlled city of Scutari in Zeta, but failed. The Venetians managed to defend it with the help of Ivan Crnojević.¹⁸

The anonymous article “An old Serbian monument in Italy”¹⁹ published in the *Glas Crnogorca* speaks about the gifts that king Stefan Uroš II Milutin of Serbia (whose realm included today’s Montenegro) made to the Roman Catholic church of St Nicholas (Basilica di San Nicola) in the Italian city of Bari in 1319. King Milutin had a large altar built and a large silver icon executed by Obrad Desislavov, an artist from Kotor, as a gift to the church. Inside the church, near the door which leads into a circular space, one can see on the marble slab that serves as the altar support, a wide silver plaque (in a semi-Lombard style) which bears an inscription referring to the rich gift of king Milutin. The inscription says that in 1319 Uroš (as the king is referred to in the sources), king of Rassaia, Dioclia, Albania, Bulgaria and all of the Adriatic coast from the sea to the Danube river, commanded that an altar, a large silver icon, a silver altar cover, icon lamps and candlesticks be made in honour of St Nicholas and presented as a gift to the church of the same name in Bari. The names of craftsmen and artists who carried out the king’s commission were cited in the inscription. The Serbian ruler’s gift to the Roman Catholic church of St Nicholas in Bari is a good indicator of his policies. In 1895 Milan Jovanović, a member of the Royal Serbian Academy, found the icon of St Nicholas, king Milutin’s gift, in the treasury of the church of St Nicholas. Good relations between Kotor and Bari were the reason why Serbian rulers made rich gifts to the pilgrimage church of St Nicholas. In an earlier period, the church was presented with lavish gifts by Stefan Nemanja. King Milutin’s mother, queen Helen of Anjou, donated an icon of St Nicholas which showed her kneeling in prayer with her sons Dragutin and Milutin. Donations to the church were also made by the Serbian king Stefan of Dečani (r. 1321–1331), and by king Dušan (r. 1331–1355) who, on the day of his coronation as emperor (1346), ordered that 200 perpers (ducats) of the tribute paid by Dubrovnik (Ragusa) be transferred annually to the church of St Nicholas in Bari. According to the anonymous author of this article, there is no reason to speak about Milutin’s conversion to Catholicism, which some “Catholic” writers, such as Charles du Fresne du Cange, suggest on the basis of king Milutin’s lavish gifts to the church of St Nicholas in Bari.²⁰ The author uses

¹⁶ E. Barbarić, “Opsada Skadra”, *Glas Crnogorca* (1896) no. 50, 2; no. 52, 2–3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* no. 50, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ “Stari srpski spomenik u Italiji”, *Glas Crnogorca* (1902) no. 34, 2; no. 35, 2–3.

²⁰ *Ibid.* no. 34, 2.

excerpts from a book of cardinal Bartolini (*Su l'antica Basilica di S. Nicolo di Bari nella Puglia. Osservazioni storiche, artistiche et archeologiche*, Rome 1882) claiming that king Milutin ruled Serbia together with his brother Stefan Dragutin, as well as that he published a letter to pope Benedict XI (1303/4) promising to adopt the Catholic faith, but did not fulfil his promise until 1320, when he was defeated by king Charles Robert and became his vassal, renounced schism and became a Catholic. There is also a statement in the text that king Milutin died in November 1323.²¹

The *Glas Crnogorca* also published texts about the first printing press among the South Slavs. That this great cultural contribution by which the short reign of Djuradj Crnojević was remembered was a lasting inspiration is evidenced by the large number of texts in Montenegrin periodicals in the period discussed here.²² They emphasize that the Obod-Cetinje printing press was one of the earliest in Europe, the first state printing-press and the first that printed in Cyrillic.²³ They also emphasize that Ivan Crnojević had even before that time sent a monk (Macarius) to Venice to learn the art of printing, and that it was also in Venice that his son Djuradj Crnojević purchased the printing press. In Venice, Djuradj's men were trained in the basics of the printing process, and purchased the printing press, tools, and probably also larger quantities of paper than could be procured in Kotor. These statements have been confirmed by modern historiography.²⁴

The Orthodox priest Petar Rafailović was a contributor to the *Boka: Veliki ilustrovani calendar* (Great Illustrated Calendar of the Gulf of Kotor) – published from 1909 to 1914 – with a text on the diocese of Kotor. He notes that the diocese had been subordinate to the archbishop of the city of Bari, in the Italian region of Apulia, from the eleventh century. At the time of the conflict

²¹ Ibid. no 35, 3. However, the date of king Milutin's death established by modern historiography is 29 October 1321, see S. Ćirković, "Vladavina Stefana Uroša III Dečanskog", in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. I (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1981), 497; on the life and reign of king Milutin of Serbia see also S. Stanojević, "Kralj Milutin", *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* XLVI (1937), 1–43; M. Dinić, "Odnos između kraljeva Milutina i Dragutina", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 3 (1955), 49–81; V. Mošin, "Žitije kralja Milutina prema arhiepiskopu Danilu II i Milutinovoj povelji-autobiografiji", *Zbornik istorije književnosti* 10 (1976), 110–147.

²² "Četiristogodišnjica Obodske štamparije (u Crnoj Gori)", *Glas Crnogorca* (1893) no. 9, 1; "Slava zetskijem gospodarima Ivanu i Djurdu Crnojevićima", *Glas Crnogorca* (1893) no. 29, 1; "Svečani dani". *Glas Crnogorca* (1893) no. 29, 1–4; Rovinski, "Crna Gora", no. 17, 1–2; L. Tomanović, "O Obodsko-cetinjskoj štampariji", *Glas Crnogorca* (1900) no. 26, 2–3. On the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Gutenberg's printing-press, Dr. Tomanović gave a lecture in Mainz, which was presented in the *Glas Crnogorca*.

²³ Tomanović, "O Obodsko-cetinjskoj štampariji", 2.

²⁴ Božić, "Vladavina Crnojevića", 339–340.

between the archdioceses of Dubrovnik and Bar, the diocese of Kotor (at the time of bishop Ursacius) placed itself under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bari. Aristocratic families of Kotor gave many clergymen who served as bishops not only in their hometown but also in Italy: in Bari, Livello, Trani, Bisceglie. Rafailović points out that there was a link between Kotor and these places, so it was not surprising that the citizens of Kotor sought to be under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bari in spiritual matters.²⁵

Between the two world wars (1918–1941)

In the interwar period the territory of present-day Montenegro was part of the *Oblast* (region) of *Zeta* in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In 1929 the kingdom was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the *Oblast* was renamed *Banovina* (banate) of *Zeta*. A large number of periodicals were published and many of them devoted attention to medieval topics, including the cultural and political connections between Duklja/Zeta and the Apennine Peninsula.

The *Zetski glasnik* (The Herald of Zeta), issued in Cetinje (1931–1941) under the editorship of Vuko Mitrović, was the official organ of the Banovina of Zeta. It published political articles, reportages, literary, historical and ethnographic contributions. It regularly published documentary material from the State Archives at Cetinje compiled and edited by Dušan Vuksan. It was a well-edited magazine with a distinctively Yugoslav orientation, which it maintained until the end of 1941.²⁶

Articles about the Duklja kings Mihailo (Michael) and Bodin Vojislavljević and their relations with the Normans of Southern Italy were contributed by Ilija Radulović.²⁷ According to him, in the reign of Mihailo (mid-eleventh century – 1081) those relations saw an improvement. In 1080 Mihailo married his son and heir Bodin to Jaquinta, daughter of Archiriz, leader of the Norman party in

²⁵ R. P. Rafailović, “Kotorski biskupi u borbi za prvenstvo između barskog i dubrovačkog arhiepiskopa”, *Boka, veliki ilustrovani kalendar za godinu 1912*, 28–34. Kotor was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bari from 1172 to 1828 with short breaks, see L. Blehova Čelebić, *Hrišćanstvo u Boki 1200–1500: kotorski distrikt*. Podgorica: Pobjeda; Narodni muzej Crne Gore; Istorijiski institut Crne Gore, 2006), 18.

²⁶ Martinović, *Razvitak štampe i stamparstva*; S. Raspopović Babović, *Kulturna politika u Zetskoj banovini 1929–1941* (Podgorica: Istorijiski institut Crne Gore, 2002), 165–166.

²⁷ Radulović was a geographer and teacher at the Podgorica Grammar School. He published some noted texts about medieval Dioclea, Bar, Shkoder, Medun, Podgorica and Dubrovnik, about settlements and population in medieval Zeta, the monastery of St. Nicholas in Vranjina, Mihailo and Bodin Vojislavljević in the *Zetski glasnik* and in the *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke gimnazije* (The Annual of the Podgorica Grammar School Teachers). He was a member of the Sokol association in Podgorica and teacher at its school established in 1934. See Raspopović Babović, *Kulturna politika*, 142.

Bari.²⁸ This move of Mihailo's was an attempt to suppress Byzantine influence. King Bodin (1081–1099) also maintained good relations with the Normans, under the influence of his wife Jaquinta, and the papal curia sought to organize a Norman-Duklja alliance against Byzantium.²⁹ These developments made a strong impression on an anonymous later writer, known as the Priest of Duklja. He gave his account of them in his *Bar Genealogy* or *The Chronicle of a Priest of Duklja*, written probably in the second half of the twelfth century.³⁰

The periodical *Zapisi* (The Records) was launched by a group of teachers of the Cetinje Grammar School in 1927. It published primary source material from the Archives of Cetinje, and especially from the archival department of the State Museum in Cetinje, as well as short discussions, studies, and articles on the political and cultural history of Montenegro. In the first phase of publication, from 1 July 1927 to 1 April 1933, the periodical had a scholarly and literary profile. The editor in chief was Dušan D. Vuksan (1881–1944), a Slavist and classical philologist. After a break in publication, the magazine was restarted as a monthly of the Cetinje Historical Society, from 1 January 1935 to 1 April 1941. Vuksan continued to serve as its editor, although at that time he retired and moved to Belgrade.³¹ Risto J. Dragičević served as managing editor.³²

In his article on relations between Zeta/Montenegro and the coastal region of the eastern Adriatic (Primorje) published in the *Zapisi*, Risto Dragičević points out that as a result of the rivalry between the archbishop of Dubrovnik and the archbishop of Bar, the bishopric of Kotor was subordinate to the Italian

²⁸ I. Radulović, "Kralj Bodin", *Zetski glasnik* (1939) no. 807, 4.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ There are several modern editions of this chronicle. One of them, published in the interwar period, was edited by F. Šišić, *Letopis popa Dukljanina* (Belgrade – Zagreb: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1928).

³¹ ²⁷ There is an ample literature about the *Zapisi* and its editors: Martinović, *Razvitak štampe i štamparstva*; Dj. Pejović, "Zapisi, časopis za nauku i književnost", *Zapisi* 3 (1967), 391–403; R. Dragičević, "Zapisi – glasnik Cetinjskog istorijskog društva (1935–1941)", *Zapisi* 3 (1967), 405–421; Dj. Pejović, *Prosvjetni i kulturni rad u Crnoj Gori 1918–1941* (Titograd: Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore, 1982); Babović-Raspopović, *Kulturna politika*.

³² Risto Dragičević (Potpeće, Piperi, 1901 – Cetinje, 1980) completed his secondary education in Cetinje, and graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1928. He specialized in history at the University of Warsaw. He taught history and literature at the Orthodox Seminary and the Gymnasium in Cetinje, and then served as director of the State Museum in Cetinje. He was concerned with the past of Montenegro from the middle ages to modern times, especially noteworthy being his work on Montenegrin printing works. He wrote many articles and studies, mostly on political and cultural history as well as on the history of health care in Montenegro. He was also interested in ethnography and folklore. See Martinović, *Razvitak štampe i štamparstva*, 218.

archbishop in Bari for several centuries.³³ Modern historiography has confirmed that the bishop of Kotor was referred to as suffragan to the archbishop of Bari as early as the eleventh century, when both cities were under Byzantine rule. When the newly-established archdiocese of Bari (1089) entered into dispute with the archdiocese of Dubrovnik over ecclesiastical jurisdiction, laying claims to the diocese of Kotor, the latter, territorially situated between the two rivals, remained under Bari.³⁴

The *Glasnik Narodnog univerziteta Boke Kotorske* (The Herald of the Popular University of the Gulf of Kotor) was the first scholarly periodical to be published in the Gulf of Kotor. It was started by a group of professors and diligent explorers of the cultural past gathered around the Popular University of the Gulf of Kotor. The University was founded in 1933, with its main office in Kotor. It published the *Glasnik* from 1934 to 1940. Edited by professor Predrag Kovačević, the *Glasnik* published short scholarly contributions and source materials in the fields of history, archaeology, art history, archival studies, ethnography etc. It was a very useful publication, especially for the history, ethnography and archaeology of the Gulf of Kotor.³⁵ Among the articles on medieval topics was a text on a false charter of emperor Stefan Dušan to Datajko Medin from the pen of Nikola Radojčić, professor at the University of Ljubljana.³⁶ This charter was published in 1878 in *Auspicatissime nozze dei conti Giuseppe-Giuseppina Medin* by professor Antonio Medin, an Italian literary historian, and reprinted in 1906 in G. Grimaldi's book which outlined a history of various Eastern rulers and despots. The occasion of the wedding of professor Medin's relatives was an opportunity for him to emphasize the family's old aristocratic lineage.³⁷

An important place in the history of the interwar periodical press in the Gulf of Kotor is held by the weekly *Glas Boke* (The Voice of the Gulf of Kotor). It was started by a group of Kotor intellectuals who envisaged it as a democratic, non-party magazine. The first issue appeared on 29 November 1932 and the

³³ R. Dragičević, "Veze Zete-Crne Gore sa Jadranskim primorjem", *Zapisi* 3 (1935), 129–136; 4, 193–200; 5, 267–273.

³⁴ I. Božić, "O jurisdikciji kotorske dijeceze u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji", *Nemirno Pomorje XV veka* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1979), 15.

³⁵ Martinović, *Razvitak štampe i štamparstva*, 162.

³⁶ Nikola Radojčić (Kuzmin, 1882 – Belgrade, 1964) pursued his higher education at the universities of Graz, Zagreb, Jena and Munich, receiving his doctoral degree with a thesis on the history of Byzantium in 1907. He was a versatile historian concerned with Byzantine history, the history of Serbian history writing, of Serbian law, the history of Bosnia. His other contributions to the *Zapisi* dealt with the historian Ilarion Ruvarac and the medieval toponym "Red Croatia". See S. Ćirković, "Nikola Radojčić", in *Enciklopedija srpske istoriografije* (Belgrade: Knowledge, 1997), 607–608.

³⁷ N. Radojčić, "O lažnoj povelji cara Dušana kir Datajku Medinu", *Glasnik Narodnog univerziteta Boke Kotorske* 1-4 (1938), 48–49.

last (no. 414) shortly before the war, on 29 March 1941. Coming out regularly every Saturday for ten years, it recorded all important local events. As a magazine devoted to economic and educational issues (as was stated in its subtitle), it published articles on economics, and encouraged the development of tourism, but it was also concerned with certain historical events, and published polemical texts on cultural life.³⁸ The *Glas Boke* to an extent followed in the tradition of the weekly *Boka* which had been published from 1908 to 1909 in Kotor. Its editorial policy followed the programme of Yugoslav state and national unity. It supported king Alexander's three-year royal dictatorship (1929–1931) and published texts written in the spirit of integral Yugoslavism and unitarism.³⁹

A certain number of articles in the periodicals published mainly in the Gulf of Kotor wrote about Benedictine monasteries and the Benedictines and their missionary activities in medieval Duklja/Zeta. The most important authors were Maksim Zloković and Petar Šerović.⁴⁰ According to Zloković's historical review of Bijela in the *Glas Boke*, there was in the ninth or tenth century a Benedictine monastery in the place called Rake (Bijela), which was confirmed by a seventeenth-century Benedictine abbot, Timothy Cisilla, who called it *San Pietro in Alba* in his manuscript *Bove d'oro*.⁴¹ The monastery gave the name to the

³⁸ M. Luketić, "Periodika Boke Kotorske", *Kazivanja o prošlosti* (Budva: Istorijski arhiv, 1988), 166–167.

³⁹ Raspopović Babović, *Kulturna politika*, 173.

⁴⁰ Maksim Zloković (Bijela, 1910 – Kotor, 1996) studied Serbo-Croatian language and history at the Higher School of Pedagogy in Cetinje. He published dozens of articles about the maritime history of the Gulf of Kotor and useful biographical sketches of prominent local figures based on unpublished archival material. He published an aesthetical and historical portrait of the Bijela area, his hometown, in the *Glas Boke*, and wrote again about old churches in Bijela in the *Zetski glasnik*, see R. Mihaljčić, "Maksim Zloković", in *Enciklopedija srpske istoriografije* (Belgrade: Knowledge, 1997), 391–392. Petar D. Šerović (Bijela, 1887–1968) studied law in Zagreb, Vienna and Graz, where he graduated in 1913. When he moved to Kotor in 1933, he and a group of local intellectuals founded the Popular University of the Gulf of Kotor, and the following year launched the *Glasnik Narodnog univerziteta Boke Kotorske*. He was a tireless explorer of the past of the Gulf of Kotor and his bibliography consists of some 200 works on the cultural and political history of the Gulf of Kotor, most of them presenting the results of his research marked by his excellent knowledge of the classical and living languages, and of the local heritage and mentality, see V. Ivošević, "Bokeljske teme Petra Šerovića", *Boka* (1988) no. 20, 294; I. Zloković, "Petar Šerović", *Istorijski zapisi* 21 (1968), 328.

⁴¹ Timotej Cizila (Cisilla) was a Benedictine and history writer born in Kotor in the second half of the 16th century. He was mentioned as prior of the Benedictine abbey of St. James in Višnjica near Dubrovnik in 1605. He managed to obtain permission from the Ottoman authorities for pastoral work among Christians on the Venetian-Turkish border. He was the author of a historical writing, *Bove d'Oro* (Golden Bull), preserved in a later transcription, which contains the history of the noble Bolica (Bolizza) family of Kotor, see S. Vulović, "Bove

whole of Bijela, which was called “Saint Peter’s village”, or “Saint Peter in Alba” or “de campo” back then. Pope Clement VI (1342–1352), in his letter to Serbian emperor Dušan of 6 January 1346, recommended to him the churches and monasteries in his country, and asked for the monastery of “sancti Pietri de Campo” to be returned to the bishop of Kotor.⁴² In his article on the Nemanjić dynasty and the Gulf of Kotor, Petar Šerović notes that the monastery and church of St Benedict in Kotor was built by a master builder of Kotor, Petar Radoslavov, during the first years of the reign of the Serbian emperor Dušan,⁴³ and he also mentions other Benedictine churches and monasteries in the Gulf of Kotor and along the coast.⁴⁴

The weekly *Zeta* (Podgorica, 1930–1941) brought texts about the Serbian printing-shop owner Božidar Vuković of Podgorica (1460–1539) and his son Vincenzo (Vincenzo della Vecchia). After the Ottoman conquest of Zeta/Montenegro (1496), he started a printing-shop in Venice, which printed various liturgical books. One of these texts, written by S. P. Vuletić, notes that Božidar Vuković left Zeta at a young age and settled in Venice, where he died in 1539. He points out that Vuković, who ran a Slavic printing shop in Venice, worked hard and earned considerable wealth.⁴⁵ A programmatic article published on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument to Božidar Vuković in 1938 emphasizes his importance in Yugoslav terms, gives an overview of his life and work, and notes that his dying wish to his son Vincenzo was to bury him in his homeland. Vincenzo honoured his father’s wish and buried him on the isle of Starčevo in Lake Scutari.⁴⁶ From 1519 to 1540 Vuković’s shop in Venice printed seven books: a psalter, a service book, two anthologies for travellers, an octoechos, a festal menaion and a euchologion. The first of them was the Psalter, completed on 7 April 1519. The printing of its edition supplemented with an acolouthia and a book of hours was completed on 12 October 1520.⁴⁷

d’Oro, rukopisno djelo benediktinca Kotoranina o. Timoteja Cizile”, in *Program C. k. državne velike gimnazije u Kotoru za sk. god. 1887–88* (Zadar 1888), 3–31; A. Milošević, “Notatione et memoratu digna quoad Episcopos Catharenses”, *Schematismus seu Status personalis et localis Dioecesis Catharensis pro anno Domini MCMVII* (Dubrovnik 1907), 20; P. Butorac, *Opatija sv. Jurja kod Perasta* (Zagreb 1928), 48–50.

⁴² M. Zloković, “Bijela: estetsko-istorijski prikaz”, *Glas Boke* (1936) no. 190–191, 3.

⁴³ D. P. Šerović, “Nemanjići i Boka”, *Glasnik Narodnog univerziteta Boke Kotorske* 1-3 (1935), 7–10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ S. P. Vuletić, “O životu i radu vojvode Božidara Vukovića”, *Zeta* (1938) no. 16, 4.

⁴⁶ B. Djurović, “Otkrivanje spomenika Božidaru Vukoviću, crnogorskom prosvjetaru i štamparu”, *Zeta* (1939) no. 25, 1.

⁴⁷ R. Vujošević, *Vojvoda Božidar Vuković Podgoričanin, štampar iz XVI vijeka* (Titograd: Muzeji i galerije, 1981), 11.

Conclusion

Political and cultural contacts between Duklja/Zeta and the Apennine Peninsula in the middle ages were the subject of articles published in periodicals issued in the territory of present-day Montenegro for almost a century – from 1835 to 1941. During the period from the appearance of the first periodical publication, the almanac *Grlica*, in 1835 until the end of the First World War in 1918 such articles were the most frequent in the magazine *Glas Crnogorca*. The most common topics revolved around the donation of king Stefan Uroš II Milutin to the church of St Nicholas in Bari, relations of Ivan Crnojević and his son and heir Djurađ with the Republic of Venice, the Obod printing press, the bishopric of Kotor. The most prominent authors were Jovan Tomić, E. Barbarić and Petar Rafailović. In the period between the two world wars, 1918–1941, these topics were written about mostly in the magazines *Zetski glasnik*, *Zeta*, *Glas Boke*, *Glasnik Narodnog univerziteta Boke Kotorske* and *Zapisi*. The most prominent authors were Ilija Radulović, Risto Dragičević, Nikola Radojčić, Maksim Zloković, Petar Šerović, Savo Vuletić and S. Djurović. Their texts pointed to many political and cultural connections between Duklja/Zeta and the Apennine Peninsula in medieval times. These connections were manifested through: the common political framework in which lands constituting present-day Montenegro and Italy existed (under the Byzantine Empire or the Venetian Republic), the evangelization of today's Montenegro, the endowing of churches, marriage ties, printing activities.

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