

# Travelling through the “Forgotten” Past: The Journeys of Pavle Stamatović in their Broader Pan-Slavic Context

Dušan J. Ljuboja<sup>1</sup>

## I. Introduction

The relation between the past and present was delicate in all the national movements of the nineteenth century. Although Pan-Slavism was supranational, it acted following similar principles to other national movements. Many Slavists approached the question of the “Slavic antiquity” to provide the answers for some of the contemporary issues with which they were dealing. If they could prove that not only did the Slavs live on the same territory for a long time, but also that they had a glorious past, they would meet their set goals. Ján Kollár and Pavel Jozef Šafárik were the most prominent figures of Pan-Slavism in the first half of the nineteenth century, and both of them had a deeper connection with the Serbian national cultural revival, which they each significantly impacted. Kollár was a Lutheran chaplain in Pest, and he closely cooperated with the Serbian community living there; while Šafárik spent most of his young age working as a professor in the Serbian Gymnasium in Novi Sad.

Pavle Stamatović was one of the central figures in the Serbian cultural movement of this period, and he lived and worked in various cities, like Pest, Szeged, Eger, and others. Even though he had a religious background (he was a Serbian Orthodox priest), he actively engaged in the contemporary discussions regarding many national (and supranational) issues, like linguistics, history, and politics. In this paper, I will present his travelogues, printed in a series of articles between 1833 and 1838. In order to fully understand the mindset behind these journeys, it is necessary to present an overview of the “ethnic myths” connected with the distant national past, and the notion of the “Slavic antiquity”

---

<sup>1</sup> Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.

itself. Also, it is required to present the views of Stamatović himself, regarding the aforementioned issues, which he expressed in many other places. Only then it is possible to understand the meaning of his journeys, now read from their proper perspective.

## **II. The usage of the past through the myths of national descent**

The “manufacturing” of the past by the “national workers” of the nineteenth century is not an unknown phenomenon amongst researchers. The cases of the famous Czech Manuscripts are one of the best examples of how forging the documents from the past could be used in contemporary times.<sup>2</sup> Naturally, these tendencies to “discover” old manuscripts or any other written and oral records were not limited only to the Czechs or the Slavs in general because this was the case with every aspiring nation in Europe.<sup>3</sup> Miroslav Hroch, who was a well-known theoretician of nationalism, wrote about the quest for “security” that led the Romantics to look into the past. They turned their focus from the contemporary realities to the “idealized picture of ages past” where these scholars tried to build a connection between the present and previous generations. This endeavour, as Hroch noted, often had a “historicizing component” which served as a unifying factor of an emerging nation. All the national movements constructed the “collective memory” for this purpose, mostly through the myths of the past sufferings of a nation, or their earlier “Golden Age.”<sup>4</sup>

Anthony Smith, who was another renowned scholar in the field of nationalism theory, analysed the components of the “ethnic descent

---

<sup>2</sup> Václav Hanka (1791–1861), a Czech philologist from the nineteenth century, became famous when he “discovered” two manuscripts from the medieval Bohemian kingdom. These documents, named as the Manuscripts of Grünberg and Königinhof, were proven forgeries due to the efforts of the group of scholars surrounding the Czech sociologist and philosopher Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, in the 1880s. For more information about the Czech Manuscripts see P. Rychterová, “The Manuscripts of Grünberg and Königinhof: Romantic Lies about the Glorious Past of the Czech Nation,” in *Manufacturing a Past for the Present. Forgery and Authenticity in Medievalist Texts and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. János M. Bak et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 3–30.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Bak et al, “The Long Shadow of Ossian,” in *Manufacturing a Past for the Present*, x.

<sup>4</sup> M. Hroch, “National Romanticism,” in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945): Texts and Commentaries*, vol. 2, eds. Balázs Trencsenyi and Michal Kopeček (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), 6, 14.

myths," as he named them. He listed a number of different myths that were invoked by the nationalist movements, since the Late Modern Period. Among them, the ones he labelled as the "myth of origins" and the "myth of descent proper with special emphasis upon the nature of the ancestor" are those that could be applied to the Slavs as perceived by the nineteenth-century Pan-Slavists. The first one refers to "dignity through antiquity," which was a way for the Pan-Slavic scholars to elevate the current state of Slavs through emphasizing their real or imagined deeds since ancient times. The second one deals with the myth of noble ancestors who were the founders of a nation, in this case of the Slavic one.<sup>5</sup> In his work *National Identity*, Smith argued that even though the concept of a nation is a modern one, it was also "deep-rooted" to a certain extent. In a sub-chapter dedicated to the relation between the concepts of modernity and antiquity within a nation, he also emphasized the importance of the territory for a nation. The reason for this was the long association of the specific people with it, which also included emotional and imaginary connections.<sup>6</sup>

Before we start analysing the Slavic "ancestral myths," this phenomenon should be briefly analysed in its broader European context. Pan-Slavists emulated their German role-models and adversaries. The myth of Germanic antiquity, based on antique sources, was differently understood in different times. The most important work, *Germania* by Tacitus, was used as a foundation on which scholars built the anti-Roman Catholic Church sentiment during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because of the conflation of that institution with the Roman Empire. However, the work itself and the notion of "German antiquity" got entirely new interpretations during the Napoleonic wars. Johann Gottlieb Fichte and his contemporaries sought a German spirit of unity amidst the war chaos that engulfed German territories, so they found it in the past, in the struggles of Arminius (or Hermann) against the Roman Empire.<sup>7</sup>

German nationalistic myths were similar to those of the French, Swedish, Spanish, or Dutch, as Joep Leerssen observed in his *National*

---

<sup>5</sup> A. D. Smith, "Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 25:2 (1984): 292.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Group, 1991), 68-70.

<sup>7</sup> J. J. K. Reusch, "Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42:1 (2008): 102-103.

*Thought in Europe*. All of them attempted to find their “ancestors” in the past, who often fought unjust wars against their mightier oppressors.<sup>8</sup> The French were, at the same time, starting to build the myth of their Celtic descent. Abbot Sieyès saw the Gauls as the true ancestors of the so-called “Third estate,” who did not share the same origin with the nobility originated from the Frankish invaders.<sup>9</sup> The Revolutionary France and the French Empire that replaced it nourished this myth of the “Gaulic ancestry” of the French people. The Bourbon Restoration that took place between 1815 and 1830 suppressed the myth, but then reintroduced it again during the Second Republic, and subsequently, the Second French Empire.<sup>10</sup> Similarly to the ancient Germans, the Gauls fought hard against their foreign invaders and were conquered only after long and bloody battles.

### III. The notion of “Slavic antiquity”

The Pan-Slavists of the first half of the nineteenth century mostly perceived Slavs as a single nation, divided into different sub-groups.<sup>11</sup> It was no coincidence that the most famous Slavists of this period studied in German universities. Ján Kollár (1793-1852) and Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861) both witnessed the events surrounding the Wartburg festival in Jena in 1817, which was a nationalistic event organized by German students, and they were both inspired in two different ways by it. The emerging German nationalism and the idea of the Pan-Germanic unity represented a model that was emulated by the young Pan-Slavists.<sup>12</sup> However, it also represented a threat to Slavs, especially for those who lived together with Germans, such as Czechs and Poles.<sup>13</sup> In its essence, the myth of “Slavic antiquity” tried to prove that Slavs were not some “Asiatic invaders” who came with Huns into Europe in the fourth

---

<sup>8</sup> J. Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 49-51.

<sup>9</sup> M. Dietler, “Our Ancestors the Gauls. Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe,” *American Anthropologist* 96:1 (1994): 587.

<sup>10</sup> M. Dietler, “Our Ancestors the Gauls,” 588.

<sup>11</sup> H. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism. Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), ix.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, xiv, 3-4, 6-7; A. Maxwell, “Herder, Kollár, and the Origins of Slavic Ethnography,” *Traditiones* 40:2 (2011): 83.

<sup>13</sup> For an overview of the German perception of the East and Slavs, including racial and xenophobic attitudes of the German scholars, see V. G. Liulevicius, *The German Myth of the East. 1800 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2009), 51-53, 74-81.

century. On the contrary, they had been living on the same territory for centuries before that. Their “antiquity” and connection with the land they inhabited proved that they had the right to freely decide their destinies in contemporary times, without the foreign interference of domination.<sup>14</sup>

While Ján Kollár was studying in Jena, he used to meet with the famous German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was interested in Slavic folk poetry. John Connelly, in his *From Peoples into Nations*, wrote how the trips the young Slovakian took on his way to meet the German poet left a long-lasting impression on him. Kollár noticed that many settlements, including Jena, Weimar, and other Thuringian towns, had names of Slavic origin. Connelly asked the simple question that might have crossed the young mind of Kollár – where were Slavs now if the topography and the names of the settlements testify that they once lived here?<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the young Slovak student reminisced these thoughts in his later memoirs, where he stated that “every town, every village, a river, and a hill had Slavic name, and seemed to be a grave or a monument on this great cemetery.”<sup>16</sup> All these “hints” steered the imagination of Kollár, as Connelly notes, leading him to conclude that Slavs were a large nation, covering a vast territory.<sup>17</sup> The experiences in Jena considerably influenced his epic poem *Slávy dcera* [The Daughter of Sláva] (1824). This poem, among other things, helped to create a mental geography that would be understood by its readers, especially by those of Slavic origin. Kollár sang about the homeland of the Slavic nation: “From the treacherous Elbe o’er the plain to the Vistula faithless, / From the

---

<sup>14</sup> P. J. Šafárik, “Karakter Slavenskog naroda voobšte” [The Character of the Slavic People in General], *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 1:1 (1825): 82-84; Šafárik was more explicit about his goal in his article called *Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowanů w Europě*. There, he wrote: “The purpose of this public observation is following: to prove, that we should seek the origin of Slavs in the surroundings of the European peoples, and not the Asian ones, least in the areas of Scythians or Mongolians, to whom we were kindheartedly added by some of our neighbors.” See P. J. Šafárik, “Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowanů w Europě” [An Opinion about the Ancency of Slavs in Europe], *Časopis českého Museum* [The Magazine of the Czech Museum] 1 (1834): 25.

<sup>15</sup> J. Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations. A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 87-88.

<sup>16</sup> The Slavs who lived in this area were Lusatian Sorbs, see J. Kollár, *Cestopis druhý a Paměti z mladších let života* [The Second Travelogue and Memories of the Younger Years of Life] (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1863), 276.

<sup>17</sup> J. Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations*, 89.

Danube until Baltic's insatiate foam," parts of which Germans conquered in the Early Medieval Period.<sup>18</sup>

The notion of the "Slavic antiquity" was mostly a focus of the studies of Pavel Jozef Šafárik. In his two works, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen nach Lorenz Surowiecki* [On the Origin of Slavs according to Lorenz Surowiecki] (1828) and *Slovanské starožítosti* [Slavic Antiquities] (1837) he thoroughly developed the idea, basing his conclusions mostly on the analysis of the historical sources and the linguistic evidence. The latter one was a necessary tool he used to shed light on the "thick darkness" that kept the ancient Slavic history hidden from the researchers. Where the historical sources failed to provide the necessary information, or they were just entirely non-existent, Šafárik used the linguistic analysis of the personal names and topography to prove his point. Thus, he argued that Slavs had more profound connections with the territory they inhabited and that they just had different names in the past, like Vends, Sarmatians, and Serbs, given to them by the foreign authors.<sup>19</sup> In this work, Šafárik dedicated over twenty pages just to the linguistic analysis of the names of the settlements and topography. He covered all the areas inhabited by Slavs, both in the past and the present. Šafárik's linguistic analysis included the usage of various Slavic languages, but also Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hungarian, and German. He used current toponyms and settlements and compared them to those he found in the historical sources, from the Antiquity onwards. By doing that, he tried to show the longevity of the Slavic presence in their contemporary homelands.<sup>20</sup> Šafárik claimed that "the etymology of the names of the Slavic settlements, which were two or three thousand years old, wanted to have its chest free, and its eyes opened." He continued with his account stating that "for example, in my native place there is one steep hill called Magurica, which is pronounced as Magrica in the fast peasant dialect, which was once part of the Carpathians [...] Today the word can be sought throughout Slavic languages in vain, but not in Sanskrit, where the word "magur" means steep, high, huge."<sup>21</sup> The other examples that

---

<sup>18</sup> For the relevant excerpts of the poem, translated into English, see *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe*, vol 2, 208-210.

<sup>19</sup> P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen nach Lorenz Surowiecki* [On the Origin of Slavs according to Lorenz Surowiecki] (Ofen: Kon. Ung. Universitats-Schriften, 1828), 182-191.

<sup>20</sup> P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slawen*, 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 179.

Šafárik provided used similar logic to this one. He claimed that this list could be enlarged by threefold or tenfold, but even that would not be enough for some "unbeliever who even if he could hear the ringing of the voices of the inhabitants of these cities from the times of Herodotus, wanted to punish the lies if they did not align with his previously created hypotheses."<sup>22</sup>

Šafárik defended this method of analysis of the "etymology of personal names," as he referred to it, which got its bad reputation because of some irresponsible authors who wrote gibberish in the past. He saw this method as crucial for historians and linguists, because "where the iron and sagas are silent, personal names still intelligibly speak, the majority of which carried thousands of years on their backs."<sup>23</sup> Šafárik found support for this method in the works of the Scottish linguist Alexander Murray, who wrote his *History of the European Languages*, published in two volumes in 1823, after his demise. Murray wrote: "A noble commentary, on the ancient history of Europe and Western Asia, might be written by a prudent and rational philologist, from the materials supplied by geography."<sup>24</sup> This opinion of the Scottish linguist greatly influenced the young aspiring language researcher like Pavel Jozef Šafárik.<sup>25</sup>

In his other works, Šafárik continued this line of thought, notably in his *Slovanské starožítosti* (1837) and *Slovanský národopis* [Slavic Ethnography] (1842). While the first one delved deeper into the problem of the Slavic antiquities and history, the second one had more of an ethnographical character, in the spirit of Johan Gottfried von Herder's philosophy.<sup>26</sup> It was also a work of geography, as it described various Slavic lands in contemporary times. The map included in this work

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, 179-180.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, 180-181.

<sup>24</sup> Alexander Murray, *History of the European Languages or Researches into Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823), 145.

<sup>25</sup> Murray also wrote: "History is searched in vain for the annals of ages, in which letters were unknown or despised," which coincides with Šafárik's line about the "iron and sagas." See A. Murray, *History of the European Languages or Researches into Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823), 429.

<sup>26</sup> For the importance of Herder's "Slavic prophecy" and its impact on the region of Central Europe see I. Gombocz, "The Reception of Herder in Central Europe: Idealization and Exaggeration," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 33:2 (1997): 107-118.

sparked more interest among the young Slavic readership than any book ever did.<sup>27</sup> Thus, there was a clear connection between the roles of geography, ethnography, linguistics, and history in the works of Šafárik. These disciplines seemed very important for any aspiring national movement, as they showed a deep connection between the people and the territory they inhabited.

#### **IV. The “Slavic antiquity” in the Serbian context – the case of Pavle Stamatović**

In the Serbian context, the cultural society *Matica Srpska* [The Serbian Queen Bee], established in Pest in 1826, was their main cultural center in the first half of the nineteenth century. Jan Kollár, whose works were famous among all Slavs, including Serbs, was a Lutheran chaplain in Pest, where he had close connections with the local Serbian community.<sup>28</sup> Šafárik’s impact on the *Matica Srpska* was also evident from the very beginning. He was a colleague of Georgije Magarašević in the Gymnasium of Novi Sad, where Šafárik was a professor and a director from 1819 to 1833. Magarašević was also a founder of the society’s annual magazine *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual].<sup>29</sup> One of Šafárik’s earliest attempts to systematically discuss the character of the Slavs appeared in the first issue of the *Serbskij Letopis*. Also, his *Über die Abkunft der Slawen* got its first translation in one of the Slavic languages when it was published periodically in the aforementioned Serbian magazine, in all the issues of 1829.<sup>30</sup> His article *Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowanů w Europě* [An Opinion about the Anciency of Slavs in Europe] published in *Časopis českého museum* [Magazine of the Czech Museum] in 1834 also got its

---

<sup>27</sup> Stanko Vraž, who was one of the leaders of the Illyrian South-Slavic movement, in one letter he sent from Zagreb to Prague wrote: “When I brought a copy of this map, the local patriots and even the non-patriots tore it out of my hands. All of them cannot get over the fact that [the Slavic] nation is spread so far. The map arouses more patriots here than the whole literature could ever do.” Cited per H. Kohn, “Romanticism and Realism among Czechs,” *The Review of Politics* 14:1 (1952): 34.

<sup>28</sup> H. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 8-11.

<sup>29</sup> Stanley Kimball, “The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63:4 (1973): 13.

<sup>30</sup> *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 16 (1829): 5-34; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 17 (1829): 21-50; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 18 (1829): 33-60; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 19 (1829): 11-32.

translation to Serbian in *Serbskij Letopis* in the same year.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the excerpts from his most famous work, *Slowanske Starožitnosti*, appeared subsequently in several issues of the Serbian magazine.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, Šafárik’s work was well-known among the Serbian scholars and readership of the Serbian magazine.

Pavle Stamatović (1805-1864) was a Serbian Orthodox priest, historian, and scholar in general who was most active in the two decades preceding the year of 1848. Born in the village Jakovo in Syrmia, he graduated in philosophy in Pest, and in theology in Sremski Karlovci. Stamatović was briefly an editor of the most prominent Serbian annual *Serbskij Letopis* (1831-1832), printed in Pest since 1826. From Pest, he moved to Eger, where he lived until 1834, because of his duties as one of the clergymen of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Afterward, for the same reason, he moved to Szeged, where he stayed until 1844. He then moved to Sremski Karlovci and lived there for three years before settling in Novi Sad in 1847, where he spent the rest of his life. However, his main preoccupation was publishing his journal called *Serbska Pčela* [Serbian Bee] (1830-1841), an outlet which quickly gained in popularity among the Serbian readership.<sup>33</sup> Stamatović considered himself a historian, and he published a series of articles related to the Serbian history in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>34</sup>

The article regarding the notion of “Slavic antiquity” that appeared in his *Serbska Pčela* in 1833 was directly inspired by the writings of Kollár and Šafárik. Titled *Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj* [Serbs, the Ancient Inhabitants of Europe, and the Oldest Dwellers in Hungary], this piece reveals a unique approach to the “ancient history” of Serbs.<sup>35</sup> The purpose of this article was to display the long-lasting presence of the Serbs in the Kingdom of Hungary, which meant to show that they came there before the times of the kings

---

<sup>31</sup> *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 38 (1834): 1-50.

<sup>32</sup> *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 46 (1839): 1-15; *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 55 (1841): 1-14.

<sup>33</sup> U. Stanković, “Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista” [Pavle Stamatović as a National Publicist], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju* [Proceedings in History] 83 (2011): 25-26.

<sup>34</sup> U. Stanković, “Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista,” 31-36.

<sup>35</sup> P. Stamatović, “Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj” [Serbs, the Ancient Inhabitants of Europe, and the Oldest Dwellers in Hungary], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 4 (1833): 63-89.

Sigismund I and Matthias I in the fifteenth century. Stamatović accepted the opinion of the renowned Slavist, Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829), that the original name of Slavs was once “Serbs,” and that throughout the ages just a small minority of them kept it.<sup>36</sup> The best evidence that Serbs existed longer on the territory of Hungary for Stamatović was geography. More specifically, he referred to names of places across the entire country of Hungary, marked with the “symbols of Serbian anciency.” Stamatović then listed the names of ancient places like Serbinum, Serbecium, Servicium, Serba, Serbaja, Sirb, Srbice, Serbešt, and others. He copied them from Šafárik and Kollár, whom he cited, and who both listed in their works the settlements whose names resembled Serbian ones.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, these settlements from the distant past were the proof, or as Stamatović phrased it, “the clearest and most reliable documents,” of the Serbian anciency in Hungary.<sup>38</sup>

In the past, the once “enormous Serbian people,” noted Pavle Stamatović, were equated by “foreign historians” with various nations, like Vends, Inds, Venets, Slavs, Sarmatians, and others.<sup>39</sup> If readers accepted all the arguments presented by Stamatović, then they would “be easily convinced that Serbs are the oldest inhabitants and that Hungarians are newcomers into the land later named Hungary.”<sup>40</sup> He concluded the article with the following sentence: “From everything mentioned so far, an irrevocable historical truth is born [...] that Serbs were the oldest inhabitants of Hungary, and that they deserve the basic respect and acknowledgment from all the other newly arrived peoples.”<sup>41</sup>

In his article from 1835, titled *Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe* [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies], Stamatović wrote the following paragraph:

A thick darkness is covering the history of the Serbian people; that is also the case with the Serbs of Eger: a sparse beacon of historical light sparkles here and there before our

---

<sup>36</sup> P. Stamatović, “Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj,” 88-89. For Stamatović’s citations, see P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slaven*, 174-175, and J. Kollár, *Rozprawy o gmenách počátkách i starožitnostech národu slawského a geho kmenů* [Discussions about the Origin and Anciency of Names of the Slavic Nation and its Tribes] (W Budjné: W Král. Universické Tiskárně, 1830), 163-164.

<sup>37</sup> P. Stamatović, “Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj,” 78.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, 89.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, 86.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, 87.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 89.

eyes, which can convince us that in the oldest times our ancestors spent their merry lives, over so many centuries, in this or another area, about which, however, there is a deep silence in all the histories. The foreign historians made sure that within the Serbian most magnificent achievements, on the Serbian expense, they build a pillar for their people.<sup>42</sup>

The author here used two different and yet extremely telling expressions. Aside from the "where they spent their merry lives," which was a line paraphrasing the descriptions of Slavs from the work of Herder,<sup>43</sup> the other one about "thick darkness" was a direct copy from Šafárik's first sentence in his *Über die Abkunft der Slaven*.<sup>44</sup>

The editor of the *Serbska Pčela*, however, had his ways of shedding light on this darkness. In his article *Ungar u deržavi* [A Hungarian in a State] issued in 1837, he noted that it was over nine centuries since "one million souls of the north-eastern Asian pack called Magyars, in the world history known under the Slavic name Hungarian," came to the territory that later became Hungary.<sup>45</sup> This land, as evidenced by its "Slavic" name, used to be "the main seat of the most numerous Slavic people," and for Stamatović, this fact could be traced back in time, "as long as the history reaches."<sup>46</sup> Naturally, this long-lasting presence had to translate into geography, or more specifically, it had to be evident in the names of toponyms. Stamatović then turned his attention to the present, stating that, "in Hungary, from a large number of places and villages, it could be roughly concluded that there is an enormous plurality of the Slavic inhabitants." This exhibited that various Slavic peoples were living there,

---

<sup>42</sup> P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe" [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] (1835): 58.

<sup>43</sup> Herder wrote how Slavs were liberal, obedient, lovers of "pastoral freedom," which was one of the reasons why Germans conquered them, in the times of Charlemagne. See J. G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man], vol. 4 (Riga-Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1791), 34.

<sup>44</sup> Šafárik used expression "mit unaufhellbarem Dunkel bedeckt" [covered with unilluminated darkness] while referring to the ancient history of Slavs. See P. J. Šafárik, *Über die Abkunft der Slaven*, 5; Stamatović used a similar expression later again when he stated that the history of the Serbs of Eger was covered with "a great veil and thick darkness." See P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe," 59.

<sup>45</sup> P. Stamatović, "Ungar u deržavi" [A Hungarian in a State] *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 8 (1837): 121.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, 122.

such as Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croats, Serbs, Dalmatians, Slavonians, and Wends (i.e. Slovenians). From all of them, Slovaks were the most fruitful, as Stamatović noted, “because wherever they spread their roots among the Germans and Hungarians of today, there Hungarian and German already disappeared.”<sup>47</sup> The current state of affairs most likely influenced Stamatović’s perceptions of the past and of various settlements he came across in his journeys. Their Slavic names, real or reconstructed, proved that number of Slavs was even larger in the past, meaning that many settlements were lost already. However, Stamatović was also aware that Slavs gradually became a majority in some of the previously German-dominated settlements in the Kingdom of Hungary. Furthermore, Serbs and Slovaks could have migrated into the settlements previously inhabited by Hungarians, who fled from the Ottoman conquests in the Early Modern era. In this way, Stamatović noted, Slavs just gave these settlements a “new life” with “their old names.”<sup>48</sup>

A similar tone was present in Stamatović’s poem called *Prazdnik na Avali* [A Festivity on Avala] or *Serbski prazdnik na Avali* [A Serbian Festivity on Avala], published in three successive issues of *Serbska Pčela*. The first part from 1839 was mostly a description of the Serbian and South Slavic lands, as portrayed by the author. The purpose of this section of the poem was to give readers an overview of the territorial spread of the Serbian people in contemporary times.<sup>49</sup> However, the tone of the poem changed abruptly near its end, with Stamatović claiming that the words “Slav,” “Serb,” “Slovak,” and “human” were synonyms and that all of them were interchangeable. He ended this part with a call to the audience: “Let someone point their finger, / Towards some people older than Slavo-Serbs.”<sup>50</sup> In the next two issues, the poem is heavily imbued with a mixture of Pan-Slavic themes borrowed from the other Slavists. Also, Stamatović included his unique opinions, expressed already in his text from 1833 about the “Serbian antiquity.” To this mixture, the author also added religious themes, coming mostly from the Book of Genesis. It would take an entirely separate analysis of this

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, 126-127.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, 127-128

<sup>49</sup> P. Stamatović, “Prazdnik na Avali” [A Festivity on Avala], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 10 (1839): 86-97

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, 97-98.

tripartite poem just to examine it properly. Here, we will focus only on the parts related to the mental imagery that the author tried to evoke within the minds of his readers. Stamatović proclaimed to Serbs:

[God] As His favorites He taught you,  
In whichever land you set your foot,  
You did not steal it from anyone,  
But you received it from God's right hand,  
So, to all the lands, seas and rivers,  
To all the mountains, meadows and fields,  
You would give the Serbian names;  
And so the grandsons of the latest centuries  
Could know, see it with their eyes,  
Without the finger of the stuttering Clio,  
Where was the cradle of their great-great-grandfathers?!!  
And where the graves of their great-great-grandfathers lay?!<sup>51</sup>

Kollár's thoughts about Slavic cemeteries should come to our minds again. These "cradles" were destroyed over the centuries by the Germanic invaders, like it was the case with Lusatian Sorbs. They were, as Stamatović noted, "expelled from their grandfathers' fireplaces." The same was done by the nations whose ancestors were Turks or Chuds, once a part of the "wild Asiatic tribes", but at his time they were meek as they "spent all their strength" thus singing their "swan song."<sup>52</sup> In the last part of the poem from 1841, Stamatović repeated similar opinions. He called for Serbian readers to search for the "monuments" scattered across their fatherland. They came in the form of old Slavic names, preserved in the manuscripts, and also in the toponyms. He stated, "All the towns, villages, and areas / Across the land of our grandfathers you should observe." These "monuments" of the past were plentiful in all the Slavic lands, across "old and new centuries." Lastly, Stamatović exclaimed, "Those are the sources above all the sources! / Those are witnesses above all the witnesses!"<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> P. Stamatović, "Serbski prazdnik na Avali" [A Serbian Festivity on Avala], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 11 (1840): 126

<sup>52</sup> We can assume that Stamatović listed here the Baltic Chuds as the ancestors of Magyars. See P. Stamatović, "Serbski prazdnik na Avali," 120.

<sup>53</sup> P. Stamatović, "Serbski prazdnik na Avali" [A Serbian Festivity on Avala], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 12 (1841): 92.

Taking everything above into consideration, it is clearer how Stamatović perceived the lands he visited. His journeys' descriptions had a great impact on the Serbian university youth, who was "electrified" by them.<sup>54</sup> Jakov Ignjatović, a well-known Serbian writer, also left a note in his memoirs on how the words of Pavle Stamatović impacted the Serbian students in Szeged and Pest. Stamatović taught them to "use Pan-Slavism as a moral support" and he was extremely popular among them. Ignjatović stated that "according to this doctrine, the Serbian youth considered Magyars as people from Asia that stayed here, without relatives, for whom in all their isolation an impending doom is inevitable, that they have to be drowned in the Slavic sea, and that such destiny is not far away from them."<sup>55</sup> These themes were well received by readership in general, and therefore, the *Serbska Pčela* had around one thousand subscribers in the early 1840s. This fact aroused envy among the editors of other, more cultured, Serbian magazines like it was the case with Dimitrije Jovanović and his *Peštansko-Budimski Skoroteča* [The Pest-Buda Courier].<sup>56</sup> Jovan Subotić, who was a renowned Serbian writer and a politician, also left a memoir note about these times. According to him, Pavle Stamatović was well-known among Serbs and adored by the Serbian youth.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, the impact of his travels read from the perspective of the notion of Slavic or Serb antiquity, should not be underestimated.

## V. Pavle Stamatović and his journeys through space and time

Stamatović published his first "putešestvije" [journey] in the 1833 issue of *Serbska Pčela*, the same one that featured his article about Serbs as the ancient inhabitants of Hungary. Titled as *Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon* [The Journey from Pest to Esztergom], this travelogue was

---

<sup>54</sup> J. Ignjatović, *Memoari* [Memoirs] I, ed. Živojin Boškov (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska 1989), 36.

<sup>55</sup> J. Ignjatović, *Memoari* [Memoirs] II, ed. Živojin Boškov (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska 1989), 87

<sup>56</sup> V. Đ. Krestić, *Istorija srpske štampe u Ugarskoj 1791-1914* [History of the Serbian Print in Hungary 1791-1914] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1980), 54. For example, in its last year, the *Serbska Pčela* had around one and a half thousand subscribers, which was almost six times more than the *Letopis* had in 1841. See *Serbskeji Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 54 (1841): 169-176; *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 12 (1841): 115-140.

<sup>57</sup> J. Subotić, *Život Dra Jovana Subotića (autobiografija). Prvi deo: Idila* [Life of Dr. Jovan Subotić (An Autobiography). First Part: Idleness] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1901), 133.

made by the author who wanted to present to readers his findings "worthy of the Serbian history."<sup>58</sup> He started the journey from Pest, which he saw as "the place of my residence, and the most famous Hungarian town." When he was passing through the outskirts of Buda, heading towards the north, he stumbled across the first Serbian monument of history in his journey. It was a house in which the Serbian Despot Georgije Branković lived in the fifteenth century. This residence, which became a property of the Bishop of Esztergom, laid in ruins. Stamatović lamented on the fate of the monument, whose sight made him feel grief.<sup>59</sup> He continued his journey northwards, following mostly the Danube riverside until he reached a Serbian village called Kalaz [Budakalász].<sup>60</sup> This village was, together with the nearby area, inhabited by the Serbs who fled the Ottoman repercussions in 1690 during the Great Turkish War (1683-1690).<sup>61</sup> Afterward, he continued down the road to the northwest to another Serbian village called Pomaz [Pomáz], which was also settled by the Serbian migrants in the same period as the previous one. Stamatović noted that the first village now had Germans as a minority, while the second one had Hungarians and Slovaks living there, together with Serbs. To the west from Pomaz, there was a Serbo-Bulgarian village Čobanac [Csobánka], whose inhabitants had a noticeable different dialect from the other Serbs from this area. Stamatović did not visit it, and he chose instead to continue his journey from Pomaz to the northeast.<sup>62</sup>

The next Serbian settlement in this area was Sentandreja [Szentendre], which gained its importance after the Great Migration of the Serbs in 1690. At that time, the settlement became the seat of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, who led the people who fled from Serbia to the north. Stamatović was sure that Serbs came here even earlier, in the fifteenth century. He notes that "in the older times there were few other peoples in Sentandreja: but today Slovaks, Germans, and Hungarians together outnumber Serbs."<sup>63</sup> Even though the number of

---

<sup>58</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon" [The Journey from Pest to Esztergom], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 4 (1833): 106.

<sup>59</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon," 106-107.

<sup>60</sup> I will write the name of the settlements in the way Stamatović did it, with their present names in the brackets.

<sup>61</sup> The event is known in the Serbian historiography as the Great Migration of Serbs.

<sup>62</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon," 107-108.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, 108-109.

Serbs diminished over the past few decades, this town was still the most important Serbian settlement in the Kingdom of Hungary, according to Stamatović. The commonly used language was still Serbian, and remarkably, such a small settlement had six different Serbian Orthodox churches. In some of them, Stamatović found old manuscripts, the so-called “Srbulje,” which were old printed or handwritten liturgical books from the Late Medieval and Early Modern period.<sup>64</sup> With Szentendre, he concluded the part of the journey across the area still inhabited with Serbs.

Continuing his travel alongside the Danube, to the northwest, Stamatović came across a village called Bogdan [Dunabogdány]. He addressed his readers who, due to its name, probably expected of him to find Serbs in the aforementioned settlement as well. However, not one was living there, as the village was inhabited by Roman Catholic and Protestant Germans. Therefore, Stamatović asked: “However, there might be some of the readers of *Serbska Pčela* who would ask themselves: how come this German place has Bogdan for its name? I honestly have no solutions for this at the moment, as I did not have enough time to stay longer in that place and, like it was necessary, to deal with it and study its ancestry in all manners possible.” Nevertheless, he guessed that “Serbs or Slovaks had to live here someday and named this very place.” Stamatović was sure that these guesses were not entirely ungrounded, as “we indeed have plenty of reliable and worthy evidence that in the old times many Serbs lived in this area close to the Danube.”<sup>65</sup> However, he did not make a guess when and how this demographic change in the village Bogdan occurred. One could only speculate, and Stamatović left it purposely to the readers to figure it out for themselves. However, it is noteworthy that in the same issue of the magazine where this first journey appeared, there was an article that stated that Serbs were the most ancient inhabitants living in Hungary.

The journey then took Stamatović to Višegrad [Visegrád], which was an “ancient Slavic place.” Again, he did not have the time to report to his readers about all the particularities regarding the Slavic origin of the settlement. He instead cited the Hungarian historians, such as Mathias

---

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, 111.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, 112-113.

Bel, who left a note about the Slavic origin of the name of Višegrad.<sup>66</sup> While searching the area, he found ruins of a fortress and some pillars scattered around on the ground. He investigated it further and stumbled upon two vast pits, one of whom had inside it a white marble stone plaque with some inscriptions showing. Destroyed by the passage of time, and maybe by some vandals as well, this monument only had visible some Roman numerals on it (MDXXVII). That had to be, as Stamatović assumed, the last date of the fortress’s renewal. Astonishingly, from this scarce information, he concluded:

This is all that can be said for now about this ancient Slavic monument, where Slavs, who came here from Asia much sooner than Magyars, spent merry times amidst their solemn cheers. In the very present-day Višegrad, which lies alongside the Danube, Roman Catholic Germans live. I am in no doubt that many readers will find themselves wondering alongside me: what intense changes occurred, so that in such a Slavic place there is not a single Slav? This could be even more discussed if only the present circumstances allowed it.<sup>67</sup>

The point that the author tried to make seemed logical – in an area where there are still Serbian villages, one of them had a Slavic name, but no Serbs or Slavs were living there. Four years later, in his poem *Slava Slavenska u Evropi* [Slavic glory in Europe], he questioned how Germans came to live in the areas which were once Slavic, judging by the names of the settlements and toponyms. The destruction experienced by Lusatian Sorbs in the past could have happened to the Serbs living in the Kingdom of Hungary at some point in time as well. That is the reason why one line of the poem questioned whether Germans today lived on their grandfather’s or someone else’s land.<sup>68</sup> Pavel Jozef Šafárik, in his article *Karakter Slavenskog naroda voobšte*, published in 1825 in the magazine *Serbski Letopis*, expressed the opinion that might have influenced Stamatović almost a decade later. In there, Šafárik wrote that the peaceful

---

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, 114-115. For Stamatović’s citation see Mathias Bel, *Compendium Hungariae Geographicum: Ad Exemplar Notititiae Hvmgariae Novae Historico-Geographicae* (Posonii: Literis Ioannis Michaelis Landerer Typographi, 1767), 60.

<sup>67</sup> P. Stamatović, “Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon,” 116-117.

<sup>68</sup> P. Stamatović, “Slava Slavenska u Evropi” [Slavic Glory in Europe], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 8 (1837): 134.

Slavs were attacked and destroyed over the centuries by Huns, Goths, Avars, Franks, and Magyars. He specifically named the Hungarian rulers from the Early Medieval era like Álmos, Árpád, and Zoltán as those who participated in this destruction.<sup>69</sup> Finally, Stamatović arrived at Esztergom, which marked the end of this first journey, as he did not describe the town itself.

In his next travel titled *Putešestvije u Paradske "Teplice"* [The Journey to Parád], published in 1834 in his magazine, Stamatović headed to the village famous for its mineral water spring. He started the article stating that "journeys across the fatherland are always nice and pleasant, especially when a soul of a traveller is elevated in some holy excitement by the beauties of the magnificent nature and the immortality of the nationhood and ancience of its monuments."<sup>70</sup> In this area, where a Hungarian ethnic sub-group called Palóc dominated, Stamatović was interested in finding some "Serboslovakian" monuments, as he titled them. He started his journey from Eger, where he lived at that time as a parish priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church, accompanied by two Serbs from that town. The party headed towards the northwest and passed Ajdučko hill [Hajdúhegy], whose sight assured him that there must have been "monuments" nearby that can prove that this entire area was "once called the homeland of the Serbian people."<sup>71</sup> Afterward, they stumbled upon the Serbsko berdo [Ráczhegy], meaning the "Serbian hill," which exalted Stamatović to sing praises to it. For him, this proved that "written monuments survived so they would, even after one thousand years, force the foreign-born and foreign-language mouths to proclaim to the entire world that the Serbian ancestors lived both on them and around them and that this entire area was once the true fatherland of the Serbian sons."<sup>72</sup> These "monuments" were a living memory of the long-forgotten past, and the author addressed them

---

<sup>69</sup> P. J. Šafárik, "Karakter Slavenskog naroda uoobšte," 66.

<sup>70</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije u Paradske Teplice" [The Journey to Parád], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 5 (1834): 84.

<sup>71</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije u Paradske Teplice," 85. The term "Ajduk" or "Hajduk," in the Serbian context, was a member of a group of outlaws who lived under the Ottoman rule and whose deeds were saved mostly through the national epic poetry. For more information see V. Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik. Istumačen njemačkijem i latinskijem riječima* [The Serbian Dictionary. Explained with the German and Latin Words] (Vienna, 1852), 799-800.

<sup>72</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije u Paradske Teplice" 85-86.

stating that, “you are not burying in that way sanctity of the Serbian people, like many darkly written monuments: nor were you named by the hand of some biased and meticulous Slavic writer. You are the most natural, clear, faithful, and evidential witness of the successful life of the Serbian ancestors, who lived in this area for a very long time.”<sup>73</sup>

The group of travellers continued eastward and passed through the Palóc village and town, both called Širok [Sirok], staying there briefly. Stamatović wrote that these settlements were named, according to Hungarians, after the Hungarian word for “weeping.” The local legend stated that one Ottoman soldier threw a baby from the walls of the fortress and that the child’s mother vowed to cry every day from that day on. Stamatović, however, reassured his readers that it had more sense if it is understood as a derivative of the Slavic word “Širok” [broad] because these settlements were placed in a wide field surrounded by the Matra [Mátra] mountains.<sup>74</sup> Slavs were living there for a long time before Palóc came from their original homeland in the Carpathian Mountains, Stamatović noted. He then cynically added that some “Hungarian scientist thus, I hope, would not find fault in the fact that Slavs could not wait until the first Hungarian mother wept, so they gave to this very place the name *Širok* since ancient times, because of the looks of its surroundings.”<sup>75</sup> The travellers then continued with their journey and went through the village Rečka [Recsk], which was named by the diminutive of the word “Reka” (river in the Slavic languages), as Stamatović claimed. Again, he hypothesized what some Hungarian scientists would say about this fact, arguing that the name was unmistakably Slavic in its origin. Afterward, the group passed through the place called Banja [Ércbánya], which Stamatović simply included in his list of the Slavic settlements.<sup>76</sup>

They finally reached Paradske “Teplice” and enjoyed its spa and mineral spring. There, Stamatović saw a glass-making manufactory, which was exclusively run by Slavs – Czechs, Slovaks, Wends, and Moravians. They warmly welcomed the travellers and offered them special prices, as if they were blood relatives.<sup>77</sup> He concluded the

---

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, 86.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, 87-89.

<sup>75</sup> Ibidem, 89.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, 90-92.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, 94.

description of this journey with the following sentence: “So, this was my minor journey which I undertook across the lands of the Serboslavic forefathers with the greatest and most soothing joy, while melting in the thoughts how Ajdučko and Serbsko berdo, Širok, Rečka, Banja, Parad, Mountain Matra are pure Serboslavic names of places, where either the Serb or Slovak ancestors spent their merry lives in the most ancient times.”<sup>78</sup>

The issue of *Serbska Pčela* from 1835 did not feature a journey of Stamatović. However, it did feature an article *Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe* [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies], in which he described the town of Eger and its surrounding area. In this piece, he decided to present a short overview of the history of the Serbs who lived there, going back in time as much as possible. As we already mentioned, Pavle Stamatović here also expressed his thoughts about the anciency of the Serbs living in this settlement. Much to his disappointment, Stamatović could not prove this with any written monument, stating that, “they had to be the oldest inhabitants of Eger, I am sure; even if until this day I did not have much luck to learn and pick up something about it in the oldest letters, this is still evidenced by the “living monuments” which, although non-literal, completely testify that Serbs are not the new inhabitants, but the oldest dwellers of Eger.”<sup>79</sup> These “living monuments” were toponyms and other names that either had Slavic origin, or Stamatović found one for them. He mentioned hills like “Ráczy hegy or Serbian hill,” about which he already had written, and the one which “entire Hungary today calls Tichamir or Tihamir.”<sup>80</sup> Serbs indeed lived in this area, at least since the Ottoman times, when they migrated to the northern parts of the former Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, I would not disagree with the assessment of Stamatović about the origin of these names. However, we would disagree about the time when these “monuments” got their Serbian names.

Regarding the anciency of these “non-literal” monuments, Pavle Stamatović made an argument that the Serbs that lived there, in the Eger area, were the remnants of those who were going southward from their

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibidem, 95-96.

<sup>79</sup> P. Stamatović, “Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe,” 59.

<sup>80</sup> Stamatović also stated that when Hungarians came, they just incorporated these Slavic words into their “impoverished” language. See P. Stamatović, “Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe,” 59-60. Both hills are parts of today’s Eger, as Ráchehy and Tihámer.

Carpathian homeland, towards the Byzantine Empire of Heraclius I (610-641). For one reason or another, some of these Serbs decided to stay there, and they lived with Slovaks peacefully, until Hungarians and Páloc came to replace them.<sup>81</sup> Aside from Eger, they settled in the surrounding villages, such as "Slok [Egerszalók], Velika and Mala Dolja [Nagy and Kis Fály], Širok [Sirok], Rečka [Recsk], Rac-Vid [unidentifiable], Rac-uj-Feirti [unidentifiable], and many others."<sup>82</sup> The text then developed to a brief historical overview, which became a more detailed analysis of the past when the author explains the events from the Eighteenth century onwards. Stamatović here relied on the historical sources and relevant literature, and here his writing style seems more scholarly than in the previous parts.<sup>83</sup>

## **VI. Two journeys from Szeged to Belgrade**

The last two journeys which we will observe here were the two trips Stamatović undertook from Szeged to Belgrade in 1834 and 1836. These journeys he published subsequently in the 1836 and 1838 issues of the *Serbska Pčela*. At that time, Pavle Stamatović already moved to a parish in Szeged, where he lived until 1844.<sup>84</sup> The purpose of these texts was not a reconstruction of the "ancient past" through the "living monuments" preserved through the "linguistic" evidence. They had more of a contemporary meaning for readers, as Stamatović intended. These texts portrayed areas in the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, mostly inhabited by Serbs, which became a separate territory of Serbian Vojvodina in 1848/9. However, in a footnote of the very first page of his *Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine* [The Journey from Szeged to Belgrade in 1834], he left a comment similar to his earlier writings. Stamatović tried to explain why he used the name "Sojedin" for Szeged. He wrote that, before Magyars came, the land which is today Hungary was inhabited by Slavs "since the most ancient times." Slavs, more specifically Slovaks, also lived in Szeged. When they started using the Latin alphabet, they wrote the name of the place in the form of "Seged,"

---

<sup>81</sup> Stamatović made assumptions that they were either wounded or sick people, those who broke laws, or maybe just those who wanted to stay and end their journeys there. See P. Stamatović, "Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe," 61-62.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, 62.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, 62-76.

<sup>84</sup> U. Stanković, "Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista," 25.

but the letter -g- should read as -ye- so it would sound as “Seyedin” or “Soyedin.” After Hungarians arrived, they adopted the Slovakian way of writing the name, and it gradually got its today’s form - Szeged. “That is why,” Stamatović wrote, “we will from today refer to this important monument of the Slavic ancieny like this, to comfort the Slavic Goddess, as the holiness of the Slavic ancieny rightfully demands.”<sup>85</sup>

Let us return to the description of the first trip abroad of Pavle Stamatović. This “short” but for the author “important journey” lasted for about two weeks, from August 15 to August 29, 1834.<sup>86</sup> Stamatović headed to Belgrade, which was a settlement in the Ottoman Principality of Serbia and its capital from 1841. The importance of this journey for him was twofold. On the one hand, he wanted to visit his home in Syrmia and see his family and friends, whom he did not see for many years. On the other, he stated that “the unquenchable desire of mine for a long time, was to visit Serbia for once in my life, once a great Empire, and now a “Principality” that is progressing with great strides.” That was the “old fatherland” but at the same time a “country of relatives” where “our brothers in blood live.” Most of all, he wanted to visit Belgrade, the symbol of the former Serbian prosperity, where he wanted to study all the monuments he could find.<sup>87</sup>

Stamatović started his journey from Szeged on August 15, 1834, and he and his companions followed the road alongside the river Tisza southwards. They passed the Serbian village Đala,<sup>88</sup> which was a feudal estate of the Hungarian Chamber, and another Serbian village Krstur, which was a part of the District of Velika Kikinda. Afterward, they passed through “Turkish” Kanjiža,<sup>89</sup> where he visited a Serbian Orthodox church and briefly read through its old manuscripts. Then, the party continued southwards through the places called Sanad and Senta,<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> P. Stamatović, “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine” [The Journey from Szeged to Belgrade in 1834] *Serbska Pčela* 7 (1836): 81-82. Jovan Subotić in his memoirs also wrote that, while studying there, he and his fellow students would listen Pavle Stamatović and his theories about the name of Szeged or the ancieny of Slavs. See J. Subotić, *Život Dra Jovana Subotića (antobiografija)*, 133-134.

<sup>86</sup> P. Stamatović, “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine,” 83, 109.

<sup>87</sup> Stamatović also claimed that he wanted to see fields of the “Serbobanat Tisa area.” See P. Stamatović, “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine,” 102.

<sup>88</sup> In Hungarian its name today is Gyála.

<sup>89</sup> Today it bears a name Novi Kneževac. Its Hungarian name today is Törökkanizsa.

<sup>90</sup> In Hungarian, these settlements are called Szanád and Zenta.

which he categorizes as "Serbo-Hungarian," meaning that both nationalities resided there. After leaving Senta, they moved out from Banat to the Bačka region, by crossing the Tisza River on a ferry boat.<sup>91</sup> They continued southwards through "Ostrovo" [Ada] and "Moholj" [Mol],<sup>92</sup> both having mixed Serbian and Hungarian populations as well. Moving on, they passed through the Hungarian village Temerin, which was once inhabited by Serbs, as Stamatović noted. After the dissolution of the Tisza Military Border in the mid-eighteenth century, Serbs moved out to Šajkaška district, where they settled in the village Đurđevo. This settlement was the birthplace of Lukijan Mušicki, who was a well-known Serbian poet and an Orthodox bishop of Karlstadt.<sup>93</sup>

Pavle Stamatović and his companions arrived at the free royal town of Novi Sad on August 17, 1834. It was "the foremost settlement of Serbs," which exceeded all the other Serbian settlements in the Habsburg Monarchy. There, the Serbian Orthodox bishop of Bačka Stefan Stanković resided, and he had six different temples under his management. Stamatović rested there with his brethren in God and then continued his journey to the southeast, towards Belgrade. The next stop was the Petrovaradin Fortress (which he calls Petrič) that left a great impression on him. He contrasted it to the Buda, Eger, and Szeged forts, but they could not really compare to it. Stamatović noted that the Petrovaradin was probably one of the most majestic European fortresses.<sup>94</sup>

They continued to the Syrmia region, which excited Stamatović, who called it his "fatherland." He left a pretty description of the area in the slopes of the Fruška Gora Mountain, with its hills, vineyards, and natural beauty in general. They entered Sremski Karlovci, which was a Serbian town and also the residency of the Serbian Orthodox Archbishop Stefan Stratimirović. Stamatović then described Sunday service at the Saint George's Cathedral, with a large crowd of people, led by the Archbishop

---

<sup>91</sup> Our traveller left an unintentionally comical note about his troubles with the drunken ferrymen, whom he barely got out of the tavern after half an hour of begging. Stamatović was disappointed that he was subjugated to the will of "those whose reins of reason are held by the enormous hands of Bacchus." See P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 87-88.

<sup>92</sup> In Hungarian, these settlements are called Ada and Mohol.

<sup>93</sup> Karlovci in today's Croatia. See P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 88-89.

<sup>94</sup> P. Stamatović, "Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine," 89-91.

Stratimirović and other prominent members of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>95</sup> Afterward, his journey through the Sylvania region led our Serbian traveller to the place of his birth, which he left when he was just eleven years old. The description of the village Jakovo and the memories which connected Stamatović with that place was, without any doubt, the best part of his writings. Full of emotions, he described the fields where he worked with his father as a child, how his house seemed (it looked like a palace to him), and how his mother, brother, and old friends welcomed him.<sup>96</sup>

Stamatović continued to Zemun, which was a border town between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, where he needed to hand in his travel documents to the Austrian Imperial officers. After crossing the river Danube, they came beneath the Belgrade Fortress, which was controlled by an Ottoman garrison. Stamatović described them as being poor, barefooted, lazy, and dirty to the extent that they “looked more like the poor farmers than like the soldiers of the Empire.”<sup>97</sup> One of the interpreters there, a Greek who spoke Serbian, led Stamatović and his companions further into the fortress, into the court of the Vizier, who was not there at the time. The place seemed disordered and tattered, which left a lasting impression on the travellers.<sup>98</sup> They left the fortress and descended into the suburbs, first to the “Turkish and Jewish” quarter, then finally to the Serbian part of the town. There was a long street packed with shops, which exceeded in numbers by threefold those in Pest, in Stamatović’s estimation. Also, the party visited the Metropolitan residence, where the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan lived, and the Magistrate of Belgrade, which was in charge of the affairs of the Serbian inhabitants.<sup>99</sup> The return journey went again through Zemun, Karlovci, Novi Sad, all the way northwards to Szeged.<sup>100</sup>

The second travel, titled *Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. godine* [The Journey from Szeged to Serbian Belgrade in 1836], was a shorter one, with which Stamatović intended to complement his already known (to his readership) trip from 1834. He also wanted to show what

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibidem, 92-95.

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem, 98-99.

<sup>97</sup> Ibidem, 103.

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, 104-105.

<sup>99</sup> Ibidem, 107-108.

<sup>100</sup> Ibidem, 109.

changed in those past two years. Stamatović took a similar itinerary, and he skipped quickly over it, as he already explained it in the previous *Putešestvije*. However, he decided to leave longer and unique observations for three different places – District of Potisje, Petrovaradin Fortress, and Zemun. For the first one, he wanted to explain the reasons for creating the District, which was a special territory mostly inhabited by Serbs who were under the direct control of the Vienna Court. After the dissolution of the Tisza Military Border in Bačka, some Serbs left their homes and settled either in the Banat region or in Russia. Because of the depopulation problem, Empress Maria Theresa instituted in 1751 the administrative unit of the District of Potisje, whose inhabitants gradually received special privileges in the existing feudal system. However, in 1774, the deserted villages, once inhabited by Serbs, were populated mostly by the Hungarian settlers, who got the same rights and privileges “that Serbs earned with their blood,” as soldiers of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>101</sup>

His second observation started with his travel from Temerin to Novi Sad. After leaving the first settlement, he stated that “they could hear the last sounds of songs of the daughters of Árpád,” but in Novi Sad, they were “greeted by the kind Serbian Goddess, who handed us to the arms of her dear little sister Teutonia in Petrić city.”<sup>102</sup> Petrovaradin Fortress (or Petrič as Stamatović called it) was one of the points where the travellers would give their travel documents for a regular check done by the Imperial officers. Stamatović found the “unfathomable German docility” as worthy of all the praise in the world, to such extent that he stated that it “could be labelled as the most pleasant time of my journey.” This event occurred due to the officers’ remarks about the language of their documents, issued in Hungarian. That made them start a conversation on “Magyarization” in the Kingdom of Hungary, which was currently ongoing. Stamatović initially just stood there and “only as a silent witness listened to these men’s important opinions about the aforementioned Magyarization of the public.” The chief officer held a passionate speech about the civility and the national rights, which was backed by the other men’s opinions. What Stamatović noted was that this administrative unit was run jointly by the “German and Slavic

---

<sup>101</sup> P. Stamatović, “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. godine” [The Journey from Szeged to Serbian Belgrade in 1836] *Serbska Pčela* 9 (1838): 70-72.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, 73.

goddesses, like two sisters.”<sup>103</sup> The officers then shifted their conversation to Serbia, and they showed Stamatović a full stack of the *Novine Srbske* [The Serbian Newspapers] from Belgrade.<sup>104</sup> This excited the Serb to that extent that he started to go through them on the spot, taking a stack of ten issues to read. He created such a disturbance in the office that all the other employees came to see what was happening.<sup>105</sup> Stamatović found out that many of the administrative employees were of Slavic origin, being mostly Serbs, Croats, or Slovaks. They read these papers as well, partly “because it was their duty” to do so, but also from their sense of “pure brotherhood.” The latter part, a guess of Stamatović, was complemented with his line that “Slavs have to die one for another.” The entire event in the administrative office in the Petrovaradin Fortress lasted until the evening of that day when Stamatović finally continued his journey to Belgrade.<sup>106</sup>

When he got to Zemun, he again needed to hand his passport, now to the Imperial office dealing with the crossings over the border. Then, one of the officers with the title of captain in the Imperial army invited them to his room. In there, they saw a plethora of different books, written in various Slavic languages like Serbian, Czech, Slovak, and others. The officer now revealed that he was of Slovak origin and “proud and honored to call himself a Slav,” which was something that should serve as an example to all the other Slavs out there, in the writer’s humble opinion.<sup>107</sup> Finally, Stamatović and his travel party reached the Danube, where they waited for transport to the Ottoman side and Belgrade. While there, Stamatović saw two different steamboats, which always looked to him as a marvel to behold. The first one, named “Panonia,” was going from Zemun to Orșova, and the second called “Zrinyi” was heading from Zemun to Pest. This sight made him contemplate that, even against the current “spirit of the times,” these boats still bore “pure Slavic names.” He closed the description of this journey with ironically

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem, 73-74.

<sup>104</sup> *Novine Srbske* was an official government outlet in the Principality of Serbia since 1834, and its editor was Dimitrije Davidović. Over time, they confronted with the Pest-Buda newspapers, specifically with Teodor Pavlovic and his *Srbske Narodne Novine* [The Serbian National Newspapers] and *Srbski Narodni List* [The Serbian National Papers]. See V. Krestić, *Istorija srpske štampe u Ugarskoj*, 36, 48.

<sup>105</sup> P. Stamatović, “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. godine,” 73-74.

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem, 74-75.

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem, 75-76.

commenting that due to "the poverty of the Magyar history," all these ships had Slavic generous Goddess as their godmother, whether intentionally or not, which resulted in Slavic names "Panonia," "Nandor," and "Zrínyi." In their pure form, the names were "Panonia" (derived from "Panska"), "Nadvor" and "Zrinović."<sup>108</sup> With this linguistic athleticism, in which not just the names of toponyms, but also various other everyday things, had the name of Slavic origin, Pavle Stamatović brought the description of his journey to an end, remarking that he will continue it in one of the next issues. However, the last three issues of *Serbska Pčela* did not feature a description of the end of his second journey to Belgrade, which makes the *Putešestvije* from 1838 the last one to be analysed here.

## **VII. Concluding remarks**

The "putešestvija" or journeys of Pavle Stamatović are unique historical sources for researchers who are dealing with the issues within the field of nationalism, cultural, and even political history. His travelogues can be roughly divided into two parts. The first one consists of the journeys he took across the central parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, which included his travels from Pest northwards, and from Eger westwards. During these journeys, Stamatović mostly encountered the settlements that were either once Slavic, or they had names that suggested so. This part of his journeys aligns well with his views about the Serbian and Slavic antiquity, which are in themselves a derivative of the main Pan-Slavic ideas of that time. There, he presented to readers the so-called "living monuments," which were several toponyms that testified that Serbs and Slavs once lived there in greater numbers. However, these areas were somehow abandoned by Slavs, leaving it to readers to mourn over this fact, together with Stamatović.

The other part of Stamatović's journeys was represented by those he took from Szeged to Belgrade, in 1834 and 1836. The first settlement was, in a way, just outside of the region that was more heavily inhabited by Serbs. By going southwards, along the rivers Tisza and Danube, Stamatović encompassed with his journeys the territory that more than a decade later briefly became Serbian Vojvodina in 1848/9. Also, these journeys included some remarks about contemporary issues, such as the

---

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem, 76.

Magyarization of Non-Hungarians, and also on the relations between the Habsburg rule and the Slavs in general. Nevertheless, even in these journeys, Stamatović made sure to insert comments in the spirit of his Pan-Slavic views. This strange relationship between various ideas in his mind, accompanied by the convergence of the notions of “past” and “present,” is a good illustration of how Pan-Slavists operated and constructed their worldviews.

## References

### Primary sources

#### a) Printed monographs

Murray, Alexander. *History of the European Languages or Researches into Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations*, vol. 1-2. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823.

Karadžić, Vuk. *Srpski rječnik. Istumačen njemačkijem i latinskijem riječima* [The Serbian Dictionary. Explained with the German and Latin Words]. Vienna, 1852.

Kollár, Ján. *Cestopis druhý a Paměti z mladších let života* [The Second Travelogue and Memories of Younger Years of Life]. Prague: I. L. Kober, 1863.

—. *Rozprawy o gmenách počátkách i starožitnostech národu slawského a geho kmenů* [Discussions about the Origin and Anciency of Names of the Slavic Nation and its Tribes]. W Budjné: W Král. Universické Tiskárně, 1830.

Herder, Johann. G. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man], vol. 4. Riga-Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1791.

Šafárik, Pavel J. *Über die Abkunft der Slaven nach Lorenz Surowiecki* [On the Origin of Slavs according to Lorenz Surowiecki]. Ofen: Kon. Ung. Universitats-Schriften, 1828.

#### b) Printed periodicals

Stamatović, Pavle. “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd Serbskij 1836. Godine” [The Journey from Szeged to Serbian Belgrade in 1836] *Serbska Pčela* 9 (1838): 70-76.

—. “Serblji, starodrevni žitelji Evropejski, i najstariji sedeoci u Mađarskoj” [Serbs, the Ancient Inhabitants of Europe, and the

- Oldest Dwellers in Hungary]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 4 (1833): 63-89.
- . “Serbi Jegarski i njihove sudbe” [The Eger Serbs and their Destinies]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] (1835): 58-76.
- . “Ungar u državi” [A Hungarian in a State]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 8 (1837): 120-128.
- . “Prazdnik na Avali” [A Festivity on Avala]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 10 (1839): 86-97.
- . “Serbski prazdnik na Avali” [A Serbian Festivity on Avala]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 11 (1840): 111-126.
- . “Serbski prazdnik na Avali” [A Serbian Festivity on Avala]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 12 (1841): 85-92.
- . “Putešestvije iz Pešte u Ostrogon” [The Journey from Pest to Esztergom]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 4 (1833): 105-118.
- . “Slava Slavenska u Evropi” [Slavic Glory in Europe]. *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 8 (1837): 129-144.
- . “Putešestvije u Paradske Teplice” [The Journey to Parád], *Serbska Pčela* [The Serbian Bee] 5 (1834): 84-96.
- . “Putešestvije iz Sojedina u Beograd 1834. godine” [The Journey from Szeged to Belgrade in 1834]. *Serbska Pčela* 7 (1836): 81-109.
- Šafárik, Pavel J. “Karakter Slavenskog naroda vooobšte” [The Character of the Slavic People in General]. *Serbskij Letopis* [The Serbian Annual] 1 (1825): 64-99.
- . “Myšlenky o starobylosti Slowanů w Europě” [An Opinion about the Anciency of Slavs in Europe]. *Časopis českého Museum* [The Magazine of the Czech Museum], vol. 1 (1834): 23-57.

## Secondary literature

- Bak, János M. et al. “The Long Shadow of Ossian.” In *Manufacturing a Past for the Present. Forgery and Authenticity in Medievalist Texts and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. János M. Bak et al, viii-xxiv. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Connelly, John. *From Peoples into Nations. A History of Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.
- Dietler, Michael. “Our Ancestors the Gauls. Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe.” *American Anthropologist* 96:1 (1994): 584-605.

- Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries*, vol. 2, eds. Balazs Trencsenyi and Michal Kopeček. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007.
- Gombocz, István. "The Reception of Herder in Central Europe: Idealization and Exaggeration." *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 33:2 (1997): 107-118.
- Hroch, Miroslav. "National Romanticism." In *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries*, vol. 2, eds. Balazs Trencsenyi and Michal Kopeček, 4-20. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007.
- Ignjatović, Jakov. *Memoari* [Memoirs] I-II, ed. Živojin Boškov. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1989.
- Kimball, Stanley. "The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 63:4 (1973): 1-83.
- Kohn, Hans. *Pan-Slavism. Its History and Ideology*. New York: Vintage Books, 1960.
- . "Romanticism and Realism among Czechs." *The Review of Politics* 14:1 (1952): 25-46.
- Krestić, Vasilije Đ. *Istorija srpske štampe u Ugarskoj 1791-1914* [A History of the Serbian Print in Hungary 1791-1914]. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1980.
- Leerssen, Joep. *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- Liulevicius, Vejas G. *The German Myth of the East. 1800 to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Maxwell, Alexander. "Herder, Kollár, and the Origins of Slavic Ethnography." *Traditiones* 40:2 (2011): 79-95.
- Reusch, Johann J. K. "Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42:1 (2008): 91-129.
- Rychterová, Pavlína. "The Manuscripts of Grünberg and Königshof: Romantic Lies about the Glorious Past of the Czech Nation." In *Manufacturing a Past for the Present. Forgery and Authenticity in Medievalist Texts and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. János M. Bak et al, 3-30. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin Group, 1991.

- . "Ethnic myths and ethnic revivals." *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 25:2 (1984): 283-305.
- Stanković, Uroš. "Pavle Stamatović kao nacionalni publicista" [Pavle Stamatović as a National Publicist]. *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju* [Proceedings in History] 83 (2011): 25-44.
- Subotić, Jovan. *Život Dra Jovana Subotića (avtobiografija). Prvi deo: Idila* [Life of Dr. Jovan Subotić (autobiography). First Part: Idleness]. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1901.