



## PROCEEDINGS OF ICARUS CONVENTION #32

ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH –  
BETWEEN THE ANALOG AND THE DIGITAL

ЗБОРНИК РАДОВА 32. КОНВЕНЦИЈЕ ICARUS-A  
АРХИВИ И ИСТРАЖИВАЊА –  
ИЗМЕЂУ АНАЛОГНОГ И ДИГИТАЛНОГ

Edited by  
Ljiljana Bubnjević  
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## **Archives and Research – Between the Analog and the Digital**

**Proceedings of ICARUS Convention #32,  
Novi Sad, June 5-7, 2024**

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Novi Sad, 2025

**Архиви и истраживања – између аналогног и дигиталног**

**Зборник радова 32. конвенције ICARUS-а,  
Нови Сад, 5-7. јун 2024.**

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Handwritten text in Cyrillic script is visible on the torn edges of the paper. The text is written in dark ink and is partially obscured by the layered, jagged edges of the paper. The visible fragments of text include "ПЕЧАТ" and "1917".

... auf eine gang eigne ...  
... nicht einen noch viel größer  
... Theilnahme befähne, wie  
... terie, welche letzte man el  
... und noch aus dem Grün  
... hätte, weil man davon 3  
... men könnte, die größeren 3  
... B. von 25 oder 50 equal  
... 1000 fl. zu begünstigen  
... auch ki

## FOREWORD

The association named the *International Centre for Archival Research* (ICARUS), based in Vienna, was founded in 2008. Today, it is a community of close to 200 member institutions from Europe, Canada and the U.S.A. So far, ICARUS has organized 35 regular conventions and a great number of lectures, workshops and similar events intended for the scholarly, professional and broad public interested in archival materials and the research thereof. The association particularly promotes digital media – not only in the work with archival materials, but also endeavoring to publish the achievements of related research so as to develop new standards and strategies in these fields. Of special significance is its contribution to the improvement of international cooperation that is realized through common projects and conventions.

We are now holding the printed Proceedings, which contain the papers presented at the regular 32<sup>nd</sup> ICARUS Convention held in Novi Sad in June 2024 under the title *Archives and Research – between the Analog and the Digital*. The hosts of the event were the Archives of Vojvodina and the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad. Apart from the participants from Serbia, there were numerous archivists, historians and IT experts from abroad, i.e. from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Georgia, the Netherlands, Estonia, Italy, Malta and Australia.

The Proceedings, which bear the same title as the Convention itself, provide a kind of summary of research work in various projects, not only within the ICARUS community but also beyond it. The results of the work are presented through select and outstanding examples in the form of 21 papers, with an underlying idea to allow the fullest possible insight into the subjects and directions of the development of archival research within a digital context. In addition to acquainting professionals and scholarly public, as well as broad circles of interested people, with projects and individual reports in the areas of archival studies, historiography and other humanities – as well as digitalization, the Publishers of the Proceedings wish to give contribution to the promotion of the archivists' profession and the furtherance of awareness of the significance of documents as historical sources. By publishing contributions written by experts of various profiles within a single volume, the importance is pointed out of improving cooperation between archivists, historians and experts in some kindred disciplines of humanities, information technologists and other participants in the process of digitalization of cultural/historical heritage.

The papers in the Proceedings have been published in the Serbian, Croat and English languages. They are grouped into four topical clusters that correspond to the sessions that made up the Convention *Archives and Research – between the Analog and the Digital*: 1. “Minority Communities in Europe – Archival Materials and Other Sources”; 2. “Archives and Societies – An Analog Archivist in a Digital World”; 3. “Charters Portal *Monasterium.net*”; 4. “Conservation and Restoration of Paper and Parchment – A Case Studies”.

Within the **first section** – “Minority Communities in Europe – Archival Materials and Other Sources” – the opening presentation deals with the materials of the archival fonds *The Associations of Danube Swabians in Vojvodina 1920–1944* kept at the Archives of Vojvodina. Among other things, one gains an insight into the work of putting this material into a proper shape and its digitization, as well as its accessibility to researchers. There follows the contribution by our colleagues from the National Archives of Georgia about German settlements and their inhabitants based on the documentation preserved in the collections of that institution; emphasis is laid on the fact that Germans moved to Georgia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the time when it was part of the Russian Empire, and that they soon became an important factor in the social and cultural life of the country. The representative of UNIHUB – Belgrade, the Belgrade association dedicated to the research in, and promotion of, education and culture, deals with the issue of the digitization of archival materials that testify to the culture of the Aromanians; she presents a project which includes the digitization of the periodical *Lunjina*, which should appear on the website of the Serbian-Aromanian Society of the same name. The first section also includes a presentation of the archival material of the Historical Archives of Kikinda, which tells about the Romanies in this town from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 1944. The paper titled *The Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Christians in Medieval Hungary in the Mirror of Archival Documents* surveys, the material related to the said religious communities in Medieval Hungary, giving some individual examples; the corpus of the sources is made up of various types of charters (mostly grant ones), letters and other archival documents.

The contribution titled *Archival Materials Relating to the Jews in Syrmia – Memory of a People’s Life* informs on the material deposited at the “Srem” Historical Archive in Sremska Mitrovica, which, through select documents from the archival fonds, testifies to the work and life of the Jewish community in the said sub-region. The paper by our colleague from the SASA Institute of Ethnography, under the title *The Digitalization Processes of the Folklore Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts* deals with

a precious collection which primarily contains folk songs and short folklore forms from the territory of the former Yugoslavia; it describes in detail the processes of systematization and digitization of the Folklore Collection, providing a basic report on the software solutions developed to equip future users of the digitized collection with an advanced exploration tool.

In the paper *Construction of Memory in (Post-)Yugoslav Context: Narratives of Power in the Conceptualization of Divna Zečević's Work* we read about the personal fonds of Divna Zečević which is safeguarded at the Archives of the Serbs in Croatia as part of the heritage left by this ethnographer, poetess and literary critic; the fonds consists of 11 boxes filled with various articles, reviews, studies, poems, essays, correspondence and documents related to her work in Banija, Lika and other areas that are prevalingly inhabited by the Serb minority in Croatia.

Based on various sources, selected literature and archival materials deposited at the Archives of Vojvodina, the paper titled *Magdalena Manda Sudarević in the Parliamentary and Social Life of Vojvodina* by Milica Savić Kosovac is presented herein. It emphasizes the lady's great contribution to the women's efforts to take part in the political life on the territory of Vojvodina and beyond and, as a member of the Bunjevci community, to pursue her people's objectives. Manda Sudarević was one of the seven women who, participating in the Great Assembly of Novi Sad, voted for Vojvodina's entry into the Kingdom of Serbia and thus played a role in the pending creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918.

Within the **second section**, "Archives and Societies – An Analog Archivist in a Digital World", there are reports on various projects of digitization. During the Convention, special attention was drawn by the presentation about Transkribus, an AI program for reading historical documents. The Transkribus software platform has been developed for digitization, recognition of texts, transcription and searchability of original material. The platform has been in existence since 2016, and since 2019, it has worked as the READ-COOP Project, that is, a database which enables access to historical documents, using a technology for recognizing handwritten texts and keyword spotting; it has more than 300,000 users and 200 member institutions including universities, libraries and archives. As associate co-workers in the READ-COOP, the employees of Belgrade's Svetozar Marković University Library reported on their activities within Transkribus, and these implied digitization and transcription of a large number of manuscripts from the Library's collections. In addition to their paper, the Proceedings bring several other contributions presented during the second day of the Convention. There follows a contribution by Danica Majstorović Eather

about the documentary heritage of the Serbian diaspora in Australia in the form of the collections of digital images which document the memory of the Serbian migrants to Australia after World War Two; the collections were created as a result of the author's personal initiative and her collaboration with archives, libraries and museums. The paper *Approaching the Migration Phenomena from Archival Perspective: Reflections of the project AToM* acquaints one with the project "Archives and Traces of Migrations" supported by the European Commission within the program "Creative Europe" that deals with the phenomenon of migrations of populations from the perspective of archival materials. The partners in the project include our colleagues from Croatia, Spain, Hungary and the Netherlands. The Proceedings also introduce another project carried out within the "Creative Europe" program, one titled *E-ROUTES – Time Travel Routes through Europe*; it concerns cultural heritage and contemporary art production related to travelling. The goal of the project is to gather digitized materials from various cultural institutions (galleries, libraries, archives, museums – GLAM) in order to reconstruct thematic travel routes across four European countries: Croatia, Italy, Serbia and Slovenia. Our colleague from the ICARUS association presents the project *C4Education – Creating a Virtual Lab for Cultural Heritage Tools*, aimed at creating a virtual space for the collection and use of various apps intended primarily for cultural institutions; these are designed to educate citizens and help them become familiar with cultural heritage. The "C4Education" project has been financed with the support of the European Union within the program Creative Innovation Labs (CREA-CROSS-2021-INNOVLAB).

The **third section** contains two contributions related to Monasterium.net, the online platform which has been in existence since 2002; it incorporates digital images with metadata and, partly, transcriptions of charters from the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. The work on this project commenced by digitization of some 20,000 documents preserved in the monasteries of Lower Austria to which researchers had only limited access, while nowadays one can find around 680,000 documents on the Monasterium.net platform, and these are presented through 970,000 images from more than 200 archives of 26 countries. In the Proceedings, Monasterium.net is represented through the following reports: *Analog Archives, Digital Future: The Medieval Archives of Benedictine Monasteries in Southern Italy on Monasterium.net* and *The Collection of Charters and Diplomas in the Archives of Vojvodina on Monasterium.net*.

The **fourth section** contains contributions from the workshop carried out within the program of the Archives of Vojvodina under the title *Conservation and Restoration of Paper and Parchment – Case Studies*; within it, our colleagues from Hungary, Croatia, North Macedonia, Republic of Srpska and Serbia

exchanged their experiences: *Visual Examination of Written Heritage*; *Amino Alcohol-Based Protic Ionic Liquids for Fungi Removal from Paper Heritage Artefacts*; *Conservation and Restoration Works on Maps and Plans at the Archives of Vojvodina*; *Crafting a Copy of the Charter of Empress Maria Theresa on the Establishment of the Privileged District of Great Kikinda Issued in 1774*; and *Methods for the Protection of Archival Materials and Fonds against Biological Agents – the Treatments by Anoxia*.

\*

In the end, we have the obligation and pleasure to express our hearty gratitude to our colleague Sara Samardžić, Advisor-Archivist at the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad, for the work and dedication she invested into this event as the Co-Editor of this publication. Our acknowledgments are also due – for their dedicated efforts, cooperativeness and patience – to the reviewers, the editorial team, and, moreover, the institutions which in various ways helped the organization of the Convention, as well as the preparation and printing of these Proceedings. This refers to the Archives of Vojvodina as the Publisher of the Proceedings and the Organizer of the Convention, to the Historical Archives of the City of Novi Sad as one of its hosts, the ICARUS association as the Co-Organizer, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia as the major donor of the financial resources necessary for the realization of the Convention, including the printing of the Proceedings, and the Austrian Cultural Forum Belgrade which provided financial support for bringing the Convention to fruition, too.

The General Sponsor of the Convention was *Trevis LLC*, Belgrade, specializing in manufacture and assembly of archival systems (metal furniture for storage of archival materials and the like). During the Convention, the company enjoyed the opportunity to present its product lines.

The Proceedings we now have in hand are the result of the great response by the participants in the Convention and their awareness of the importance of professional exchange of knowledge and experiences. May our united contribution in the form of the herein-collected experiences in archival work and research in both traditional and digital environments highlight the possibilities of our common projects and cooperation in the future.

Novi Sad, December 2025

Ljiljana Bubnjević



## ПРЕДГОВОР

Удружење *International Centre for Archival Research* (ICARUS) са седиштем у Бечу основано је 2008. године. Данас га чини близу 200 установа чланица из Европе, Канаде и САД. ICARUS је до сада организовао 35 редовних конференција и велики број предавања, радионица и сличних догађаја намењених научној, стручној и широј јавности заинтересованој за архивску грађу и њено истраживање. Удружење нарочито промовише дигиталне медије, не само у раду са архивском грађом, већ и у публикавању истраживачких достигнућа, развијајући у тим областима нове стандарде и стратегије. Посебно је значајан његов допринос унапређењу међународне сарадње, која се остварује кроз заједничке пројекте и конференције.

Пред нама је штампани зборник који садржи радове саопштене на 32. ICARUS-овој редовној конференцији, одржаној у Новом Саду у јуну 2024. године под називом *Архиви и истраживања – између аналогној и дигиталној*. Домаћини су били Архив Војводине и Историјски архив Града Новог Сада. Поред учесника из Србије, излагања и презентације имали су и бројни архивисти, историчари и ИТ стручњаци из иностранства, и то из Хрватске, Босне и Херцеговине, Црне Горе, Северне Македоније, Мађарске, Аустрије, Немачке, Грузије, Холандије, Естоније, Италије, Малте и Аустралије.

Зборник радова, који носи исти назив као и конференција, представља својеврсни резиме истраживачког рада на различитим пројектима, не само у оквиру заједнице ICARUS-а, већ и шире. Резултати тог рада приказани су кроз одабране и истакнуте примере у виду 21 саопштења са идејом да се пружи што потпунија слика о темама и правцима развоја архивских истраживања у дигиталном контексту. Осим упознавања стручне и научне јавности, као и ширег круга заинтересованих, са пројектима и појединачним радовима из области архивистике, историографије и других друштвених и хуманистичких наука, као и дигитализације, издавачи зборника желе да допринесу промоцији архивске делатности и афирмацији свести о значају докумената као историјских извора. Објављивањем прилога стручњака различитих профила у једној свесци указује се и на значај унапређења сарадње између архивиста, историчара и научника из области сродних хуманистичких дисциплина, информатичара и других учесника у процесу дигитализације културно-историјског наслеђа.

У Зборнику су публиковани радови на српском, хрватском и енглеском језику, сврстани у четири тематске целине које одговарају сесијама из којих

се састојала конференција *Архиви и истраживање - између аналојној и дигиталној*: 1. „Мањинске заједнице у Европи – архивска грађа и други извори“; 2. „Архиви и друштво – аналогни архивиста у дигиталном свету“; 3. „Портал повеља *Monasterium.net*“; 4. „Конзервација и рестаурација папира и пергаментa – студије случаја“.

У оквиру **прве целине** – „Мањинске заједнице у Европи – архивска грађа и други извори“ – најпре је представљена грађа архивског фонда Архива Војводине *Друштва Подунавских Шваба у Војводини 1920–1944*. Између осталог, стиче се увид у рад на сређивању овог материјала и његовој дигитализацији, као и у његову доступност истраживачима. Следи прилог колегиница из Националног архива Грузије о немачким насељима и њиховом становништву на основу документације сачуване у збиркама те установе. Истакнуто је да су се Немци доселили у Грузију у 19. веку, у време када је она била део Руског царства, и да су брзо постали значајан чинилац у друштвеном и културном животу земље. Представница UNIHUB-а, београдског удружења посвећеног истраживању и промоцији образовања и културе, бави се питањем дигитализације архивске грађе која представља сведочанство културе Цинцара. Представљен је пројекат којим је обухваћена дигитализација часописа „Луњина“, који је планиран да се постави на сајту истоименог српско-цинцарског друштва. Такође, у оквиру прве сесије, представљена је архивска грађа Историјског архива Кикинда која сведочи о Ромима од 18. века до 1944. године. У раду *Муслимани, Јевреји и њихови православни хришћани у средњовековној Угарској у ојлегалу архивских докумената* разматра се материјал, уз истакнуте појединачне примере, везан за наведене верске заједнице у средњовековној Угарској. Корпус извора чине различити типови повеља, махом даровне, као и писма и други архивски документи.

У прилогу *„Архивска грађа о Јеврејима у Срему – Сећање на животијној једној народа“* приказана је грађа која се чува у Историјском архиву „Срем“ у Сремској Митровици и представља сведочанство, кроз одабрана документа из архивских фондова, о животу и раду јеврејске заједнице на поменутом подручју. Рад колегиница са Етнографског института САНУ под називом *Процес дигитализације Фолклорне збирке Етнографској институцији Српске академије наука и уметности* посвећен је драгоцену збирци која у првом реду садржи народне песме и краће фолклорне форме са подручја бивше Југославије. Прилог пружа детаљан приказ процеса систематизације и дигитализације Фолклорне збирке, као и основни опис софтверских решења, развијених како би се будућим корисницима дигитализоване збирке припремио напредан истраживачки алат.

У раду *Изградња сећања у јосијугославенском контексту: нарајиви моћи у концептуализацији рада Дивне Зечевић*, представљен је лични фонд Дивне Зечевић, који се чува у Архиву Срба у Хрватској као део наслеђа ове етнографкиње, песникиње и књижевне критичарке; фонд обухвата 11 кутија различитих чланака, критика, студија, песама, есеја, кореспонденције и докумената везаних за њен рад у Банији, Лици и другим областима претежно насељеним српском мањином у Хрватској.

Рад *Мајдалена Манда Сударевић у парламентарном и друштвеном животу Војводине* Милице Савић Косовац, настао на основу различитих извора, одабране литературе и архивске грађе похрањене у Архиву Војводине, истиче велики допринос ове госпође настојањима жена да учествују у политичком животу на територији Војводине и шире, као и њену борбу, у својству припаднице буњевачке заједнице, за остваривање националних циљева. Манда Сударевић је била једна од седам жена које су, учествујући у раду Новосадске скупштине, гласале за присаједињење Војводине Краљевини Србији, те тако имале улогу и у предстојећем стварању Краљевине Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца 1918. године.

У оквиру **друге целине** „Архиви и друштво – аналогни архивиста у дигиталном свету“ приказани су извештаји о различитим пројектима дигитализације. Посебну пажњу на конференцији привукла је презентација о Transkribus-у, програму вештачке интелигенције за читање историјских докумената. Реч је о платформи за дигитализацију, препознавање текста, транскрипцију и претраживање изворне грађе. Платформа постоји од 2016. године, а од 2019. делује као пројекат READ-COOP – база података која омогућава приступ историјским документима уз помоћ технологије за препознавање рукописа и уочавање кључних речи, са више од 300.000 корисника и 200 институција чланица међу којима су универзитети, библиотеке и архиви. Као сарадници READ-COOP-а, запослени у Универзитетској библиотеци „Светозар Марковић“ у Београду презентовали су свој рад у Transkribus-у, који је подразумевао дигитализацију и транскрипцију великог броја рукописа из библиотечких збирки. Осим овог, у зборнику је представљено још неколико прилога са другог дана конференције. Следи прилог учеснице из Аустралије Данице Мајсторовић Итер о документарном наслеђу српске дијаспоре у Аустралији у виду збирки дигиталних снимака, у којем је представљена документарна баштина српских миграната у Аустралији после Другог светског рата, сакупљена као резултат личне иницијативе ауторке и њене сарадње са архивима, библиотекама и музејима. Рад под насловом *Сагледавање миграцијских феномена из архивске перспективе: Рефлексија пројекта АТоМ* представља пројекат *Архиви*

и трагови миграција (“Archives and Traces of Migrations – АТоМ“) подржан од Европске комисије у оквиру програма „Креативна Европа“, који се бави феноменом миграција становништва из перспективе архивске грађе. Партнери на пројекту су колеге из Хрватске, Шпаније, Мађарске и Холандије. У зборнику је представљен и пројекат *E-ROUTES – Time Travel Routes through Europe*, такође реализован у оквиру програма „Креативна Европа“, који се бави културним наслеђем и савременом уметничком продукцијом везаном за путовања. Циљ пројекта је прикупљање дигитализованог материјала из различитих институција културе (галерије, библиотеке, архиви, музеји – GLAM) како би се реконструисале тематске путне руте у четири европске земље: Хрватској, Италији, Србији и Словенији. Колегиница из удружења ICARUS приказује пројекат *C4Education – Creating a Virtual Lab for Cultural Heritage Tools*, чији је циљ стварање виртуалног простора за прикупљање и примену различитих апликација намењених углавном институцијама културе, а које су осмишљене ради едукације грађана и њиховог упознавања са културним наслеђем. Пројекат „C4Education“ финансиран је уз подршку Европске уније у оквиру програма Creative Innovation Labs (CREA-CROSS-2021-INNOVLAB).

У **трећој целини** налазе се два прилога са радионице посвећене Monasterium-у, онлајн платформи која постоји од 2002. године и садржи дигиталне снимке са метаподацима, а делом и издања повеља из средњег и раног новог века. Рад на овом пројекту започет је дигитализацијом око 20.000 докумената сачуваних у манастирима Доње Аустрије, који су истраживачима били доступни само у ограниченој мери, док се данас на платформи Monasterium.net налази око 680.000 докумената, приказаних у 970.000 снимака, из преко 200 архива у 26 земаља. Monasterium.net је у зборнику представљен кроз радове: Аналогни архиви, дигитална будућност: средњовековни архиви бенедиктинских манастира у Јужној Италији на *Monasterium.net* и Збирка повеља и диплома Архива Војводине на *Monasterium.net*.

У **четвртој целини** су прилози са радионице реализоване у оквиру програма Архива Војводине под називом „Конзервација и рестаурација папира и пергаментa – студија случаја“, на којој су своја искуства размениле колеге из Мађарске, Хрватске, Северне Македоније, Републике Српске и Србије: *Истраживање њисане баштинине визуалним њрељедом; Уклањање њљивица са умејнина на њаиру њомоћу јонских њечностѝ на бази аминокиселина; Конзерваторско-рестаураторски радови на карѝама и њлановима Архива Војводине; Израда койѝје Повеље царице Марије Терезије о њѝановљењу Великокикиндској њривилеованој дисѝриктиа из 1774. њодине*

и Методи заштитне архивске грађе и фондова од биолошких агенса – иреј-мани аноксијом.

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На крају имамо дужност и задовољство да изразимо срдачну захвалност на сарадњи и посвећености колегиници Сари Самарџић, архивској саветници Историјског архива Града Новог Сада, као коуредници ове публикације. За предан рад, кооперативност и стрпљење, захвалност изражавамо и рецензентима, затим редакцији, али и установама које су на различите начине помогле у организовању конференције, као и приређивању и штампању зборника. То су Архив Војводине као издавач зборника и организатор конференције, Историјски архив Града Новог Сада као један од њених домаћина, затим удружење ICARUS као суорганизатор, Министарство културе Републике Србије као најзначајнији донатор средстава за реализацију конференције и штампање зборника, те Аустријски културни Форум у Београду, који је такође пружио финансијску подршку за реализацију конференције.

Генерални спонзор конференције била је компанија *Trevis d.o.o.* из Београда, специјализована за израду и монтажу архивских система (металних регала за складиштење архивске грађе и сл). Компанија је на конференцији добила могућност маркетиншког представљања својих производа.

Зборник који је пред нама резултат је великог одзива учесника конференције и њихове свести о значају размене знања и искустава у струци. Нека наш заједнички допринос у виду овде сабраних искустава архивског рада и истраживања у традиционалном и дигиталном окружењу укаже на могућност будућих заједничких пројеката и сарадње.

У Новом Саду, децембар 2025.

Љиљана Бубњевић



**MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN EUROPE –  
ARCHIVAL MATERIALS AND OTHER SOURCES**

**МАЊИНСКЕ ЗАЈЕДНИЦЕ НА ПРОСТОРУ ЕВРОПЕ –  
АРХИВСКА ГРАЂА И ДРУГИ ИЗВОРИ**



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## **The Associations of Danube Swabians in Present-Day Vojvodina 1920–1944: Selected archival materials of the fonds F. 556 of the Archives of Vojvodina**

**Abstract:** At the Archives of Vojvodina, among several archival fonds containing materials related to the German community in present-day Vojvodina, there is one holding records created in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely from 1920 to 1946. The name of the fonds is *Associations of Danube Swabians*, and it bears the archival signature F. 556. The Fonds F. 556 contains materials created by four associations of Danube Swabians. One, Kulturbund, operated in the interwar period; the other three were active during the war, each in a different occupied area of Vojvodina. The fonds' materials were seized after the war, and although preserved fragmentarily, they are still an abundant source of information about the community. The materials held in the fonds include associations' correspondence, different types of membership cards and personal IDs, propaganda materials, photos, newspapers, confidential information bulletins and private letters, several of which are given in translation in the appendix of this paper.

**Keywords:** German colonization, Danube Swabians, Vojvodina (Banat, Bačka, Srem), emigration, ethnic diversity, Second World War, Kulturbund, archival fonds.

Vojvodina, an autonomous province in the north of the Republic of Serbia, is a region of multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character. It is home to more than 20 ethnic groups,<sup>1</sup> and as many as six official languages are in use.<sup>2</sup> These characteristics of the Province arise from the fact that, throughout history, due to its specific geographical position (it is located in the south of the vast and acces-

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<sup>1</sup> Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia: Population by Ethnicity and Mother Tongue, by Regions, [https://popis2022.stat.gov.rs/media/31348/1\\_stanovnistvo-prema-nacionalnoj-pripadnosti-i-maternjem-jeziku.xlsx](https://popis2022.stat.gov.rs/media/31348/1_stanovnistvo-prema-nacionalnoj-pripadnosti-i-maternjem-jeziku.xlsx). (cons. March 25, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Serbia, Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Provincial Secretariat for Education, Regulations, Administration and National Minorities – National Communities: Official Use of Languages and Scripts in the AP Vojvodina, [https://www.puma.vojvodina.gov.rs/etext.php?ID\\_mat=207](https://www.puma.vojvodina.gov.rs/etext.php?ID_mat=207). (cons. March 25, 2025).

sible Pannonian Plain), this region has been a part of several states, as well as the starting point for numerous waves of migrations. While some peoples merely passed through the territory of the present-day Vojvodina, others have settled in this area permanently, mixing with the indigenous population or assimilating into it. Certain ethnic groups, however, have managed to preserve their distinct characteristics, while at the same time significantly contributing to the diversity of the cultural mosaic of the region in which they settled. One of these groups were the Danube Swabians, who, following World War II and the resulting change in Vojvodina's ethnic composition, now exist in the province only in traces of their former community<sup>3</sup>.

Until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the territory of the present-day Vojvodina was part of the Ottoman Empire. With the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 and the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the southern Hungarian regions of Bačka, Banat, and Syrmia/Srem, which today are largely within the borders of Vojvodina, came entirely under Habsburg control. The establishment of Habsburg rule saw the beginning of a gradual colonization of these areas. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, settlers from Germany arrived to the territory of the present-day Vojvodina in several larger and smaller organized waves. Their first settlements were mostly built in Banat<sup>4</sup>, then in Bačka, and finally in Syrmia. Over time, an ethnic community of Danube Swabians emerged from these settlers. Over the next two hundred years, this community would firmly integrate into the province's ethnic structure.

By the end of the First World War, and the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the territory of the present-day Vojvodina was incorporated into Serbia, or, more specifically, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed as Yugoslavia). Without their motherland being nearby, to which they could rely on as a minority community, the Danube Swabians were compelled to self-organize. This was beneficial to the new authorities, which were ready to grant them certain concessions, with the hopes of obtaining their support and weakening separatist intentions among members of national minorities in Vojvodina.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in May 1920, before the Treaty of Trianon was signed with Hungary, the founding of the Kulturbund, that is the Swabian-German Cultural Association (*Schwäbisch-Deutscher Kulturbund*), was approved; its founding assembly was

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<sup>3</sup> DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, MA – ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ – OLGICA TRBOJEVIĆ – LJILJANA BUBNJEVIĆ, *Migracije naroda na području Bačke i Banata u 18. i 19. veku – kroz odabrane dokumente Bačko-bodroške, Tamiške i Torontalske županije*, Novi Sad 2022.

<sup>4</sup> Z. JANJE TOVIĆ, *Nemci u Vojvodini*, Beograd 2009, 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, 214.

held on June 20 of the same year in Novi Sad.<sup>6</sup>

The Kulturbund was, with brief pauses, the central organization for the Danube Swabians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during the interwar period. For most of its existence, the Kulturbund dealt with issues concerning culture, education and social protection, while any type of political involvement was avoided.

From the end of 1934 to the middle of 1939, the organization was shaken by an internal conflict, which resulted in the Kulturbund, with the support of Germany, being taken over by the younger generation, who were proponents of National Socialism. After this, its character was changed, it grew exponentially, its structure and activities were modified, and it declared itself the main organization for its people under the supreme authority of the leader of the “German ethnic group in Yugoslavia”.<sup>7</sup>

After the military coup, which took place on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1941 and swept away the pro-German government under Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, the Kulturbund had basically ceased its activities.<sup>8</sup> After the short April War, Germany and its allies occupied the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the activities of the Kulturbund, in the occupied territories, were continued by individual, but similarly oriented, organizations of Danube Swabians<sup>9</sup>:

- In Bačka, the People’s Association of Germans in Hungary – Regional Authorities Bačka (*Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn – Gebietsleitung Batschka*);
- In Banat, the German National Group in Banat and Serbia (*Deutsche Volksgruppe im Banat und Serbien*);
- In Srem, the German National Group in the Independent State of Croatia (*Deutsche Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien*).

These organizations were consistently carrying out the occupational policies of Germany and its allies, during the entirety of the Second World War, on the territory of Vojvodina. In the autumn of 1944, with the liberation of most of the province, all three of them ceased to function.

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<sup>6</sup> J. MIRNIĆ, *Nemci u Bačkoj u Drugom svetskom ratu*, Novi Sad 1974, 29.

Although the Kulturbund was established as an organisation of Danube Swabians in Yugoslavia, the majority of its members up until the 1930s were from Vojvodina (Z. JANJETOVIĆ, *Nemci u Vojvodini*, Beograd 2009, 213).

<sup>7</sup> J. MIRNIĆ, *Nemci u Bačkoj u Drugom svetskom ratu*, Novi Sad 1974, 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Život, rad i držanje domaćih Nemaca (Folksdojčera) pre rata, za vreme rata i za vreme okupacije*, ed. D. NJEGOVA, Novi Sad 2012, 57.

<sup>9</sup> When Yugoslavia was dismembered in 1941, Bačka and Baranja fell under Hungary, Syrmia under the Independent State of Croatia, while Banat was formally part of Serbia yet governed by the region’s Germans.

The end of the war also marked the beginning of the end of the Danube Swabian community in Vojvodina. Some of them succeeded in evacuating before the arrival of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the Red Army. Those that did not were unfortunate enough to suffer collective punishment for the crimes that their compatriots had committed: their property was seized, they were executed at random, placed in concentration camps, sent to forced labor, died from diseases and inadequate living conditions.<sup>10</sup> In the following years, the majority of those that survived either moved to West Germany and Austria, or assimilated into some of the local ethnic communities.

The Danube Swabians had left behind a rich cultural heritage, which also includes archival records. These are stored in the Archives of Vojvodina in several archival fonds and collections, among which the most important ones are the fonds of some former Hungarian counties (Bács-Bodrog County, Torontál County and Temes County), Šajkaš Border Battalion, etc. However, the only fonds which holds archival records that deal exclusively with the Danube Swabians, which was created in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is the F. 556 fonds – Associations of Danube Swabians.

The fonds' archival records were acquired by the Archives of Vojvodina in November 1978, from the Museum of the Socialist Revolution of Vojvodina.<sup>11</sup> It is unknown what happened to the materials before that or how they were preserved. Since they were acquired together with the materials of the "Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Committed by the Occupiers and Their Collaborators in Vojvodina", it is possible that the materials of the F. 556 fonds were taken shortly after the liberation, and afterward given to the Commission, with the assumption that they contained information concerning perpetrators of war crimes.

In cases when documents with such information were found, they would be separated and placed, with inventory numbers, in the Commission's archival office, which later entrusted these to the Archives of Vojvodina where they formed the fonds F. 183. The majority of the materials remained unregistered, and it was only at the end of the year 2014 that the F. 556 fonds was formed out of those materials and a small amount of additional ones.

Even though the materials of the fonds were created from the activities of four associations (the Kulturbund and the three ones that continued its work in the occupied zones), instead of forming separate fonds, a single unified fonds was created. Namely, the creators of the materials carried out the same type of

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<sup>10</sup> Z. JANJE TOVIĆ, *Nemci u Vojvodini*, Beograd 2009, 347–361.

<sup>11</sup> Archives of Vojvodina (AV), F. 121 Arhiv Vojvodine, VII 031.5-7/81.

activities, while the materials themselves were preserved in relatively small quantities, which in themselves are some of the criteria for forming a unified archival fonds according to the instructions of the Archival Council of Serbia.<sup>12</sup> This is why within the fonds there are four sub-fonds, as well as a fifth series of documents which includes materials that could not be classified within those sub-fonds.

Classification and systematization of the materials were carried out in 2015 and 2016. Due to their high value, none of the materials went through a process of discarding. A lesser amount of materials was separated since it was determined that they belonged to other fonds. The total amount of the fonds' archival records is 5.59 m.

Archival records are systematized in the following order:

- \* The association
- \* Regional organizational unit
  - \* Municipal organizational unit
- \* Local organizational unit
  - \* Affiliated organization
- \* Municipal organizational unit of the affiliated organization
  - \* Local organizational unit of the affiliated organization

Within an organizational unit, the correspondences are arranged according to their numbers in the registry, or chronologically in case the documents lack registry numbers. The described principle has been implemented despite the lack of registers, and in order to avoid further separation of these materials into smaller groups, since they were already preserved partially. The remaining materials were arranged into series of documents, and within them chronologically. Personal documents (lists of members, membership cards, access cards, index cards, etc.) were arranged alphabetically, where it was possible. If this was not possible, then records were composed so as to make it easier for the users.

Sub-fonds F. 556.1 Swabian-German Cultural Association in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Kulturbund) is composed of archival materials that were created from 1930 to 1941. Its total amount is 0.63 m (four books and five boxes) and it consists of 4 series of documents which includes:

- minutes; work logs; information about the organizational structure;
- correspondences of the association's organizational units;

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<sup>12</sup> Uputstvo o određivanju kriterija o formiranju arhivskog fonda, *Arhivski pregled* 1 (1969), 71-76, p. 75.

- correspondence related to housing children from abroad;
- financial documentation;
- membership cards;
- propaganda materials; photos and other materials.



Figure 1: Johann Wüschit, A Study on the Natural Population Growth of Germans in Vojvodina – brochure from the *Woge-Blatt* magazine, Novi Sad 1936. (AV, F. 556.1.1, fol. 14r.)

Sub-fonds F. 556.2 People’s Association of Germans in Hungary – Regional Authorities Bačka is composed of archival materials that were created from 1940 to 1945. Its total amount is 1.36 m (four books and 11 boxes) and it consists of 12 series of documents which includes:

- minutes; work logs; constitutional documents; information about the organizational structure; paramilitary unit service rules; confidential information bulletin;
- correspondence of the Association's organizational units; correspondences related to housing children from the Reich and other areas; correspondences related to payments to families of the volunteers of the German armed forces;
- records of recruited, wounded and killed volunteers; records of members of paramilitary units; records and statistics concerning members, non-members, enemies and Jews;
- personal documents; membership cards; ration cards;
- texts and plans for lectures and events; propaganda and educational materials; song lyrics and music notation;
- financial documentation and other materials.



Figure 2: Ethnic group in wartime struggle – German ethnic group in Hungary, poster of the National Association of Germans in Hungary. (AV, F. 556.2.11.7, fol. 15r.)

Sub-fonds F. 556.3 German National Group in Banat and Serbia is composed of archival materials that were created from 1941 to 1944. Its total amount is 2.63 m (21 boxes) and it consists of 14 series of documents which includes:

- correspondences of the Association's organizational units;
- records of recruited, wounded and killed volunteers in the German

- armed forces; records of members of paramilitary units; records and statistics concerning members;
- personal documents; membership cards; index cards; ration cards;
- financial documentation;
- photographs and other materials.



Figure 3: Credential of the German Labor Service in Banat, bearing the inscription: *Whoever served under this sign has proven to be ready to stand up for the people and the homeland (Leader of the Ethnic Group Dr. Janko).* (AV, F. 556.3.14.1, fol. 1r.)

Sub-fonds F. 556.4 German National Group in the Independent State of Croatia is composed of archival materials that were created from 1941 to 1945. Its total amount is 0.11 m (one box) and it consists of 3 series of documents which includes:

- circular letters from the Association's leadership;
- requests for issuing temporary emigration travel permits to citizens of German nationality;
- records of members of paramilitary units; records concerning membership;
- photographs and propaganda materials.

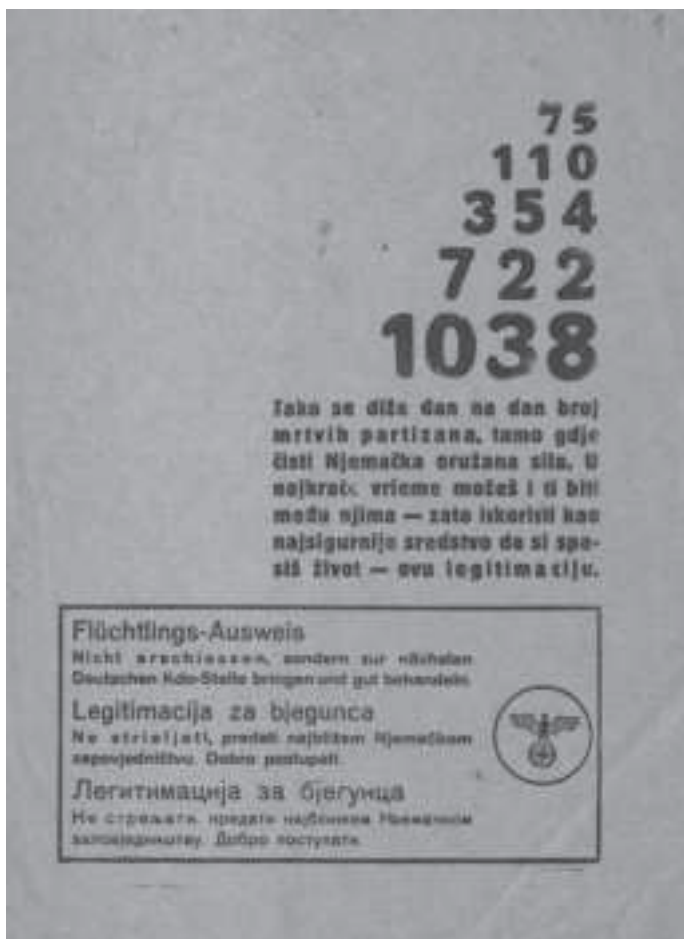


Figure 4: Leaflet designed to encourage desertion among the partisans in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. Caption below the numbers: Thus, the number of dead partisans rises day by day in the areas swept by the German armed forces. You, too, can be among them very soon – therefore, use this authorization as the safest means to save your life. (AV, F. 556.4.3, fol. 1r.)

Series F. 556.5 Other Documentary Materials is composed of archival materials that were created from 1920 to 1946. Its total amount is 0.86 m (seven boxes) and it consists of four sub-series of documents which includes:

- military IDs and other personal documents;
- photographs;
- letters;
- Danube Swabians' press and foreign press in German.



Figure 5: Members of a cultural and artistic association of Danube Swabians (AV, F. 556.5.2, fol. 7r.)

The F. 556 fonds is available for use in its entirety. With regard to the fonds' finding aids, users have the option of using a summary inventory with a historical note, and a compilation of personal information records, which is in a digital format and is titled "Registers and Lists". Likewise, the fonds is completely digitized.

Related materials are located in the Museum of Vojvodina, in the Collection of Documents, as well as in the Military Archives in Belgrade, as part of the German Occupational Army fonds, or more specifically its sub-fonds *Folksdojčeri/Volksdeutsche* (which, from an archival perspective, is mostly not arranged).<sup>13</sup> The archival records of the association from the territory of Croatia are also located in the State Archive of Osijek, in the fonds HR-DAOS-58, German National Group in Croatia Osijek, HR-DAOS-463, Swabian-German Cultural Association Novi Sad, and HR-DAOS-2013, Cultural and Humanitarian Association of Germans in Osijek.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Military Archives: German Occupying Forces from 1941 to 1945, <https://www.vojniarhiv.mod.gov.rs/eng/95/nemacka-okupatorska-vojska-od-1941-do-1945-god>. (cons. March 25, 2025).

<sup>14</sup> Državni arhiv u Osijeku: Vodič kroz arhivske fondove i zbirke, <https://www.dao.hr/index.php/gradivo-u-arhivu/vodic-kroz-arhivske-fondove-i-zbirke>. (cons. March 25, 2025).

Although the entire material of the fonds F. 556 is exceptionally interesting and valuable, certain segments of the fonds stand out in this regard compared to others. One such segment is the material found in the series of documents “F. 556.5 Other documentary materials”. There are two inventory units (boxes), numbers 44 and 45, which contain the subseries “F. 556.5.1 Letters”. This subseries contains personal letters and postcards from persons in exile, emigration, or captivity, a total of 255 letters, as well as filled-in Red Cross forms. The material of the subseries is arranged alphabetically, according to the surnames of the senders.



Figure 6: A Christmas card sent by Margaret Nelson of Royal Oak, Michigan, USA to her mother and the rest of the Bernauer family in Perlez, dated December 1945. (AV, F. 556.5.3.276, fol. 1r.)

The letters, postcards, and Red Cross forms were written by individuals of German nationality who lived in the territory of today's Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, primarily residing in Kačarevo (Franzfeld in German) in the South Banat District, but also from other places in Vojvodina. These individuals had emigrated, fled, or been taken into captivity from the war-torn territory. After the re-establishment of postal services following the end of World War II, these individuals sent letters or postcards to their family, relatives, neighbors, or friends. The letters were written and sent from foreign countries, from the states and places where the aforementioned individuals had settled, or from American and British captivity and labor camps, etc. The letters and postcards are generally similar in content. They primarily convey basic information about where the sending individuals are currently located, how they are doing, whether they have been injured, and they ask questions about how their families are doing, whether they are healthy and alive, what happened to their house, etc. At the end, they usually mention that they miss their loved ones, and often express nostalgia and longing for their homeland of Yugoslavia.

Here, we would like to present the content of some of these letters and postcards. It is often the case that within a single archival item, there are two letters from the same sender, one written in German and the other in Serbian. The letters were addressed to family, relatives, neighbors, and friends, with the hope of receiving a quick response from one or the other. All the letters were confiscated by the Yugoslav authorities and never reached their intended recipients. The letters were primarily sent from Austria and Germany, but also from Hungary, and – to a lesser extent – from the Netherlands, Canada, America (Chicago, Ohio), Brazil, and from captivity in France, Italy, Poland, Egypt, etc. These are letters from “ordinary people”, mostly emigrants, in which they express the difficulties they faced during the war and the separation from their families. They often expressed uncertainty about the well-being of their spouses, children, parents, and other relatives who remained in their homes in what was then Yugoslavia. As mentioned above, the letters were mostly written in German, using a German dialect without standardized spelling. Words were written as they were spoken. Thus, we often find words spelled incorrectly. “F”, was written instead of “V”, (for father, “Fater”, instead of “Vater”), “T”, was written instead of the correct “D” (“Tanke” instead of “Danke”), for the word *week*, which is spelled “Woche”, they wrote “Woke”, etc. Many words that are written together were written separately.

Since postal service was re-established just before the winter of 1945, in most letters, the senders wish their loved ones a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, wishing them happy Christmas holidays with “Kliglihe Weinats Feijertage”

instead of “Glückliche Weihnachtsfeiertage”. It should also be noted that a few of the letters were written in Gothic script.

Some of the said letters are presented in the form of a supplement to this paper. It is noteworthy that the letters have not been translated and published until now.

## SUPPLEMENT

Selected letters by German emigrants from Vojvodina in a translation into English

### **A letter from Austria, written in Gothic script (AV, F. 556.5.3.210)**

A letter sent by Fini Koch from Krumpendorf in Carinthia (Austria) on 2 January 1946 to her mother-in-law Anna-Maria Koch in Kačarevo (Franzfeld).

“Dear Mother-in-law,

How overjoyed I was when it was announced that we were allowed to write letters abroad, where my thoughts have been all this time. Dear Mother and all dear ones in Franzfeld to whom I can finally write and from whom I can finally receive some sign of life. Dear Mother, how are you and where are you? Are you in your house and on your property together with my sister-in-law? I wish you (all) the very best in the New Year, especially good health. May dear God protect and watch over you. Dear Mother, we are all well and healthy here. Hansli was transferred from Vienna to Salzburg with the hospital in April 1945, due to an air raid, and he is still in Salzburg. Andreas Rödler was also here with us at our wedding on 30 December 1944. He is now in Upper Austria with a farmer, he is also healthy and well, and he constantly thinks about his homeland and his wife. Dear Mother, our dear little gold, your granddaughter Hildegard, also sends you many, many greetings. I am already looking forward to receiving a letter from you and may dear God protect you down there in good health until we meet again. Dear Mother, here is Hansli’s address in Salzburg. (...)

Dear Mother, once again we send you many, many dear greetings and kisses from your Fini and Hildegard. I hope the letter will reach you well, so that I can write to you even more next time. Many warm greetings to all the dear ones down there, big and small.”

### **A letter from Ohio, USA (AV, F. 556.5.3.158)**

A letter sent by Mathias Holzmüller from Mansfield, Ohio, in the United States on 11 December 1945 to his friend Michael Fetter in Kačarevo.

“Dear Michael, Fanni and children, we have already sent several letters from America to our friends in Franzfeld and a reply paid telegram on 23 November, which cost \$11.34, and until today, 18 December 1945, we have not received any reply. We addressed the telegram to Michaelvetter Merkle.

„Is there no one left of our friends in Franzfeld, or are our letters simply not reaching them, or are you unable to write? Susie Lay received a letter from her sister, perhaps we can help you in some way, if you need it.

In July 1945, I wrote to Michaelvetter Merkle, Jakobvetter Merkle, the Holzmüllers, Father Karlvetter, and young Karl. Please ask them if any of them has received a letter and write to me who of our friends is still alive, and who is still in Franzfeld? As soon as it is possible to leave, I would like to come, there are several others who would like to come, too. There are more of us who would come, but for now I cannot say when that would be. Where is Adam, your brother? We are all healthy, which we hope is true for all of you, as well, and we wish you all the best. We wish you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. Many warm greetings and kisses to all of you, to friends, acquaintances, and to all who ask about us. Be well and we truly hope to see you again soon, God willing. Write as soon as you receive this letter and tell the other friends/pass on that we have already written to all them, but we have not received a single letter to this day. Mathias and Theresia Holzmüller with children. Live well, all of you.”

### **A letter from Austria (AV, F. 556.5.3.195)**

A letter sent by Konrad Kettel from Utzenaich im Ried, Ried District in Upper Austria, on 26 February 1946 to Adzah Bellockab (?) in Novi Banovci, Sylvania

“Praise to God and greetings from Utzenaich. Dear friend Adzah (?), I want to let you know that we are all still healthy and we hope that you are too. Dear friend Adzah (?), please write me a letter and tell me if Leni Gleich and Katarina are alive? And are my sisters [note: possibly referring to his three sisters] and their nine children alive? Since they went home in June, I haven’t received any answer from any of the four of them. Please, Adzah (?), if you know anything about where they are, please write, I beg you with all my heart to write me a letter and tell me what’s new at home. Everything is fine with us, nothing new, except

that we have a four-month-old son. Now I'm ending my letter with many greetings from Konrad and Eva Kettel (Nova Pazova). We are doing well, we only miss the rakija, wine, and sausages. We still have snow here."

#### **A letter from Austria (AV, F. 556.5.3.64)**

A letter sent by Fritz Dworak from Austria to his friend Josef Gonglach in Novi Banovci (Stara Pazova district) on 19 March 1946.

"Dear Pepi, first of all, I want to send you my warmest greetings and wish you a happy name day. Even though it's a bit late, it comes from the heart. I also send very warm greetings to your dear parents, although they don't know me. Dear Pepi, I hope you are healthy and that you returned to your homeland relatively quickly. It's a shame that we had to part ways. Were you in Upper Austria with your parents or did you go straight to your homeland? I hope your parents are healthy and that everything is all right at home, which I wish for you with all my heart. Strasser and I spent another four weeks in Upper Austria in Enns, with a farmer, from where my wife picked us up. We arrived in Vienna on September 15<sup>th</sup> after many, many months. Although I lost my apartment and partly other things, the most important thing is that my wife is alive and that I am in my homeland. Strasser wrote to me once. I am now employed in a factory as a gate-keeper, and I am generally satisfied. I got my apartment back, I just need to fix it up a bit.

Yugoslavia and Austria are free again, and that's the most important thing, isn't it?

Dear Pepi, have you had any of the recipes made for you yet? Unfortunately, I unfortunately haven't yet, because almost everything is missing here, but it will be available again, don't you believe that, too?

One must not let their spirit sink, and they should help with the rebuilding, because then everything goes faster than one thinks.

When I think about the camp, I can hardly believe that it all passed so quickly and that we are back in our homelands. Well, dear Pepi, I will finish the letter here, expecting your quick reply. Stay healthy and may everything go well for you, and think sometimes about the camp and all of us, how sad we were all together. Once again, I greet you with all my heart, your friend/comrade Fritz. My wife sends her regards, as well. Once again, warm regards to your parents. Please write to me soon, I am already looking forward to it. When did you actually come home? When did you leave the camp?"

### **A letter from Austria (AV, F. 556.5.3.67)**

A letter sent by a granddaughter, Rosine Eisemann from Vienna, to her grandmother, Magdalena Wagner, in Gajdobra (Bačka region) on 7 January 1946.

“Dear Granma,

School has started again, and at least it’s warm there, if not at home. Dear Granma, I am healthy and very happy, so are Peter and Mum. How are you? I think about you often and I am sad when I think about Grandpa. I loved him so much, and now I love you even more. Dear Granma, how does everything look now at our place? Do we still have flowers in the yard in the summer? I can never forget them! And everything there, the well, Schekel [translator’s note: probably referring to a dog], Miz [translator’s note: possibly a cat], and especially you, dear Granma, as well as Grandpa. The last thing we needed was the war, but soon Dad will come back and then we will all come to you together and then I will see my poor, dear, old Schekel again, and everything, everything that I love. But it’s all so far away, it will surely take a long time, a long time until we come.

Dear Granma, I have a big request for you that will cost some money. Would you please fulfill it for me? But please, only if you can. You see, I have a collection of old photos of everyone I love, but I don’t have one of Schekel, my dog who I loved so much. Would you be so kind as to have him photographed and send me a picture? Of course, if you don’t have the money for it or if the poor old boy has already passed away, that will be sad.

Dear Granma, please don’t be upset that I talk so much about an animal that doesn’t mean as much to you as other things. I love both people and animals. I know it’s a bit dramatic, but never mind. Dear Grandma, please give our dear Grandpa a warm greeting at his cold and airy grave. Tell him that none of us have forgotten him, and never will. Tell him that Rosie always prays for him every night, and that Peter often remembers fondly how Grandpa would always put him on his knee and rock him, and how his face was always kind.

Dear Grandma, I’ll end my letter now and I’m sending you 1000 kisses and greetings, with many beautiful hopeful thoughts, and 1000 happy New Year wishes. May this year be better and happier than the last one. Good night!!!”

### **Red Cross form (AV, F. 556.5.3.122)**

A message typed on Red Cross memorandum paper, stamped and sealed by the Red Cross, by which Andreas Halabrin, writing from the hospital, or rather from Kainbach Castle (“Schloss Kainbach”) in Graz, informs his wife Elisabeth

Halabrin on 16 October 1945, in Kačarevo, that he is in the hospital and that he is doing well. He also asks her to contact him and sends greetings to their children.

**Correspondence card from a prisoner of war in France (AV, F. 556.5.3.219)**

A correspondence card dated 29 October 1945 from Franz Körper, a sergeant (Obergefreiter) held as a prisoner of war in France, addressed to Miss Mini Domanski in Perlez, Bačka.

“My dearest, warmest greetings from far away. How is my little bride doing? I hope you have survived everything well and I hope the New Year will bring us the desired reunion. I would be grateful if I could get a reply from you soon. So now I will end this for today and wish you all the best. Warm regards and a kiss. Merry Christmas. Franz Körper.”

Александар Бурсаћ  
Љиљана Бубњевић

**Удружења Подунавских Шваба у данашњој Војводини 1920–1944:  
одабрана архивска грађа фонда Ф. 556 Архива Војводине  
(резиме)**

Након што су Хабзбурзи преузели од Турака управу над територијом данашње Војводине и суседних области, започета је и колонизација овог подручја. Заједно са другим народима, током XVIII века, у неколико већих и мањих организованих таласа, стижу и досељеници из Немачке. Временом, од ових досељеника је настала етничка заједница Подунавских Шваба. Током наредних две стотине година, она се чврсто интегрисала у етничку структуру покрајине. Крај Другог светског рата, међутим, значио је и крај заједнице Подунавских Шваба у Војводини. Део њих је успео да се евакуише пре продора Народноослободилачке војске Југославије и Црвене армије. На оне који су остали пао је терет колективне кривице за злочине које су починили њихови сународници. Њима је конфискована имовина, насумично су ликвидирани, затварани у логоре, одвођени на принудни рад, а доста њих је преминуло од заразних болести и других последица неадекватних живот-

них услова. Већина преживелих Подунавских Шваба је у послератним годинама емигрирала у СР Немачку и Аустрију, или се асимиловала са неком од локалних етничких заједница.

О историји Подунавских Шваба на простору данашње Аутономне Покрајине Војводине сведоче многобројни историјски извори који се чувају како у земљи тако и у иностранству. У Архиву Војводине као сведочанство о њима чува се архивска грађа фонда под називом „Удружења Подунавских Шваба – Нови Сад (1920–1944) 1920–1946“ (Ф. 556).

Архивски фонд Ф. 556 садржи грађу насталу деловањем четири удружења Подунавских Шваба. Једно удружење, Културбунд, деловало је између два рата, а остала три су била активна током Другог светског рата, и то у различитим деловима окупиране Војводине. Материјал који чини фонд Ф. 556 заплењен је након рата, те сачуван фрагментарно, али и поред тога представља важан извор информација о заједници Подунавских Шваба. Међу документима који се чувају у овом архивском фонду налазе се, између осталог, различите врсте чланских и личних карата, пропагандни материјали, фотографије, писма, новине, билтени са поверљивим информацијама, различита преписка удружења, итд.

Раду су, у преводу на енглески, приложена одабрана лична писма и дописнице особа из избеглиштва, изгнанства или заробљеништва, као и један попуњен образац Црвеног крста. Писма, дописне карте и обрасце Црвеног крста писала су лица немачке националности, на немачком језику, која су живела на територији данашње Аутономне Покрајине Војводине, углавном са местом пребивалишта у Качареву у Јужнобанатском округу, али и у другим местима у Војводини, а која су емигрирала, избегла или одведена у заробљеништво.

Сва писма су заплењена од стране југословенских власти и никада нису стигла на адресе прималаца. Писма су углавном упућивана из Аустрије и Немачке, али и из Мађарске, Холандије, Канаде, Бразила, Америке (из Чикага, Охаја), из заробљеништва у Француској, Италији, Пољској, Египту, итд. Реч је о писмима „обичних људи“, углавном емиграната, у којима саопштавају да им је рат тешко пао, као и одвајање од породице, то што немају вести о супругама, деци, родитељима, родбини уопште, али и о пријатељима који су остали у својим кућама у тадашњој Југославији.

**Кључне речи:** колонизација Немаца, Подунавске Швабе, Војводина (Банат, Бачка, Срем), емиграција, етничка разноврсност, Други светски рат, Културбунд, архивски фонд.

Sophio Jobava  
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## **German Settlements and Their Way of Life in Georgia as Documented in the Collections of the National Archives of Georgia**

**Abstract:** The harmonious coexistence of numerous ethnic and religious groups has influenced Georgia's rich history, with each group making a distinct contribution to the nation's cultural and economic structure. The German settlers were especially prominent among these communities. During the Russian Empire's reign in the early 1800s, German immigrants arrived and, with government assistance, founded a large number of colonies across Georgia. Agriculture, municipal government, education, architecture, and religious life were all greatly impacted by their presence.

The National Archives of Georgia's holdings provide in-depth understanding of these communities' daily routines, organizational frameworks, and contributions to society. The Germans left an enduring impact by establishing communities, building churches and schools, getting involved in politics, and using their architectural vision to shape Tbilisi's urban structure. The extent of their influence and integration is further demonstrated by their participation in the legislative procedures of the First Democratic Republic of Georgia. Through the use of archival materials, this presentation examines the history and legacy of the German community in Georgia.

**Keywords:** Georgia, German settlements, National Archives of Georgia, archival documents, ethnic and religious diversity, colonies, architecture, Russian Empire.

Georgia is a historically remarkable country with its ethnic and religious diversity. For centuries, representatives of different ethnic groups peacefully co-exist in our country.

This presentation will focus on one of such ethnic groups' – the Germans' – settlements and their way of life in Georgia until the Sovietization of the country.

Records from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries about German settlers in Georgia and the South Caucasus are kept at the National Archives. According to the documents, they arrived in Georgia in 1817, when it was a part of the Russian Empire, founded the first German settlement, Marienfeld, and quickly became involved in the social and cultural life of the country. In order to facilitate the spread of Western culture throughout the country and the growth of agriculture

and the economy through immigrant assistance, the Russian Empire began implementing a policy in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that called for the establishment of compact settlements of Europeans in Russia. The Empire’s objective at the time was to use hardworking and talented emigrants to advance its economy and agriculture. These dynamics led to different waves of European immigrants arriving in Ukraine, the Volga area, and Moscow and St. Petersburg. A significant number of emigrants from Southern Germany, migrated to the Caucasus, Bessarabia, Crimea, and Southern Russia in 1804 and 1817–1818. Some of the German migrants had already made their home in Georgia, which was then a part of the Russian Empire.

On the other hand, the reasons for the immigration of Germans included worsening living and climate circumstances, scarcity of food, rising costs, and other factors in the country weakened by the Napoleonic Wars.

The aforementioned archive data provides us with an understanding of the history of establishing German colonies, as well as its system of government, land ownership, educational system, parish activities, etc.

By the end of 1819, German immigrants had established the 14 colonies throughout Georgia with assistance from the country’s administration. These settlements in Georgia were called “German colonies of Georgia” until 1848, and then “German colonies of South Caucasia” after that year.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, over 4,000 Germans lived in Tbilisi only, in their one-story houses. The primary occupation of German colonists was handicraft. With the support of the government, the Germans began to manufacture and sell their own goods.

The image shows a page from an archival document, likely a church register. The text is in German. At the top, it reads "Verzeichnis der Mitglieder" (List of Members) and "im Jahre 1886" (in the year 1886). Below this is a table with several columns. The columns contain names, birth dates, and other personal details of the members. The handwriting is in cursive, and the document appears to be a historical record.

Figure 1: List of members of the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation of Transcaucasia born in 1886.

Preserved at the Central Historical Archives of Georgia (Fonds 1692, ser. 1, fasc. 44)

The material preserved in the National Archives of Georgia documents the German colonists' arrival and land transfer, the founding of colonies, the granting of residency permits, and so on. Archival holdings include the decree of 1816 regarding the development of colonies and the document of 1818 about granting them the land. The chamber description depicts the inhabitants of Marienfeld and the details about the possession of their properties.

Documents also include the correspondence of 1840 regarding the building of churches and schools within the German colonies and a list of contributors to the German Church's building in Tbilisi. One of the documents indicates that "596 families live in 9 colonies of the Caucasus, with 3250 inhabitants of both sexes."



Figure 2: The "Sauer & Weigle" system organ's description and layouts that the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Tbilisi plans to purchase.

Preserved at the Central Historical Archives of Georgia (Fonds 1727, ser. 1, fasc. 125)

They have four churches, three chapels, 604 stone-built houses, 13 mills, etc. There are a variety of documents referring to the number of households,

schools, chapels, churches, and teachers. In the schools, lessons were taught in German and supervised by the Lutheran Church. The National Archives preserves household and church censuses as well, including the South Caucasian Evangelical Lutheran parish list of those born by 1886.



Figure 3: Price list of the Hummel Brothers' Wine and Cognac Factory in the Ellendorf Village, Elizavetpol Governorate. 1911.

Preserved at the Central Historical Archives of Georgia (Fonds 390, ser. 1, fasc. 228)

Archival holdings also depict the election of representatives from the Evangelical-Lutheran Church to the Synod, the inventory of the Tbilisi Evangelical-Lutheran Church, and the undertakings of their women's organization, etc.

The National Archives preserves the description and drawings of the "Sauer and Weigle" system organ that the Tbilisi Evangelical Lutheran Church was going to purchase in 1881.

The Germans also had their own cemetery near the old Tbilisi in Alexandersdorf. The cemetery's layout is also kept in the collection.

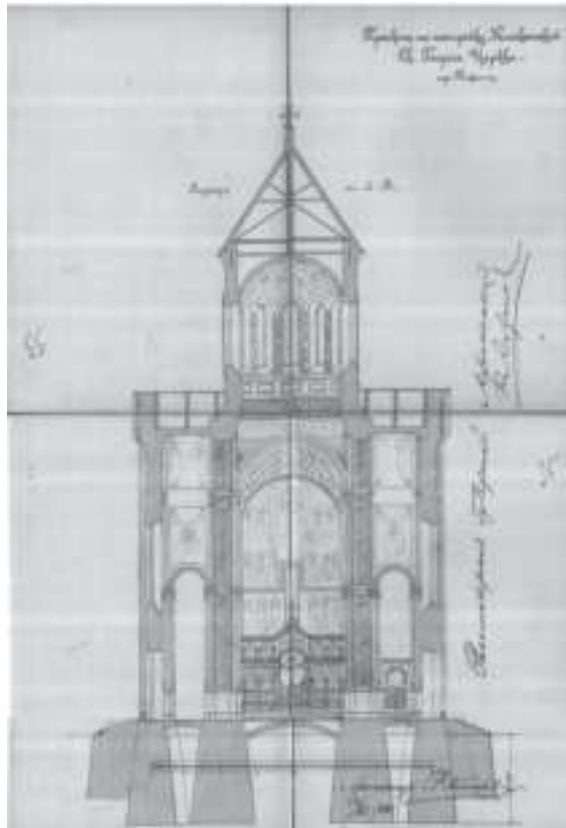


Figure 4: Project of the Kashueti Church of St. George in Tbilisi. Architect Leopold Bielfeld. Autograph. November 30, 1901 Preserved at the Central Historical Archives of Georgia (Fonds 204, ser. 1, fasc. 2275)

Among the preserved documents are the enactment of the Unified Agrarian Law, their commercial endeavors, etc. As it seems, the wine and cognac factory of the Hummel Brothers was located in Ellendorf. The document represents the advertising material and price list of the factory, as well as title sheets of German enterprises and societies operating in Tbilisi. For instance, the poster for the performance of the German society in Tbilisi; the title paper of the workshop for bookbinding and the lithography of “Iakshalt,” operating in Tbilisi in the 1890s.

Georgia became well-known throughout Europe as a result of the connections German colonies made with the continent and their active collaboration with the German government. Numerous German figures also contributed to the growth of Georgia in different areas of life. In addition to economic activities, they were eagerly involved in the political and cultural life of the country.

It should be noted that 23 out of the 145 members of the Constituent Assembly of the First Democratic Republic of Georgia were members of the country's minority. Two Germans, Eric Bernstein and Pavel Buly, were among them. When the Declaration of Independence of Georgia was approved by the Constituent Assembly on May 26, 1918, among the signers of the act was Pavel Buly as well. He was born in Elisabethtal in the family of a colonist craftsman. He worked as a teacher at the local school since 1897, and later he was also involved in the political life of Georgia.

The role that German architects played in the development of Tbilisi architecture during the latter part of the 1800s should also be mentioned. They had a major influence on Tbilisi's architectural style during the period. German architects created a number of notable structures, including the Roman-Catholic church and the "Orient" Hotel by Albert Salzmann. He was the son of Tbilisi-based hotel owner Friedrich Salzmann. He received a European education before coming back to work in Tbilisi. Among the projects of the German architects were the Opera House by Schröter; Leopold Bielfeld's Kashueti Cathedral,<sup>1</sup> Hotel "Wentzel," German Church "Kirkhe," and Likani Palace; Paul Stern's two-story residential house and the current City Assembly building in Tbilisi; and Gottgard's brewery building. A large number of these projects are kept in the National Archives of Georgia.

The Schmerling family, who were actively involved in the cultural life of Georgia, should also be mentioned. Oskar Schmerling, who was an artist and a teacher, founded Tbilisi Art School in 1898. The National Archives of Georgia preserves the greeting cards with the paintings of Oskar Schmerling, published in 1910.

Long-term cohabitation had an effect on the spiritual and economic lives of the ethnic groups that lived in Georgia, as well as the Georgian people. In addition to absorbing many Georgian customs, the ethnic groups that settled in Georgia had an impact on the native populace.

But after the Sovietization of Georgia, everything changed. From the 1920s, because of the general approach of the Soviet regime towards religion, they began to persecute the German pastors. The 1930s saw several waves of persecution and arrests of both the clergy and ordinary citizens. Sovietization also affected the German colonies, which were engaged in agriculture. Those who possessed more land than the established norm were forced to give the "redundant" land to poor peasants. The collectivization that started in the 1930s was the last straw that led to the downfall of the German colonists. Collectivization

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<sup>1</sup> Central Historical Archives of Georgia, Fonds 1692, ser. 1, fasc. 44.

opponents were arrested. In 1930, a few Germans made the decision to go back home.<sup>2</sup> Although political and economic ties were regrettably briefly disrupted at that time between the two countries, Germany is currently one of Georgia's most significant allies and a backer of its independence.

To sum up, the history of German settlers in Georgia bears witness to centuries of harmonious cohabitation, cross-cultural interaction, and reciprocal assistance. In addition to integrating into Georgian society, German colonists had a major impact on the nation's agricultural, architectural, and cultural advancements, as the historical documents clearly demonstrate. Despite the challenges posed by Sovietization, historical records and collective memory have helped to maintain the German community's identity in Georgia. This rich and complicated legacy is still being built upon today by the long-lasting relationship between Georgia and Germany, which honors a common past while fortifying bilateral ties.

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### **Немачка насеља и њихов начин живота у Грузији према документима у збиркама Националног архива Грузије (резиме)**

Од доласка Немаца године 1817, па до совјетизације, њихова насеља у Грузији имала су значајан утицај на друштвени, културни и привредни живот земље. Овај рад укратко приказује њихову историју и деловање на основу документарне грађе која се чува у Националном архиву Грузије у Тбилисију. Због економских потешкоћа у завичају, немачки досељеници су се преселили на Кавказ, где су основали Маријенфелд као своју прву колонију. До 1819. године, уз званичну подршку државне управе, засновали су 14 колонија у Грузији у којима је тежиште било на пољопривреди и занатима.

Национални архив Грузије чува архивски материјал који се односи на интеграцију немачких насељеника у грузијско друштво, укључујући доделу земљишта, црквене и школске зграде, као и свакодневни живот у градовима. Бројни Немци су се до позног 19. века настанили у Тбилисију, што је имало дугорочни утицај

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<sup>2</sup> A. SONGHUSHVILI, *Germans in Georgia*, publishing house "Universali", Tbilisi 1985.

на индустрију, културу и архитектуру града. Међу значајне доприносе Немаца спадају образовне институције, културни клубови и архитектонска здања.

Овај суживот је прекинуо совјетски режим који се устремио против немачких насељеника путем репресије у пољопривреди и верском животу, а затим и мерама колективизације које су довеле до коначне дезинтеграције њихових колонија. Упркос тим историјским околностима, Грузија и Немачка данас још увек одржавају чврсте везе, при чему Немачка пружа значајну подршку независности Грузије.

**Кључне речи:** Грузија, немачка насеља, Национални архив Грузије, архивски документи, етничка и верска разноврсност, колоније, архитектура, Руско Царство.

## Цинцари и њихово школство на територији данашње Србије

**Апстракт:** Цинцарско познавање међународне трговине, писменост присутна у њиховим породицама, знање и богатство обележили су културни и привредни живот Србије средином XIX века. Цинцари су у градовима формирали елиту коју су чинили имућни трговци, адвокати, лекари, професори, политичари и, нарочито, добротвори.

Захваљујући образовању, језик комуникације међу Цинцарима био је у првом реду грчки, мада су унутар породице говорили језик свог завичаја. Лако су се уклапали у средину и прихватили језик већине, али су основном традиције сматрали употребу свог језика. Веровали су да је ширење писмености захтевало стандардизацију језика, те је тако – пре *Писменице* В. Стефановића Караџића – у Бечу, 1813. године, објављена *Грамајика арумунска* аутора М. Бојација.

Српско-цинцарско друштво „Луњина“ је много година присутно на културној сцени Београда. Поред организовања предавања и музичких приредби, Друштво издаје часопис *Луњина*.

**Кључне речи:** Цинцари, грађанско друштво, образовање, Србија, *Луњина*.

### Увод

Становници ових простора који су користили грчки језик, а често су називани Грцима, током XVIII и XIX века били су Цинцари. Многи етнолози и историчари сматрају да су Цинцари били сточари који су се ширили Балканским полуострвом, зими одлазећи у топлије крајеве, а лети у високе планине.<sup>1</sup> Иако им је центар био у планинском масиву Пинда, доласком словенских досељеника задржали су се у планинским деловима Епира, Македоније и Тракије. Један део становништа, напустивши сточарски начин живота и формирајући прва стална станишта, населио се на грчкој територији. Њихов изворни језик био је доста необичан; основу је чинио латински са примесама и речима из грчког, словенског и албанског језика. Онај део становништва који се населио у Грчкој прихватио је грчки језик, а цинцарски говор, односно арумунски језик, задржао се само у

<sup>1</sup> Љ. ГАВРИЛОВИЋ, *Цинцари – дијаспора као историјска судбина*, Београд 1989, 3.

Битољу, Крушеву и неким другим мањим селима где их и данас има највише.<sup>2</sup>

Већина цинцарских градова била је формирана током XVIII века. Мушкарци су се углавном бавили трговином – *џорбарили* су, док су жене, са децом, остајале у већим домаћинствима у кући.<sup>3</sup> Москопоље, у данашњој Алабанији, било је највећи трговачки и образовни центар у коме је цинцарска младеж стицала знање на грчком и на аромунском језику.<sup>4</sup> У другој половини XVIII века, 1769, Турци су, одневши све из богатих кућа, у потпуности разорили Москопоље. Приморани да напусте своја станишта Цинцари су се раселили и путем трговине асимиловали се међу становништвом околних земаља. У жељи да оду што даље од центра турске моћи насељавали су Србију и Босну, а нешто касније и Хабзбуршку монархију. Тако су дошли и у Србију, односно у Београд, где су током XIX века продавали најфинију робу са истока – тканине, зачине и мирисе.

Живот у цинцарским кућама одвијао се углавном у једној великој просторији где су се скупљали о имендану.<sup>5</sup> Од намештаја су имали веома мало, спавало се на теписима, а у исхрани су користили доста млека и разноврсног поврћа. Са десет или дванаест година дечааци су одлазили са очевима да раде, а о њиховом тешком животу говори и усмена традиција која је пуна сете и туге за мужем, сином или братом. Жене, које су остајале у кући, преносиле су језик и традицију, оданост породици и штедљивост. Оне су, као и у многим другим срединама, биле главни носиоци породичног живота и националних обичаја.

Због стеченог образовања, главни језик у комуникацији Цинцара био је грчки, док се цинцарски говорио само у оквиру породице. Цинцарски језик, као један од романских језика, најстарији је на Балкану и био је део националног опстанка те мањине на Балканском полуострву. Они су се лако уклапали у средину, прихватили језик већине, али су коришћење властитог језика сматрали основом традиције. Сматрали су да је за ширење

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<sup>2</sup> „Грчки из књига је исувише тежак, па га чак ни ми не разумемо, иако добро говоримо грчки. Ми смо Аромунци. Не желимо да заборавимо језик који смо научили од својих мајки. Волимо исто тако наш језик, као и наша села, наше планине. Водимо порекло од Римљана, имамо исто тако стару историју као и Грци, можемо исто тако бити поносни на своје претке као и они. Зашто би се онда одрицали свог језика?“ ГУСТАВ ВАЈГАНД, *Аромунци*, Београд 1995, 259.

<sup>3</sup> По начину трговине трговци су се делили у две групе: трговце на велико – *all' grosso* и трговце на мало или торбаре – *alla minuta*. Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, Београд 1998, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Грчка школа у Москопољу обновљена је 1840. Међу приложницима је био и кнез. Милош. Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 36.

<sup>5</sup> За разлику од Срба, Цинцари нису славили славе већ имендане.

писмености потребна стандардизација језика, па је тако, пре Вукове *Писменице*, објављена *Грамаџика арумунска или македонсковлашка* аутора Михаила Бојаџија, у Бечу 1813. године. Цинцарски језик је на латиничном писму и има 30 слова.

Цинцарска музика је део цинцарске културе и традиције. Она је изолована и аутохтона, превладава молски тон, а теме су сличне другим балканским народима. И инструменти су слични – користе се кларинет, фрула, виолина и др.

### Школовање Цинцара у Београду

У Београду је још почетком XVIII века живео већи број Грка или Цинцара. За потребе школовања њихове деце, грчки трговци су још пре 1718. године основали *малу грчку школу*. Али, са доласком Аустријанаца у Београд, многи од њих су напустили своје куће па је постојала могућност да се она угаси.<sup>6</sup> На иницијативу Мојсија Петровића, митрополита београдског, а са жељом да се супростави католичком утицају, грчка школа, у коју су тада ишла и српска деца, наставила је са радом. Сама зграда налазила се у дворишту српске основне школе, а за учитеља био је постављен један Грк који је ђаке учио да говоре, читају, пишу и певају на грчком језику. Током школске 1721/22. у њој је предавао учитељ Герасим, у периоду од 1723. до 1726. учитељ Константин, а 1728, Грк из Солуна, Никола Логинатат.<sup>7</sup> Тадашњи учитељи су уместо плате имали право да на тасу у цркви просе прилоге за себе.<sup>8</sup> Из тестаментa Мојсија Петровића сазнаје се да је грчка школа, временом, требало да прерасте у средњу школу.

О раду школа у Београду током XVIII века нема пуно података, а о грчким школама скоро уопште. Претпоставља се да су, спорадично, грчки учитељи васпитавали и образовали како цинцарске тако и српске ђаке. Међутим, постоје подаци који наводе на закључак да су грчке школе у Земуну и Новом Саду, са мањим прекидима, радиле и током XVIII века и да су се у њима школовала и српска деца. Наиме, већ четрдесетих година у Земуну је постојала грчка школа чији је рад био обновљен 1793. године. С обзиром да су је основали трговци, разумљиво је да је настава, која се одвијала на новогрчком језику, имала практични карактер. Почетком XIX века школу је посећивало 88 ђака, а пошто је била боља од оне београдске,

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<sup>6</sup> С. Ђунковић, *Школство и просвета код Срба у 18. веку*, Београд 1967, 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> Д. Поповић, *О Цинцарима*, 229.

њу су похађала и српска деца из отмених породица међу којима су били и Илија Гарашанин и Сима Милутиновић Сарајлија.<sup>9</sup> Школа је престала са радом око 1875. године.

У Србији се, после Другог устанка, проширила мрежа школа па се у Београду, поред других, поново јављају и стране школе. Од 1818. године радила је јеврејска школа, од 1826. турска, а 1829. и немачка црквена општина је имала своју школу. Тих година обновљен је и рад грчке школе. Један од првих података потиче из 1825, када је кнез Милош био обавештен да *ћир Наум Ичко и друџи из ойишћесѣва моле да им доџусѣи да може ѣрчески учиѣељ децу учиѣи*.<sup>10</sup> Школа, са око двадесет ученика који су учили и старогрчки језик, налазила се на горњем спрату у механи код Стеве Србина, а као учитељи помињу се Јани Мишу и Ђорђе Захаријадес.<sup>11</sup> Пошто је грчка школа, чије је издржавање 1841. преузела општина, била од раније позната, њу су похађала, да би по завршетку мале школе нешто више научила, и поједина српска деца из богатијих породица. Школу је, поред грчких односно цинцарских трговаца, издржавала и грчка општина.

Поред ове општинске, средином XIX века, када је број ђака порастао, постојале су и приватне грчке школе. Крајем 1847. године, међу архивском грађом, налази се и допис у вези са радом једне такве приватне школе. Петар Радовановић, главни управитељ свих основних школа у Београду, у писму упућеном Попечитељству просвештенија 3/15. децембра 1847, обавестио је Попечитељство да група грађана намерава да отвори приватну грчку школу.<sup>12</sup> Сигурно да је Попечитељство просветштенија дало дозволу за њен рад, јер је нешто касније, 2/15. јануара 1848, у Новинама Читалишта београдскога забележено: *2. јануарија (ове ѣодине) отѣворила се овде, у зданију основне школе, с дозвољнијем високославноѣо ѣоѣечѣиѣељсѣѣѣѣ ѣросвешѣишенија, још једна ѣрчка школа, ѣриваѣина, ѣѣ.ј. с ѣрошком неколико родољубиви Грка и наукољубиви Србља ѣрѣоваца*.<sup>13</sup> Школа је радила по методу педагога Ланкастера који се заснивао на међусобној ученичкој помоћи. Овакав рад омогућавао је да се већи број ђака школује у присуству само једног учитеља. О школи се старао татор Никола Котула, трговац, а главни приложници били су браћа М. и Н. Боти и Павле Михајловић, дрндар.

<sup>9</sup> Д. Поповић, *О Цинцарима*, 363.

<sup>10</sup> С. Ђунковић, *Школсѣво и ѣросвешѣа у Србији у XIX веку*, 18.

<sup>11</sup> Д. Поповић, *О Цинцарима*, 229.

<sup>12</sup> ПЕТАР РАДОВАНОВИЋ (1808–1857). Био је управитељ основних школа, председник општинског суда и професор математике, статистике и немачког језика у Лицеју.

<sup>13</sup> Д. Поповић, *О Цинцарима*, 232.

На крају исте године, 8/21. децембра 1848, Општина вароши Београда упутила је допис Попечитељству просвештенија, у коме тражи одобрење за отварање приватне школе грчког језика коју би водио учитељ Константин Стергадес.<sup>14</sup> У писму се наводи да учитељ има доказ о потребним квалификацијама као и о моралним карактеристикама и да му је, од стране грчких трговаца, обезбеђена плата од 125 талира годишње. Сигурно да је школа, педесетих година XIX века, отпочела са радом, а о жељама и напорима Грка да у Београду школују своју децу говори, у свом делу *Кир-Герас*, и Стеван Сремац. *Зато су се као њаџириоџе и Јелини, и као добри родитијељи њосџарали да младу јелинску душу још из рана најуне јелинизмом ња ће, веле, њосле све до њроба јелинсџвом мирисаџи.*<sup>15</sup>

Поред тога што су грчки, односно цинцарски трговци, водили рачуна о образовању своје младежи у раду приватних грчких школа било је доста потешкоћа. Године 1858. Министарство просвете дознало је да, без њиховог одобрења, у Београду ради приватна грчка школа. Актом од 13/26. новембра 1858. поменуто Министарство обавестило је Управу вароши Београда да је школу отворио Јевтимије Ђераш у кући Михајла Молеровића, а да они, као надлежни за просвету у Србији, предлажу да се школа затвори, а да ученике у редовне школе сходно § 33, *џочки 4-ој Усџројенија основних школа њовраџи, да џеченије школско сврше.*<sup>16</sup> Иако је школа била затворена 26. фебруара/11. марта исте године родитељи се нису помирили са тим.<sup>17</sup> Свој протест уложили су 3/16. марта 1859. и у писму упућеном Министарству просвете назначили *да нам дозволи овакву једну њедаџоџичку џриваџину школу о нашем џрошџку оџворџиџи, знајуџи да у Беоџраду друџо овакво заведење за васџиџање џрчке младежи не њосџоји.*<sup>18</sup> Поред осталог као образложење навели су да *мноџи од нас, који смо наумили да нашу децу за добре џрџовце сџремамо и васџиџамо, нисмо у сџању своју децу у сџрану земљу њоради наука шиљаџи.*<sup>19</sup> Поменуто молбу потписали су: Јован Кумануди, Анастас Захо, М. Ј. Зограф, Анастас Христуло, Димитрије Кумануди, Никола П. Кики, Хаџи Ђорђо, Ристо Поповић, Димитрије Анастасијевић, Јован Живковић, Георгије Д. Биба, Георгије Молеровић и Анастас Типа.<sup>20</sup> Неколико дана касније, 19. марта/1. априла 1859.

<sup>14</sup> Архив Србије, АС, МП, Ф – V, 459/48.

<sup>15</sup> С. СРЕМАЦ, *Кир-Герас*, Београд 1948, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 233.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 234.

<sup>19</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 235.

<sup>20</sup> Анастас Захо дошао је у Београд из Мелника око 1821. Био је гвожђарски трговац на

Министарство је негативно одговорило на ову молбу, па су Грци, 20. априла/3. маја исте године поновили свој допис.<sup>21</sup> И сам учитељ Герас поднео је Министарству просвете молбу за пријем у службу у којој је навео да је родом из Блага где је завршио основну школу, да је у Атини слушао пет година науке, а да је у Цариграду управљао грчком школом. Говорећи о организацији саме школе и наставе, он наводи да ће, двадесет ученика који ће бити подељени у два разреда, учити јелински језик са граматиком и синтаксом, историју цркве, рачуницу – практичну и теоретску, математичко-физички земљопис, јелинску историју и краснопис.<sup>22</sup> После доста убеђивања, Министарство просвете је одобрило, 27. априла/10. маја 1859, отварање ове школе, али под одређеним условима.

На првом месту, у школу, која није смела да прими више од 20 ученика, није могло да пређе ни једно дете које је почело да похађа јавну школу све док не заврши четврти разред. Исто тако, било је назначено да у школи морају да се предају сви предмети као и у другим основним школама, а да је за додатне предмете потребно тражити одобрење. Учитељ је био дужан да почетком сваке школске године приложи списак деце, а крајем јула и извештај о раду са постигнутим ђачким успехом. Министарство просвете морало је да буде обавештено о свакој промени, па и о промени саме адресе школе.<sup>23</sup>

Тако је поново почела са радом приватна грчка школа у Београду. Поред свакодневне наставе ученици су били у обавези да полажу на крају школске године и годишње испите из науке хришћанске, историје, рачунице и јелинског језика. Настава је имала практични карактер, па су и задаци из математике били везани за свакодневни живот, односно за трговину. *Задачи су задавани и обично њакви да још више ободре ову младу јеладу у њуђини. У њим рачунским задацима узетих наравно из њрјовачкој светиа, Срби су обично банкротирали а Грци излазили са великом добити.*<sup>24</sup>

Неколико година ова школа је са успехом образовала и грчку и српску децу. Међутим, 1863. избио је сукоб због смештаја школе. Већина родитеља желела је да се школа исели, док је неколицина, са Јанићијем Куманудијем и Настасом Христодулом на челу, желела да школа остане на старом месту.

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Сави, био је даскал, знао је грчки и старогрчки и био је ефонос на испитима у грчкој школи. Имао је сина Перикла и кћи Ленку, удату за Лазу Пачуа.

<sup>21</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 236.

<sup>22</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 235.

<sup>23</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 239.

<sup>24</sup> С. СРЕМАЦ, *Кир-Герас*, 41.

И сам учитељ хтео је да напусти стару адресу па је, 6/19. фебруара 1863. упутио допис управи школе у коме је навео да из здравствених разлога мора да се исели из Београда.<sup>25</sup> После мањих размирица, договорено је да се школа пресели и да се ђаци, заједно са учитељем Герасом, сместе у кућу Ђоке Спасића у улици *водећој од куће Тасе Коларца у савску Чаршију*.<sup>26</sup> Мањи број Грка, они који нису желели да се иселе, остао је на старој адреси, а за учитеља је био ангажован Ђорђе Чочу, рођен 1840. у Македонији који је, у Краљевини Грчкој, имао положен испит за учитеље основних школа.<sup>27</sup> Тако је 3/16. јуна 1863. почела са радом и друга приватна грчка школа која је остала на старом месту у Данићевој кући.<sup>28</sup>

Рад грчких како општинских тако и приватних школа, прекида се осамдесетих година XIX века, а међу последњим учитељима помиње се даскал Пипис коме је помагала и његова жена.<sup>29</sup>

Према извештају од 18/31. јула 1859. године, поднетом Попечитељству просвештенија у Београду, радила је само једна приватна мушка грчка школа која се и 1870. налазила на списку од десет приватних београдских школа.<sup>30</sup>

Свакако да су поред ових грчких, у Србији, постојале и друге домаће и стране приватне школе чији је рад био регулисан многим декретима и расписима Министарства просвете, а од 31. јула/13. августа 1874. и *Правилима за приватне школе*. У *Правилима* је било назначено да поједина лица, друштва, општине, срезови и окрузи, по одобрењу Министарства просвете, могу да отварају приватне школе за наставу и васпитање. Приватне школе биле су под државним надзором, а од обавезних предмета био је српски језик, а у вишим разредима српска историја и историја српске књижевности. Полагању годишњих испита присуствовао је и изасланик Министарства просвете, а у случају неправилности у раду Министарство је могло и да затвори школу. Колико су се ова *Правила* односила и на рад грчких школа у Београду није довољно испитано, пошто су, углавном, све грчке школе у Србији престале са радом 80-их година XIX века.

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<sup>25</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 237.

<sup>26</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 238.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>28</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 23.

<sup>29</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 239.

<sup>30</sup> В. ТЕШИЋ, *Школе у Београду пре стйо јодина*, Београд 1967, 41.

## Цинцарске школе у другим градовима

Поред Београда, и у Новом Саду је, још 1730. године, постојала грчка школа која је крајем 1782. добила и своју зграду. Поред Цинцара, почетком XIX века, школу су похађала и српска деца која су, после основне школе, долазила на даље образовање. Велика пажња је била посвећена верској настави, а књиге из којих су учили биле су на грчком, или двојезичне, на грчком и српском језику. Године 1870, пошто је остала без ученика, школа је била затворена.<sup>31</sup>

Током XVIII и XIX века, и у другим већим местима у Србији радиле су приватне или општинске грчке школе.<sup>32</sup> Тако је, крајем XVIII века, радила и грчка школа у Шапцу. *Грчка школа је била по сѣановима даскала и доѣаѣијих ѣрађана. Грчка деца ишла су ѣосле 1809. заједно са српском, али се већ ѣосле 1816. јавља ѣоново ѣрчка школа и у њој учиѣиѣљ Ђорђе Захаријадес који је однеку оздо из Македоније, дошао у Румунију а из Румуније ѣреко Земуна у Шабац.*<sup>33</sup> У овој школи, која је вероватно радила до 70-их година XIX века, међу учитељима био је и Вићентије Ракић, педагог, а као ђак помиње се и професор Стеван Д. Поповић.<sup>34</sup>

Ђаци су у Смедереву учили грчки код учитеља Саве Љотина и Константина Поповића, а школске 1866/7. радила је и приватна грчка школа коју је држао Никола Даскал. Још 1870. у смедеревској основној школи учио се грчки језик, а часове грчког језика држао је и Јова Бимбић.<sup>35</sup>

По сећањима Љубе Павловића, директора гимназије у Шапцу, у Ваљеву је, у страћари у дворишту српске основне школе, током 1875. радила приватна грчка школа.<sup>36</sup>

Због смањеног броја ђака као и због посрбљавања Грка, односно Цинцара, све грчке школе у Србији, 80-их година XIX века, престале су са радом. Са њиховим затварање школски ситем у Србији изгубио је једну од

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<sup>31</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 222.

<sup>32</sup> Поред ових у Србији, 1864. основана је прва грчка школа на цинцарском у Трнову код Битоља. Монах Аврије, 1865. године, купио је групу монаха из Македоније коју је, да би изучили наставнички позив, одвео у Букурешт. По повратку у Македонију они су радили у већини грчких школа којих је током 1889. било: у Битољу у коме је радила гимназија са интернатом, као и мушка и женска основна школа; у Крушеву нижа гимназија и женска основна школа, а у Охриду и Прилепу мушка и женска основна школа. Г. ВАЈГАНД, *Аромуни*, 255.

<sup>33</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 240.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>35</sup> Д. ПОПОВИЋ, *О Цинцарима*, 241.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

својих специфичности, а то је школовање страних или домаћих ђака у страним школама, конкретно у општинским или приватним грчким школама. И Грци као приватни учитељи нису више били тако популарни, али се грчки језик и даље учио у реалним или класичним разредима гимназије.

### Српско-цинцарско друштво „Луњина“ и њихов часопис

У Београду је 1991. године, под именом „Луњина“, основано Српско-цинцарско друштво. У периоду од априла 1994. до 2006. Српско-цинцарско друштво „Луњина“ издавало је часопис-билтен под називом *Луњина* чији је покретач и главни уредник био професор др Прибислав Маринковић. Уређивачки одбор чинили су професор Ксенија Фурјановић, професор Весна Димитријевић и др инг. Братислав Маринковић. Циљ билтена је био да ојача активност чланова Друштва, да упозна са збивањима у прошлости, али и да буде присутан у раду самог Друштва. У часопису су објављивани наслови и фотографије везане за живот Цинцара током XIX и XX века, њихов значај за развој српске културе, њихове јединствености у стицању образовања и допринос свеопштем развоју друштва и науке. Билтен је излазио једанпут или двапут месечно, садржао десет или двадесет страна формата А4, фотокопије латиничне или ћириличне, са деловима на цинцарском језику, фотографије, исечке из дневне штампе, мале огласе, честитке.

Овом приликом издвојићемо неколико тема којима се овај часопис бавио.

У рубрици „Ко је ко“, или „Знаменити Цинцари у Србији“ – дате су биографије, између осталих: редитеља Александра Саше Петровића, проте Братислава С. Маринковића, министра финансија Лазе Пачуа, неуролога Јована Вуча, лекара Томе Лека, магистра фармације Доброте Штерића. Ту су и Цинцари доктори наука – између осталих, Дејан Медаковић, Ђурђица Петровић и Драгослав Срејовић; Цинцари писци – Бранислав Нушић, Јован Стерија Поповић, Боривоје Пекић и други, те Цинцари академици наука и уметности – Владимир Величковић, Дејан Деспић, Јованка Калић Мијушковић, Стеван Карамата, Дејан Медаковић, Никола Тасић и Светлана Велмар Јанковић.

Часопис је доносио и рубрику „Цинцарски језик у свакој прилици – српско-цинцарски речник“, нпр: *Жао ми је све су собе заузеле – Nji aeste yale, ma tute odile santu actsate; Са њојледом на море - Си videre pi amare*; затим краће приповетке на цинцарском и српском језику као што је *Знање сјашава од смрти*, итд.

Активности Српско-цинцарског друштва „Луњина“: прослава цинцарске славе Свети Атанасије, Оченаш на српском и цинцарском језику; дечје свечаности поводом прославе Нове године; предавања, сакупљање података о *Цинцарима* и њиховим породицама.

Мали огласи су објављивали и честитке члановима Друштва: *Нашој малој унуци Маји Тврдишић честитијам 7. рођендан и срећан њолазак у школу жели дака Тица Викторија.*

Посебност билтена чини Библиотека *Борислав Пекић*, односно узајамна позајмица књига: Библиотека *Борислав Пекић даје на читтање свим члановима Друштва књиге чији су наслови објављени у ранијим бројевима листта. Пријавијте књиге из своје дидлиотекке за њозајмљивање ићици Цани Мајковић.*

Током 2023. године извршена је дигитализација билтена *Луњина* и неких других архивских чињеница. Дигитализација прикупљене, сада већ архивске грађе, која се односи на живот Цинцара у Београду и Србији пружа могућност да се шира јавност, а посебно млађи нараштаји, упознају са постојањем Цинцара на нашим просторима, односно да се од заборава и нестанка отргну важне чињенице за историјски след постојања српске државе. Пројекат дигитализације подразумева саму дигитализацију часописа, припрему за читање по кључним појмовима, редиговање текста (с обзиром да има неких делова на цинцарском језику), постављање на платформу *Расико*, на сајт Српско-цинцарског друштва „Луњина“, сајт Библиотеке града Београда и на друге дигиталне медије.

Мaja Nikolova

## **Aromanians and Their Schools on the Territory of the Present-Day Serbia**

(Summary)

As an ethnic community, the Aromanians emerged in Serbia at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Owing to their well-developed commercial ties, modern ideas arrived in Serbia which had an impact on the formation of the middle/burgher class. Reputable artists, adroit politicians and great benefactors, the Aromanians entered history which remains in memory. As they payed particular attention to education and upbringing of their youth, the Greek/Aromanian schools were – since the year 1825 – an important

segment in the development of the Serbian nation. As the assimilation of the Aromanian population took place within a rather short time, the number of pupils in their educational institutions was decreasing, which led to the discontinuation of their work during the 1880's. Regardless of the intermissions in the operations of these municipal and private schools, one can rightly conclude that their contribution to the spread of education and the school system itself was quite large and that they played a special role in the history of schooling among the Serbian people.

**Keywords:** Aromanians, middle-class society, education, Serbia, *Lunjina*.



## **Documents from the Historical Archives of Kikinda about the Romani Community from the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century until 1944**

**Abstract:** This article tries to present and analyse documents about the Romani people in Velika Kikinda from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century until 1944 and the end of the Second World War in the Banat region. The main objective of the article is to reconstruct the life of a community that was on the margins of society, neglected and invisible to the government and city administration from their arrival in Velika Kikinda at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The documents about their existence and way of life are scarce and they are kept in the Historical Archives of Kikinda. They are mostly of judicial type and concern the misdemeanours and offences committed by members of the Romani community throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Information about the Roma people can be found in civil register books of birth, marriage and death from 1895 until 1921. Data about the community can also be traced in the documentation of the city administration concerning the question of Romani leaders titled *Knez* ('Prince' or 'Headman') in Velika Kikinda in the interwar period. The striving and sufferings of the Romani community in the Second World War in Velika Kikinda due to the racial laws of the Nazi regime in occupied Europe, are depicted at the end of the article.

**Keywords:** Romani people, Velika Kikinda, Austro-Hungary, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia.

### **Arrival in Velika Kikinda and the Romani community in Velika Kikinda until 1918**

The first mention of the Romani people in the District of Velika Kikinda dates from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They came to the villages and towns in the District because of its tolerant national and confessional policy. In 1795, a certain Stanko Karanfilović was mentioned in Velika Kikinda as the first member of Romani community recorded by name.<sup>1</sup> The Romani people in northern Banat were divided into three groups:

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<sup>1</sup> V. STAJIĆ, *Velikokikindski privilegovani distrikt 1776–1876*, Kikinda 1989, 339.

1. household Roma people – do not speak Roma language but Serbian only. Just a few families live in Velika Kikinda and its vicinity.
2. German and Hungarian Roma – bear the names of these two ethnic groups and speak the German and Hungarian languages, but use the Roma language in correspondence within their community. They are predominantly Roman Catholics.
3. Morkulješte – the largest group among Roma people in northern Banat and Velika Kikinda. They have preserved their language, customs, beliefs. They also speak Serbian and the majority of them are Orthodox by faith. This group adopted sedentary way of life at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

This is one reason why we lack exact data of the number of Roma from the period before 1918. Another reason lies in the fact that censuses in the Habsburg Empire and Austro-Hungary did not consider Roma as a distinct ethnicity and they had to declare themselves as Serbs, Hungarians or Romanians. In the 1910 census, in the section “Other” (regarding ethnic identity) the number of 322 persons was entered to designate those that did not belong to any other nation in previous sections.<sup>3</sup> Maybe the majority of them were members of the Romani community, but a certain number of the Roma of Velika Kikinda probably declared themselves as Serbs and Hungarians.

#### **Documents from the fonds F. 4 Magistrate of Velika Kikinda (1778–1918) about the Romani community**

There are 26 documents from the archive of the city administration between 1778 and 1918 that can provide us with information about the Romani community in Velika Kikinda. The majority is of judicial type about the misdemeanours and offences that members of the Romani community committed throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest one, written in Hungarian, dates from 1829; therein, the notary Pálffy demands that Vasa Radu, member of the Roma<sup>4</sup> community, had to be arrested.<sup>5</sup> The document from 1852 is about

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<sup>2</sup> K. MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, *Život i običaji Roma u severnom Banatu, STAV – kultura, društveni život i umetnost*, ed. M. PAVLOV, Kikinda 1976, 67–77, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Box 167. 18 399, 1910.

<sup>4</sup> In the documents and in everyday life the Romani people were called by their fellow citizens *Cigani* (Serbian), *Czigány* (Hungarian) and *Zigeuner* (German).

<sup>5</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Radnički pokret Kikinda Box 94. 907, 1829.

Bundiš Barbul and Miša Barbul who tried to avoid military service.<sup>6</sup> Police officer Lazar Stefanović brought a criminal charge against Flora Kovač, a Roma woman from the city of Arad, who had stolen some goods from the market in Velika Kikinda.<sup>7</sup> Some documents from 1857 and 1858 tell us about Arkadije Stojkov, Živa Barbul and Stefan Radu who were in jail because of theft.<sup>8</sup> In the year 1858, the city administration produced a report about Nikola Stojković who tried to avoid military service by hiding among the Roma people.<sup>9</sup> The city administration gave permission to cadge for Matej Barbul in 1906, which was a common occupation for the members of the community at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

The documents from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which are kept in the Historical Archives of Kikinda, tell us about the customs, social, economic, cultural and health conditions of the Romani community, for they were invisible to officials except when state and city judicial apparatus had to conduct justice in cases of various types of criminal activities.

### **The Data about the Romani community in the civil registers of birth, marriage and death between 1895 and 1921.<sup>11</sup>**

Austro-Hungary's government introduced civil birth/marriage/death (BMD) registers in October 1895. Until then, management of BMD records was under the jurisdiction of authorities within confessional communities (Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Evangelical, Hebrew etc). Civil record books are valuable resources for the reconstruction of a part of the history of the Romani community in Velika Kikinda. They can provide information about birth and mortality rates at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Also, we can conclude that the majority members of the

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<sup>6</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Box 111. 3002, 1852.

<sup>7</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Box 127. 7358, 1829.

<sup>8</sup> Historical Archiv of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Box 141. 10003, 11117, 1857-1858.

<sup>9</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Box 143. 10578, 1858.

<sup>10</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Grad sa uređenim senatom Velika Kikinda 1778–1918, Box 147. 17182, 11117, 1906.

<sup>11</sup> Books are kept within the archival fonds F. 400 Matična kancelarija Velika Kikinda 1895-1947 at the Historical Archives of Kikinda.

community lived in ‘delineated’ areas at the outskirts of Velika Kikinda, noticing their surnames and families. Civil registers show us that the Romanis in Velika Kikinda did not legalize church or civil marriages but lived in marital unions that were traditional according to their customs. The lack of legal marriage is the reason why the children from Romani relationships were in many cases registered in front of the authorities just by their mothers, whereby we have no information about fathers.

In the period 1895–1921, according to civil records, 194 Romani children were born, but this may be not the exact number for a number of reasons. The main reason is that members of the Roma communities sometimes bear surnames similar to their Serbian and Hungarian neighbors, so some of them were not detected. Another reason is the lack of legal marriages and there is a probability that not all of Roma women registered their offspring. Two sections in civil records books are the main tool for detection of the Roma people in Velika Kikinda: location of birth and surnames typical for Romani people in the region of northern Banat. Combinations of these sections provided us with the number of Romani children born between 1895–1921.

The members of this community lived in the following, rural parts of the city, at the outskirts of Velika Kikinda that almost have some characteristics of a ghetto. Roma children were born in:

1. Mali (‘Little’) Bedem<sup>12</sup> – 111 children.
2. Bedem near the railway station: five children.
3. Swamps near the railway station: five children.
4. Veliki (‘Big’) Bedem: eight children.
5. Bedem near the Fairground: five children.
6. Streets within the urban Velika Kikinda: 14 children.

The vast majority of Roma people lived in Mali Bedem, rural part of the town which is still inhabited today by the Romani community. Some of them lived near the railway station (Bedem and swamps) and in Veliki Bedem, which had mixed population (the Serbs and Hungarians also lived there). Just few Roma families lived in the ‘inner’ Velika Kikinda, with their Serbian, Hungarian, German and Jewish neighbors. These facts are the primary indicators of living on the margins of a society.

Romani families and newborns are identified by their surnames, characteristic of this ethnic group such as: Stojkov, Barbul, Radu, Barbulov, Šajn, Gan, Đin, Jon, Petrović and Ferković. The surnames of Stojkov and Barbul were

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<sup>12</sup> Bedem – Serbian word for a wall, bulwark or rampart. This word is the best indicator for the place where the Romani community lived: on the border, the edge.

the most common in the Romani community of Velika Kikinda, with 59 and 44 newborn children bearing those surnames respectively. Yet we have to be careful, for the surnames of Stojkov and Barbul can also be found among the members of the Serbian community. The main distinction is the place of living: almost all of the Stojkovs and Barbuls from the Romani group lived in Mali Bedem and other parts of the town primarily populated by Romani.

According to the data found in civil death registers, the Romani community had a high mortality rate of the newborns and children. A total number of 102 Romani children that had been born in the period 1895–1921 died before they turned the age of three, due to life in poverty, communal and hygienic conditions in the rural parts of the town where the Romani lived.

The Romani community here was not an enclosed society: many women that were married in Velika Kikinda had been born in other towns and villages, across Northern and Central Banat. Brides would come from Sirig, Bočar, Bečej, Bašaid, Itebej, Toba, Torak, Torda, Veliki Bečkerek (now Zrenjanin), Vranjevo (now part of Novi Bečej) and Velika Keča (Checea) and Otelek/Otelec (the latter two are now in Romania).

Although the majority of the community were Orthodox Christians, some families were Roman Catholics. Examination of civil register books gave us the number of 50 children baptized as Roman Catholics.

### **The Romani community in Velika Kikinda in the interwar period (1918–1941) – Documents from F. 60 Municipality of Velika Kikinda (1919–1941) and F. 64 District Court of Velika Kikinda (1919–1941)**

The information about Roma community in Velika Kikinda in interwar period are very scarce. They are mentioned in just a few documents relating to the Municipality of Velika Kikinda (Opština grada Velika Kikinda) between 1919–1941, which are kept at the Historical Archives of Kikinda.

One document dates from the year 1924 and it is a circular memorandum of Torontal-Tamiš (Torontál-Timiş) County to all the municipalities and towns falling within it, regarding the wandering Roma (Gypsy) caravans which could be found on the roads that connected villages. Sometimes, these caravans held and kept caged bears to display the animals at fairs for money, and their use was organized and sanctioned by law.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Opština grada Velika Kikinda 1919–1941, Box 156. 1917, 1924.

Another case from 1925 gave us some valuable data for Bedem and swamps beside railway station, where the Roma lived. The administration of State Railways in Velika Kikinda wrote a memo to the City Council, demanding eviction of the Roma people who lived near the railway station. The main reasons for such an act, according to them, were the lack of hygienic conditions in those settlements, thieves from the community stealing from passengers, especially foreigners, and stealing material and goods from the station. The administration of the State Railways used references which today can be considered derogatory and chauvinistic: that Roma people eat carcasses, that they are source of disease, that their unidentifiable dirty women kept tramping around, yelling and fighting, etc. The heads of some families (Sida Radu, Omer Radu, Jovan Radu, Lenka Barbul etc.) agreed to move to another location, but demanded of the city administration sites that excluded Mali Bedem or another Roma settlement, as well as some money to start a new life. The case was closed in 1930, when the City Council rejected the State Railways Company's demand to evict the Roma community from the settlements that bordered the railway station.<sup>14</sup>

Data about the community in the interwar period can be traced in the documentation of the city administration concerning the issue of the Romani leader in Velika Kikinda, called *knez* or *birov* ('Headman'). The elections for a Romani headman were held before a police representative, so that the process could be legalised before the city and state authorities. The Romani leader maintained peace in the community, communicated with the town authorities and was the spokesman of the whole community, sort of their advocate. The Headman was a town official who received salary from the city's treasury. According to the preserved documents, we know today the names of two Roma leaders: Svetozar Stojkov, who was mentioned in 1930, and Miloš Barbul, who started to work as the Roma *knez* in 1934.<sup>15</sup> The headmen's position as mediators and peacekeepers were very tough and there were numerous assaults on them by the members of the community, for they looked upon these as traitors. The monthly salary amounted to 50 Dinar, but Miloš Barbul fought for a raise and succeeded in that intention: his salary as of May 1938 was 100 Dinar.<sup>16</sup>

Documents produced by city administration provide us with information about the residents of Velika Kikinda in the interwar period. The Kingdom of

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<sup>14</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Opština grada Velika Kikinda 1919–1941, Box 158. 2044, 1926.

<sup>15</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Opština grada Velika Kikinda 1919–1941, Box 165, 168. 2505, 2853, 1930–1934.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem.

SCS/Yugoslavia conducted census two times between 1918 and 1941: in the year 1921 and in 1931. In Velika Kikinda, according to the censuses, the Romani community had 190 members in 1921, and in 1931 a total of 212 members.<sup>17</sup> This may not be the exact number, because it is likely that some Romani people declared themselves as Serbs or Hungarians.

Also, in F. 64 District Court of Velika Kikinda (1919–1941) there are cases related to misdemeanors and offences done by the members of the Romani community. Đin Svetozar from Mokrin murdered Đerđ Ana in Veliki Bečkerek in 1925 and was sentenced to ten years of prison.<sup>18</sup> Pera Ferković was sentenced to one year of prison in 1930, because he stole some chickens on the market.<sup>19</sup> Rada Đin was declared guilty because he committed a crime (serious injury) and was sentenced to 10 months of prison.<sup>20</sup> There were also examples to be found in the judicial material about the Romani people in Velika Kikinda on different topics. Thus, Milan Barbul, Kristof Šajn and Miloš Barbul were soldiers, wounded on the Italian front in 1916–1917, so they were receiving disability allowance from the government.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Romani community during the period of the Second World War in Velika Kikinda (1941–1944) – Documents from F. 79 Municipality of Velika Kikinda (1941–1944)**

The Romani community of Velika Kikinda was put under the racial laws of Nazi Germany almost immediately after the occupation of the city which took place on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1941. They were treated as a lower race: they wore white ribbon with inscription “Gypsy“ (*Zigeuner* in German).<sup>22</sup> The Romani community didn't perish in the Holocaust as the Jews did in Velika Kikinda, but their existence and safety was always under threat throughout the period of occupation. The Ministry of Education in the occupied Serbia published a statement in November 1941 of prohibition of attending schools for the children

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<sup>17</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Opština grada Velika Kikinda 1919–1941, Box 184. 3956, 1937.

<sup>18</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Okružni sud Velika Kikinda, Box 28. 1562, 1928.

<sup>19</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Okružni sud Velika Kikinda, Box 31. 479, 1930.

<sup>20</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Okružni sud Velika Kikinda, Box 41. 247, 1934.

<sup>21</sup> The files referring to Milan Barbul, Kristof Šajn and Miloš Barbul are found under the following numbers: Historical Archives of Kikinda, Okružni sud Velika Kikinda 1919–1941, Box 151. 246, 1940; Historical Archives of Kikinda, Okružni sud Velika Kikinda 1941–1943, Box 17. 66–67, 1943.

<sup>22</sup> R. TABAČKI, *Kikinda u narodnooslobodilačkom ratu u revoluciji*, Novi Sad 1982, 142.

from the Jewish and Romani communities.<sup>23</sup>

On 3<sup>rd</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> January 1942, the Germans organized mass killings by shooting in the towns and villages of the Northern Banat. In Mokrin, Velika Kikinda, Veliki Bečkerek, Banatsko Aranđelovo and Dragutinovo, 150 people were killed in the German retaliation for the murder of their three officers.

The executions of 150 people were later called “Bloody Christmas“. The murdered civilians were accused of collaborating with the Partisan resistance movement and many of them had nothing to do with the NOP<sup>24</sup> but just happened to be on a wrong place at a wrong time. The members of the Romani community were then given a grim job: they had to put the civilians killed in shooting onto the gallows pole, from which their bodies were hanging for 24 hours on the city square between the *Kurija* (Magistrate Bldg) and the Orthodox church. Next day, they pulled the frozen bodies off the gallows and buried them in a mass grave between the Jewish and Catholic graveyards. Some witnesses said that the Romanis sang loudly in defiance while carrying the bodies to the mass grave.<sup>25</sup> In the tragic event of “Bloody Christmas“, four members of Velika Kikinda’s Romani community were killed in the towns in Northern Banat: Karlo Stojkov in Velika Kikinda, Svetozar Đin in Mokrin and Rada Stojkov and Pera Ferković in Veliki Bečkerek (Zrenjanin).<sup>26</sup>

The German administration tolerated the household Romani people, but not the members of the community who had no permanent place of living. The people from Mali Bedem and other Romani settlements in Velika Kikinda received ration cards from the town authorities for buying basic goods (bread and milk) for their families.<sup>27</sup>

One document tells us that there were some Romani people in the city prison at the *Kurija* in 1941 and that the city administration spent 346 Dinar on their nutrition.<sup>28</sup> We do not know the reason for their imprisonment: whether they had committed a crime or were jailed simply because they were Romanis.

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<sup>23</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Gradsko poglavarstvo Velika Kikinda 1941–1944, Box 173. 46, 1941.

<sup>24</sup> NOP stands for *Narodnooslobodilački pokret*, or, the People’s Liberation Movement. Its military structures, the Partisans, fought against the occupation forces across Yugoslavia from 1941 until the liberation of the country in May 1945.

<sup>25</sup> R. TABAČKI, *Kikinda u narodnooslobodilačkom ratu i revoluciji*, 310–312.

<sup>26</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Radnički pokret Kikinda 1846–1990, Box 5, 67. 1942.

<sup>27</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Gradsko poglavarstvo Velika Kikinda 1941–1944, Box 19. 1604–1624, 1942.

<sup>28</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Gradsko poglavarstvo Velika Kikinda 1941–1944, Box 15. 742, 1942.

The institution of the Roma *knez* was under the town's jurisdiction, too, during the Second World War and the German occupation of Velika Kikinda. Miloš Barbul was still Headman of the Romani community and his salary was 1,000 Dinar in 1943.<sup>29</sup> This illustrates the fact that the occupation administration had to have their man within the community in order to maintain peace and order.

The strongest blow experienced by the Romani community came at the end of the war and occupation when, on 22<sup>th</sup> November 1944, German aviation bombarded the railway station in Velika Kikinda to slow down the advancement of the Soviet troops. Bedem, located next to the railway station, suffered huge damages, and 13 Romani people from this settlement were killed in the air strikes. In the fonds F. 101 Skupština opštine Kikinda (1944–1977), among the documents that were produced by the city administration after the war, there is a list of the Romanis killed in the bombing of the railway station:

1. Stevan Šajn – 11 years old.
2. Ivanka Kostić – 10 years old.
3. Ivan Stojkov – 6 years old.
4. Melanija Kostić – 14 years old.
5. Sofija Kostić – 17 years old.
6. Milica Mitru – 35 years old.
7. Radojka Mitru – 14 years old.
8. Slavko Gan – 8 years old.
9. Ljubinka Gan – 3 months old.
10. Omer Radu – 42 years old.
11. Marina Kostić – 30 years old.
12. Radu Marija.
13. Radu Smilja.<sup>30</sup>

A single glance onto the list clearly reveals that persons of all ages were killed in the bombing. The youngest victim was only three months old, and the Kostić family suffered a devastating blow. The mother Zorka Kostić lost all of her children, daughters Ivanka, Melanija and Sofija.

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<sup>29</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Gradsko poglavarstvo Velika Kikinda 1941–1944, Box 24. 2653, 1943.

<sup>30</sup> Historical Archives of Kikinda, Skupština opštine Kikinda 1944–1977, Box 162. 15684, 1945.

**Документи Историјског архива Кикинда о ромској заједници  
од краја 18. века до 1944. године  
(резиме)**

Рад је претендовао да објасни и анализира документе о ромској заједници од краја 18. века, односно досељавања на простор северног Баната, па до 1944. године и краја Другог светског рата на овом простору. У раду је постигнут главни циљ, реконструкција живота заједнице која се налазила на маргини друштва, невидљива за државну и градску власт од тренутка њиховог досељавања. Документи о животу Рома су врло ретки и приликом истраживања су пронађени у Историјском архиву Кикинда. Већина докумената је кривично-правне природе и односи се на деликте које су припадници ове заједнице починили током 18, 19. и прве половине 20. века. Информације о припадницима ромске заједнице могле су се наћи у матичним књигама рођених и умрлих од 1895. до 1921. године. Такође, подаци о заједници могли су се наћи у документацији градске администрације у вези са избором вође Рома у Великој Кикинди, који је у међуратном периоду називан „кнезом“. Страдање Рома у Великој Кикинди током немачке окупације у Другом светском рату, кад су се нашли под ударом расних закона у нацистичкој Немачкој, приказано је на крају чланка.

**Кључне речи:** Роми, Велика Кикинда, Аустроугарска, Краљевина СХС/Југославија, нацистичка Немачка.

## **The Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Christians in Medieval Hungary in the Mirror of Archival Documents**

**Abstract:** The paper focuses on medieval archival documents, mostly of Hungarian, but of other origins as well, that testify to the presence of Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Christians in the medieval Hungarian realm. The key sources are of course charters issued by Hungarian rulers, high nobles (both clerics and lay persons) and other institutions, such as chapters, monasteries, etc. These sources are of different significance. The paper tends to provide merely an overview of the most important sources for these three populations in medieval Hungary that can be understood and observed as minorities, particularly in the religious sense. Thus, in the words of contemporary terminology, they were *the others* in medieval Hungary. Nevertheless, their presence in the archival sources testifies to the very vivid and lively feudal life. The archival sources dedicated to the Jews are most abundant, whilst those of the Muslims and Orthodox Christians are not numerous to the same degree.

**Keywords:** Muslims, Jews, Orthodox Christians, Hungary, Middle Ages, charters.

One of the most recent trends in contemporary historiography is the studying of *the other* and *otherness* in different historical periods. Having in mind the topic of this paper, the medieval *other* will be in the focus. Medieval *otherness* has many different aspects. For example, there are whole libraries on the position of Jews in different medieval societies. Christians in Islamic countries and vice versa were also on multiple occasions studied by scholars worldwide.<sup>1</sup>

As far as medieval Hungary is concerned, the study of *the other* was mostly concentrated on various ethnic and religious groups. The abovementioned Jewish and Islamic communities were some of the topics, but various ethnic groups like, for instance, Serbs and other Slavs, Cumans, Pechenegs, Jász people, Vlachs, and numerous other populations that were present from the formation of the Hungarian medieval state until its abrupt collapse in 1526 have also been studied for

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<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon of *other* and *otherness* has been studied in scholarship for some time. See e. g. *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*, ed. M. GOODICH, Philadelphia 1998; The most recent methodological handbook for the study of this topic *Otherness in the Middle Ages*, eds. H-W. GOETZ, I. N. WOOD, Turnhout 2022.

decades. Nevertheless, at this point, religious otherness will be mostly observed through the lens of the archival sources as this paper will focus on Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Christians in medieval Hungary.<sup>2</sup>

As to the methodology of this brief research, the archival documents that are examined include various charters, either grant ones, or those issued by chapters, ecclesiastical and lay authorities. Besides, there is a number of letters and correspondences between different persons and institutions. As far as legal documents are concerned, only those issued by different legal entities (rulers, archbishops and bishops, chapters, *loca credibilia*, counties, and so forth) will be considered, whilst laws themselves and law books, as well as different decrees of the Diet (Hungarian Assembly) will be omitted on this occasion. The main character and purpose of this paper is to provide an overview and to draw attention of the scholarly audience to some of the most notable examples when archival documents provide information on Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Christians in medieval Hungary.

The first population to be examined in the paper are **the Muslims of the medieval Hungarian realm**. Narrative sources are by far the most important ones for Islamic population(s) in Hungary during the Middle Ages. Undoubtedly, the most significant one dates from mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, and it was written by Abū Hāmid al-Ġarnāṭī, who visited the Hungarian Muslims and provides many interesting data on them. Contradictorily, from our point of view today, his account is a *par excellence* source for representing *the other* and a *minority*, i.e. a religious group that differed from the predominant one. But, from the point of view of Abū Hāmid al-Ġarnāṭī, he was actually never interested in *the other*, but in his own fellow Muslims.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this one, there are several other medieval narrative sources that cover this topic.

The Muslims in medieval Hungary are found in many archival documents as well, even though these data are not as abundant as those found in the narrative

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<sup>2</sup> Of late, the most comprehensive studies concerning Hungary and certain ethnic and religious minorities are: Gy. KRISTÓ, *Nem magyar népek a középkori magyarországon*, Budapest 2003; N. BEREND, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000 – c.1300*, Cambridge 2010, esp. 42–68, 163–171, 190–237; B. STOJKOVSKI, Jews, Armenians and Muslims, *The Routledge Handbook of East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1300*, ed. F. CURTA, London, 2021, 298–315. See also N. KARTALIJA, *Diskurs Južne Ugarske u narativnim izvorima od XI do XVI veka*, PhD Dissertation, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad 2022, 33–46 with a very detailed list of sources and literature on different aspects of *the other* in the Middle Ages.

<sup>3</sup> B. STOJKOVSKI – N. KARTALIJA, *The Other and the Self in the travel accounts of Southern Hungary and Serbia in the works of Al-Idrīsī and Abū Hāmid al-Ġarnāṭī*, *Romano-Arabica XVIII* (2018), Geographies of Arab and Muslim Identity through the Eyes of Travelers, 207–215.

sources. They date back to a very early time and overlap with the visit of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭī to Hungary. This confirms that for the 12<sup>th</sup> century there are not only narrative, but also primary archival sources. Such is a document from 1111 from which it is clearly visible that the Muslims were engaged in the fiscal activities in the royal chamber.<sup>4</sup>

The position of palatine was the highest in Hungary after the king's one. A converted Muslim, named Mizse, was one among those who held this position. In the letter of Thomasina Queen Mother from 1295, there is a mention of *quondam palatinus Mizse*, which means that he had died before the issuing of this document.<sup>5</sup> There is another archival source, this time of ecclesiastical provenance, which is relevant for this research. It is *Registrum Varadinense*, or *The Register of Várad*, a document which preserves the minutes of hundreds of trials by ordeal. They were collected by the chapter of the Cathedral of Várad (present-day Oradea in Romania) and are dated to the chronological period between 1208 and 1235.<sup>6</sup> Muslims were also included in these trials by ordeal on three occasions, and they were those who accused Christians – twice of theft, while the third accusation remains unspecified. Being of Islamic faith, thus excluded from many feudal customs, they had their own representatives who had sworn instead of them and taken their part in the trials by ordeal.<sup>7</sup>

There are archival documents of other provenance that mention the medieval Hungarian Islamic population. This particularly applies to the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the rule of King Andrew II. There are several documents referring to the Muslims around Pest and their fiscal and economic position.<sup>8</sup> It is from archival sources that one can find out about the fact that in 1217, prior to his departure to the Holy Land, Andrew II ordered that the revenues of the Saracens of Pest should be given to Queen Yolanda. The papal letter by Honorius III of 1221 also

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<sup>4</sup> GY. GYÖRFFY, *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*, Vol. I, Budapestini 1992, 383.

<sup>5</sup> Magyar nemzeti levéltár Országos levéltára, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény (DF) 263 474  
On Mizse see M. WERTNER, *Mizse nádor és családja*, Erdélyi Múzeum X. kötet, 10 füzet (1893), 584–587; Đ. HARDI, Stranci na položaju palatina srednjovekovne Ugarske, *Peti međunarodni interdisciplinarni simpozijum Susret kultura*. Zbornik radova, II, eds. LJ. SUBOTIĆ – I. ŽIVANČEVIĆ-SEKERUŠ, Novi Sad 2010, 917–918.

<sup>6</sup> On the Register see GY. VAJDA, *A Várad Regestrum (1209–1235)*. Magyar műveltség-történeti kútató ismertetése és bírálata, Budapest 1880; L. SOLYMOSI, “Várad Regestrum” eds. GY. KRISTÓ – P. ENGEL – F. MAKK, *Korai magyar történeti lexicon (9–14. század)*, Budapest 1994, 713. K. FÁBIÁN I, *A Várad Regestrum helynevei*, Szeged 1997.

<sup>7</sup> S. BOROVSKY – J. KARÁCSONY, *Registrum varadinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum*, Budapest 1903, 203, 229, 276; N. BEREND, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 96–97.

<sup>8</sup> Well-summarized by A. ZSOLDOS, *The Golden Bull of Hungary*, Budapest 2022, 95.

mentions the Saracens in Hungary that should be subjugated to the Queen.<sup>9</sup> In 1232 there is another document on the Saracens in Hungary that mentions exemption from taxes of those among these Muslims who had recently been appointed to some duties and offices.<sup>10</sup> Another letter of ecclesiastical provenance is the one by Archbishop Robert of Esztergom, dated into early 1232, where he mentions a certain Samuel, salt official who had most probably been a convert from Islam, but who did not embrace his new religion. Moreover, he was even excommunicated by the said archbishop.<sup>11</sup>

Charters and other archival sources are very important source materials relating to **the Jews in medieval Hungary**. This population was well-known to Hungarians already in their ancient homeland. It is unclear if some of these populations that had practiced Judaism arrived in Carpathian Basin with Hungarians, but from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards ample evidence tells of Jewish presence in the young medieval state of Hungary.<sup>12</sup> From the 11<sup>th</sup> century on, one can follow their presence through various archival documents and other sources. The Jews were subject of numerous laws of Hungarian kings, and mentions of them are found in other source materials for the Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, when it comes to charters, as the most important diplomatic sources for the medieval Hungarian history, a large amount of them can be traced from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards. As to the age of King Andrew II, there are different information about the Jews in Hungary therefrom. In historiography there is a well-known case of a Jew named Teha who was a member of the royal chamber and whose family owned a village in the Sopron County. First, it was granted to Teha's father, and then to this prominent Jew. It seems that many of Hungary's Jews were engaged in financial matters and were responsible for economic activities, most probably commercial activities, long-distance trade and many were merchants themselves, too.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> A. THEINER, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia* I, Romae 1859, 13, 30.

<sup>10</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* 1. Tomus, Inde ab A. DCCCCV usque ad A. MC-CXXXV, ed. R. MARSINA Bratislaviae 1971, 274.

<sup>11</sup> A. ZSOLDOS, *The Golden Bull*, 118–119.

Robert was most probably of French origin and he was the archbishop of Esztergom from 1226 until his death on November 1<sup>st</sup> 1239. On his career cf. M. BEKE, *Róbert*, ed. M. BEKE, *Esztergomi érsekek 1001–2003*, Budapest 2002, 98–103; A. ZSOLDOS, *Magyarországi világi archontológia*, Budapest 2011, 81.

<sup>12</sup> GY. KRISTÓ, *Nem magyar népek*, 179–180; A. ZSOLDOS, *The Golden Bull*, 170.

<sup>13</sup> Á. FRISS, *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica-Magyar-Zsidó Oklevéltár I*. Budapest 1903 is a still very valuable collection of published archival documents on medieval Hungarian Jewry.

<sup>14</sup> There are several archival documents that help reconstruct the career of Teha and his

A great linguistic dispersion can be found in the documents dealing with the medieval Jewry in Hungary. There are, of course, numerous Latin documents, charters, letters, certificates and so forth. As to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, one can follow different letters and donations by kings and other authorities, as well as the *privilegium* for Jews issued by King Béla IV. Besides the said Teha, there was also a Fredman, another Jew and member of the royal chamber. Several documents concern possessions of Jewish citizens.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, there are archival sources in Early New High German language. For instance, there is a document of certain *Ichmann der jud von Haimburch*, dated on 24<sup>th</sup> January 1375.<sup>16</sup> Numerous grants in Early New High German can be found during the Angevin Age (1301–1382) as well as during the rule of King and Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).<sup>17</sup> The largest number of documents present interest paid to Isserlein from Bruck an der Leitha in Austria, who was at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century undoubtedly one of the most important creditors among the Jews in Central Europe.<sup>18</sup>

When the corpus of the charters where Hungarian medieval Jewry is analyzed, the largest number of documents is dedicated to the Jews living in border areas with German lands. Thus, it is no surprise to see that Sopron and Pozsony were true Jewish strongholds, although there were important communities elsewhere, like in Esztergom, Székesfehérvár or particularly Nagyszombat. As regards the latter, there are some interesting documents from the age of the Hunyadis. Nevertheless, until the end of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, Pozsony was the city about whose Jewry the largest number of documents has been preserved.<sup>19</sup>

It is very interesting and valuable to mention at this point a document in Hebrew, possibly connected to the present-day region of Vojvodina, more precisely Sirmia. This data is found in a rabbinic *responsa*, a peculiar type of letters that distinguished Jewish scholars (mostly rabbis) sent to different religious authorities across Europe. The said letter can be read in the work of one of the most prominent Jewish scholars of the late 12<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century

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family: J. BELITZKY, *Sopron vármegye története első kötet*, Budapest 1938, 375, cf. n. 1–2; N. BEREND, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 116–120; A. ZSOLDOS, *The Golden Bull*, 170.

<sup>15</sup> Á. FRISS, *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, 6–61.

<sup>16</sup> Magyar nemzeti levéltár Országos levéltára, Diplomatikai levéltár (DL) 41965.

<sup>17</sup> Á. FRISS, *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, 92, 110, 115–146.

<sup>18</sup> On Isserlein see E. BRUGGER – B. WIEDL, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter Band 5: 1405–1418*, Wien 2022, 8; he is mentioned in numerous documents, see the register and the list of documents id. 314.

<sup>19</sup> Á. FRISS, *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, 92, passim.

Isaac ben Moses Or Zarua of Vienna (c. 1180–c. 1250). He composed his monumental work entitled *Or Zarua* around 1250 and among other letters and responses one can read on the engagement of the boy from Jarak in Syrmia to a girl in Nyitra. If the presumption that Yrq mentioned in the *responsa* in Hebrew language is indeed Jarak in present-day Syrmia, near the city of Mitrovica, this could be the earliest mention of Jewish population in Southern Hungary.<sup>20</sup>

**The Orthodox Christian population** in medieval Hungary included communities of different ethnic origins. There were Greeks, Serbs, as well as Vlachs, a very peculiar population during the medieval period, and also Ruthenians. Herein, only those documents that treat these populations as religious groups will be discussed. When it comes to Greeks, the oldest surviving document is a grant charter of the first Christian King of Hungary Stephen I (998–1036) to the nuns of the Greek monastery of Veszprémvölgy. This charter is interesting from many points of view. Firstly, this is the only surviving archival document issued by a Hungarian ruler in the Greek language. Secondly, it is a valuable example of the impact of Byzantine diplomacy and chancery in Hungary. The donor, by this charter, confers numerous possessions and privileges to the Greek nuns and exempts them from the jurisdiction of the King, the Queen and any other state or ecclesiastical power and authority, including the Byzantine Metropolitan of Tourkia.<sup>21</sup>

Archival documents concerning the medieval Serbian Church are not as numerous as those that treat the feudal life of the Serbian noblemen in late medieval Hungary. The main reason for this is that Serbian noblemen, either despots or military commanders, left trace in the archival documents primarily as feudal barons of medieval Hungary. In the eyes of the medieval Hungarian rulers, they were recognized as military leaders and barons who were granted possessions by the kings for their faithful service. Their main obligation was to participate in military campaigns, not only against the Ottomans, but also against the

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<sup>20</sup> GY. WELLESZ, Izsák b. Mózes Or Zarua és ez üreghi zsidók, *Magyar-zsidó szemle* 21 (1904), 370–373; Hebrew text and Hungarian translation of this document by G. KOMORÓCZY – SH SPITZER, *Héber kútforrások. Magyarország és a magyarországi zsidóság történetéhez a kezdetektől 1686-ig*, Budapest 2003, 166–167. B. STOJKOVSKI, The first possible mention of Jews in Southern Hungary, ed. R. STOJSAVLJEVIĆ, *Sinagoge i jevrejsko nasleđe u jugoistočnoj Evropi*, Novi Sad 2021, 68–70 with an English translation of the document.

<sup>21</sup> The charter was a subject of many scholarly researches over the last century and a half and still represents an important topic for study. There are other hypotheses and arguments about this charter concerning the issuer, since there are suggestions that it is predecessor and father of Stephen I, Prince Géza, baptized also under the name Stephen. B. STOJKOVSKI, The Greek Charter of the Hungarian King Stephen I, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 53 (2016), 127–240. There are still ongoing researches on this topic, particularly in the Hungarian scholarly circles.

Habsburgs in Austria, Bohemia and elsewhere. They do not appear often in connection to their religion in the Latin charters issued by Serbian despots, members of their families or other noblemen of Serbian origin.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, there is a certain corpus of medieval charters issued to the monasteries of Mount Athos by some Serbian noblemen in Hungary. These documents were all written in Serbian Slavonic and are a valuable contribution to the linguistic diversity among the archival documents relating to the Orthodox in medieval Hungary. Those charters were issued to the monastery of Chilandari (Hilandar), Serbian cloister on Mount Athos erected in 1198 by the first Serbian archbishop (at that time hieromonk) Sava and his father, formerly Grand Prince Stephen Nemanja, then monk named Symeon. Practically, all of the medieval Serbian rulers donated numerous possessions to Chilandari. It became the cultural and spiritual center of the Serbs throughout centuries.<sup>23</sup> Besides Chilandari, some other Athonite monasteries were supported by the Hungarian noblemen of Serbian origin.

The practice of donations to this monastery was also continued by the Serbian noble elite in Hungary. The despots from the House of Branković had started very early to issue charters for the benefit of Chilandari. In the despots' residence of Kupinik in Syrmia, Despot George (Đorđe) Branković issued a charter on 20<sup>th</sup> March 1486.<sup>24</sup> In 1495, Despot George with his brother Despot John (Jovan) and their mother Despoina Angelina issued a charter to the monastery dedicated to Saint Paul on Mount Athos (Agiou Pavlou), too. This Athonite cloister was generously helped by members of Branković family from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, thus this donation was considered to be a continuation of the help to Saint Paul's brethren.<sup>25</sup> In the period between 1<sup>st</sup> September 1495 and 31<sup>st</sup> August 1496, Despots George and John Branković and their mother Despoina Angelina issued – once again at their residence in the Kupinik Fortress in Syrmia – another charter for the benefit of Chilandari, in which they promised to help the monastery with a yearly amount of 1000 gold coins.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The collection *Monasterium* provides good references for this topic, cf. <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/RSCartersHun/collection> (cons. May 21, 2025)

<sup>23</sup> Among a very large number of bibliographical units on Chilandari (also spelt as Hilandar, Hilandar or Khilandari), two monographs in English will here be recommended for the history of the monastery: D. BOGDANOVIĆ – V. J. ĐURIĆ – D. MEDAKOVIĆ – M. ĐORĐEVIĆ, *Chilandar*, Monastery of Hilandar 1997; S. PETKOVIĆ, *Chilandar*, Belgrade 1999.

<sup>24</sup> K. MITROVIĆ, Povelja despota Đorđa Brankovića o ktitorstvu nad Hilandarom, *Stari srpski arhiv* 5 (2006), 229–239.

<sup>25</sup> K. MITROVIĆ, Povelja despota Đorđa, Jovana i Angeline Branković manastiru Svetog Pavla, *Stari srpski arhiv* 6 (2007), 209–220.

<sup>26</sup> K. NEVOSTRUJEV, Tri hrisovulje u Hilandaru, *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 25 (1869),

There are two more charters, i.e. primary archive sources issued by Serbian noblemen in Hungary from the Branković family, that are relevant for this topic, and – unlike the sources relating to the Muslims or Jews – these are not familiar to broader academic circles. Thus, this concludes the listing of all relevant documents intended to be presented in this overview. Chronologically, the next one dates from the 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1499. By this charter, Despot John and Angelina Branković made a donation to the monastery of Esphigmenou on Mount Athos, which had generously been helped by the Serbian Despot George Branković (1427–1456), grandfather of Despot John. Despot George is considered to have been one of the ktetors of the monastery, and with this 1499 charter, also issued at Kupinik, Despot John Branković took all obligations of his grandfather.<sup>27</sup>

Apart from the Brankovićeš, there were other highly prominent noble families of the Serbian origin that moved to Hungary. Such was the Jakšić family, among whose members the most prominent were Demetrius (Dmitar in Serbian) and Stephen (Stefan). The former is particularly known as one of the most important military commanders and a quite brave soldier himself during the age of King Matthias Corvinus. Stephen was also known for bravery and participation in numerous military campaigns. His daughter Helen (Jelena) married Despot John Branković. Through this marriage, Helen considered herself a part of the Branković family with all of their obligations, that included ktetorship, too, even after the death of her husband John Branković in 1502. Helen issued a charter in Buda, most probably in 1503, to the monastery of Chilandari.<sup>28</sup> Finally, there is a charter issued in Nagylak, the center of the large possessions of the Jakšić family, also to Chilandari. It was issued in 1506 by Milica, Stephen's spouse, with her sons Stephen and Mark(o) Jakšić. They made an obligation to help the monastery with 130 ducats per year.<sup>29</sup>

These charters are not only valuable and peculiar diplomatic documents, but give more interesting data for this topic. Firstly, they are rare written monuments of diplomatic practice in the Serbian Slavonic language issued in late medieval Hungary. Furthermore, they provide a very important representation of late medieval ideology of some representatives of the Serbian elite. On the one hand,

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274–277.

<sup>27</sup> L. PETIT – W. REGEL *Actes D'Esphigmenon*, in: *Actes De L'Athos III. Vizantiyskiy vremennik' prilozhenie k' XII tomu* (1906), 45–46.

<sup>28</sup> K. MITROVIĆ, *Povelja despotice Jelene Jakšić manastiru Hilandar*, *Stari srpski arhiv* 7 (2008), 195–203.

<sup>29</sup> T. LEBER, *Milica Jakšić's Charter for Hilandar Monastery (1506)*, *Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 7 (2019), 115–138.

they were Hungarian barons in the service of Hungarian rulers, but on the other they were bearers of the memory of once strong medieval Serbian state. The most prominent Serbian noble families, those of Branković and Jakšić, continued the practice of making donations to the monastic communities on Mount Athos, especially the Serbian foundation on Mount Athos, the monastery of Chilandari.<sup>30</sup>

At this point it is important to stress that the term *Greek* was not exclusively an ethnonym, but the term *Greek rite* was used to cover all Orthodox Christians. A very good example is a charter in which *Jowanichius metropolitan of Belgrade* (1479) is mentioned. Firstly, this refers to the metropolitan of Transylvania, who resided in present-day Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). Of the several relevant charters, the oldest one was issued in 1479 by King Matthias Corvinus, and the latter ones by King Vladislaus II Jagellonian in 1491 and 1498 respectively. The former charter has several important topics. One is the exemption of Orthodox Vlachs (priests and serfs) from paying the obligatory tithe. Furthermore, the monastery of Saint Archangel Michael in Munkács is subjugated to Metropolitan Joanichius of Transylvania, who is mentioned as the one of Belgrade. This document also confirms the existence not only of Vlachs (Romanians) who had practiced their Orthodox faith and had an ecclesiastical network, but also of a Western Slavic Ruthenian population which also fell under the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian metropolitan.<sup>31</sup>

‘Vlachs’ was a term used for both Romanized population (ancestors of modern-day Romanians) and pastoral population. Vlachs as an Orthodox population were noted as such by Pope Gregory XI writing to the archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa; the Roman pontifex states *multitudo quorundam populorum, qui Valachones vocantur, et vivunt secundum ritum et scisma Grecorum et sunt simplices homines*.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See the most recent study B. STOJKOVSKI, *Kult Svetog Save kod Srba u Ugarskoj do kraja XVI veka, Sveti Sava i Domentijan*, eds. D. BOJOVIĆ – J. STOŠIĆ, Niš 2024, 301–315.

<sup>31</sup> DL 36886; I. PUȘCARIU, *Metropolia Românilor ortodocși din Ungaria și Transilvania: studiu istoric despre reînființarea metropoliei, dimpreuna cu o colecțiune de acte*, Sibiiu 1900, 3 was a partisan of the opinion that there was a metropolitan of Transylvania much earlier in Gyulafehérvár. On the other side, László Makkai thought that priests in Transylvania were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitanate of Wallachia. See L. MAKKAI, *Transylvania in medieval Hungarian kingdom (896–1526)*, eds. L. MAKKAI – A. MÓCSY, *History of Transylvania Volume I. From the Beginnings to 1606*, New York 2001, 576–579 with a detailed discussion on the Romanian clergymen and hierarchy in medieval Transylvania and their relation to those of Wallachia and Moldova.

<sup>32</sup> *Documenta Romaniae historica. C. Transilvania Volumul XIV (1371–1375)*, ed. A. RĂDUȚIU, București 2002, 492–493.

Archival sources are also very important for the network of Orthodox churches in Transylvania that belonged to the Vlachs. Most of them were wooden chapels, known as *capella olachorum*, and all but one were located on the estates of Hungarian noblemen, with a large number of them near the Maros river. The one exception is the round church at Guraszáda, in Hunyad County, built of stone and with the permission of King Andrew III to Ilyei family. Archival documents are in many cases primary sources that help to establish at least some history of these churches and to help to create a broader picture of the quite numerous Orthodox population of Vlachs (Romanians) in Transylvania in the medieval period. Having in mind the fact that the larger-scale settlement of this population had started toward the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the number of documents preserved increased from this period onwards to reach their peak during the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

The ecclesiastical situation in Transylvania itself was in fact far more complicated. There were severe conflicts between the Latin Church and that of the Greek-Slavonic rite, with often overlapping jurisdictions. This situation was particularly difficult prior to 1430s, and thereafter. Nevertheless, subsequent to the Council of Ferrara-Florence it seems that on the ground the situation was a bit relaxed, in spite of the continued conflicts and tensions in the region. Thus, archival sources are here important not only to confirm the existence of a certain Orthodox population of various ethnic origins, Vlachs and Slavs, but also to help one solve numerous difficulties and obstacles when trying to study these populations.

To conclude, the archival documents related to the Muslims, Jews and Orthodox Christians in medieval Hungary are of different provenance. They were issued in several languages, by different institutions and persons. In order to provide a complete picture of these religious groups and populations in Hungary during the medieval period, it is very important to study these archival documents. They are not numerous, particularly compared to the sources relating to the Roman Catholics or different rulers or nobles. In spite of that, they are peculiarly significant source material for the medieval Hungarian realm.

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<sup>33</sup> L. MAKKAI, *Transylvania in medieval Hungarian kingdom (896–1526)*, 567–575.

## Муслимани, Јевреји и православни хришћани у средњовековној Угарској у огледалу архивских докумената (резиме)

У раду се даје преглед типова архивских докумената, уз поједине примере, који сведоче о муслиманима, Јеврејима и православним хришћанима у средњовековној Угарској. Њима свима је заједничко то да су представљали, из средњовековног аспекта посматрано, *gruioi* и да су били верска мањина у Угарској током средњег века. Корпус извора који је разматран у раду односи се на разне врсте повеља, махом донационих, али и на писма, те друге архивске документе.

Иако је о муслиманима у средњовековној Угарској остало пре свега података из наративних извора, првенствено арапске и византијске провенијенције, постоји читав корпус повеља које сведоче о муслиманима, односно, како их извори називају, Сараценима или Исмаилћанима. Један део се односи на муслимане и њихова насеља по Угарској, постоји и помен палатина Мижеа, по свему судећи муслимана конвертита, а *Варадски рејисџар* такође наводи неке муслимане у Угарској.

О јеврејској популацији на тлу средњовековне Угарске, пак, остао је значајан корпус докумената. Ова штедра архивска грађа сведочи о Јеврејима који су живели у урбаним срединама, водили послове, а неки од њих су имали и високе функције на двору и у краљевској комори. Занимљиво је да је иза средњовековне јеврејске заједнице у Угарској остало и докумената на раном новом високонемачком језику, али и један крајње специфичан извор на хебрејском, а вероватно/могуће везан за Јевреје у Срему.

Што се, на крају, православних хришћана тиче, најстарији документ је повеља на грчком језику манастиру у Веспрему. Ову донациону повељу тамошњим калуђерицама издао је највероватније Стефан Свети, први угарски краљ. Што се, пак, Влаха (претеча данашњих Румуна тиче), они се такође спомињу у неким повељама, а ови архивски документи су значајан извор и за реконструкцију мреже црква које су припадале влашкој популацији. Срби се у угарским средњовековним документима спомињу готово искључиво у контексту угарских барона и српских деспота у Угарској, односно српских великаша. Но, постоје и донационе повеље светогорским манастирима на српскословенском језику угарских великаша српског порекла.

Овај преглед показује како постоји велика разноврсност у архивским документима који се односе на три религијске групације у средњовековној Угарској: муслимане, припаднике јудаизма, те православне хришћане, невезано за етничку припадност.

**Кључне речи:** муслимани, Јевреји, православни хришћани, Угарска, средњи век, повеље.



## Архивска грађа о Јеврејима у Срему – Сећање на живот једног народа –

**Апстракт:** Припадници јеврејског народа оставили су значајан траг у историји и свакодневном животу на просторима Срема. Њихово масовније досељавање у јужне области угарског дела Аустроугарске империје забележено је крајем XIX века, премда се у историји ових простора помињу и у ранијим периодима, углавном у улози трговаца. Сталним настањивањем у Срему Јевреји су стекли одговарајућа верска, социјална и економска права. Бавили су се разним делатностима – најпре трговином и занатством, а потом и другим занимањима. Почетком Другог светског рата почиње систематски прогон и страдање јеврејског становништва. Ова историјска збивања резултирала су чињеницом да је у послератном периоду број Јевреја у Срему сведен на симболичну бројку. Многи су у логорима страдали или су трајно расељени. Архивска грађа која се чува у Историјском архиву „Срем“ из Сремске Митровице најпоузданије је сведочанство о животу и раду јеврејске заједнице у Срему. У овом раду представљена су одабрана документа из архивских фондова која садрже податке о Јеврејима са подручја Срема. Идеја аутора рада је да, уз писане изворе сачуване у овом архиву и, делимично, Музеју Срема, покаже присуство Јевреја као стално насељених становника који су били део администрације, просвете, трговине, занатства те, нажалост, страдања на подручју административне територије Срема у Републици Србији.

**Кључне речи:** Јевреји, Срем, архивска документа, архивски фонд, администрација, матичне књиге, просвета, привреда.

Структуру многих важних архивских фондова Историјског архива „Срем“ у Сремској Митровици чини и архивска грађа која се односи на живот јеврејског становништва на просторима Срема.<sup>1</sup> Како су познате историјске околности и Холокауст довели до нестанка јеврејског становништва са овог подручја под влашћу Независне Државе Хрватске, расположива архивска грађа још више добија на значају као непосредно писано сведочанство о животу и раду Јевреја на овом подручју. Њено истражи-

<sup>1</sup> Подручјем Срема у овом раду сматрају се административна подручја Града Сремске Митровице и општина Шид, Рума, Стара Пазова, Ириг, Инђија и Пећинци.

вање и презентација значајан су допринос неговању културе сећања на припаднике народа који је оставио значајан траг у историји сремских градова и насеља. Подаци о боравку и раду Јевреја на просторима Срема датирају из XVIII века, премда су они несумњиво били присутни и у ранијим вековима, нарочито у османско доба. Њихово масовније насељавање, које је претходно царским одлукама хабзбуршког двора у Бечу и угарских краљевских власти било забрањивано, почиње после укидања Војне границе последњих деценија XIX века. Бројност јеврејског становништва у Срему била је највећа почетком XX века, да би после Другог светског рата тај број постао симболичан.<sup>2</sup> Поред сачуване архивске грађе, о животу овог народа на просторима Срема сведоче јеврејска гробља, малобројни споменици архитектуре, усмено предање и изванредан број музеолошких фотографија, докумената и предмета.

У раду су представљени одабрани архивски документи Историјског архива „Срем“<sup>3</sup>, али и други извори и споменици који су веран доказ постојања и улоге Јевреја у разним областима јавног и приватног живота на овом простору.<sup>4</sup> Овај архив је једина установа заштите, сређивања и коришћења архивске грађе на подручју административног подручја Срема у Републици Србији. Располаже са преко 1400 архивских фондова временског распона од почетка XVIII века до данашњих дана. Поједини старији архивски фондови који садрже податке о Јеврејима категорисани су, по важећим законима Републике Србије, као културна добра великог и изузетног значаја.

Јевреји су на простор јужне Угарске и Срема долазили углавном из земаља источне Европе, али и из околних делова тадашњег Хабзбуршког царства. Међу њима је највише било трговаца и занатлија, а касније индустријалаца, лекара, адвоката. Неки су у својим срединама били угледни грађани који су утицали на њихов развој. У највећој мери били су присутни на подручју Сремске Митровице, Руме и Шида.<sup>5</sup> Документи угарских

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<sup>2</sup> Према попису у Републици Србији из 2022. године, на подручју Срема живи преко 284000 становника различитих националности.

<sup>3</sup> Историјски архив „Срем“ учествовао је у међународном пројекту „Jerusha“ реализованом 2020. године. Пројекат је подразумевао евидентирање архивске грађе са подацима о Јеврејима архивских установа широм света.

<sup>4</sup> У циљу свеобухватнијег приказа сведочанстава о животу и раду сремских Јевреја, у раду су коришћени поједини документи Музеја Срема из Сремске Митровице и документи, односно публикације других истраживача који су се бавили овом темом.

<sup>5</sup> Јевреји се као становници данашње Сремске Митровице први пут помињу 1786. године када је у попису становништва евидентиран Давид Леви. Тек неколико деценија касније забележен је Бемхард Лихтенштајн који је 1823. године дао прилог за изградњу болни-

царинарница с почетка XVIII века помињу јеврејске трговце који прелазећи границе продају своју робу и плаћају царинске трошкове. Они већ тада показују тенденцију за сталним настањивањем, између осталог и на подручју Срема. У том смислу Угарски сабор 1729. године законским чланом 19 потврђује ранију царску забрану о настањивању Јевреја којим је она проширена и на подручје тадашње хрватске Троједне краљевине. Јеврејски трговци били су оптерећени толеранцијском таксом и другим наметима све док се њихов положај у Хабзбуршком царству није побољшао после *Патента о толеранцији* цара Јосифа II. Из овог акта ће 1783. године проистећи нови патент којим је унапређен правни положај Јевреја. Дозвољени су им закуп земље – уз услов да је сами обрађују, као и право слободног кретања, исповедања вере и школовања. Као језик комуникације међу Јеврејима одређен је немачки, а хебрејски језик је остао у верској употреби. Од тог времена, матичне књиге Јевреја воде се на немачком језику који је коришћен и у давању личних имена и презимена. Ова толеранција донекле је еманциповала јеврејске трговце па су они после 1787. године, када им је то законом било дозвољено, као трговци „торбари”, са мањом количином робе која се могла понети у једној торби, ишли по сеоским кућама и тамо успешно продавали производе. Тако су почела и њихова прва трајна настањивања.

Број сачуваних архивских докумената о јеврејском становништву у Историјском архиву „Срем” није импозантан, али је довољно репрезентативан као релевантан и важан историјски извор. Архивски документи потичу из широког спектра делатности и свакодневног живота – од матичних евиденција и доказа верске припадности, преко извора државне и локалне администрације, приватно-правних односа и школства, до улоге појединаца из јеврејског народа у сремској привреди, занатству и трговини.

### **Верске матичне књиге јеврејске заједнице у Срему**

Овај архив чува велики број матичних књига рођених (крштених), венчаних и умрлих различитих верских заједница (православне, католичке, евангелистичке, назаренске и јеврејске). Црквене матичне књиге предста-

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це у Митровици. Први румски Јевреји били су трговци Симон и Сакс Јакоб, који се помињу након 1815. године. Први јеврејски мештани Шида – Абрахам и Давид – помињу се 1721. године, свега 15 година после првог помена овог места. Видети код: Р. СРЕМАЦ, *Јеврејске породице у Сремској митровачком и Румском рабинају*, Шид 2018, 4–5. Љ. ДОВРОВШАК, *Жидови у Сријему, Од досељења до Холокауста*, Вуковар 2017, 173.

вљају кључни приватно-правни документ у којем су се водиле евиденције о статусу и личном стању грађана. Посебно је велики њихов значај као грађанско-правног документа на подручју Срема<sup>6</sup>.



Упркос општем уништењу јеврејске имовине током Другог светског рата део матичних књига ипак је сачуван у архивским фондовима Историјског архива „Срем” – Архивски фондови Ф. 1333 *Израелистичка боџоштовна ојштина Сремска Митровица (1869–1925)* и Ф. 330 *Јеврејска вероисповедна ојштина Ердевик 1809–1940. јодине*.<sup>7</sup> Упркос масовном уништењу јеврејске имовине током Другој светској рати део матичних књига остао је сачуван. Подаци о рођењу, венчању и смрти припадника јеврејског народа у Митровачком рабинаџу и Ердевичкој

Прилог 1: Насловница Матичне књиге рођених и умрлих Израелистичке богоштовне општине Митровица, 1925. године.

<sup>6</sup> Црквене матичне књиге у Европи организовано се воде од XVI века. Фомирањем грађанских друштава крајем XVIII века, матичне књиге верских заједница у многим државама добијају карактер јавних исправа, до момента кад су државне администрације почеле са вођењем својих матичних књига. У угарском делу Монархије, државне матичне књиге воде се од 1894. године, с тим што на подручју већег дела тадашњег Срема овај закон није примењиван, те су овде црквене матичне књиге дуго времена имале правну снагу државних књига. После Другог светског рата, власти новоформиране југословенске државе преузеле су матичне књиге верских заједница ради преписивања података, али су оне остале у поседу државе до данашњих дана. Већина старијих књига је, као културно добро, предата надлежним архивским установама. Таквог порекла су и црквене матичне књиге у Историјском архиву „Срем”, укључујући и књиге јеврејске вероисповести. Више видети код: Д. МОСТАРИЋ – В. САНАДЕР, *Црквене матичне књиге у Историјском архиву „Срем”, Сиоменица Историјског архива „Срем”* 17, Сремска Митровица 2018, 189–214.

<sup>7</sup> Јеврејска богоштовна општина у Митровици основана је 1869/1870. године. Касније је формиран Котарски рабинат у Митровици који је обухватао град и околна села. До доласка рабина, верску службу вршио је кантор. У матичним књигама налазе се и имена појединих рабина и кантора. Видети код: Р. СРЕМАЦ, *Јеврејске породице у Сремском митровачком и Румском рабинаџу*, 4. Јевреји се у Ердевику први пут помињу 1833. године. Јеврејска богоштовна општина у Ердевику основана је 1833. године за места Ердевик, Бингулу, Чалму и Дивош. Видети код: Љ. ДОБРОВШАК, *Жигови у Сријему*, 176–177.

вероисповедној ојштини сачувани су у форми књиџа и њојединачних сџиса које су добро физички очувани, за разлику од малобројних докумената који су у лошијем сџању и зашџевају различите физичке мере зашџише, ѝрвенсџивено диџиџализацију која би у раду са корисницима сџречила њихово физичко хабање.

Az ujszülött — des Mengeborenen	A szülött — der Geburt				Az ujszülött
	Име Име Име	Име Име Име	Име Име Име	Име Име Име	
Име Име Име	Име Име Име	Име Име Име	Име Име Име	Име Име Име	Име Име Име
25. Ignatz Goldschmidt i. - i. -			Septem. 11. 1876.		Mosoritz Goldschmidt

Прилог 2: Упис у Матичну књиџу рођених и умрлих (немачко, мађарско и хебрејско писмо).

Вођење матичних књиџа јеврејске заједнице у историјском смислу је у вези са стицањем ширег корпуса права Јевреја у Хабзбуршкој и Аустроугарској империји. Писма и језици ових докумената упуђују на државне оквире у којима настају. Поред званичног хрватског и српског језика присутних у војно-граничарском подручју и Троједној краљевини Хрватској, Славонији и Далмацији, присутни су немачки и мађарски, а у појединим рубрикама и варијанте хебрејског језика, односно писма. Матичне књиџе



Прилог 3: Отисци печата верске општине и матичног уреда Котарског рабината у Митровици, Ј. Дражић: *Јевреји у Митровици*, Сремска Митровица, 1998, Илустрације.

рођених – поред основних података о полу, имену, презимену и датуму рођења – садрже податке о родитељима рођене особе и њиховом месту живљења. Овде су и подаци о имену бабице која је извршила порођај, а код дечака и податак о датуму обрезивања и извршиоцу овог чина. Код девојчица се наводи податак о датуму када им је додељено име. На крају се наводи име сведока и оставља простор за напомену. У књигама венчаних наводе се сви релевантни подаци о брачним друговима, док књиге умрлих садрже податке о датуму, месту смрти и погребу, као и податак од чега је покојник боловао. Творци ових докумената у Митровици и Ердевику могу се идентификовати по печатима. У овом случају, видљиви су различити печати јеврејских заједница.

Изузев матичних књига, у овим архивским фондовима налазе се и пратећа документа важна за упис у матичну евиденцију, попут извода података, изјава, књига које сведоче о прелазима у јеврејску веру или списа прегледа умрлих од стране надлежних лекара.

Велика јеврејска заједница живела је и на подручју Руме. Румска богоштовна општина, касније рабинат, формирана је седамдесетих година XIX века, а матичне књиге воде се од 1877. године. Сачуване матичне књиге налазе се у матичној служби Општинске управе Рума и садрже 154 уписа Јевреја рођених у Руми, 127 рођених у местима Румског рабината, 125 уписа венчаних, 123 уписа Јевреја преминулих у Руми, 63 уписа преминулих у другим местима Румског рабината и 21 упис преминулих Јевреја са других подручја.<sup>8</sup>

### Архивски фондови локалних администрација власти

Важан архивски и историографски извор о јеврејском становништву на простору Срема представљају архивски фондови локалних администрација – градских поглаварстава у Митровици и Руми, за временски период од краја XIX века до почетка Другог светског рата 1941. године. У књизи контроле странаца Редарственог повереништва (органа унутрашњих послова) митровачког Градског поглаварства<sup>9</sup> евидентирани су и Јевреји. Ови уписи су значајни јер дају податак одакле је странац дошао, у које време и код кога је смештен, уз низ других корисних података. У књизи је коришћено немачко писмо. Сведочанство да су сремски Јевреји

<sup>8</sup> Р. СРЕМАЦ, *Јеврејске породице у Сремском митровачком и Румском рабинају*, 5–6.

<sup>9</sup> Историјски архив „Срем”, Ф. 13 Градско поглаварство Митровица (1787–1918), 1787–1918, Књ. 421.

били заступљени међу занатлијама и мајсторским помоћницима јесте и попис калфи (занатлијских помоћника) за период 1889-1894. године, такође писан немачким писмом.

an kaffe: (vorwählige rubrik): Heinrich Herman berufung: zypelarscher helfer

das wohnort: Lacane Ort: Stungar Land: Stungar Wohnort: Stungar

Wohnort wohnort: \_\_\_\_\_

der wohnort kaffe: 117 Wohnort je stariji stariji u: Stungar  
den 7. aprill 1891 jahr 1891

**Osobni opis**

Wohnort: 117 Sex: mannlich (geschlecht): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Vorkommen: ausw. Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: Herman Zahl: ausw.  
 Alter: ausw. Vater: ausw.  
 Ort: ausw. Bruder: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Eltern: \_\_\_\_\_

Nachfolge bei je u stadi u: Stungar  
Wohnort: Stungar  
postkarte: \_\_\_\_\_  
bei wohnort (u stadi): Stungar  
Wohnort je stadi: den 7. aprill 1891  
jahr 1891

Ort	Ortsort (vorwählige)		Datum der wohnort		Platz	Datum der wohnort		Opis	Opis	Datum der wohnort
	Wohnort	Wohnort	den	aprill		den	aprill			
	<u>Stungar</u>	<u>Stungar</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>ausw.</u>	<u>ausw.</u>
	<u>Stungar</u>	<u>Stungar</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>ausw.</u>	<u>ausw.</u>

Прилог 4: Упис Рајнера Хермана, ципеларског помоћника из Новог Сада.

Ови уписи су интересантни јер поред основних података о лицима и њиховим занимањима, понекад и вероисповести, дају потпуни физички опис тих лица, њиховог изгледа очију, обрва, носа, лица или косе. Такође, пружа се податак о бившем послодавцу и оном код кога особа тренутно ради, са свим релевантним датумима.

Органи власти локалне администрације у Митровици с краја XIX века водили су евиденцију власника коња на свом административном подручју. Међу становницима Митровице и власницима коња налазе се и поједини Јевреји. Тако је, примера ради, у књизи власника коња (Књ. 81) из 1894. године евидентиран Хајнрих Шмит који је живео на главном градском тргу у

Митровици и имао само једног, и то неспособног коња. Претпоставка је да су коњи имали значај за војне сврхе, а рубрике за упис веома детаљно евидентирају врсту и квалитет коњских грла. У књизи Градског поглаварства која се односи на поделу хране 1917. године (Књ. 142), налазе се важни подаци о становништву највећег сремског града за време Првог светског рата, јер су локалне власти Градског поглаварства вршиле дистрибуцију и поделу хране становништву града. У сачуваним књигама налазимо имена Јевреја, међу којима је и упис војника Давида Ферстнера. Овај извор је важан јер пружа податак о адреси и броју становника у свакој кући која је примала храну. Књига бр. 135 односи се на регистар кућа у Митровици за период 1900–1901, а у њој су као власници многих кућа и имања забележени и Јевреји.



Прилог 5: Регистар власника кућа у Митровици 1900–1901; година у којој су евидентирани и митровачки Јевреји.

Један од уписаних власника кућа је Јозеф Флајшман, познати трговац и председник Јеврејске општине, најпознатији Јеврејин у Митровици који ће током Другог светског рата бити одведен у логор, где ће трагично stradати. У његову кућу у централном делу Митровице, усташке власти су уселиле полицијску станицу и у њеном подруму свирепо мучиле многе становнике које су хапсили широм Срема.



Прилог 6: Кућа Јеврејина Јозефа Флајшмана у центру Сремске Митровице.

Градска администрација Сремске Митровице је сличне евиденције водила и у међуратном периоду Краљевине Југославије. Једна од сачуваних књига у којој су имена јеврејских становника јесте и попис власника кућа по улицама из 1926. године (Књ. 11). Користан извор података о Јеврејима у Митровици јесте књига Записника о издавању пасоша за период 1916-1932. Међу уписанима, под редним бројем 13, налази се Јакоб Јулије Кон, са свим релевантним личним и породичним подацима. Припадници јеврејског народа помињу се и у архивским фондовима локалне администрације као што су Магистрат трговишта Рума (1771-1919)<sup>10</sup>, Шидско властелинство (1703-1877)<sup>11</sup>, али и у многим судским архивским фондовима где су странке биле Јевреји.

<sup>10</sup> Исто, Ф. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Исто, Ф. 10.

## Архивски фондови привредне провенијенције

Јевреји су препознатљиви првенствено као трговци и занатлије. Као такви имали су значајно место у овим привредним гранама Срема. Францоз Мајер био је познати шидски часовничар и златар у предратном периоду. Податке о њему налазимо у архивском фонду Удружење занатлија за Срез Шид 1902-1959.<sup>12</sup> У уписницима овог удружења налазе се лични подаци занатлија и датуми кад им је издата занатска дозвола, као и подаци о плаћању чланарине по месецима и годинама. У записницима Управног и Надзорног одбора Удружења занатлија (Књ. 1, 2), на више места се наводи учешће Мајер Францоza на седницама. На седници одржаној 1930. године изабран је за потпредседника, а потом је редовно евидентиран на седницама одржаваним до 9. априла 1941. године. На тој последњој седници изабран је за члана Комисије за испите часовничарских занатлијских помоћника. Симболична је чињеница да неколико дана после тога следи окупација Шида и почетак систематског прогона Срба, Јевреја, Рома и других становника Срема у Другом светском рату.



Прилог 7: Јозеф Флајшман 1939.  
Ј. Дражић: *Јевреји у Митровици*,  
Сремска Митровица, 1998.

У архивском фонду<sup>13</sup> Удружење трговца за град и срез Сремска Митровица (1920-1962), 1908-1962 сачувана је књига записника са седница овог трговинског удружења (Књ. 5). На оснивачкој седници Трговачког удружења у Сремској Митровици из 1932. године, забележено је уводно излагање Јозефа Флајшмана, члана Оснивачког одбора и Управног одбора овог удружења. У том излагању он износи основне идеје и задатке ради „побољшања положаја трговачког staleжа” у Митровици. Бираним речима, он осликава тежње за слогом и хармонијом, како у Удружењу тако и у самом друштву. Илустрације ради, наводимо неколико његових реченица:

„Ова ће организација послужити свом циљу ако се сви чланови одрекну

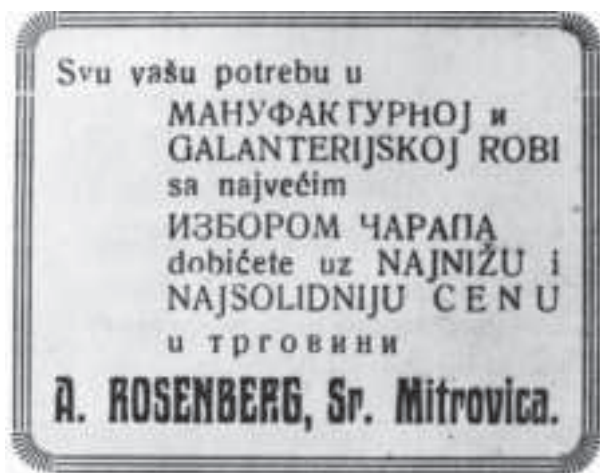
<sup>12</sup> Исто, Ф. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Исто, Ф. 40.

вођења персоналне политике и ако завлада дух слободе, љубави и искреног пријатељства. Искључујући могућност стварања племенских, политичких и верских странака, упућује нас наша идеја ка стварању једне јаке и сложне организације. Још једном вас господо молим да у овој организацији завлада словенска љубав и слога.....”

Бољем опису делатности припадника јеврејског народа у привреди, трговини и занатству доприносе фотографије и писани материјали којима располаже и Музеј Срема у Сремској Митровици.<sup>14</sup>

Међу њима су огласи митровачког произвођача кућног намештаја Хермана Песинга у листу *Србија* из 1921. године, оглас кројачког салона Јеврејна Јакоба Брауна у листу *Хрвајски браник* из 1905. године којим обавештава грађанство да је поред досадашње трговине конфекцијом отворио и кројачки салон. У трећем огласу, митровачки трговац Розенберг у листу *Срем* из 1939. године рекламира најповољнију цену чарапа.

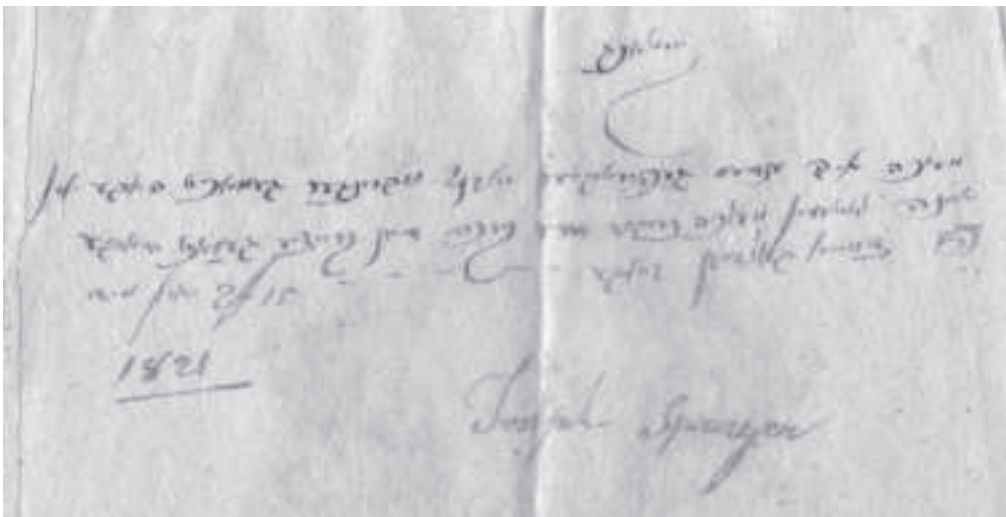


Прилог 8: Огласи Хермана Песинга из 1921. (лист *Србија*) и А. Розенберга из 1939. године (лист *Срем*), Музеј Срема, Ј. Дражић: *Јевреји у Митровици*, Сремска Митровица, 1998.



<sup>14</sup> Значајан извор су огласи из штампаних листова који се чувају у Музеју Срема у Сремској Митровици, а објавила их је кустос и етнолог овог музеја ЈОВАНКА ДРАЖИЋ у монографији *Јевреји у Митровици*, Сремска Митровица 1998.

Интересантан документ о животу и раду сремских Јевреја налази се у колекцији генеалога, историчара и археолога из Шида Радована Сремца, који се највише бавио истраживачким радом о Јеврејима на ширем подручју Војводине и у деловима Хрватске. Значај тог документа који представља рачун занатлије Јеврејина Јозефа Шпрингер је велики због чињенице да је једини исписан на немачком језику али хебрејским писмом, изузев износа рачуна, године настанка и потписа коју су писани арапским бројевима и латиничним писмом. Рачун је испоручен за лампу на мермерном крсту у порти шидске православне цркве. Документ је настао 15. фебруара 1821. године. У потпису је Јозеф Шпрингер.



Прилог 9: Рачун занатлије Јеврејина Јозефа Шпрингера, испоручен Српској православној цркви у Шиду 1821. године, архива Српске православне црквене општине Шид.

Исти истраживач је у архиви Српске православне црквене општине у Шиду пронашао и интересантан попис приложника за славу шидског саборног православног Храма Светог Николаја из 1905. године у којем се, поред Срба, налазе и припадници других народа, па и Јевреја као што су: браћа Лустиг, Емил Винтерштајн, Макс Розенберг и други. Сакупљено је преко 550 круна за куповину вина, меса, хлеба, посуђа, послуге и трошкове музике.

## Јевреји у архивским фондовима просветних установа

Јеврејски ученици су похађали школе различитих нивоа у свим местима Срема. Поједини Јевреји појављују се и као предавачи у школама. Из архивског фонда Румске гимназије<sup>15</sup> издвајамо уписнице ученика који поред школских оцена и података о претходном школовању садрже детаљне личне податке, укључујући националност и вероисповест, податке о родитељима и месту живљења.

The image shows a detailed school record form. At the top, there are fields for the student's name, class, and school. Below this is a large table with columns for different subjects and rows for recording grades. The table is filled with handwritten entries, including numbers and letters. To the right of the table, there are additional fields for personal data and a section for signatures and dates. The form is written in Cyrillic script.

Прилог 10: Оцене јеврејске ученице Маријете Грубор у румској Гимназији, из времена Краљевине Југославије.

<sup>15</sup> ИАС, Ф. 365 Гимназија „Стеван Пузић” Рума (1912– ); 1912–1993.

Исту врсту података проналазимо и у архивској грађи Митровачке гимназије, где се налазе документа о школовању Милеве Марић Ајнштајн, супруге Алберта Ајнштајна, Јеврејина и једног од највећих светских умова. У овом архивском фонду постоје и подаци о гимназијском професору Мавру Штајнеру који је са својом службом из Вараждина дошао у Митровицу. Јеврејске ученице похађале су и Државну народну женску школу у Митровици, што се види по уписима у Главни именик од 1904. до 1929. године. Архивски фондови који се односе на школе садрже потпуне личне податке ученика, укључујући и њихову вероисповест у циљу организовања верске наставе. Поред података о школовању и оценама, дају се и подаци о родитељима и месту живљења.

### **Архивски документи о предратном периоду и положају сремских Јевреја у Другом светском рату**

У Историјском архиву „Срем” и Музеју Срема сачувана су сведочанства о прогону јеврејског становништва у Другом светском рату. Из предратног периода интересантан је документ из румског Градског поглаварства<sup>16</sup> од 23. јануара 1941. године у којем се разматрају завршни рачуни фондова и задужбина. Овде налазимо податке о Фонду Макса Штајнера за помоћ румској сиротињи, Фонду за изградњу болнице и фондовима Шандора Фишера за помоћ румској сиротињи и стипендију једног ђака из оближњег Јарка. Овај спис потврђује да су припадници јеврејског народа имали активну улогу у социјалном животу места у Срему, институционално помажући угроженом становништву. Расположиви архивски и музејски документи настали у време рата, када је на подручју Срема проглашена Независна Држава Хрватска, сведоче о систематском прогону Јевреја. У архивском фонду Градског поглаварства Рума за период 1941–1944. налази се спис из августа 1941. године у којем се градским поглаварствима даје право управљања одузетом имовином и стамбеним зградама Јевреја у Независној Држави Хрватској. У спису Министарства шумарства и рударства НДХ из 1942. године захтева се укидање права закупа лова припадницима српске и јеврејске националности због чињенице да им је забрањено ношење оружја, па самим тим не могу ни да иду у лов. Уколико је дошло до напуштања територије НДХ, таквим лицима би се одузимало ово право и вршио би се избор нових закупаца.

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<sup>16</sup> Исто, Ф. 74.



Прилог 11: Документ власти Независне Државе Хрватске са печатима немачких окупационих власти и Градског поглаварства Рума, 1942. година.

У редовној архиви Градског поглаварства Хрватска Митровица (1941–1944)<sup>17</sup>, у недатираном документу, налази се попис лица – митровачких Јевреја, уз навођење њихових послова, адреса становања, места и периода њиховог рада.

<sup>17</sup> Исто, Ф. 73.

№	Ime i prezime	Adresa	Opština	Radnja
1)	Arnold Rubert	✓	Fundulicima 16	24-5, 24-5, ang. - h
2)	Vile Fosner	✓	Štef. Waid 16	18-5, Waid - h
3)	Jamika Fosner	✓	- - -	12-5, Waid h
4)	Leo Freund	✓	- - - 54	10-5, Pflanzgarten
5)	Ligmann Rubert	✓	Fundulicima 16	17-5, 10-5, ang. - h
6)	Hilda Rubert	✓	- - -	- - -
7)	<del>Arnold</del> <del>Arnold</del>	✓	Štef. Waid 9	18-5, Pflanzgarten, h
8)	<del>Arnold</del>	✓	- - -	- - -
9)	<del>Arnold</del>	✓	- - -	- - -
10)	<del>Arnold</del>	✓	- - -	- - -
11)	David Fosner	✓	Springera 123	15-5, Pflanzgarten, h
12)	Franziska Fosner	✓	- - - 113	- - - 113
13)	Emma Fosner	✓	- - - 113	14-5, - - - 113
14)	Martha Fosner	✓	Štef. Waid 16	16-5, Waid - h
15)	Josiane Rubert	✓	Fundulicima 16	ang. - h
16)	Suzela Margareta	✓	Springera 17	St. h - h
17)	Migiana Margareta	✓	- - - 17	- - -
18)	Josif Kraus	✓	Springera 14	18-5, - - -
19)	Suzela Kraus	✓	- - -	- - -
20)	Therese Rohmer	✓	- - -	- - -
21)	Johanna Rubert	✓	Springera 11	Springer h
22)	Therese Margareta	✓	Springera 11	18-5, St. h - h

Прилог 12: Део списка митровачких Јевреја из времена Другог светског рата, са подацима о њиховим адресама и запослењу.

О рушењу јеврејске синагоге у Сремској Митровици, нажалост, нема сачуваних архивских докумената, али је познато да је овај насилнички чин извршен 1942. године. Фотографије некадашње синагоге и недавно постављена спомен-плоча на том месту једина су успомена на овај молитвени објекат који је доживео судбину јеврејског становништва у Срему.



Прилог 13: Споменик на једном од јеврејских гробаља у Срему и спомен-табла на месту где су усташке власти срушиле синагогу у Митровици, 1941–1942. године.

Dejan Mostarlić

### **Archival Materials Relating to the Jews in Syrmia – Memory of a People’s Life – (Summary)**

There are scarce archival materials which testify to the history of the Jewish population on the territories of Syrmia/Srem; of these, a significant role is played by those deposited at the Srem History Archives. The archival fonds of administrative, educational or economic provenance provide useful information on the life and work of the Jews in Syrmia within the broad chronological range – from their permanent settlement toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the persecution and deadly sufferings in World War Two. The value of these archival materials as a historical source relating

to the Jews in Syrmia also lies in the fact that after the said war this national community actually vanished. Through the selected documents, this paper shows that the Jews played an active role in various economic fields and the life of Syrmia's population from the time of the Habsburg-ruled and Austro-Hungarian Empires until the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The most compelling evidence of their presence in Syrmia are the registers (of birth/death/marriage) of their religious communities for the territories of Mitrovica and Erdevik, preserved in the Archives, and there are such registers in the registry offices in other municipalities, too. They present detailed personal data concerning births, marriages and deaths of the members of this community.

Through the administration-related fonds concerning town governments on the territory of Syrmia, one can find information about the Jews as owners of houses, cattle and other property. The data are supported by various censuses, registers of tax-payments, documentation of the offices of interior affairs, or medical documents. The fonds related to economy – such as those concerning the associations of merchants and artisans – testify to the great importance of the Jews' role in commercial and craftsmen's organizations. This paper presents documents from the areas of Sremska Mitrovica and Šid. In order to describe economic life there as fully as possible, included are some sources from the periodicals kept at the Museum of Srem which refer to the advertisements by Jewish merchants and artisans. A document from Ruma during the pre-second-world-war period tells about the active role of Jews in the work of charity organizations in providing aid to the socially endangered population. A group of documents referred to in the last segment of this paper provides evidence of the organized persecution of the Jewish population in Syrmia after the beginning of World War Two. The paper can be seen as a contribution to a more intense study of the history of the Jewish population on the territory of Syrmia, for it offers some guidelines for further research, especially the research work relating to other Syrmian towns such as Ruma, Stara Pazova or Indija.

**Keywords:** Jews, Syrmia, archival documents, archival fonds, administration, registers (of birth/death/marriage), educational institutions, economy.

## **The Digitalization Process of the Folklore Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts**

**Abstract:** The Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts possesses an extensive folklore collection. This archival material was collected after World War II, and in the Collection, we can find primarily folk songs and other folklore genres from around the former Yugoslavia. The SASA Institute of Ethnography has recognized the importance of this Collection and has initiated efforts to systematize and digitize it. The continuous project “The Creation of the Digital Database of the Folklore Collection of the SASA IE” began in 2022. This initiative has been made possible owing to the financial support by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia which recognizes the importance of preserving and promoting the country’s unique cultural legacy for future generations.

The primary objective of this paper is to provide an in-depth account of the systematization and digitization processes involved in organizing archival material, as well as offering a basic description of the software solutions developed in order to provide an intelligent research tool for the future users of the digitalized Collection. The various phases of the project, from the initial planning stages to the final execution, along with the intricacies of the work and the challenges encountered by the project collaborators, are described in detail. The paper also provides an overview of the database and website created in the project, including their functionality and how the team utilizes them as a working tool. This paper provides an informative account of the project and highlights the importance of human work in it.

**Keywords:** SASA Institute of Ethnography, Folklore Collection, digital database, digitization, digitalization.

The Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts possesses a valuable folklore collection, which primarily contains folk songs and other short folklore forms from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The creation of this Collection was one of the first major projects after the Institute was established in 1947, and it began in the wake of World War II. The Collection contains between 18,000 and 20,000 texts in different South Slavic languages as well as texts in Albanian. The exact number of texts is unknown, considering that the material systematization is still ongoing. The Collection contains 9

inventories, 137 field-research manuscript notebooks, 200 musical notations, and 37 boxes with A5- and A4-size sheets with typed songs. Four inventories and 12 field-research manuscript notebooks are missing, but nearly all of the songs from the missing notebooks have been preserved on scraps of paper.<sup>1</sup>

This Folklore Collection is an important testimony to the transitional era in the recent history of the region, as it offers insight into the predominant ways of thinking, social practices, worldviews, and value systems of the emerging social and ideological order. The SASA Institute of Ethnography has recently initiated the process of systematizing, digitizing and digitalizing<sup>2</sup> this Collection. “The Creation of the Digital Database of the Folklore Collection of the SASA IE” project was launched in 2022, and it was made possible owing to the financial support from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, which recognized the significance of this unique collection as well as the need to preserve and present it to the general public.

### The Origin of the Folklore Collection

Following its establishment in 1947, work in the SAS Institute of Ethnography was organized within three sections (departments): anthropogeographic, ethnological, and folkloristic, which indicates the importance given by the SAS IE to folklore research.<sup>3</sup> This is also evidenced by the proceedings of Expert Plenary Meetings of the SAS Institute of Ethnography held in 1949.<sup>4</sup> At the session held on 21 June 1949, Academician Dušan Nedeljković pointed out that “the songs of the National Liberation War are being replaced by the songs of socialism construction, and it is therefore urgent to collect the former since their importance nowadays is political as much as scientific.”<sup>5</sup> During the same

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<sup>1</sup> Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke Etnografskog instituta SANU (“Folklorna zbirka Etnografskog instituta SANU”) – izazovi, iskustva i prvi rezultati rada na njejoj izradi, *Folkloristika: časopis Udruženja folklorista Srbije* 7/2 (2022) 107–117, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The term *digitization* refers to the process of converting information from an analog to a digital format (in the case of our Project it includes scanning field-research manuscript notebooks and sheets with typed songs and converting the texts of the songs into the word format. The *digitalization* encompasses the creation and use of the database itself, enabling more efficient processing, easier access, and improved data usability, with the goal of enhancing the information’s availability, value, and functionality.

<sup>3</sup> A. UROŠEVIĆ, Razvoj i rad Etnografskog instituta Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (1947–1972), *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU* 21 (1973) 5–12, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Etnografski institut SANU, Zapisnici Etnografskog instituta SAN 1949.

<sup>5</sup> Etnografski institut SANU, Zapisnici Etnografskog instituta SAN 1949, Zapisnik radne sednice Etnografskog instituta SAN sa Naučnim savetom održane 21-VI-1949. godine.

session, a plan fulfilment was determined for the collection of folklore; it was decided that ethnology students should also be engaged alongside the teams of young researchers, and that all Institute's associates with field research assignments should additionally dedicate some time to collecting folk and Partisan songs. It was emphasized that ten to twenty thousand songs should be collected.

At the session held on 27 June 1949, *Brief Guidelines for Collecting Folk Poetry* were presented and discussed.<sup>6</sup> The report on the session held on 8 July 1949 states that the decision was made to dispatch several teams on field expeditions, with the suggestion that these teams should additionally include students from the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.<sup>7</sup> The agenda of the December 1949 sessions included reports on the research of folk poetry collected by Radoslav Pavlović, Jovanka Golemović<sup>8</sup>, and Rada Marković<sup>9</sup>, and an active discussion of all session participants took place.

In her *Report on the Folklore Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences*<sup>10</sup>, the associate of the SAS IE Rada Marković provided an insight into the manner of collecting and organizing material. The *Report* informs that in 1947 and 1948 folklore research was individual, whereas 1949 was considered to be “the most prolific year in researching and collecting national folklore”.<sup>11</sup> Expeditions were dispatched on to fieldwork in accordance with the set plan, in groups of two or three members, and in some cases even six or seven members. They included Institute associates as well as a great number of students (Ethnology and Philosophy Departments of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade). Their main task was to record the folklore of national liberation. In July 1949, several expeditions headed for the areas of Kriva Feja, Vlasina, Titovo Užice, Kosovo and Metohija, Montenegro, Eastern Bosnia, Mt. Kozara, etc. In August, September and October 1949, a large number of research expeditions was sent to the construction sites along “The Brotherhood and Unity” Highway and New Belgrade. Folklore research was to a lesser extent

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<sup>6</sup> Etnografski institut SANU, Zapisnici Etnografskog instituta SAN 1949, Zapisnik radne i stručne sednice Etnografskog instituta SAN održane 27. juna 1949. godine.

<sup>7</sup> Etnografski institut SANU, Zapisnici Etnografskog instituta SAN 1949, Zapisnik sa XIV sednice Naučnog saveta Etnografskog instituta SAN održane 8-VII-1949. godine.

<sup>8</sup> Etnografski institut SANU, Zapisnici Etnografskog instituta SAN 1949, Zapisnik stručnog plenarnog sastanka Etnografskog instituta SAN održanog 9-XII-1949. godine.

<sup>9</sup> Etnografski institut SANU, Zapisnici Etnografskog instituta SAN 1949, Zapisnik stručne plenarne sednice Etnografskog instituta SAN održane 29-XII-1949. godine.

<sup>10</sup> R. MARKOVIĆ, Izveštaj o folklornoj zbirci Etnografskog instituta Srpske akademije nauka, *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SAN* 1/1-2 (1952) 580-584.

<sup>11</sup> R. MARKOVIĆ, Izveštaj o folklornoj zbirci, 581.

continued at New Belgrade construction sites in 1950.<sup>12</sup>

In her 1952 *Report*, Marković stressed: “The teams fulfilled the assigned task; certainly, the extent of their success varied, depending largely on their professional equipment, diligence, and other abilities of the expedition members for this kind of research, as well as the qualities of specific fields and the mentality of the surveyed population. Still, the great success achieved through the fieldwork is confirmed by the Institute’s folklore collection, which counts some 15,000 songs.”<sup>13</sup>

The material collected during field research was processed at the Institute in late 1949, which entailed typing the songs in four copies, assigning them with numbers, recording them in the inventory, classifying them according to the contents, areas, and researchers.<sup>14</sup> In late 1960s, this large-scale project of collecting folklore material was suspended for financial reasons, but the Institute associates continued recording folklore material in their individual fieldwork.<sup>15</sup> Thus, folklore material kept being collected until late 1970s.<sup>16</sup>

The Collection includes songs about the Second World War, the Communist Party and Partisans, those about the post-war reconstruction, socio-political reforms and the Cominform (*Informbiro* locally) period, as well as the songs about labour, youth work actions, socio-economic transition and a new type of woman which appeared with them. There are also humorous, love, erotic, ritual, and epic songs of older themes (about battles against the Turks, the Balkan Wars, and the First World War).<sup>17</sup>

Bearing in mind the thematic richness and the extensive size of the Collection, as well as the diversity of the geographical areas in which the songs had originated, this material is one of the most representative folklore collections of the twentieth century in the ex-Yugoslav region. The Collection is extensive and the literary quality of the texts is uneven and, in many cases, even poor, yet their value as testimonies of an extremely turbulent epoch of Yugoslav history is of great importance, above all, for cultural, ethnological, and folkloristic research.<sup>18</sup> The study of the material from this Collection started in the 1950’s by ethnologists, ethnomusicologists, and folklorists. Their works have been published in

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> A. UROŠEVIĆ, *Razvoj i rad Etnografskog instituta*, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, *Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke*, 108.

<sup>17</sup> R. MARKOVIĆ, *Izveštaj o folklornoj zbirci*, 581–584; Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, *Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke*, 109–110.

<sup>18</sup> Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, *Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke*, 109–110.



№	Genre and species	Place and date	Time
11-102-115	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-116	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-117	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-118	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-119	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-120	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-121	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-122	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-123	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-124	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-125	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-126	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-127	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-128	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-129	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-130	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-131	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-132	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-133	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-134	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-135	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-136	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-137	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-138	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-139	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-140	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-141	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-142	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-143	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-144	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-145	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-146	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-147	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-148	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-149	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951
11-102-150	Female Song	Ypsilopygia striatula	1950-1951

Figure 2: Inventory 2 (2083–4159), p. 2 – List of field collectors (the columns respectively provide the number of songs, the collector’s surname and name, the place and time of the recording).

Considering that the Collection has not been archived to this day, the Institute initiated a parallel process of its digitization and organization in accordance with archival rules. This process includes a thorough comparison between type-

written sheets and original manuscripts of the songs, the merging of duplicates, identification of the missing materials, as well as an examination of other unsorted archival material which might contain folklore documents related to the Collection. Although the first steps towards systematization have been made, the Collection is still not archivally organized. Plans for the forthcoming period include the continuation of organizing and processing the material in accordance with archival recommendations. The material will be classified into four groups:

1. Fieldwork manuscript notebooks.
2. Typewritten scraps of paper (considering that the texts were typed in several copies, these will be merged).
3. Musical notations.
4. Varia – all documents related to the Folklore Collection which cannot be classified into previous three groups.

The procurement of new archival storage boxes and other materials for safe-keeping the documents was envisaged. The numbering is to be carried out at the end of the process, when reference numbers will be assigned to documents and listed in the database. Considering that the numbering in manuscript notebooks, inventories and on the scraps of paper often differs, texts were renumbered as they were entered into the database, and reference numbers are to be accompanied by an additional document linking different numbering and providing information as to all the numbering under which a text can be found. Bearing in mind the amount of documentation, this work requires time and dedication. Digitizing the material and organizing it in accordance with archival recommendations will contribute to obtaining more complete information on the contents and the amount of the Collection.

### **Digitization, Digitalization and the Development of the Digital Database**

Early in 2020, the SASA Institute of Ethnography founded the Digitization Working Group, with Dr. Đorđina Trubarac Matić appointed as its leader. The primary goal of this working group was to assess the condition of the Folklore Collection and initiate its systematisation and digitization. Initially, the team was made up of the following members: Dr. Milan Tomašević, Dr. Nina Aksić and Biljana Milenković Vuković (librarian counsellor).

In 2022, Bojana Vuković (records manager) joined in, followed by Dr. Danilo Trbojević and Konstatnin Ađanin in 2023. The IT engineer Branislav Tomić has been responsible for the development of the digital database and web app, as the cornerstones in the digitalization process.

### *Phase One (2022)*

The project titled “The Creation of the Digital Database of Folk Songs of the SASA Institute of Ethnography”, which lasted from May to December 2022, was co-funded by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia and the SASA Institute of Ethnography. In this period, development of the digital database was initiated, simultaneously with the processing and entry of the first batch of texts (numbers 1 to 500). This was a pilot project the aim of which was to build the software infrastructure for future work and for the team to encounter the majority of the challenges they would face while working on digitization of the collection, so as to be able to develop realistic work plans for the future. The funds received in this project made it possible to purchase the necessary work equipment (scanner, OCR software) and to carry out the development of the database and the accompanying web app.

Phase One of the project involved scanning of sheets with typewritten songs (473 A5 format sheets, and 20 A4 format sheets), where these scans were subsequently allocated to different team members who worked on their conversion into Microsoft Word documents. Although the initial idea was to use the OCR software, in this phase this did not prove to be useful in practice. Namely, in addition to the typewritten text, the sheets frequently included some additional handwritten data and comments, including e.g.: informant, initial collector, time and place of the recording, the collector’s notes, etc. Also, some sheets involved texts that had faded, or included handwritten entries, i.e. corrections and additions, which prevented the optical recognition software from successfully converting all the characters and required a high amount of additional interventions by the team members. Due to the aforementioned reasons, the team members agreed that the texts would instead need to be manually typed in MS Word documents, which proved to be a more sensible solution in this phase of the work. In addition to the songs, each MS Word document also contains the available metadata in comments. During the work on entering the songs into the database, the project leader Dr. Đorđina Trubarac Matić recognised that there were some texts that lacked the expected metric or logical structure, so after consulting the original manuscripts, she identified incongruences between the field records and the texts typed in the sheets, and that some songs or parts thereof had not been typed in at all, or that some of the songs had been intervened on in various ways during the typing phase. She compared all the typewritten texts with their manuscript versions and typed in the missing parts or texts. All the incongruences between the manuscript and the typed text were described in the metadata.

Đordina Trubarac Matić and the IT engineer Branislav Tomić have developed the design idea of the Database, the web app and the sets of their tools to be made. On that basis, Branislav Tomić has made the database which contains entry fields for texts, descriptive metadata (data on the collectors, informants, place and time of recording, collector's notes, editor's notes, language, signature), semantic metadata (meter, genre, keywords) and an administrative metadata field used to help all the team members exchange information related to their work. The database supports the full-text search of the overall corpus of folklore texts by any word or a syntactic structure (oral poetic formulae, verses, parts of verses) contained in the digitized collection as well as by any word contained in the metadata. The statistical data of the search results (the number of selected texts out of the whole of the digitized corpus) is also provided. Finally, a web app of the database was made, including searching by song number, individual words (up to three) - which allows the search by synonyms, by thematic or semantic proximity or by the keywords, as well as by syntactic structures (formulae of oral poetry, parts of verses).<sup>19</sup> In this phase, the web app did not offer insight into the metadata.<sup>20</sup>

By the end of 2022, the total of 538 texts were entered (533 of which were songs, and 5 riddles).

### **Digitization and Digitalization Work in 2023 and 2024**

The team entered the second year of the project with more experience and readiness for the challenges that had been identified during the first year. The current project titled "The Creation of the Digital Database of the Folklore Collection of the SASA Institute of Ethnography" (2023-2024) was again co-funded by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia and the SASA Institute of Ethnography. The team members decided to process a larger number of texts. All the sheets numbered 501-2200 were scanned (1821 A5 format sheets in total), as well as 12 manuscript notebooks (856 sheets in total). The scanned texts were subsequently transferred into MS Word format, either by typing or by OCR processing. Simultaneously, the metadata available in the scanned sheets were also entered. Considering the fact that during the first phase of the work (2022) some

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<sup>19</sup> Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke, 114–116.

<sup>20</sup> See more about the work on the Folklore Collection in Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke Etnografskog instituta SANU ("Folklorna zbirka Etnografskog instituta SANU") – izazovi, iskustva i prvi rezultati rada na njenoj izradi, *Folkloristika: časopis Udruženja folklorista Srbije* 7/2 (2022) 107–117.

incongruences between the records from the field notebooks and the texts typed in the sheets had been identified (while the incongruences had been checked by a single person, which was unfeasible for the amount of text envisaged to be processed in the second phase), the workflow was supplemented with an additional phase of comparing the versions of the songs contained in the field manuscripts with those included in the first edition (typed in the sheets). The team members grouped themselves in pairs, where one person would read the text and metadata contained in MS Word documents, while the second person would check the rate of congruence with the initial recording contained in the field manuscripts. Considering the fact that the manuscripts contained in the notebooks had been made in the field and in quite specific circumstances, they are often quite hard to read. Different letters were too similar mutually, and one's capability to read these texts are often determined by the context and familiarity with the songs. Doubts concerning the reading of certain words were highlighted in red, or with a comment in MS Word documents, so that the project leader could re-check them and find a solution. It happened on a number of occasions that all the team members tried together to solve the issues pertaining to the text's reading, which sometimes did not involve only the reading skill of the manuscript, but also the linguistic, ethnographic and geographic knowledge, the knowledge of names for elements of tangible and intangible traditional economy and culture in general, or the knowledge of oral poetic formulae. All the incongruences between the texts in the manuscript notebooks and those in the typewritten texts, have been described in the editor's note, where the primary source, i.e. manuscript notebooks version has been favoured.<sup>21</sup> The word, or the group of words in a text that was not read successfully, is noted in the very text in the database, as well as in the editor's note. Although pieces of software and AI tools that could make the recognition of handwritten characters easier do exist, in this phase of the process, human expertise and knowledge have proved to be irreplaceable and crucial. The doubts regarding the structure of the texts (strophic or non-strophic), abbreviations in the manuscript related to the incomplete annotation of verses and refrains due to the repetition in oral performance, the separation of different texts written down as one in the process of field annotation (when the informant would immediately start singing one song after another) were resolved by the editor (Đorđina Trubarac Matić). Revised texts are sent to the proof-reader, Miljana Čopa. In 2023, Elka Jačeva Ulčar was responsi-

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<sup>21</sup> As to the types of incongruences, see more in M. TOMAŠEVIĆ, *Pesme sa gradilišta auto-puta "Bratstvo i jedinstvo" iz arhivske zbirke Etnografskog instituta SANU: o vrstama naknadnih intervencija na zapisima*, *Folkloristika: časopis Udruženja folklorista Srbije* 8/1–2 (2023) 63–88.

ble for transliteration of the texts in the Macedonian language. Transliteration involves a number of steps and represents a long-lasting and challenging process since the Macedonian texts were collected by Serbian researchers at the time when the standardization of the Macedonian language had just been started. The texts originally written in Serbian Cyrillic letters are transliterated into Macedonian Cyrillic script and edited following the principles of editorial work applied by Elka Jačeva Ulčar and Đorđina Trubarac Matić.

After proofreading and corrections, entry of the texts into the database begins. In 2023, the name of tone field in the database was changed and its content divided into two fields - the field with the editor's description of the text, previously named *Description*, was divided into two fields: one, in which the incongruences between the texts in manuscript notebooks and those in the sheets were described together with explanations of certain words present in the texts (named *Editor's notes*), and the other one with information on genre and metrics (named *Genre and Metrics*). This allowed for separate presentations of these data in the web app, where only those from the field of *Editor's notes* can be seen at the moment. The *Working Note* field was added (visible only to the project team members, enabling their mutual communication), just as the *Text Location* field, which contains the data about the manuscript notebook's volume, text number, as well as sheet number.



Figure 3: The look of the draft version of the database.

During 2023, the web application was also improved, enabling access to the data about the collector and informant, location and time of recording, as well as collector's and editor's notes.

In early 2024, once the songs had been entered and had become visible and browsable in the app, certain systemic errors were identified while the songs were checked on the website. For example, the space between sentences after the ENTER command was not recognised, just like italicised text, while there were also some typing errors made during typing metadata into the database. In order to rectify the identified errors, the team members were responsible for checking a certain number of texts each, and marking the locations of potential errors. In case one noticed that the error had been made during the entry, the team members would rectify the error directly in the database, while the errors identified as systemic bugs were sent to the IT engineer for correction. Thus an additional task for the team members, one not envisaged originally, emerged.

As a result of working on this two-year project, by October 2024, the total of 2,395 texts were entered in the database, all of which have become available at the internet page of the Digital Database of the Folklore Collection of the SASA Institute of Ethnography (<https://folklor nazbirka.ei.sanu.ac.rs/lppesme/index.php>). It has been planned for additional 900 texts to be entered by the end of 2024. The user version of the database was also made, which has been available for use in the SASA Institute of Ethnography, where interested users have access to the texts, metadata and options unavailable via the website, including browsing by metadata.

According to the previously described work on digitization of the Folklore Collection, the process can be divided into nine main steps<sup>22</sup>:

1. Systematisation of documents:
  - Selecting the song sheets intended for processing;
  - Checking the sheets and their copies;
  - Selecting the documents most suitable for scanning (focus on the song sheets that have been damaged the least over time, where the typed text is the most visible and thus the most suitable for making a high-quality digital copy).
2. Scanning the sheets and manuscript notebooks with typed songs:
  - Digitization of all the selected song sheets and manuscript notebooks.
3. Transforming the text into MS Word documents:
  - Typing the text or using the OCR software, depending on the quality and readability of the sheets' contents.

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<sup>22</sup> Compare with Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke, 113–114.

4. Checking the extent of matching of texts and metadata with the primary source:

Checking the extent of matching the texts contained in manuscript notebooks and those in sheets, is performed in pairs;

The text from the primary source, as well as that from the first edition (i.e. typed texts), are described;

In case of discovering a text in a manuscript notebook that for some reason has not been retyped, noted in sheets, or recorded in the inventory, the text is now retyped together with the metadata;

All the identified differences and incongruences are described in the editor's note.

5. Editorial work;

Structural reconstruction of the texts (when some elements are missing due to the economy of writing down during the process of fieldwork collecting, such as repetitions, refrains, divisions of the stanzas, etc.) and the elaboration of the related metadata.

Reconstruction of the written texts (when the songs are in languages which were clearly not spoken by the Serbian collectors, who wrote them down in a way they heard them, which often produced errors) and the elaboration of the related metadata.

6. Proofreading and correction of the texts.

7. Entering the texts and metadata in the database:

Entering the processed texts and metadata in line with the guidelines for entering metadata developed by the team in 2023 in order to secure harmonisation of data.

8. Publication of the entered songs on the internet:

Enabling the access to the entered texts in the web application.

9. Re-checking of the texts published on the internet and their correction:

Identifying systemic bugs of the database, or errors upon entering the texts in the database;

Rectifying the errors directly in the database, or reporting the bugs to the engineer who should solve them.

In addition to the task related to the digitization and digitalization, the Project team worked on the promotion of the project and the database:

- Acquainting the scientific community and wider public with the project and the digital database with the aim of promoting the collection and stimulating the use thereof.

## Conclusion

The work on the development of the valuable Folklore Collection of the SASA Institute of Ethnography which had been initiated in mid-1940s, has been resumed over the last three years. The small, enthusiastic team of the Institute of Ethnography's associates, in addition to their regular responsibilities, also tackled the challenge of organising, digitizing and digitalizing the Collection, so as to make its contents available to the public within an IT solution which provides intelligent research and analysis tools. One of the main challenges faced by the team involves the very size of the Collection. Furthermore, the funding has frequently obstructed the ambitions of the team concerning the further upgrades to the database and the application.

Human impact and the necessity of human involvement have been evident at every step of this work process, both in the earlier creation of the Folklore Collection and the present digitalization efforts – ranging from the collectors in the field, informants of songs, via the Institute's associates who originally founded the Collection, all the way to the team which, after decades of neglect, decided to digitalize the material included in the Collection. The digitization was the prerogative for its further digitalization. Even though the steps in the digitization process have been optimised as much as possible, it is clear that they require substantial effort, time and focus.

The Folklore Collection Digital Database and its presentation have aroused the interest of the scientific and professional public. In just three years since the database was founded, a number of scientific and research papers have been published in which the material from the database has been used, while the very Collection, database and the folklore material included in it have been presented in scholarly conferences, panel discussions and scientific publications (Đorđina Trubarac Matić<sup>23</sup>, Nina Aksić<sup>24</sup>, Milan Tomašević<sup>25</sup>). There is a plan for the future aiming to develop a comprehensive bibliography of the papers made as a result of studying various topics inspired by the Collection, from its foundation to this day.

Continuation of this project illustrates dedication to preservation and presentation of cultural heritage, with the aim of making it easily accessible and

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<sup>23</sup> Đ. TRUBARAC MATIĆ, Digitalna baza Folklorne zbirke, 107–117.

<sup>24</sup> N. AKSIĆ, Od tradicijske ptice do 'tića heroja rada: ptice u pesmama iz Folklorne zbirke Etnografskog instituta SANU, *Folkloristika: časopis Udruženja folklorista Srbije* 8/1–2 (2023) 45–62.

<sup>25</sup> M. TOMAŠEVIĆ, Pesme sa gradilišta auto-puta "Bratstvo i jedinstvo" iz arhivske zbirke Etnografskog instituta SANU: o vrstama naknadnih intervencija na zapisima, *Folkloristika: časopis Udruženja folklorista Srbije* 8/1–2 (2023) 63–88.

of inspiring new research initiatives in folklore studies and other scientific disciplines. This Folklore Collection, which is now more accessible than ever, has the potential for becoming a fundamental resource for researchers and interested public.

Бојана Вуковић Петровић

**Процес дигитализације Фолклорне збирке Етнографског института  
Српске академије наука и уметности**  
(резиме)

Етнографски институт САНУ поседује вредну Фолклорну збирку, која у првом реду садржи народне песме и краће фолклорне форме са подручја бивше Југославије. Стварање ове колекције започето је после Другог светског рата и представљало је један од првих великих пројеката од оснивања Института 1947. године. Колекција садржи између 18.000 и 20.000 текстова на различитим јужнословенским језицима. Ова Фолклорна збирка представља важно сведочанство транзицијске ере у новијој историји региона, нудећи увид у преовлађујући начин размишљања, друштвених пракси, погледа на свет и системе вредности друштвеног и идеолошког поретка у настајању. Етнографски институт САНУ је недавно покренуо рад на систематизацији и дигитализацији ове збирке. Пројекат „Израда дигиталне базе Фолклорне збирке Етнографског института САНУ“ започет је 2022. године, а његова реализација је омогућена уз финансијску подршку Министарства културе Републике Србије, које је препознало значај ове јединствене збирке коју треба сачувати и представити широј јавности.

Основни циљ овог рада јесте да пружи детаљан приказ процеса систематизације и дигитализације Фолклорне збирке, као и основни опис софтверских решења, развијених како би се будућим корисницима дигитализоване збирке омогућио напредан истраживачки алат. Описане су различите фазе пројекта, од почетног планирања рада на пројекту до коначне реализације, уз фокус на сложености задатака и изазовима са којима су се суочавали чланови тима. Рад такође представља структуру дигиталне базе и веб-странице креираних у оквиру пројекта, као и њихову функционалност и начин на који се могу користити као радни алат.

На сваком кораку процеса рада, како у некадашњем стварању Фолклорне збирке, тако и у њеној садашњој дигитализацији, очигледни су утицај и неопходност учешћа човека – од сакупљача на терену, казивача песама, сарадника Института који су првобитно организовали Збирку, до тима који је после вишегодишњег

периода запостављености збирке одлучио да њену грађу дигитализује. Овај рад даје информативни приказ пројекта и наглашава важност људског рада у њему.

**Кључне речи:** Етнографски институт САНУ, Фолклорна збирка, дигитална база, дигитизација, дигитализација.

## Магдалена Манда Сударевић у парламентарном и друштвеном животу Војводине

**Апстракт:** Једна од седам жена делегата на Великој народној скупштини Срба, Буњеваца и осталих Словена у Банату, Бачкој и Барањи, која је одржана у Новом Саду 25. новембра 1918. године, била је Магдалена Манда Сударевић. Имајући у виду историјски контекст и положај Буњеваца на територији Војводине и шире, који су заједно са Србима и другим словенским народима донели одлуку о присаједињењу Краљевини Србији, те у светлу њихове улоге у стварању Краљевине Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца, говори се о значају доприноса који је том приликом дала Манда Сударевић. Уз још две жене Буњевке, у својству одабраног делегата, учествовала је на Великој народној скупштини када се одлучивало о судбини ових крајева. Посебно смо нагласили њено учешће у бројним културним догађајима у Суботици, хуманитарни рад, те друштвени ангажман. Како бисмо приказали женска удружења у којима је била активна чланица, описан је документ „Правила Добротворне заједнице Буњевака“ из 1919. године, који до сада није публикован. На основу различитих извора, одабране литературе и архивске грађе похрањене у Архиву Војводине, представљен је рад Манде Сударевић и истакнут њен велики допринос настојањима жена да узму учешће у политичком животу наше земље, те у својству припадника буњевачке заједнице, за остваривање националних циљева.

**Кључне речи:** Манда Сударевић, Буњевке, Велика народна скупштина, удружења жена, Суботица.

### 1. Уводне напомене

Магдалена Манда Сударевић је рођена у Суботици 17. септембра 1882. године. Живела је и радила у преломним историјским временима присаједињења Баната, Бачке и Барање матици Србији, и уједињења у Краљевину Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца.

Из тог периода, нарочито је важно истаћи велики допринос војвођанских Буњеваца. Један од познатих чланова буњевачке заједнице био је лекар

Врађе Сударевић<sup>1</sup>. У борби против растуће асимилације Словена у Аустроугарској, доктор Сударевић се здушно залагао за слободу и очување идентитета буњевачког живља. Отворено је говорио о припадности своме народу још од гимназијских дана. Угарске власти нису толерисале његове ставове, па је матуру завршио ван родног града. Студирао је у Будимпешти и након тога је започела његова политичка каријера. Истакао се као један од оснивача Буњевачке странке, а касније и као члан Буњевачко-шокачке странке. Био је члан Уставотворне скупштине СХС, касније и народни посланик у Краљевини Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца.<sup>2</sup> Године 1920, неколико месеци је био велики жупан, односно градоначелник Суботице.

Супруга др Сударевића и истакнута чланица суботичког друштва Манда Сударевић је у јесен 1918. године одабрана за делегата на Великој народној скупштини. Премда се о њеном раду мало писало, добро је познато да је активно учествовала у бројним хуманитарним и културним манифестацијама у Суботици. Као жена лекара, која је имала знања из медицине, упамћена је по великом залагању за обнову суботичке болнице након Првог светског рата. Њено друштвено ангажовање у удружењима Буњевки није остало непримећено, тако да је то један од разлога што се наша међу делегатима Велике народне скупштине.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Народна школа на пустари Вемшић названа је по њему „Фрањо Сударевић”. У фонду Архива Војводине Ф. 126 Краљевска банска управа Дунавске бановине, Нови Сад (1929–1941), 1929–1941, имамо увид у документа која приказују рад те школе, а описана је и ситуација где су, услед одсуства учитељице у току школске године, деца приморана да се уписују у школе у околини (Ф. 126, IV 19157/ 38).

<sup>2</sup> О ставовима др Врађе Сударевића по питању заједничке државе словенских народа говорио је Борис Алексов, његов праунук: „Мислим да је на том путу између Будимпеште и Суботице њега докачио вирус панславенизма. То је оно што би данас могли звати или што смо звали југословенством. Мислим да је та идеја њега терала да види како Буњевци, овдашњи свит, може да буде део нечега и да се зближи са другим житељима града, како у Монархији, тако и после.” Види: К. ТАКАЧ, [https://rtv.rs/sr\\_lat/1918-ponos/serijal-rtv-prisajedinjenje-1918-2018-svedoci-istorije-vranje-i-manda-sudarevic\\_964301.html](https://rtv.rs/sr_lat/1918-ponos/serijal-rtv-prisajedinjenje-1918-2018-svedoci-istorije-vranje-i-manda-sudarevic_964301.html)

<sup>3</sup> Дана 29. априла 2022. године одржана је XXVI седница Скупштине Града Новог Сада, на којој су усвојена акта - Решење о давању назива улици у Ветернику: Улица Манде Сударевић. Тиме је Манди Сударевић одата почаст за заслуге у хуманитарним акцијама током Првог светског рата, као и у борби за еманципацију буњевачког народа, али и жена Буњевки. Улица бр. 16 у Ветернику данас носи њено име. Види у: <https://skupstina.novisad.rs/2022/04/29/u-toku-sednica-skupstine-grad-a-novog-sada-5/>

## 2. Записници привремених органа власти у Новом Саду 1918–1919.

О томе какав је однос Буњеваца према историјским догађајима значајним за српску државу говори чињеница да и данас, као један од четири национална празника, славе Дан Велике народне скупштине 25. новембар. На овој чувеној скупштини у Новом Саду, тога дана пре 107 година, заједно са другим словенским народима изборили су се за самосталност и очување свог националног идентитета. Залагање буњевачке заједнице, нарочито у Суботици, да се до краја оствари намера ослобођења и уједињења са Краљевином Србијом, представља велики допринос присаједињењу и касније стварању заједничке државе свих Јужних Словена – Краљевини Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца. Имајући у виду значај тих историјских догађаја и људи који су одабрани са подручја некадашње Српске Војводине да у њима непосредно учествују, истичемо да је у својству делегата на Великој народној скупштини суделовала Магдалена Манда Сударевић.

Публиковањем архивске грађе која се чува у Архиву Војводине, у оквиру фонда *Ф. 76 Народна ујрава за Банат, Бачку и Барању, Нови Сад (1918–1919), 1918–1919*, те *Записника седнице Велике народне скупштине*, седница од 12 (25) новембра 1918<sup>4</sup>, у књизи *Записници привремених органа власти у Новом Саду 1918–1919*.<sup>5</sup> стручној и широј јавности омогућен је увид у изворна документа. Објављени су записници Српског народног одбора у Новом Саду, записници Велике народне скупштине Срба, Буњеваца и осталих Словена у Банату, Бачкој и Барањи, записници Великог народног савета и записници Народне управе за Банат, Бачку и Барању. Документа су од велике важности нарочито ако имамо у виду да су делатности тих привремених органа власти биле најзначајнији институционални облици српског и општесловенског покрета за присаједињење Краљевини Србији и покрета уједињења јужнословенских народа у заједничку државу. Зато записници са Велике народне скупштине од 25. новембра 1918. и 27. фебруара 1919. године, представљају „аутентичан и снажан доказ народног суверенитета”, закључује Његован<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> *Споменница ослобођења Војводине 1918*; друго издање приредио Д. ЊЕГОВАН, едиција Присаједињење 1918, књ. 2, Нови Сад 2017, 34–40.

<sup>5</sup> *Записници привремених органа власти у Новом Саду: 1918–1919*, приредила Љ. ДОЖИЋ; Музеј Војводине, Архив Војводине, Нови Сад 2018; едиција Присаједињење 1918, књ. 7, Музеј Војводине, Нови Сад 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Д. ЊЕГОВАН, Предговор: Верно животу и документу, 9–12. у: З. ВЕЉАНОВИЋ – Д. ЊЕГОВАН, *Од сна до јаве, Присаједињење Војводине Краљевини Србији 1918. године*, каталог, Нови Сад 2020, 29.

У контексту теме, у фокус стављамо Записник о раду Велике народне скупштине која је одржана 25. новембра 1918. Делегати су бирани по унапред објављеном Изборном реду, па је на сваких хиљаду српских, буњевачких и осталих „словенских душа” биран по један посланик. Тај број је за Буњевце исказивао Буњевачко-српски народни одбор у Суботици. Месни Пододбор Српског народног одбора објављивао је када ће се бирати општински посланици за Народну скупштину Срба, Буњеваца и осталих Словена. Право гласа имали су сви мушки и женски чланови општине који су навршили 20 година живота. Према приспелим изборним записницима и пуномоћима у Народној скупштини заступљено је било 211 општина са 757 посланика, од тога 578 Срба, 84 Буњеваца, 62 Словака, 21 Русин<sup>7</sup>, три Шокца, два Хрвата, шест Немаца и један Мађар. Међу посланицима је било седам жена: Милица Ј. Томић из Новог Сада, Мара К. Јовановић из Панчева, те Катица Рајчић, Олга Станковић, Таза Манојловић, Мара Малагурски и Манда Сударевић из Суботице.

Од седам жена у Скупштини три су биле Буњевке, док је Бабијан Малагурски из редова буњевачке заједнице одабран за једног од осам председника.

На том историјском скупу посебно се истакао Блашко Рајић. Дао је кључан допринос одлукама Велике народне скупштине подржавши идеју Јаше Томића да се Банат, Бачка и Барања директно уједине са Краљевином Србијом. Његово обраћање посланицима у Скупштини нарочито је упечатљиво. У записнику се наводе његове речи: „Хоћу у име мојега досад потлаченога, потиснутога, досада на уништење осуђенога народа (Живела наша браћа Буњевци!) јавно пред скупштином да захвалим Србији, што нас је својом неприсподобивом војском ослободила јарма и смрти. А вама, браћо, обећајем својом муженом речи, да ћу на том мисту, на које ме уз г. Томића посласте, по најбољем свом уверењу и знању заступати нашу народну ствар. (Живео!)”<sup>8</sup>

Имао је, дакле, велику подршку присутних. Посланици из свих делова Бачке, Баната и Барање једногласно су донели одлуку о присаједињењу. Блашко Рајић и Јаша Томић изабрани су „да стоје на услузи српској влади”, односно да представљају Скупштину пред регентом Александром и

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<sup>7</sup> У оригиналним документима: Архив САНУ, Београд, Документа о присаједињењу Војводине Србији, бр. 13707/1, наводи се „21 Рус”, међутим, у литератури историчари наводе да су у питању били Русини из војвођанских места као што су Руски Крстур, Куцура итд. Види у: К. МИЛУТИНОВИЋ, Војводина и стварање Југославије, *Сјоменица ослобођења Војводине 1918* (1928), 161.

<sup>8</sup> Записници, прир. Љ.ДОЖИЋ, 235.

Краљевском владом у Београду.<sup>9</sup>

У записницима, између осталог, стоји: „Несрпским и несловенским народима, који остају у нашим границама, обезбеђује се свако право, којим желе да као мањина очувају и развијају своје народно биће. А тако исто захтева Скупштина ова, да се оним Србима, Буњевцима и Шокцима, који и даље остају изван наших граница у другим државама, обезбеди правом заштите мањине њихов народни опстанак и развитак као право, да се ти Срби од српске државе могу слободно културно и економски потпомагати и уопће се строго држати начина узајамности (реципроцитета). Ово важи нарочито за Србе у Будимској Епархији и за Буњевце и Шокце изван граница наше државе, који ће остати изван оквира српске земље, и којима се има обезбедити потребан део народно-црквеног иметка, односно прихода досадашње Карловачке Митрополије.” На крају записника, председник Јован Храниловић поздравља Скупштину и захваљује јој се на „узорном реду и мирном раду”, поздравља „сав народ наш: Србе, Хрвате, Словенце, Буњевце, Словаке, Шокце и Русе са узвиком: „Нека Бог благослови дело наше!“ И завршава Скупштину. Скупштина се разилази уз певање песме „Орао кликће са висине“ са рефреном: „Ми смо с тобом Петре Карађорђевићу”<sup>10</sup>.

Истакнуто је, између осталог, да сваки грађанин има неоспорно право да на свом матерњем језику општи са свима властима. Из записника видимо да је намера Скупштине била да се постигне и одржи укупан национални, професионални, културолошки и сваки други склад заједничког живота у Војводини. Буњевци и Буњевке имали су за циљ да очувају своју културу, обичаје и језик.<sup>11</sup> Дан Велике народне скупштине славе, стога, као празник своје државотворности и идентитета.

Избор седам жена, између осталих и Манде Сударевић, за делегате и народне представнике зарад прокламовања активног и пасивног бирачког права жена, показује да је Српски народни одбор у Новом Саду био испред свога времена.<sup>12</sup> Право гласа које им је дато на Великој народној скупштини

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<sup>9</sup> Познато је да су касније одушевљено дочекани у српској престоници, истакавши заједно са Николом Пашићем: „Бићемо једни, своји, нераздвајни”.

<sup>10</sup> Записници, прир. Љ.Дожић, 231–238.

<sup>11</sup> У средњим школама буњевачки се данас учи као изборни предмет. Однос и поштовање према Буњевцима огледа се кроз подршку буњевачкој култури и образовању, са намером да им се одужи за заједништво и свесрдну подршку у интегрисању ових простора у оквиру државе Србије. Израз значаја и равноправности Буњеваца јесте одлука да буњевачки буде и један од четири званична, службена језика Града Суботице, чиме се још чувају тековине Велике народне скупштине.

<sup>12</sup> З. ВЕЉАНОВИЋ, *Корак ка народној и родној еманципацији, Жене у парламентарном животићу Војводине: други век*, 2. измењено и допуњено издање, Покрајински заштитник

било је само привремено. Након тог историјског догађаја, право да равноправно учествују у политичком животу жене у Србији имају тек од 1945. године.

### 3. Удружења и добротворни рад Манде Сударевић

Имајући у виду да су пре 1918. године женске организације широм света, као и код нас, биле засноване на верској припадности, односно националној основи, Суботичанка Манда Сударевић је по свом деловању излазила из тадашњих традиционалних оквира. У архивској грађи Архива Војводине налазимо документа која описују нека од женских удружења са подручја Војводине, у местима као што су: Ада<sup>13</sup>, Турија<sup>14</sup> и сл. „Премда су и ранијих година постојале женске, хуманитарне, верске, просветарске и професионалне организације, са изразитим поделама на верској и националној основи<sup>15</sup>, при чему су неке од тих организација и садржавале понеку од феминистичких идеја, она је остајала у другом плану или је потпуно занемарена”, констатује ауторка Божиновић.<sup>16</sup>

Као и друге истакнуте суграђанке Буњевке попут Маре Малагурски Ђорђевић, Кате Прћић, Катице Рајчић и др<sup>17</sup>, Манда Сударевић се није заустављала на уобичајеним деловањима женских удружења. Њихов допринос, иако у позадини неких историјских превирања и догађаја, представља изразито важан део борбе за остваривање права жена. Тако је, на пример, упамћено да је у Суботици, био велики број оболелих српских војника који

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грађана – омбудсман, Нови Сад 2022, 20–30. Ђ. ВУКМИРОВИЋ, <https://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/reportaze/aktuelno.409.html:466335-Dok-su-Engleskinje-sanjale-Sedam-vojvodjanskih-dama-stvarale-istoriju-Srbije>. Ј. СИМИЋ, Седам дама Велике народне скупштине <http://www.kcns.org.rs/agora/sedam-dama-velike-narodne-skupštine>, (приступљено 01. 10. 2018).

<sup>13</sup> Ф. 126 13630/ 38.

<sup>14</sup> Ф. 126 40450/ 38.

<sup>15</sup> С. МАРКОВИЋ, *Буњевци у процеси стварања националној идентитету*, Центар за културу Буњеваца, Буњевачки едукативни и истраживачки центар „Амброзије Шарчевић“, Суботица 2021.

<sup>16</sup> Види у: Н. БОЖИНОВИЋ, *Женско кретање у Србији у XIX и XX веку*, Београд 1996.

<sup>17</sup> С. ИРШЕВИЋ, Посланице Велике народне скупштине из Суботице, <https://www.bunjevacka-matica.rs/vist/poslanice-velike-narodne-skupstine-iz-subatice/> (приступљено 01. 10. 2018); С. ИРШЕВИЋ, Манда Сударевић, зачетница женског покрета у Суботици, *Екофеминизам* (17. септембар 2018) <http://www.ecofeminizam.com/2018/09/17/manda-sudarevic-zacetnica-zenskog-pokreta-u-subotici/> (приступљено 01. 10. 2018); С. ИРШЕВИЋ, Жене које су се избориле да буду део Велике народне скупштине, *Дневник* (23. 11. 2017) <http://naslovi.net/2017-11-23/dnevnik/zene-koje-su-se-izborile-da-budu-deo-velike-narodne-skupstine-1918/20787619>, (приступљено 01. 10. 2018).

су 13. новембра 1918. године дошли и Суботичанима донели слободу. Председница Добротворне задруге Српкиња, Мица Радић, покренула је велику акцију помоћи војницима, у коју се Манда Сударевић свесрдно укључила. Уређена је болница са 200 кревета и другим неопходним садржајима. Чланице одбора биле су Буњевке Манда Сударевић, Ката Прћић<sup>18</sup> и др.

Као председница Женског покрета и кључна особа у Добротворној задрузи Буњевака, својим хуманитарним радом Сударевић је дала велики допринос заједници. О начину организовања и деловању женских буњевачких удружења у којима је свесрдно учествовала податке сазнајемо из архивске грађе.

У Архиву Војводине, у оквиру фонда Ф. 126 Краљевска банска управа Дунавске бановине, II Управно одељење, Нови Сад (1929–1941), 1929–1941, налазимо документа *Правила Добротворне заједнице Буњевака*<sup>19</sup> (у даљем тексту: Заједница), у Суботици 1919. године. Та архивска грађа, која до сада није објављивана, пружа нам драгоцене информације о томе како су се у периоду интензивне борбе за еманципацију жена формирала њихова удружења и на који начин су била уређена. У време када су се путем различитих друштава (просветних, певачких и добротворних) жене окупљале ради остварења заједничких циљева, настало је и удружење Буњевки, чију ћемо организацију детаљно представити.

Заједница је основана 1919. године у Суботици, а настала је са циљем да „материјално потпомаже сироте и настрадале, женску радиност, шири народну просвету у духу хришћанском и стара се за мистну буњевштину, нарочито женску младеж која школе похађају и искорењује мане и зле обичаје у народу”. Користила је печат са називом, сликом Богородице и годином настанка, при чему се наводи да је „под заштитом Мале Госпе Св. Богородице“. Пословни језик је био буњевачки, а користио се и српскохрватски.

С обзиром на то да је у питању добротворна заједница, детаљно су описана и строго утврђена правила о приходима и средствима којима је располагала. Извори прихода били су различити: чланарине, приходи од забава, добровољни прилози, оставштине. Тако је, на пример, одређено да се за остваривање циљева Заједнице користи три четвртине годишњег дохотка,

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<sup>18</sup> У бр. 125. листа *Невен* на стр. 2, у тексту: „Основан је женски покрет у Суботици” говори се о стварању женског удружења чија је председница била Манда Сударевић. Премда Ката Прћић није била међу посланицама 25. новембра 1918. године, са својим суграђанкама се борила да се Суботица ослободи притисака којима је била изложена, те да се омогући свима, па и ондашњим Буњевцима, да причају својим језиком.

<sup>19</sup> Ф. 126 II 86272/ 38.

док су се преостала средства, оставштине и уплате оснивача прикључивале главници. Годишња помоћ једној особи или прилог за неку добротворну сврху били су ограничени на износ до 200 круна.

Чланови Заједнице су били: оснивачи, редовне чланице, прилагачи и почасни чланови. Оснивачи су могли бити Буњевке или Буњевци католичке вере, који су за учлањење морали да уплате 200 круна. Редовна чланица је могла да буде свака Буњевка католичке вере која годишње плаћа 20 круна чланарине, док је почасне чланове бирала Скупштина. На заседањима Скупштине, оснивачи и редовне чланице су се саветовали и доносили одлуке, и само су они могли бити изабрани у Управни и Надзорни одбор. Уколико би неко од чланова изоставио да уплати своју чланарину, губио је сва права док не измири своје обавезе. За почасне чланове бирани су истакнути грађани из буњевачке заједнице, за које се сматрало да имају нарочите заслуге, и то скупштинском већином од две трећине чланова. Само уз одобрење високе Краљевске Владе СХС у Београду, за члана је могао бити одабран и појединац из неке стране државе.

О пријему у чланство одлучивали су Управни одбор и Скупштина без расправе, тајним гласањем. Чланство у заједници могло је престати смрћу, иступањем, сеобом из места и искључењем. Редовне чланице и прилагачи су били дужни да сваку промену пријаве Управном одбору, најкасније недељу дана пред јесењу скупштину. Скупштина је имала овлашћење да појединца искључи из заједнице, већином од три четвртине чланова, уколико би радио супротно интересима заједнице или због злочина био правоснажно осуђен.

Органи Заједнице били су: Скупштина, Управни одбор, Саветодавни одбор и Надзорни одбор. Скупштина се састајала на редовној седници два пута годишње, у пролеће и јесен, а ванредна седница се могла организовати одлуком Управног одбора и на писмени захтев десет чланова. За одржавање скупштинске седнице било је потребно да бар трећина чланова буде присутна, иначе се сазивала најкасније у року од 14 дана и одржавала без обзира на број присутних, по првоутврђеном реду. Њен делокруг је био да узима у претрес извештај управног одбора о годишњем раду заједнице; бира на пролећној редовној седници тајним гласањем управни и надзорни одбор и „часнике“; утврђује на јесењој редовној седници прорачун за идућу годину, а на пролећној одобрава закључне рачуне; претреса предлоге управног одбора као и пријаве прилога чланова које подносе Председништву пре отварања скупштинске седнице; издаје у оквиру прорачуна примерним ученицама новчане помоћи; приређује годишњу велику забаву; бира почасне чланове; решава поднесене захтеве; искључује чланове из Заједни-

це; решава о изменама правила Заједнице и о њеном престанку. Скупштина је о свему одлучивала јавним гласањем, апсолутном већином присутних чланова, а изузетак су биле нарочите одредбе, када пет чланова захтева да гласање буде тајно. О скупштинском раду водио се записник, а оверавали су га председница, тајник и три члана које је бирала скупштина.

Управни одбор су чинили управник, председница, две потпредседнице, тајник и тајница, благајник и 20 чланова скупштине, који су изабрани на три године. Сваке године иступала је трећина бираних чланова, а по избору прве две трећине. Управни одбор се састајао редовно прве недеље сваког месеца, а по потреби и више пута када то председница, шест одборских чланова или Надзорни одбор затраже. Да би се доносиле одлуке, потребно је било присуство, осим председнице, најмање шест одборских чланова. Делокруг Управног одбора био је да спроводи закључке скупштине, поднесе извештај о раду Заједнице, припрема за Скупштину предлоге и прорачун, прегледа завршне рачуне и подноси их Скупштини, издаје у оквиру прорачуна милостиње, прима чланове, приређује мање забаве у добротворне сврхе. Управни одбор је за свој рад одговарао Скупштини.

Саветодавни одбор Заједнице чинили су управник, председница, две потпредседнице, тајник, благајник и књижничарка, а њих је скупштина бирала на три године.

Управник је био духовни вођа заједнице, задужен да друштву даје „добре савете и упуте“, те да води рачуна о томе да се за чланове Заједнице повремено одрже поучна предавања, представе, певања. На седницама је имао право саветовања. Председница је заступала заједницу, потписивала списе задруге и чувала задружни печат, сазивала је седнице и скупштину писмено, тако да буде назначен дневни ред, осам дана унапред, а Управни одбор бар 24 сата раније. председавала је на скупштинама, објављивала дневни ред и гласала само када је при једнакој деоби гласова својим гласом требало да одлучи. Имала је задужење да изјављује закључке и да одобрава мимо прорачуна исплате благајне до 20 круна. То је било строго утврђено, па је тако била дужна да све пријави на наредној одборној седници, с тим што се на такав начин није смело исплатити више од 100 круна годишње. Две потпредседнице су имале задужење да наизменично, по потреби, у свему замене председницу. Тајник је обављао тзв. писмене послове, извештавао на одборским и скупштинским седницама и чувао све задружне списе. Благајник је управљао благајном под надзором Управног и Надзорног одбора, те исплаћивао издатке по упутству председнице. Водио је дневник и главну књигу, састављао завршне рачуне и нацрт за прорачун, улагао нов-

чани иметак у штедионицу коју му је скупштина одређивала, а код себе је могао имати само 50 круна. Ако су тајник и благајник ван Заједнице почасни чланови, прилагачи или мушкарци, у седницама су имали искључиво право саветовања. Књижничарка је водила рачуна о библиотеци друштва, уводила нове књиге у регистар те издавала чланицама публикације за читање. На скупштини је предавала извештај о стању књижнице и о томе колико је чланица током године користило књиге.

Надзорни одбор се састојао из шест чланова, које је бирала Скупштина на три године. Ти чланови нису били у Управном одбору. Прегледао је завршне рачуне и свака три месеца благајну, а затим је о томе подносио свој извештај Управном одбору. Заједнички се јемчило за сваку штету коју претрпи Заједница услед његове кривице.

О измени свих правила и престанку рада Заједнице решавала је Скупштина, сазвана ради тога по претходном скупштинском закључку. Одлучивале су две трећине присутних, а за проглашавање нових правила била је довољна проста већина гласова. За одлуку којом се изриче престанак Заједнице, морале су гласати три четвртине свих чланова. Свака измена ових правила, као и одлука о престанку заједнице, пре извршења подносила се Високом краљевском министарству СХС. По престанку заједнице, било је предвиђено да римокатоличка Жупа Цркве Свете Терезије у Суботици располаже њеном имовином. Уколико се у месту временом оснује нова добротворна задруга Буњевака, Жупа Св. Терезије предала би јој ту имовину на руковање. Новооснована заједница би у случају престанка са радом иметак у целости предавала Цркви Св. Терезије.

Поштовање правила Заједнице, као и земаљских закона Краљевине Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца, пратила је тзв. Висока краљевска влада, која би у супротном њен рад обуставила, те према исходу истраге Заједницу коначно разрешила или под претњом распуштања захтевала да се најстроже придржава наведених правила. Документ којим се уређује рад Заједнице настао је у Суботици 16. фебруара 1919, а одобрио га је министар унутрашњих дела у Београду, 27. априла 1919. године. На основу наведених упутстава, јасно можемо сагледати делокруг Заједнице, те видове друштвеног ангажовања жена које су биле њен део, попут Манде Сударевић као истакнуте чланице и Кате Прћић која је обављала функцију председнице удружења.

#### 4. Закључне напомене

У контексту приче о Манди Сударевић, продорној жени са простора Војводине, указали смо на друштвено деловање Буњевки и политичку ангажованост истакнутих припадница те заједнице у првој половини 20. века, што у тим турбулентним временима представља важан део борбе за права жена. „Било је женских удружења која су се бавила хуманитарним радом, која су приређивала неке манифестације, али овакви појединачни наступи, у којима је почела да учествује и Манда Сударевић су били незамисливи. То су године које стављају пред друштвену сцену и женско питање”, објашњава историчар Мирко Грлица<sup>20</sup>. Интересантан је податак да је заједно са Маром Малагурски Ђорђевић, која је стварала добре односе са тадашњим двором, Манда Сударевић 1934. године била на аудијенцији код краљице Марије Карађорђевић.<sup>21</sup> Том приликом су краљици уручени пригодни поклони – рукотворине које осликавају буњевачку традицију и културу. С обзиром на то да је сусрет био веома срдчан, Суботичанке су приредиле још један поклон – буњевачке ношње израђене за владарку, о чему сведоче фотографије краљице у буњевачкој ношњи.<sup>22</sup> Кроз деловање својих удружења и активно учешће у друштвеном и политичком животу, Буњевке су носиле европски дух и поставиле темеље родној равноправности. Према да су имале кључну улогу у обликовању друштвених вредности, те доприносиле развоју буњевачке, али и шире заједнице, сматрамо да су остале у сенци историјских збивања, те се стога о њима недовољно говори. У том смислу истичемо значај архивске грађе из Архива Војводине коју смо овом приликом презентовали, са циљем да буду брана забораву и укажу на допринос који је, између осталих, пружила Манда Сударевић.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Види: К. ТАКАЧ, [https://rtv.rs/sr\\_lat/1918-ponos/serijal-rtv-prisajedinjenje-1918-2018-svedoci-istorije-vranje-i-manda-sudarevic\\_964301.html](https://rtv.rs/sr_lat/1918-ponos/serijal-rtv-prisajedinjenje-1918-2018-svedoci-istorije-vranje-i-manda-sudarevic_964301.html)

<sup>21</sup> В. КОРПОНАИЋ, Мара Ђорђевић Малагурски, Буњевачка ношња на краљевском двору, *Руковети* 7–8 (2009), 17.

<sup>22</sup> Ј. ШОКЧИЋ наводи да је: „Њено Величанство Краљица Марија примила на аудијенцију у Двору две Суботичанке: г-ђу Мару Ђорђевић-Малагурски и Манду дра В. Сударевића. Том приликом, Мара Ђорђевић је поклонила Краљици албум војвођанских народних ношњи. Краљица је пажљиво погледала леп албум и читав сат је разговарала са Буњевкама. На крају аудијенције Буњевке су тражиле дозволу од краљице да јој поклоне буњевачку народну ношњу”. Ј. ШОКЧИЋ, *Суботица пре и после ослобођења, Прилози за историју Суботице*, Суботица 1934.

<sup>23</sup> Магдалена Манда Сударевић преминула је 1977. године и почива на Бајском гробљу у Суботици, у истој гробници где је њен супруг Врање Сударевић сахрањен 1924. године.

**Magdalena Manda Sudarević in the Parliamentary and Social Life  
of Vojvodina**  
(Summary)

Magdalena Manda Sudarević was one of the seven female delegates at the Great People's Assembly of Serbs, Bunjevci and other Slavs in Banat, Bačka and Baranja, which was held in Novi Sad on November 25, 1918. She took part in the Great People's Assembly as an elected delegate together with two other Bunjevci women, when the fate of this region was being decided on. Based on various sources, selected literature and archival records deposited in the Archives of Vojvodina, we present herein the work of Manda Sudarević, highlighting her significant contribution to the efforts on the part of women to participate in the political life of our country, and as a member of the Bunjevci community to pursue her people's objectives. We describe the document "Pravila Dobrotvorne zajednice Bunjevaka" ("Rules of the Bunjevci Women's Charitable Society") dating from 1919, which has hitherto not been published, in order to shed light on the women's associations she was an active member of.

**Keywords:** Manda Sudarević, Bunjevci women, Great People's Assembly, women's associations, Subotica.

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## **Construction of Memory in (Post-)Yugoslav Context: Narratives of Power in the Conceptualization of Divna Zečević's Work**

**Abstract:** Personal fonds constitute a contradiction, and a tension in relation to the community archive building. We argue that community archiving does not necessarily capture the economic, and social complexities of minoritized lives, and archiving needs of their environments. The paper analyzes the production of interethnic relations, and memory within the Archives of Serbs in Croatia, using Foucauldian critique of power and knowledge in archival practices. A case study of the Divna Zečević fond serves as a focal point for this exploration. We examine how gender, class, and ethnicity shape resource distribution within archival systems, and advocate for queer feminist and post-custodial archival approaches, promoting collaborative, experience-centered frameworks that empower minority communities to control their narratives. Finally, we introduce the model of relational archive that could (re)open conversations, and discussions crucial to learning, and organizing against social injustices.

**Keywords:** Divna Zečević, personal fonds, community archive, relational archival practices.

### **Introduction**

The Divna Zečević Fonds is part of her legacy as an ethnographer, poet, and literary historian, encompassing 11 boxes containing articles, reviews, studies, poems, essays, correspondence, and documents that accompany her work in recording oral literature in Banija, Lika, and other today economically disregarded and devastated areas. At her request, the materials were posthumously submitted to the Archives by her husband and daughter. They were initially stored in 15 boxes, arranged with a basic inventory list that was not complete, with the disposition of copies in the archival review. The remainder of Divna's manuscripts and field research is preserved in the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies in Zagreb, where she worked since 1966. She began writing her diary in 1961, while still employed at the Museum of Serbs in Croatia, with diary fragments and texts

which further illuminate her work also stored in the Archives, continuing until 2006. The structuring of material in the Archives of Serbs in Croatia (ASH – *Arhiv Srba u Hrvatskoj*) is organized according to the relevance of the work of organizations and individuals for the Serb minority in Croatia, reflecting the ways in which the institutional context that seeks to capture minority experiences understands interethnic relations and the needs of the people it should represent. Divna Zečević is a rare woman whose materials are preserved on the archival shelves (and constitute the first personal fonds in the ASH, as noted by the accession number ASH-3.2.1.), alongside names such as Slavko Goldstein, Milojko Vucelić, and Vojin Bakić, indicating that the lives and contributions of women in minority contexts remain predominantly neglected and invisible.

The organization of materials based on the documentation of the work of “deserving individuals” in science, art, and politics does not offer a representative cross-section of the Serb population in Croatia, which is mainly concentrated in sparsely populated rural areas, affected by the 1990s war, resource scarcity, as well as the 2020 earthquake in Banija. However, “personal fonds” reveal aspects of life in these environments and trace the ways ethnicity shapes everyday life. This paper examines the possibilities of building a grassroots community archive, which would capture gendered, and ethnicized negotiations of “the community”, its borders, meanings, and implications. We do this by recognizing that the capitalist nation-state manages the population by managing the construction of history, that institutionalized minority context struggles to resist by collecting unwanted, discarded pieces, and seeing how human life grapples with contradictions, and tensions imposed upon it. Zečević’s ethnographic contributions, amidst other turmoils that stretch across the boxes, offers a unique glimpse into these relations, situated in self-reflection, and field work.

### **Critical feminist archival studies**

Gender, race, ethnicity, and class do not constitute separate, and mutually reductive structures; class is a position one occupies in the capitalist system of production, while gender, race, and ethnicity are regimes of oppression integrated, and employed in the capitalist exploitation, enabling the differentiation, regulation, and discipline of the workforce.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. ARRUZZA, Remarks on Gender, *Viewpoint Magazine*, 2014. <https://viewpointmag.com/2014/09/02/remarks-on-gender/> (cons. October 24, 2024); L. VOGEL, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women*, New Jersey 1983, 23; A. DAVIS, *Women, Race, and Class*, New York 1981, 167–200.

But as Oksala states<sup>2</sup>, even though oppression in an exploitative economic relations should form a complex, textured analytical lens, it is important not to lose from sight that feminist, anticolonial/critical race, and Marxist theory developed unevenly, sometimes in dissonance, sometimes atuning with each other. This means that there are not only tensions, and hierarchies generated in observed structural relations, but in the ways they were historically approached and theorized in social sciences and humanities, with archival studies not being an exception.

Critical feminist archival theory, as a branch of the critical discourse studies, requires careful examination of the role of (institutionalized) archival work in collecting, organizing, interpreting, and communicating the material designated for preservation. It posits that there is no such thing as neutral, disinterested archival practices, because whenever social actors engage with them, they do so to arrange, and to intervene in the symbolic realities that they address. The struggle for social justice unfolds within language, where power is marked, contested, and redefined, concentrating through diverse linguistic constructions that allow researchers to trace shifts in the social structures embedded in language.<sup>3</sup> The task of the critical feminist archival theory is to uncover, and make transparent the distribution, and struggles for power, as well as injuries sustained by the marginalized people, embracing the responsibility for supporting the creation of less violent, and more just societies.<sup>4</sup> In the multimodal approach to analysis in critical feminist studies, *text* is an ever changing process, adjusting to the conditions of production, and consumption of meaning. It does not need to appear in the attire of spoken or written linguistic forms. The texts are also visuals (postcards, photographs), audio recordings, and other artifacts found in the possession of the archive<sup>5</sup>, weaving the symbolic fabric in which societal relations become observable. *Intertextuality* underlines that texts are not closed, singular entities, in their references to other texts in citation, paraphrases, argumentation, bibliographies, and in building on the ideas previously elaborated elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> The shared, recur-

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<sup>2</sup> J. OKSALA, Capitalism and Gender Oppression: Remarks on Cinzia Aruzza's "Remarks on Gender", *Viewpoint Magazine* (2015); <https://viewpointmag.com/2015/05/04/capitalism-and-gender-oppression-remarks-on-cinzia-aruzzas-remarks-on-gender/> (cons. October 24, 2024).

<sup>3</sup> M. FOUCAULT, *Riječi i stvari: Arheologija humanističkih znanosti*, Zagreb 2002, 19–46.

<sup>4</sup> J. BLOMMAERT – C. BULCAEN, Critical Discourse Analysis, *Annual Reviews Publishers* 29 (2000), 447–466, p. 448; N. FAIRCLOUGH, *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge 1993, 62–101; M. CIFOR – S. WOOD, Critical Feminism in the Archives, *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies*, eds. M. CASWELL – R. PUNZALAN – T. SANGWAND, 2017, vol. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2, 1–27, p. 3–7.

<sup>5</sup> T. V. LEEUWEN, Multimodality, Genre, and Design, *Discourse in Action* (2005), 73–93, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> M. FOUCAULT, *Riječi i stvari: Arheologija humanističkih znanosti*, 45.

rent characteristics of analyzed texts lead to patterns that elucidate the *discursive order* governing their organization. Discursive order imposes what and in what circumstances can something or cannot be *true*.<sup>7</sup> The certainty of truth is questioned in the queer feminist perspective, more interested in the forces, and mechanisms that produce, and support certain kinds of interpretation of gender, and ethnicity in contrast to other possible interpretations.

Pad.ma collective's *Ten theses on archives*<sup>8</sup> call for radical reimagination of archives, as "a set of shared curiosities, a local politics, or epistemological adventure", which is oriented outwards, to social movements, researchers, and activists, in making available experiences, insights, and tools for resistance, and reconceptualization of everyday life. These archives would be less bothered with the interests of capitalist nation states (legality, or authorship), and more concerned with recognizing the efforts of strengthening the common causes; solidarities in addressing poverty, violence, and administrative borders.

*Community archives* emerged in the literature as one possible articulation of these attempts, but they are also becoming increasingly institutionalized, encompassing human rights, and cultural organizations. The ASH is no exception; as a part of a minority organisation, the Serb National Council (SNC/SNV – *Srpsko narodno vijeće*) in Zagreb, it negotiates the structure and function of the archives in the context of institution. Still, it preserves professional autonomy inside the SNC, with the archival committee that considers, discusses, and decides how the Archives should be conceptualized and organized. The ASH is a part of the Initiative of Community Archives, and Libraries in Croatia, disturbing the ascribed forms of knowledge production to different degrees, but still financially and administratively disciplined to stay inside of them. "Civic engagement", whose rules, and constraints are defined, and monitored to prevent the possibility of a movement, and a more radical examination of social conditions. "Civic engagement" is encouraged, and achieved through representation, where these formalized associations are expected to speak on the behalf of a certain group, which does not exist *a priori*, before it enters the language. It is in discourse that our experiences, and needs become the subject of political struggle.<sup>9</sup> Transformative understanding of the archives would necessitate disrupting the homogenizing nature of representation, its quest to create "the community". "The community" conceals the ideological complexities in which injustices are

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<sup>7</sup> M. FOUCAULT, *The Order of Discourse*, *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. ROBERT YOUNG, 1981, 48–79.

<sup>8</sup> <https://pad.ma/documents/OH> (cons. 1<sup>st</sup> of November, 2021).

<sup>9</sup> M. FOUCAULT, *The Order of Discourse*, 48–79; N. FAIRCLOUGH, *Discourse and Social Change*, 36.

perpetrated, and justified, naturalizing the ways people have survived as “culture”, and “customs” that need to be archived, their political horizons as “beliefs”, and experiences, fears, and anticipations they shared with each other as “aesthetics”. It is why, as argued in this paper, the other kind of approach needs to be reinvented, which can take on the messiness of stories, simultaneity, and contradictions in historical change that impact our understanding of the world differently, depending where we are directed to in the hegemonic order produced in some microcontext.

### **Relational archiving in integrative critical theory**

Knowledge in traditional archival practices is rarely questioned. It is perceived as something in the wild that enters the archives, which archival practices make *visible*, as the imperative of representation requires coherence, intelligibility of the marginalized voices. In the archiving of migration, in documentation of violence of the police against racialized people, activists are mindful of possible dangers of visibility; knowing how people transgress borders, or how they solidarize with each other, can bring those most vulnerable again in the conflict with the carceral system. On the contrary, it is about archiving how the carceral system puts people in the position that they need to find alternative options to remain alive.

The Artıkışler collective in Turkey established bak.ma archive<sup>10</sup>, which consists of video material from Gezi Park upheaval in 2013, saying: “To understand Gezi, it is important to make connections between current social movements and the memory of organized or a non-organized rights movement (...) This will bring different marginalized narratives into the spotlight within the historical narrative and find parallels between social movements. That is to say, we believe that it is important to create relational memory”. Building on that idea, in this paper, we abandon the concept of the community archives, suggesting rather the transition to the construction of *relational archives*. That would mean that knowledge is not seen as something benign, or created in a vacuum, but something that emerges from the various aspects of lived experience in the tension created between the everyday struggles and the structure that produce them.

In the adoption of an integrated framework of analysis, which does not lose sight of economic exploitation, and interests of political elites in maintaining the fertile ground for gendered, ethnicized violence, relational archiving practices

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<sup>10</sup> Bak.ma: Digital Media Archive of Political Movements. <https://memorializeturkey.com/en/memorial/bakma> (cons. 1<sup>st</sup> of November, 2024).

explore the possibilities of bringing in the conversation different fragments of archival material – with each other, and with the context that produces them, in which they are resignified, saturated with different meanings, that are challenged, and reworked in each exchange. The queer feminist approach encourages reflection on the power dynamics within archival practices, ensuring that the archives is politicized towards attaining social justice.<sup>11</sup> In rethinking Divna Zečević fonds, queer feminist archival methodology challenges traditional archival practices by treating records of lives in flux, constantly evolving rather than being fixed in time.

The relational archives is maybe the closest to “the law of good neighbor”, introduced in the library of Warburg Institute in Hamburg<sup>12</sup>, where works were not classified chronologically, or alphabetically, but as de la Durantaye’s described it in the anecdote of the Agamben’s 1974 visit to the library<sup>13</sup>, “according to their ability to engage with the books on either side of them. A line of speculation opened in one volume was attested to or attacked, continued, or contradicted, refined or refuted in its neighbor. Each book was to answer or ask a question of the one next to it”. Such a library becomes condensed, involuted threads of insights, challenging the assumed continuities, and singularities embedded in naming, categorizing, amalgamating, and separating that occurs within language—not only at the levels of morphology and syntax, but also within the intertextual and interdiscursive networks that shape meaning. Ernst Cassirer described the Warburg collection at one point as “a dangerous library, (that he) shall either have to avoid it altogether or imprison (himself there) for years”.<sup>14</sup>

In the physical space, the librarians are the ones constructing this fragile epistemic constellation, but digital spaces offer the proliferation of conversation into (at least theoretically) endless universes of thought, that would be pulled from the hands of one specialized profession. This technologically supported web would be accessible to anybody online, with the possibility of creating intra-networks, that could be restricted to certain users (to protect people from the criminalisation of solidarity, and other oppressive capitalist state mechanisms). Relational archives would commit to engaging volunteers, and anybody passionate or interested, with the support, and guidance of the librarian / archivist, to contribute in stretching these interactions in different directions. Relational archives

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<sup>11</sup> M. CIFOR – S. WOOD, *Critical Feminism in the Archives*, 19.

<sup>12</sup> M. P. STEINBERG, *The Law of the Good Neighbour*, *Common Knowledge* 18/1 (2012), 128–133, p. 130.

<sup>13</sup> L. de la DURANTAYE, *Giorgio Agamben: A Critical Introduction*, California 2009, 16.

<sup>14</sup> M. WIMMER, *The Afterlives of Scholarship: Warburg and Cassirer*, *History of Humanities* 2/1 (2017), 245–270, p. 253.

also require the constant examination of these kinships in regard to the context in which they are formed. This means that archival descriptions, and notes would have to expand to the interpretation of the implications of these kinships to everyday life, and the obstacles, and uncertainties people face.

### Analysis

In May 1993, Zečević prepared a list of proposed activities for the newly established Center for the History and Culture of Serbs in Croatia (*Centar za istoriju i kulturu Srba u Hrvatskoj*), as part of SKD Prosvjeta's efforts to gather researchers in academic positions related to the minority context. [SKD = *Srpsko kulturno društvo*, i.e. Serbian Cultural Society.] The national states formed in the destruction of SFR Yugoslavia negotiated and imposed boundaries not only on territory but also over human bodies, which were pressured to articulate their needs and experiences in essentialized, binary categories of "Serbness" and "Croatness." In the ambivalences and ambiguities that intersected "Yugoslavism" or the newly created minority position of the Serbs in Croatia, and the Croats in Serbia, violence was particularly sharpened to either sanction non-conformity or socialize people into a specific group<sup>15</sup>. Resistance to these simplified and damaging narratives was expressed either through opposition to prescribed categories, refusing to conform to any one of them, or through the adoption of precisely those categories through which injuries were inflicted in a specific context, opposing the ideological power inscribed in the dominant polarity. Zečević interprets her experience through the designation "Serb woman in Croatia," as the pressure on her existence, and generational history became increasingly pronounced. In archival files, minutes from the meetings of the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore reveal the difficulties she faced in the communication with her colleagues in 1982, and 1983, that she accused of nationalism, which are also supported by the frustration she articulated in her diaries:

"I live in the shadow of my epigastric hernia, or tumor, and that contributes to people thinking about my 'cancer' and the possible – demise! However, I have worked enough for a new academic title. Everything I get, I get based on my work, but it's accompanied by a lot of damn envious eyes!"<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> M. DRAGOJEVIĆ, *Ammoral Communities: Collective Crimes in Times of War*, New York 2019, 55–77.

<sup>16</sup> D. ZEČEVIĆ, *Život kao voda hlapi: Izbor iz dnevnika 1961–2006*, Zagreb 2017, diary entry on 3rd of April 1984, 335.

Her unease with the ethnic stratification of public communication in the 1970s, and 1980s became persistent in her writings in the aftermath of the Croatian Spring (MASPOK) (1967–1971), during which Croatian nationalists in Yugoslavia protested what they perceived as unequal economic, and cultural backing from the federal government in the endeavors of republics. Archival documents trace her rediscovery of this part of her family history to ideological turmoils, not only in the parliament, and media, but in her own working environment, and interpersonal interactions. As a progression towards the years she suffered the most discomfort in the conversations on ethnicity, the tension can already be found in earlier marginalia, e.g. in a letter from 1955, addressed to her family in Osijek, in which she describes an incident with a certain Mr. Tomašković, who reacted negatively to the Serbs in Croatia, not knowing her background:

“Mr. Tomašković is a terrible chauvinist. He thinks I am a Croat, so he says he doesn't like to hear Serbian expressions in his house; towel (*peškir*), trousers (*čakšire*), belt (*kajiš*). He says, ‘If we are to be Croats, then we will be Croats.’ I think he won't emphasize that too often – otherwise, I'll get into an argument. For now, he can say whatever he wants. I won't pay attention to it.”<sup>17</sup>

Assumptions about her identity, almost conspiratory context in which ‘the Other’ is excluded, made her rebellious inclinations (“Otherwise, I'll get into an argument”) to find comfort in accentuation of that otherness. “If we are to be Croats...” carries an illocutionary force in performing ethnicity, almost like a magical formula at the beginning of the fairy tales (“Once upon a time...”). “If we are Croats...” (or literally, “*when* we are Croats”) implies there is a possible realm of not being ethnicized, that there are conditions in which “Croatness” arises. The conditional phrase should limit the mode of existing inside ethnicized borders, with difficulty of being anything other than what is proscribed as an endangerment of her very personhood. Tomašković's protest against “Serbian expressions” was a form of erasure of her linguistic, and family history, which cut deeply in her sense of self. As evidenced by her diaries, articles, and personal notes, this defiance to nationhood, and ethnic assimilation as its sprout, bloomed from the 1950s onwards. The violence she encountered prompted her need to shelter herself inside this often abandoned, and suppressed residue of being on “the wrong side of the territorial border”, as illustrated by the diary entry from 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1962:

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<sup>17</sup> ASH-3.2.1., inventory number 71.

“[Fedor] Moačanin<sup>18</sup> said that we will organize an exhibition in the fall to celebrate Matrix Croatica (*Matica hrvatska*). We need to gather: Serbs who have contributed to the work of Matrix Croatica. Such foolishness! The Serbs who live and work in Croatia – who were born and schooled here want to separate themselves as a national minority!”<sup>19</sup>

To understand Zečević’s “personal fonds”, her thoughts, and existential restlessness must be contextualized in the collective traumas, and conflicts generated through the division of land, and resources, as well as symbolic capital that was supposed to support that separation – distinctions in language, culture, religion in the production of “ethnicity”, “nationhood”, and “national minorities”. As an ethnologist, she conducted research in Slavonija, and Banija, formulating her insights in notes, and papers on oral literature, where she observed how the idea of “tradition”, “national folklore” came to be, and tried to reconstruct the commonness:

“Oral literary currents spread in Banija linguistically unhindered among both the Croat and Serb populations, which shared some customs and beliefs that earlier researchers referred to as “superstitions.” It is precisely these oral literary currents – songs and storytelling – that point to the kinship of living together in the same historical circumstances.”<sup>20</sup>

Her refusal to be reduced to “a national minority”, torn from the general sense of belonging was less a search for connection, or collective, but more a defiance against being forgotten, or excluded in the institutional, academic pursuits. Other people represent “damn envious eyes”<sup>21</sup>, birds of prey that lurk upon her workplace, and honoraries she finds she has deserved with her work in this privileged context. She is not concerned so much with the grandmother in some Banija’s village, or youth that is struggling to find a job because of ethnic, or gender biases, but mostly with the perseverance of her own status, which would align with the liberal “human rights paradigm”, that, instead of emancipation and freedom, is concentrated more on reforming the situation, and reaping the individual benefits.

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<sup>18</sup> **Fedor Moačanin** (1918–1997) was a historian and museologist who worked at the Museum of Serbs in Croatia from 1948 to 1966. He served as the museum’s director from 1962, the year it became part of the Croatian History Museum. **Đivna Zečević** joined the Museum of Serbs in Croatia in 1961 and left at the same time as Moačanin.

<sup>19</sup> D. ZEČEVIĆ, *Život kao voda hlapi*, 53.

<sup>20</sup> ASH-3.2.1., inventory number 40.

<sup>21</sup> D. ZEČEVIĆ, *Život kao voda hlapi*, diary entry of 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1984, 53.



Figure 1: Books requests submitted by Divna Zečević to the National University Library in Zagreb, ASH-3.2.1.

The editor of Zečević’s diaries Marija Ott Franolić told us in an explorative conversation for this paper: “I could understand her, emotionally engage reading her writings, but I do not think we could ever, if we ever met, be friends”. This anti-heroine is not a feminist, or Marxist argumentative example; encountering Zečević in her texts enables us, as the adventurers in relational archiving, to discover different possibilities relating to her thoughts, and experiences. In Ott Franolić’s analysis *Dnevnik usremljen nedostižnom* (*A Diary of the Unattainable*)<sup>22</sup>, Zečević delved into motherhood in a discursive register that abrades the romanticized narratives of childbirth and rearing imposed to women. She fills her pen with frustration, pain, and resentment that are stigmatized in societal pressure for motherhood to be enjoyed, and wanted; as labor women whole-heartedly should embrace. At the same time, there is a question of gener-

<sup>22</sup> M. O. FRANOLIĆ, *Dnevnik usremljen nedostižnom: Svakodnevnica u ženskim zapisima*, Zagreb 2016, 151.

ational and intimate associations between women, and how solidarity is built in the banalities of routines, casual communication, and taking care of each other, where Zečević has a complicated, and sometimes even hurtful relationship with her daughter.

She frequently protested women's status in her era, mostly participating in the debates with her peers, not leaving her comfortable position in the academic structures. There is a typescript "The position of women in regard to understanding of history" (*Pozicija žena u odnosu na poimanje povijesti*) dated to 1965<sup>23</sup>, where she responded to an article by Vera Horvat-Pintarić in *Telegram* critiquing contemporary society that leaves out women's experiences. In the text "An Open Letter on the Proposed Topic" (*Otvoreno pismo na natječajnu temu*)<sup>24</sup>, she debates not only the constructs of motherhood, but also of marriage, where she departs from liberal, careeristic goals towards more liberatory perspective to those looking for a way out, as she was trying to achieve most of her life through writing:

"The entire body of literary production, both global and our own, has arisen and continues to emerge in flight from the family. The family plays, and can only play, a negative role in creative work. Only in schools and educationally oriented magazines does the family become a task to which one must strive."



Figure 2: Newspaper clippings – Zečević's elementary school notebooks, 1950s. ASH-3.2.1. inventory no. 269.

<sup>23</sup> ASH-3.2.1., inventory number 5.

<sup>24</sup> ASH-3.2.1., inventory number 97.

These attempts to escape were in other aspects also daydreams of other men in her life, that were educated, respected, and intellectually engaging, while never acting on the impulse to leave her marriage. She had crushes on her colleagues, mentors, and other prominent male figures in her life, that she describes in detail in the preserved documents. These could only be daydreams because she craved what these men had; the full recognition in their social circles, and ability to dedicate themselves fully to research and writing. She ached to be them, to get rid of the dullness, and monotony of the expectations that her gender forced her into. As in Buñuel's "Exterminating Angel", she is unable to leave a decorated, and full dinner table, to look outside her class conditions, with the hunger to be more, ever more than she already managed to be.

"The institution of marriage is cave-like. (...) Since I entered puberty until today, I believe that one must get nauseated of marriage, that the person's soul, and spirit is necessarily shackled in marriage. Marriage for crippled – cripples! To be ordained is terrifying; I felt that in those two days I have spent in the Franciscan monastery in Sinj, but marriage horrifies me more than that."<sup>25</sup>

This diary passage demonstrates the binaries that bound her to books, and writing, in her revolt against the family, and marriage; where leaving the romantic partnership as its other side, the only alternative that she perceived (but less horrifying) is the monastery – marriage to man or marriage to God. Even though the scholarly polemics she led on religion reveal she was not religious, that she saw faith as a "private matter", it is the notion of privacy, be it household, or monastery, that was suffocating her. She writes in an unpublished contribution to Prosvjeta's *Ljetopis* in 1999, in the anticipation of her 60<sup>th</sup> birthday:

"It seems to me continuously, day by day, hour by hour, as if I could change something, some detail that is happening right now and rushing into the irreversible. Laughter. I remain at the scene and carefully check the steel railroad of life. Everything is definitely arranged."<sup>26</sup>

The prospect of a different future ("it seems to me...") leads her to immerse her imagination in the diary fragments, and letters, but her cognition and emotions are wandering, leaving her body in place. These confinement of the body is reminiscent of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*<sup>27</sup>, with Zečević entangling her roaming in critiques of housework, nuclear family, and art production, as Woolf notes: "Lock up your libraries if you like; but there is no gate, not lock, no bolt that you can set upon the freedom of my mind".

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<sup>25</sup> D. ZEČEVIĆ, *Život kao voda hlapi*, diary entry on 20<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> of March 1985, 359.

<sup>26</sup> ASH-3.2.1., inventory number 42.

<sup>27</sup> V. WOOLF, *A Room of One's Own*, New York 1989, 86–102.

## Instead of a conclusion

Relational archival practices are a move towards a broader reflection on the convolutedness, and the puzzle that are our experienced realities, breaking the borders of disciplines, and sciences. Archiving in itself becomes the act of analyzing, a sort of ethnography, reflection, and epistemological curiosity rather than a fuel for historiography, especially historical imaginaries built by the state, and a dynamic part of political organizing pushing towards a path to social transformation. The Divna Zečević's fonds should be taken as an experiment in process; traditionally thought and presented archival material that is a place of exploration of other possibilities. Relational archives are sketched in that endeavor, until they are brought to life in a digital environment, modeled as reflexive spaces that contribute to reshaping the understanding and impact of archival practice.

Nina Čolović  
Stella Maria Varga  
Vinko Korotaj Drača

### **Izgradnja sjećanja u postjugoslavenskom kontekstu: Narativi moći u konceptualizaciji rada Divne Zečević**

(rezime)

Fond Divne Zečević dio je njenog nasljeđa kao etnografkinje, pesnikinje i književne istoričarke, a obuhvata 11 kutija koje sadrže članke, kritike, studije, pjesme, eseje, korespondenciju i dokumente vezane za njen rad na Baniji, u Lici i drugim mjestima većinom naseljenim srpskom manjinom u Hrvatskoj. Ostatak njenih rukopisa i terenskih istraživanja čuva se u Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku u Zagrebu. U Arhivu Srba u Hrvatskoj je građa Divne Zečević konceptualizirana primarno kao "osobni fond", koji odražava doprinos i utjecaj pojedinaca istrnutih iz okolnosti u kojima su stasali. Tradicionalno organizirani materijali koji su leksikonski vrednovani u klasifikacijskim sistemima taksativno iskazane ličnosti u ovome se radu razmatraju kao produktivno mjesto promišljanja roda i etniciteta. Koncipiranjem opresije kao integralnog dijela kapitalističke eksploatacije i režima proizvodnje građanstva u imaginarijima nacionalnih država, u kontekstu razvoja kvir feminističke teorije, pomičemo pogled prema mogućnostima značajnije integracije i arhivističkih praksi u diskusije, razmjene i promišljanja u organiziranju za društvenu promjenu.

U arhivima zajednice pronalazimo teškoću reprezentacijskog tereta koji prekriva kontradikcije i sukobe koji proizlaze iz nejednakosti i nepravde koju bi trebalo tematizirati. Na primjeru fonda Divne Zečević otisnuli smo se, stoga, u sagledavanje mogućnosti reorganizacije njena materijala tako da se pojedini dokumenti, vizuali i bilješke zamisle u varburgovskom razgovoru, u kojem se međusobna upućivanja, ispreplitanja i osporavanja pomno bilježe u rekonstrukciji intertekstnih i interdiskurzivnih mreža koji se usložnjavaju u relacijske arhive.

**Ključne reči:** Divna Zečević, osobni fondovi, arhiv zajednice, relacijske arhivske prakse.

**ARCHIVES AND SOCIETIES –  
AN ANALOG ARCHIVIST IN A DIGITAL WORLD**

**АРХИВИ И ДРУШТВО –  
АНАЛОГНИ АРХИВИСТА У ДИГИТАЛНОМ СВЕТУ**



Adam Sofronijević  
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## The Transkribus Experience at the Belgrade University Library

**Abstract:** Transkribus, developed by the University of Innsbruck in collaboration with European research groups under the Horizon 2020 READ project (2016-2020), has been supported by the Belgrade University Library (UNILIB) since its inception. UNILIB's primary goal was to create an AI model for automatically transcribing Serbian Cyrillic manuscripts, which was achieved through projects funded by Serbia's Ministry of Culture. This led to the digitization and transcription of significant works by authors like Isidora Sekulić, Branimir Ćosić, and Jovan Skerlić. UNILIB also invited other libraries and archives to contribute to building a comprehensive AI model for the Serbian Cyrillic, facilitating full-text searches in digital collections. Educational initiatives, including workshops and an accredited professional development program, have trained nearly 400 participants, with plans to resume and expand these efforts, focusing on archival employees and automatic recognition of archival materials.

**Keywords:** Transkribus program, transcription of handwritten documents, AI text recognition models, archive materials, Serbian Cyrillic.

### Introduction

A major research initiative that was transformed into the EU Horizon 2020 funded project READ (Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents) Project<sup>1</sup> (2016–2019) created Transkribus<sup>2</sup> as a platform that allows the use of HTR (Handwritten Text Recognition) technology by both institutions and individual users. The idea behind the development of Transkribus stemmed from the realization that there was not enough interdisciplinary work on applying deep neural network models to handwritten material, and, more importantly, there was not a user-friendly platform that could make this technology accessible. Ultimately, the developed Transkribus platform enables all manuscripts (regardless of their date of origin, language, or format) to be read, transcribed,

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<sup>1</sup> About the project, see: <http://observatory.rich2020.eu/rich/projects/view/313331>.

<sup>2</sup> Platform available at: <https://www.transkribus.org/>

and searched using automatic recognition technology<sup>3</sup>.

Although official funding for the READ project ended in 2019, it continues to develop through a European Cooperative Society called READ-COOP SCE, with the aim of ensuring the sustainability and further development of the Transkribus platform.

Currently, Transkribus is the most popular user-facing platform for producing transcripts of historical texts across the cultural and heritage industries and at the same time, Transkribus is the most commonly used HTR tool in the cultural heritage space, with around 1700 regular monthly users<sup>4</sup> (Nockels et al. 2022).

“Svetozar Marković” University Library in Belgrade (UNILIB, *Univerzitetska biblioteka “Svetozar Marković”*) has been involved with Transkribus since its inception, initially as an associate partner of the READ project, and later as a member of the READ Cooperative, in order to provide users with access to transcribed and searchable texts from its manuscript collections. Since these collections are mostly written in Cyrillic, the primary goal is to create an HTR model that would enable transcription of handwritten materials into Serbian Cyrillic.

### The UNILIB Experience

Since 2016, UNILIB has had access to Transkribus, an AI platform designed to assist with historical documents by enabling automated recognition, layout analysis, and structure detection. As has been mentioned above, the READ project’s objective was to create a tool that would enable the transcription of handwritten texts, making digital collections of manuscript material searchable by each individual word. Of particular interest to the project’s partners was the Serbian Cyrillic, specifically the development of a model that would allow the transcription of handwritten materials into the Serbian Cyrillic. This became the primary task of the UNILIB’s Transkribus team. Initially, our focus was on familiarizing ourselves with the Transkribus tool and transcribing as much material as possible to create a “ground truth” sample (images and corresponding accurate transcriptions on which the model will learn), based on which our colleagues

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<sup>3</sup> G. MÜHLBERGER et al., Transforming scholarship in the archives through handwritten text recognition, *Journal of Documentation* 75 (2019), 954–976, <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:196204627> (cons. August 14, 2024).

<sup>4</sup> J. NOCKELS et al., Understanding the application of handwritten text recognition technology in heritage contexts: a systematic review of Transkribus in published research, *Arch Sci*, 22 (2022), 367–392, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-022-09397-0> (cons. August 6, 2024).

from Innsbruck began developing the first HTR model for transcribing Serbian Cyrillic. Those activities led to the creation of these two HTR models:

- Cyrillic
- Serbian Cyrillic 20<sup>th</sup> Century

The accuracy of an HTR model is determined by measuring the Character Error Rate (CER), which reflects the average percentage of characters that the program has incorrectly transcribed. An HTR model is considered insufficient if its CER exceeds 10%, as such an automatically generated transcription would not be useful as a research resource; correcting numerous errors would take much more time than manual transcription. However, this does not mean that less accurate results are ultimately useless. They can serve as a foundation for creating an improved HTR model. It is enough to correct a few pages and include them in the previously prepared training material, then rerun the HTR model creation. In this way, the CER can be significantly reduced.<sup>5</sup>

As shown in Figure 1, the first HTR model developed for the Serbian Cyrillic handwriting from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century did not perform well. Due to the small amount of given words (6750 manually transcribed words) the Character Error Rate (CER) was recorded at 8,27% on the train set and 13,13% on the test set. Since a CER above 10% typically signals that the quality of automated transcription is suboptimal, this model's performance suggests that further refinement and additional training data are necessary to achieve a more reliable transcription tool.



Figure 1: CER for the first HTR model developed for Serbian Cyrillic.

<sup>5</sup> D. ALVERMANN - B. BLÜGGEL, *Transkribus at Greifswald: Idea, practice, results, perspective*, 2017, Paper presented at Transkribus User Conference 2017, 2–3 November, Technical University of Vienna, Vienna. [https://readcoop.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Alvermann\\_Bluegel\\_Greifswald.pdf](https://readcoop.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Alvermann_Bluegel_Greifswald.pdf) (cons. August 26, 2024).

Therefore, the UNILIB Transkribus team decided to build upon the work started by our colleagues from Innsbruck, by first creating HTR models for specific handwriting styles, which would then be combined to form a comprehensive and general model for transcribing the Serbian Cyrillic. We selected manuscripts from our collections that belong to works by notable figures and prominent writers from Serbia. Also, one of the criteria was to choose collections of manuscripts with a sufficient number of handwritten pages, in order to prepare a larger “ground truth” sample. Our efforts were supported by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia over several years, during which UNILIB successfully digitized and transcribed a significant number of manuscripts from its collections<sup>6</sup>. As a result of those efforts we created five HTR models:

- Branimir Ćosić (1903–1934), Serbian writer and journalist<sup>7</sup>;
- Isidora Sekulić (1877–1958), Serbian writer, novelist, essayist, polyglot and art critic, also, the first woman in the history of Serbia that became a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (in 1950)<sup>8</sup>;
- Jovan Skerlić (1877–1914), Serbian writer and literary critic, remembered as one of the most influential Serbian literary critics of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>;
- Mihailo Petrović Alas (1868–1943), Serbian mathematician and inventor, but also a distinguished professor at the Belgrade University, an academician, fisherman, philosopher, writer, publicist, musician and volunteer in the Balkan Wars, the First and Second World Wars<sup>10</sup>;
- Uroš Džonić (1887–1968), Serbian literary historian, professor at the University of Belgrade, bibliographer, translator, writer, but also the first director of the University Library in Belgrade<sup>11</sup>.

The models for reading the manuscripts of the aforementioned authors were created during 2018/2019 and are intended to become part of a unified model. The most successful model is the HTR for Isidora Sekulić’s handwriting, as shown in Figure 2, with a CER of 0,48% on the training set and 5,42% on the validation set. The least successful model is the HTR for Jovan Skerlić’s handwriting (Figure 3), with a CER of 0,04% on the training set but a much higher 31,65%

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<sup>6</sup> N. ĐAKIĆ – A. TRTOVAČ – J. ANDONOVSKI, Претраживе дигиталне рукописне колекције: могућност за рашчитавање српске ћирилице, *Чишћалишће* 37 (2020), 35–46, p. 40, DOI: 10.19090/cit.2020.37.35-46 (cons. August 26, 2024).

<sup>7</sup> For more, see: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Branimir\\_%C4%86osi%C4%87](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Branimir_%C4%86osi%C4%87)

<sup>8</sup> For more, see: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidora\\_Sekuli%C4%87](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidora_Sekuli%C4%87)

<sup>9</sup> For more, see: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jovan\\_Skerli%C4%87](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jovan_Skerli%C4%87)

<sup>10</sup> For more, see: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mihailo\\_Petrovi%C4%87\\_Alas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mihailo_Petrovi%C4%87_Alas)

<sup>11</sup> For more, see: [https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-ec/sr-el/Урош\\_Џонић](https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-ec/sr-el/Урош_Џонић)

on the validation set, due to the very small amount of manually transcribed words (only 810).



Figure 2: CER for the handwriting of Isidora Sekulić.

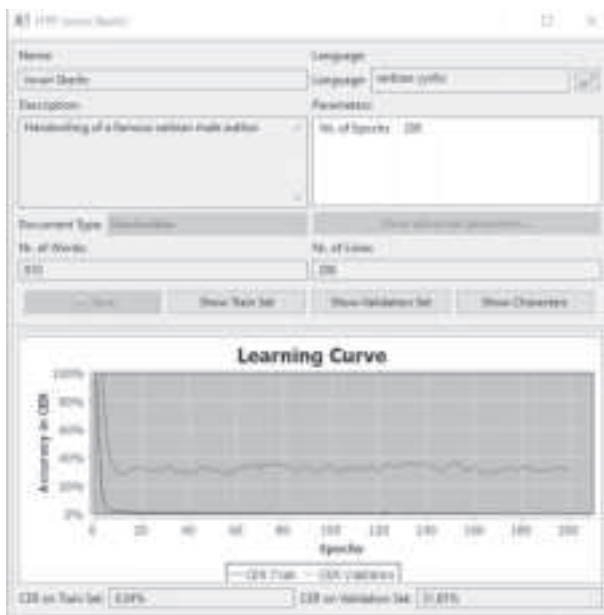


Figure 3: CER for the handwriting of Jovan Skerlić.

Additionally, the general model for transcribing the Serbian Cyrillic, which was created using those six HTR models, was found to be of very low quality, with a CER of 6.81% on the training set and 18.73% on the validation set (Figure 4). Therefore, in 2019, UNILIB invited numerous cultural institutions to join in and contribute to the development of a successful general HTR model for the Serbian Cyrillic, as UNILIB has a limited amount of handwritten material suitable for transcription. Although the COVID-19 pandemic slowed our efforts, handwritten materials stored in various libraries and archives in Serbia over the past several years have also become part of Transkribus. These include: The Historical Archives of Kruševac, The Historical Archives of Subotica, “Radoje Domanović” Library in Topola, The National Library of Serbia, The Mathematical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA/SANU), and others.



Figure 4: CER for the general model for Serbian Cyrillic.

## Advocating Transkribus

To encourage participation and collaboration, the UNILIB Transkribus team organized a series of workshops, lectures, and presentations tailored for employees in archives, libraries, and museums across Serbia<sup>12</sup>. These sessions were designed to introduce participants to the fundamental concepts and principles lying behind the democratization of digitization. The main goal was to ensure that staff members not only understood the importance of making cultural and historical materials more accessible but that they also became familiar with the technologies that enable this process.

During these workshops, the team provided hands-on training in the use of Transkribus, demonstrating how given technologies could be applied to the digitization and transcription of handwritten manuscripts. The first workshop was held at the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad on December 4, 2018, and, so far, the most recent one took place at the University Library in Belgrade on March 21, 2024, for experts from the Archives of Vojvodina.

By empowering employees with the knowledge and skills needed to contribute effectively to the described processes, the UNILIB team aimed to foster a collaborative environment where institutions across Serbia could work together to create a comprehensive and reliable HTR model for the Serbian Cyrillic. This collaborative approach not only facilitated the pooling of resources and expertise but also promoted a shared commitment to preserving and making accessible the nation's cultural heritage.

During the period from 2019 to 2021, alongside its other initiatives, the UNILIB Transkribus team developed a seminar titled "Democratization of Digitization in Libraries" as part of the Accredited Professional Development Programs for Librarians. This seminar was designed to further support the ongoing efforts to engage and educate library professionals across Serbia about the importance of digitization and the transformative role it can play in making cultural heritage more accessible.

The seminar covered a wide range of topics, including the theoretical underpinnings of digitization, practical approaches to implementing digitization projects, and the use of advanced tools like Transkribus for the transcription of handwritten texts. By providing both theoretical knowledge and practical skills, the seminar aimed to empower librarians to actively participate in and lead digitization efforts within their own institutions.

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<sup>12</sup> For more, see: <http://unilib.rs/transkribus/>

The success of the course is best reflected in its strong participation numbers, with nearly 400 librarians attending over the course of its offering<sup>13</sup>. This high level of engagement not only highlights the growing interest and commitment among librarians to embrace digital technologies but also underscores the seminar's effectiveness in meeting the professional development needs of the participants.

The positive reception and widespread participation in the seminar helped to further solidify the foundation for a collaborative approach to digitization across Serbia, ensuring that a larger number of libraries are equipped to contribute to the creation of accessible digital collections. The work carried out through these seminars has been pivotal in driving the broader adoption of digitization practices and fostering a culture of innovation within the Serbian library community.

### **Published Manuals**

Another key aspect of the promotional and educational efforts undertaken by the UNILIB Transkribus team has been the development and distribution of several comprehensive manuals focused on the Transkribus tool. These manuals are designed to serve as practical guides for librarians, archivists, and other cultural heritage professionals, providing them with the necessary knowledge to effectively use Transkribus for digitization and transcription projects.

Each manual is carefully structured to address different aspects of the Transkribus tool, ranging from basic introductory content to more advanced features and techniques. The topics covered include everything – from setting up and navigating the software, to creating and refining Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) models, as well as best practices for managing and preparing digitized materials for transcription.

The step-by-step instructions, accompanied by illustrations and real-life examples, make the manuals accessible to users with varying levels of technical expertise. By breaking down complex processes into manageable tasks, these guides empower users to confidently implement Transkribus in their own digitization workflows.

To date, six manuals have been issued, primarily focusing on the Expert Client application, as it was the only available version during the early stages of Transkribus development:

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<sup>13</sup> N. ĐAKIĆ - A. TRTOVAC - J. ANĐONOVSKI, Changing the role of the librarian, *Infotheca* 20/1-2 (2020), 27–46, p. 36, [https://infoteka.bg.ac.rs/ojs/index.php/Infoteka/article/view/2020.20.1\\_2.2\\_sr](https://infoteka.bg.ac.rs/ojs/index.php/Infoteka/article/view/2020.20.1_2.2_sr) (cons. August 16, 2024).

- Дакић, Наташа и Адам Софронијевић. Аутоматско препознавање руком писаног текста: програм Transkribus: приручник за делатнике у култури. Београд: Универзитетска библиотека “Светозар Марковић”, 2017.
- Дакић, Наташа и Адам Софронијевић. Демократизација дигитализације у библиотекама. Београд: Универзитетска библиотека “Светозар Марковић”, 2018.
- Трговац, Александра, Адам Софронијевић, Фуад Баћићанин и Авдија Салковић. Рашчитавање арапског писма у руком писаним документима = Transcription of Arabic script in handwritten documents. Нови Пазар: Музеј “Рас”, 2019.
- Дакић, Наташа и Адам Софронијевић. Дигитализација за све: нове могућности програма Transkribus у аутоматском рашчитавању руком писаних текстова. Београд: Универзитетска библиотека “Светозар Марковић”, 2019
- Дакић, Наташа и Адам Софронијевић. Програм Transkribus и READ-COOP SCE: приручник за библиотекарe. Београд: Универзитетска библиотека “Светозар Марковић”, 2020.
- Дакић, Наташа и Адам Софронијевић. Transkribus колаборатива: задружним радом до рашчитаних рукописа Европе. Београд: Универзитетска библиотека “Светозар Марковић”, 2021.

These manuals were created to support users as they advanced in their understanding and application of the software. However, since the Expert Client is no longer supported, future efforts may shift towards adapting or translating existing teaching materials from the Transkribus website to better align with the current web-based platform.

Over time, these publications have become valuable resources not only for those directly involved in digitization projects but also for anyone interested in exploring how modern digital tools enhance the preservation and accessibility of cultural heritage.

The distribution of these manuals has played a crucial role in promoting the broader adoption of Transkribus across Serbia’s cultural institutions. By providing clear and user-friendly resources, the UNILIB Transkribus team has facilitated the integration of cutting-edge technology into professional workflows, contributing to the ongoing effort to digitize and preserve the nation’s rich manuscript collections.

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## **Plans for the Future**

The future plans demonstrate a comprehensive approach to enhancing existing Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) models, particularly for transcribing Serbian Cyrillic using the PyLaia engine. PyLaia, developed by the Universitat Politècnica de València, is the new text recognition engine within Transkribus, introduced after the discontinuation of HTR+ in November 2022. Since HTR+ models can no longer be trained or applied, PyLaia has become the primary engine for text recognition. The new PyLaia models are trained on the same training and validation data previously used for HTR+, ensuring continuity and improved accuracy through strategic collaborations and advanced AI applications. The key focus areas include the following:

### **1. Upgrading the Existing HTR Models:**

- **Leveraging Partnerships and AI:** The upgrade of the existing HTR models will be significantly driven by increasing the volume of manually transcribed texts. Collaborations with partner institutions will be instrumental in this process, providing the necessary resources and expertise to expand the dataset. Additionally, the integration of newly embedded AI technology within Transkribus is poised to play a pivotal role. Transkribus' AI capabilities enable the software to be trained on diverse handwritten historical documents and printed texts, making it more versatile and effective in deciphering complex scripts. This continuous improvement of older models will enhance their accuracy and reliability across various text types.

### **2. Developing a General Model for the Serbian Cyrillic:**

- **Reducing the Character Error Rate (CER):** A key initiative is the development of a robust general model specifically designed for recognizing Serbian Cyrillic script. The ground truth dataset currently consists of 59,725 words, representing a dozen different handwriting styles. The primary goal is to significantly reduce the CER—a critical metric that measures the accuracy of text recognition models. Lowering the CER will enhance

the model's reliability, making it a valuable tool for a wide range of users working with Serbian Cyrillic texts.

- **Broad Dissemination and Community Sharing:** Once the model reaches a satisfactory level of accuracy, it will not only be shared with partner institutions but will also be made available to the broader Transkribus community. With over 300,000 registered usersostering knowledge-shar

### **3. Educational Initiatives and Training:**

- **Focus on Archive Employees:** As the technology evolves, there is a renewed emphasis on education and training, particularly for employees in archives. These individuals are often on the front lines of document preservation and digitization efforts, making their proficiency with Transkribus crucial. Plans are in place to resume and possibly expand educational programs to ensure that archival workers are well-equipped to use the latest features of Transkribus, including its automated recognition capabilities.

All in all, these future plans highlight a proactive and forward-looking approach to the ongoing development and dissemination of AI-powered handwriting recognition technology. By combining AI-driven advancements with robust educational efforts and community engagement, the plan is well-positioned to make significant contributions to the preservation and accessibility of historical texts.

Адам Софронијевић  
Наташа Дакић  
Александра Трговац

## Искуство Универзитетске библиотеке у Београду у раду са програмом Transkribus (резиме)

Универзитетска библиотека у Београду је укључена у пројекат Transkribus од његовог покретања, најпре као придружени партнер пројекта READ, а затим и као члан READ колаборативе како би омогућила корисницима приступ транскрибованом и претраживом тексту својих рукописних колекција. Будући да су ове колекције углавном писане ћирилицом, основни циљ је стварање HTR модела који би омогућио рашчитавање рукописне грађе на српској ћирилици. Путем пројеката реализованих под покровитељством Министарства културе и информисања Републике Србије, Библиотека је дигитализовала и транскрибовала значајан део рукописне грађе која се налази у њеним фондовима: рукописе Исидоре Секулић, Бранимира Ћосића, Уроша Џонића, Анице Савић Ребац, Јована Скерлића и других. А захваљујући сарадњи са бројним културним институцијама, дигитализована је и транскрибована рукописна грађа која представља значајан део српске културне баштине. Истовремено, стално је отворен позив свим библиотекама и архивима који имају рукописну грађу на српској ћирилици да се укључе и учествују у стварању кровног модела за рашчитавање српске ћирилице како би се створио алат који омогућава успешно претраживање пуног текста дигиталних колекција рукописне грађе. У том циљу одржан је и низ радионица за коришћење Transkribus-а за запослене у архивима, библиотекама и музејима широм Србије, као и велики број предавања и презентација на домаћим и регионалним скуповима библиотекара и архивиста. Акредитован је и Програм стручног усавршавања за библиотекаре под називом Демократизација дигитализације у библиотекама, посвећен Transkribus-у, 2019. године, који је похађало 388 полазника. Имајући у виду успех курса, акредитација је продужена и на наредне три године, међутим, због пандемије вируса COVID-19, овај вид едукације је привремено обустављен. Упркос привременом прекиду образовних активности, у плану је наставак едукације намењене архивистима о коришћењу Transkribus-а, са посебним фокусом на аутоматско препознавање архивске грађе.

**Кључне речи:** Програм Transkribus, транскрипција, рукописна документа, AI модели за препознавање текста, архивска грађа, српска ћирилица.

## **Creating Digital Image Collections: A case study involving the Serbian diaspora documentary heritage research projects in Australia**

**Abstract:** Documentary heritage collections and individual and cultural memory of post WWII Serbian Australian migrants and their descendants are being preserved for future generations. Since 2020, original materials have been sourced from private collections for digitisation and integration into public research institutions.

Practice-based research, with the researcher as creator, is progressing across three current digital image collection projects: *Serbian–Queensland Diaspora Memories*, *Yugoslav–Mount Isa Diaspora Memories*, and *The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar (Peter) II Karađorđević*.

Around 80 individual participants have provided over 4,000 items for digitising. This paper discusses findings and challenges of the creative act of sourcing and creating, and of the resulting creative artifacts: the curated digital image collections. Key findings are documented into library metadata worksheets. Narratives provide opportunities for further research, development, and presentations.

**Keywords:** cultural memory, Diaspora Memories, digital image collections, documentary heritage, King Petar (Peter) II Karađorđević, Mount Isa City Library, original materials, practice-based research, public research institutions, Serbian diaspora Australia, State Library of Queensland (SLQ).

### **Introduction**

Growing up in the remote Queensland towns of Mount Isa and Elimbah, I relished time spent *looking* through my World War II (WWII) immigrant parents,

Dušan and Javorka (née Tasić) Majstorović's<sup>1</sup> original materials (henceforth, "materials")<sup>2</sup>.



Figure 1: Selection of digital images, The Late Dušan and Javorka Majstorović Collection<sup>3</sup>.

Source: Danica Majstorović Eather (shared copyright holder\*)

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<sup>1</sup> My father Dušan's ancestors trace back to Lika, Croatia, on the paternal side, to the villages of Čojluk and Jošan (Udbina), and on the maternal (Basara) side to Smiljan (Gospić). Dušan, the youngest of five, was born in 1927 to Rade and Milica, and raised on a farm (*salaš*) in Tomislavci (Bačka Topola, Vojvodina) where his family moved in 1921 as Rade was a Salonika Front volunteer. My father escaped from communist Yugoslavia in 1954. Javorka, my mother, had paternal ancestors (Tasić) from villages Kunovica and Ravni Do (where she was born in 1939), in the Serbian municipality of Niška Banja. Her maternal ancestors (Damnjanović) originated from the village of Kosmovac (Bela Palanka, also in Serbia). Aleksandar, her father, was a WWII POW in Germany, then a displaced person who migrated to Australia in 1948. He funded my mother's and grandmother Slavka's voyage to Australia in 1953. The following year Javorka's brother was born in Nambour. Dušan and Javorka met in Brisbane, married there in 1960, and had three children in the mining town Mount Isa. In the mid-1960s the family moved to farming life in Elimbah; Dušan and Javorka retired in the late 1980s to Mango Hill, Brisbane, where Javorka's magnificent garden was opened to the public seven times through the Australian Open Garden Scheme.

<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this paper, original materials include archival photographs and paper ephemera, and audiovisual materials.

<sup>3</sup> Images: (01) Dušan, on left, with family, Tomislavci, c. 1934; (02) Javorka, in front, with braid, Diamond Valley, c. mid-1950s; (03) Javorka, standing on stool, with Tasić and Damnjanović families, Ravni Do, c. 1941; (04) Dušan, on left, Bačka Topola, early 1954; (05) Dušan, second on left, Innisfail, late 1954; (06) Dušan's Mount Isa Mines Safety Award, 1967; (07) Dušan with children, Mount Isa, 1965; (08) Dušan and Javorka with children, Mango Hill, 1997; (09) Dušan and Javorka with friends and Godfamily (*Kumovi*), Brisbane, 1960.

After my parents passed away, eight weeks apart, in 2018 in Brisbane, Queensland, I assessed their Serbian-related documentary heritage collection—materials, books of various genres, maps, and tourism brochures. I pondered whether others in the diaspora possessed similar items. My parents’ collection was the catalyst to initiate practice-based research with the challenge of “researcher as creator”.

Furthermore, I became aware of UNESCO’s Memory of the World program, begun in 1992, which “recognised the need to protect such fragile yet significant cultural heritage as that contained within items such as documents, oral traditions, audiovisual material and library and archive holdings.”<sup>4</sup> In early 2020, I approached diaspora<sup>5</sup> contemporaries of my parents; I was overwhelmed by their interest in research participation and by how strongly the stories of their materials were embedded in their individual and cultural memory.<sup>6</sup>

Next, the research methodology was designed to include approaching public research institutions (henceforth, “libraries”) to gauge their interest in this research; selecting what would be digitised; engaging a volunteer team; organising copyright and licensing; searching records in online databases; researching and reviewing literature, archival and published; and documenting and verifying metadata.

This privately funded,<sup>7</sup> independent research focused on the act of sourcing and creating in order to curate the resulting artifacts in the form of digital image collections.<sup>8</sup> Private collections would be integrated into libraries with online access, enabling preservation of memories for future generations. The key findings were documented into library metadata worksheets and Brisbane-related narratives.

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<sup>4</sup> QUEENSLAND MEMORY, STATE LIBRARY OF QUEENSLAND, 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary – UNESCO’s Memory of the World, *State Library of Queensland Blog*, (2022), <https://www.slq.qld.gov.au/blog/30th-anniversary-unescos-memory-World> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>5</sup> The term “diaspora”, from the Ancient Greek, meaning “to scatter”, refers to the movement, migration, or scattering of a people away from an established or ancestral homeland. “Diaspora”, *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (n.d.), <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/diaspora> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>6</sup> “Cultural memory”: a form of collective memory that is the “constructed understanding of the past that is passed from one generation to the next through text, oral traditions, monuments, rites, and other symbols.” *NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC*, “Cultural Memory”, *Education*, (n.d.), <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/cultural-memory/> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>7</sup> This privately funded research is dedicated to the memory of my parents, the late Dušan and Javorka Majstorović.

<sup>8</sup> “Digital image collections” is defined here as curated groups of images created by digitisation of original materials (as opposed to born digital images, which refers to photographs taken digitally).

Opportunities emerged for future research, development, and presentations. In 2024, I founded diasporamemories.org,<sup>9</sup> a bespoke philanthropic organisation (Appendix 1).

## Methodology

I approached the State Library of Queensland (SLQ) in early 2020, to offer a donation of a curated digital image collection: *Serbian–Queensland Diaspora Memories*.<sup>10</sup> This proposal was accepted following discussions with various people in the divisions of Content Management and Queensland Memory.

Given the estimated magnitude of resources necessary for the project, a volunteer group was formed in Brisbane, comprising Bebe Majstorović, Jelenko Dragišić, Maja Majstorović Eather, Malissa Johnson (née Zaklan), Michael Eather, Mirjana Dragišić (née Božičković), and Rada Milovanović. Each person had connectivity and interest in the research; there was a wide range of skills, knowledge, and capabilities in the group.

Drawing on my networks, I contacted migrants, their descendants, their relatives, and others in and around Brisbane. They were invited to one of four gatherings during 2020–2021, to view presentations of a selection of my late parents' digitised photos, alongside displays of archival and published materials. The idea was to group people with shared cultural memories who would be able to prompt each other in identifying people, places, and events in photographs. The interest, passion, and availability of both participants and volunteers were critical to the research.

I borrowed materials from those who attended the events and visited private homes and other establishments. Lengthy and informative dialogue was not uncommon. After sorting the material into subject groups, information was input into Excel metadata worksheets provided by SLQ.

The next step was to have the material professionally scanned. Digitising was outsourced to meet the specifications required by the SLQ. Backup external drives, held in various locations, stored the master image TIFFs and a copy of the working-version JPEG files. These digital images were filed into a database and printed as a full record; volunteer Malissa Johnson meticulously noted all available information from the back of each photograph. These full-

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.diasporamemories.org/>

<sup>10</sup> Online searches and discussions with SLQ indicated that there was a paucity of material relating to the Serbian diaspora in Queensland.

record copies were filed into folders; the growing quantity of material was stored in archive boxes.

A copyright lawyer was engaged to create an agreement between me (as assignee) and the participant (as assignor) for the shared copyright of the digital images created. A Schedule of Works—being a printout of the assignor’s images—was attached to the copyright form. These were completed, signed, and dated, with a cover letter that included the words “original materials have been returned to/collected by the assignor”. The SLQ created a specific purpose “copyright licence agreement” to be completed, signed and dated by both assignor and assignee. The final paperwork requirement for this *Serbian–Queensland Diaspora Memories* digital image collection will be a completed, signed, and dated SLQ Deed of Gift<sup>11</sup>. This Deed is an agreement between myself (with participants’ copyright and licencing forms attached) and the SLQ, enabling the deposit of the digital image collection (with metadata) into the SLQ online catalogue.

I also accessed public records on online databases: National Archives Australia,<sup>12</sup> Queensland State Archives,<sup>13</sup> and Brisbane City Council,<sup>14</sup> primarily for arrival dates, immigration passport photos, and dates of death to assist in verifying metadata. Secondary research material was also reviewed, including information held at the National Library of Australia in Canberra.

An opportunity arose in 2022 to create and curate *Yugoslav*<sup>15</sup>–*Mount Isa Diaspora Memories* for the online catalogue, *Isa in Images*<sup>16</sup>, hosted by the Mount Isa City Library. A selection of images was released from those already digitised and I approached other individuals to seek their participation. The Mount Isa City Library provided Excel metadata worksheets and required copyright agreements between me and participants.

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<sup>11</sup> STATE LIBRARY OF QUEENSLAND, Deed of Gift, (n.d.), <https://studylib.net/doc/8813249/deed-of-gift---state-library-of-queensland> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>12</sup> NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA, Explore the collection, (n.d.), <https://www.naa.gov.au/explore-collection> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>13</sup> QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT, Search the Archives, (n.d.), <https://www.qld.gov.au/recreation/arts/heritage/archives/starting/search-the-records/search-the-archivessearch-catalogue> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>14</sup> BRISBANE CITY COUNCIL, Grave location search and family history, (n.d.), (<https://www.brisbane.qld.gov.au/community-and-safety/community-support/cemeteries/grave-location-search>) (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>15</sup> Here “Yugoslav” includes Serbian, as well as other migrant ethnicities.

<sup>16</sup> Mount Isa City Library, *Isa in Images* (n.d.), <https://mountisa.recollect.net.au/> (cons. October 20, 2024).

In 2023 I decided to venture on a national project, extending from the Queensland research, which was *The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar*<sup>17</sup> *Karađorđević*.<sup>18</sup>

## Findings

To date, around 80 participating individuals across Australia have provided over 4,000 items, mainly photographs, for digitising (Appendix 2). Hundreds of Queensland-related photos have been identified as the work of Predrag Nikolić and Savo Jerić; Brisbane was fortunate to be home to these two professional photographers who immigrated as displaced persons. Brian Smith, a Brisbane local, gathered the photographic equipment of the late Savo Jerić, his father-in-law, and took digital photos. He assigned and shared copyright for these born digitals with me, for future preservation and presentations.

The COVID-19 pandemic restrictions caused a plethora of challenges for the earlier part of the research process. Restrictions were imposed on meeting participants and returning materials, and on numbers for gatherings. Scanning businesses slowed down or temporarily ceased work and the mail service was limited.

Since 2023, the decision to undertake a national research project (*The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar II Karađorđević*) has meant further travel throughout the vast island-continent of Australia. This map (Figure 2) indicates the major cities where project materials are held. (Figures 3<sup>19</sup> and 4<sup>20</sup>). As I had no connectivity with the Serbian community in Perth (Western Australia) I spent the entire flight there reading Wal J. Slaven's PhD to gain an understanding of the key people and events in the development of its Serbian diaspora community.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> King Petar is also referred to as King Peter. Henceforth, in this text, only the Serbian spelling (Petar) is used.

<sup>18</sup> The methodology for the two Queensland projects was extended to this national project.

<sup>19</sup> Images: (01) Brisbane, 2020; (02) Brisbane, 2020; (03) Brisbane, 2020; (04) Geelong, 2024; (05) Perth, 2023; (06) Adelaide, 2024.

<sup>20</sup> Images, all located in Brisbane except (04): (01) Wedding, 1957; (02) Arrival of King Petar II, 1960; (03) Families gathering for wedding, c. mid-1960s; (04) Family portrait, Mount Isa, 1960; (05) Miss All Nations (handover), 1964; (06) Community theatre, c. mid-1950s; (07) Family Patron Saint's Day, 1962; (08) Former Yugoslav judge at work, c. mid-1950s; (09) Christening, 1958; (10) Easter service, c. early 1960s; (11) Home and school, 1971; (12) Migrants children, c. late 1960s.

<sup>21</sup> W. J. SLAVEN, *A History of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Western Australia* (2022) [Doctoral dissertation], Murdoch University, <https://researchportal.murdoch.edu.au/esploro/outputs/doctoral/A-History-of-the-Eastern-Orthodox/991005548667007891> (cons. October 19, 2024).





Figure 4: Selection of digital images, Serbian–Queensland diaspora.

Source: Danica Majstorović Eather (shared copyright holder\*)

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The key findings throughout the creative act of sourcing and creating, which have been documented into library Excel metadata worksheets, are at the data verification stage for the two Queensland projects. There were some variations in metadata required (Appendix 3). For example, for SLQ, when the original creator of the material is unknown, the digital image is noted as “Orphan Work”,<sup>22</sup> and for the Mount Isa City Library, there was a major variation with subject groups.<sup>23</sup>

Findings in the Brisbane component of the research were also developed as narratives associated with individual and cultural memories. Some of these narratives are included here.

### **Work, home and school**

Post WWII displaced persons who arrived in the period 1947–1953 were promised great opportunities by the Australian government after completion of a two-year work contract, wherein migrants had to accept any job allocated. For many who completed work contracts in regional Queensland, including cane-cutting, forestry and mining, Brisbane became their home. Other migrants were allocated to industry and council jobs around Brisbane. From 1954, migrants also began arriving on other assisted passage schemes or through sponsorship by relatives or friends. Migrant Reception Centres, including Wacol and Enoggera in Brisbane, were transit places on arrival. Afterwards, home became a room in a boarding house, migrant hostel or flat, and eventually, for most, a house. Children starting school often spoke two or more languages. With time, migrants became Australian citizens.

### **Community gatherings**

Orthodox services, events (e.g. national observances, theatre, and dances) and meetings in the 1950s were held in places hired from the Anglican Diocese. These were St Luke’s in Charlotte Street, Brisbane central business district (CBD), and the Holy Trinity Church and Hall in Brookes St, Fortitude Valley. Religious services were first conducted by a Russian Orthodox priest, Father Nicholas

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<sup>22</sup> AUSTRALIAN COPYRIGHT COUNCIL, Orphan Works, (2023), <https://www.copyright.org.au/browse/book/ACC-Orphan-Works-INFO101> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>23</sup> Mount Isa City Library already had subject groups named in *Isa in Images*, which were used for the metadata. For SLQ, I grouped digital images into series, which I created based on what was digitised. SLQ will designate subject headings (for each digital image) in the online catalogue.

Uspensky, and later by Father Budimir Đukić, who was Brisbane's first Serbian Orthodox priest. In 1955, the Serbian Orthodox Ecclesiastical School Community of St Nikolas was registered, with Milijan Branković as its first elected president. Miloš Vlaški was the St Nikolas church tenor. In 1959, the Serbian Church Hall in Bayliss Street, Toowong, was opened for events as well as religious services, which were conducted using a portable altar and iconostasis.

### Weddings and christenings

The male immigrants usually arrived first; many of them eventually sought wives from their European homelands, with similar religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Proxy and arranged marriages were often organised, both contributing to chain migration. Throughout the 1950s, wedding ceremonies were generally conducted at the St Seraphim Russian Orthodox Church, Woolloongabba, officiated by either or both Father Nicholas and Father Budimir. Wedding receptions were primarily celebrated at the Holy Trinity Church Hall or, later, at the Serbian Church Hall. At times, receptions were held at home. Christenings also took place in various premises, including St Seraphim, Holy Trinity Church Hall and the Serbian Church Hall. The wedding godparents (*Kum* and *Kuma*) were often also godparents to the couple's children. This connected families across the generations.

### Religious observances and cultural traditions

These were upheld in the diaspora. For instance, following the annual religious service for the St Sava Feast Day (*slava*) there would be a communal lunch while children recited and performed on the stage. Zorka Tejić was the first Serbian School teacher. *Slava*, as the celebration of the family patron saint's day, was inscribed in 2014 on UNESCO's list, *Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage for Serbia*.<sup>24</sup> On Christmas Eve (*Badnje večer*), the tradition of burning a young tree branch (*badnjak*) continued, as did the presence of the *badnjak* at home and at church for Christmas (*Božić*). Each year, gatherings grew for church services, including those held during Easter (*Uskrs*) Holy Week.

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<sup>24</sup> UNESCO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, *Slava*, celebration of family saint patron's day (n.d.), <https://ich.unesco.org/en/rl/slava-celebration-of-family-saint-patron-s-day-01010> (cons. October 20, 2024).

## Leisure activities and outings

Home visits were considered important as families and friendships were growing, while language and traditions were being maintained. Colleges Crossing Recreation Reserve was a popular place for a picnic (*izlet*). Trips were also made to Mt Coot-tha and Springbrook National Park. The Ekka (Royal Queensland Show) was a popular event for young and old. During the late 1950s, the Šumadija Sports (Soccer) Club was formed; Slobodan Milošević was a player for the team, later becoming the coach and club president. Indoor community events included theatre (*pozorište*), social dances (*zabave*), and fancy-dress evenings (*maskenbali*).

### Event: Warana Festival

A group of passionate and enthusiastic Serbians participated in Brisbane's inaugural (1962) Warana pageant procession at the annual spring extravaganza, the Warana Festival. In 1963, at the Brisbane Botanic Gardens, Draginja Kasap became the Warana Festival's inaugural All Nations Princess. Draginja's father, Ljubomir, made her traditional leather shoes (*opanci*) and she embroidered her blouse sleeves to include the Cooktown Orchard. Also part of the Warana Festival in 1963 was the All Nations Gala Dance, which was held at the Brisbane City Hall and included traditional Serbian folkloric dancing (*kolo*). In 2017, *kolo* was also inscribed on UNESCO's list, *Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage for Serbia*.<sup>25 26</sup>

### The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar II Karađorđević

The early diaspora community continued to celebrate the birthday of King Petar II Karađorđević; in 1956 the Australia-wide King's Fund (*Kraljev Fond*) was established by a group of ex-Yugoslav army officers to raise funds for King Petar's office-in-exile. Coordinating committees were later created to organise his seven-week visit to Australia. On 4 October 1960, King Petar, with his adjutant, General Todor Milićević, and others arrived at Brisbane Airport from Sydney, being met by the Queensland Committee Coordinator, Borivoje Vukotić. Throughout the week, numerous events were organised, including a press conference and audience

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<sup>25</sup> UNESCO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, Kolo, traditional folk dance (n.d.), <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kolo-traditional-folk-dance-01270> (cons. October 20, 2024).

<sup>26</sup> In the mid-1990s, the Warana Festival became the Brisbane Festival.



"NA PRELU" iz Djela

Lira:

EDRAVKO, sin Matkove	--- E. Terzić
MAKŠIN, sin Anđelice	--- A. Anđelićević
MILIC, prijatelj Zvezke	--- G. Lomac
ZIVANA, žena Matkovičevog znanca	--- M. Mirković
IJUMICA, sestra Zvezkova	--- E. Ešić
PETRA, ljubavna prijateljica	--- E. Lomac
Prvi momak	--- V. Bistić
Drugi momak	--- K. Vuković
Treći momak	--- E. Lazarević
Prva devojka	--- V. Radičević
Druga devojka	--- B. Zlatar
Treća devojka	--- O. Mirković
Devojka	--- K. Vuković
	--- M. Petrović
	--- J. Radičević
Momci	--- B. Vojtaš
	--- J. Ešić

Scena	--- R. Stojanović, režiser
Dijalogi	--- Prof. J. Stambur
Scenarij	--- A. Anđelićević
Scena	--- K. Stojanović
Orkestar	--- Jug. Mat. Drustvo "Obala"
Simfonijski orkestar	--- E. Zlatar
Kostimi i šminka	--- D. Stojanović

Orkestar:

Prof. J. Stambur, D. Čičić, B. Radičević,  
I. Kuzmanović, A. Zolarić, V. Đorđević,  
B. Stojanović, D. Kolarović.

Članovi simfonijskog orkestra:

Stivo Vukobrat, Mirko Lubić, Sreten Karić,  
Aleksandar Vukobrat, Dušan Čelo, Gilić  
Radičević.

Konferansija: --- Miro Stokić

DRZAVNE HIMNE

1. "TAMO DALEKO"

igle narodnih pesama izveo na pozornici,  
Orkestar harmonika pod vodjstvom g. Ranka  
Stojanovića.

Muzika izvedena pod g. J. Teržićem.

2. "NAŠEM KRALJU"

od M. Petrovića, režisira g. Miro Jurić

3. POTPUNI NARODNIH PESAMA

izveo tamburški orkestar Jug. Muzičkog Drustva  
"OBALA" pod vodjstvom g. Dušana Čičića.

4. "NA PRELU"

iz Djela, prevodni komad od Janka Vasiljevića  
(Drug. Srpske muzike od Davorina Jenka.

5. POZDRAVNA REC

g. Gorivo Vuković, predstavnik Odbora za Pustilo  
Nj. V. Kralja Petra II u Južnoj Australiji.

GOVOR NJ. V. KRALJA PETRA II

Figure 5: Selection of digital images, The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar II Karadorđević.

Source: Danica Majstorović Eather (shared copyright holder\*)

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at the Bellevue Hotel in Brisbane CBD, a visit to Mt Coot-tha, and a day trip to the Murwillumbah banana farm region where Father Budimir lived. At the Serbian Church Hall in Toowong (whose plans, coincidentally, had been drafted by Vukotić), King Petar attended a religious service and various receptions. Milijan Branković, the St Nikolas president at the time, was also on the coordinating committee.

Extending from the above narrative, materials are yet to be sourced from all the cities visited by King Petar II; hence, metadata documentation is in its early stages. An ongoing challenge being addressed is the need to maintain an updated display folio of all Australia-wide materials as they are digitised. For example, in Figure 5, the program for an event held at the Adelaide Town Hall lists names of the actors in the play “*Na Prelu*” iz *Djida*. This program was sourced in Adelaide, and the photo in Sydney. By combining these digitals in the folio, the name of the female actor was recently able to be confirmed by a third party who had, coincidentally, performed in this play, along with her husband.

## Conclusion

Much time has passed since the arrival of the post WWII migrants, and most are now deceased. Some left no descendants or relatives. Diminished numbers of materials remain in various private documentary heritage collections. Assigning time to continue this practice-based research and preserve memories is paramount. Materials from private collections are being integrated into public research institutions.

Throughout the research process in Brisbane, opportunities arose for volunteer Jelenko Dragišić to create born digitals using his Fuji X100 digital camera and pop-up lightbox. These digital photographs captured items belonging to participants, which were brought from European homelands on the migration journey; sent by relatives and friends to this new homeland; acquired by participants on trips back to the old homeland; or created or acquired here. These born digitals—as with those created by Brian Smith of Savo Jerić’s photographic equipment—were linked with memories of the subjects and contexts of the digital images.

Whether digital images, narratives, and born digitals exist separately or together, opportunities are emerging to engage with a variety of audiences, in Australia and abroad. Future research, development, and presentations may include potential donations to libraries and museums of publications, textiles, objects, and archival material from various participants’ documentary heritage

collections; exhibitions including online “mini exhibitions”; catalogues; oral histories and digital storytelling; articles; and conference presentations and papers.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Organisational profile diasporamemories.org

Memories are preserved for future generations.

*Diaspora Memories* is a bespoke philanthropic organisation whose primary aim is to source, create, and curate digital image collections that are accessible by individuals and groups through public research institutions. It was founded by Danica Majstorović Eather, who leads, with volunteers and assistants as required, independent research, development, and presentations. Mentorship and the ability to inspire others towards the advancement of skills and knowledge in these areas are at the forefront of *Diaspora Memories*' values-based philanthropy.

Majstorović Eather has over three decades of professional experience in the public and private museum and gallery sectors. A second-generation Serbian Australian with WWII immigrant parents, she has, through numerous volunteer roles in culture-related events and projects, developed extensive networks.

*Diaspora Memories* is privately funded.

## Appendix 2: Status of Projects as of June 2024

Project	Year commenced	#Participants	#Digitised items	Stage of research
<i>Serbian–Queensland Diaspora Memories</i>	2020	55	Approx. 4,000; 1,000 being selected for SLQ	Final selection of digital images being made; captions are at information verification stage
<i>Yugoslav–Mount Isa Diaspora Memories</i>	2022	11	Approx. 120; selected from above and others	Final selection of digital images being made; captions are at information verification stage
<i>The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar II Karađorđević</i>	2023	10+; Not including Brisbane participants already included as part of SLQ project	In progress	Additional participants and materials being sourced

### Appendix 3: Metadata Requirements Comparison

<b>Metadata column headings (Excel worksheets)</b>	<b>SLQ</b>	<b>Mount Isa Council Library</b>
Image number format	Library to re-format	Provided by library
Image file format	TIFF	JPEG
Year image digitised	Yes	No
Original format of image (e.g. black and white photograph, colour slide)	Yes	No
Original Creator/Photographer	Yes	No
Year	Yes	Yes
People	Yes	Yes
Place	Yes	Yes
Description	Yes	Yes
Series/subject groups	Yes	Provided by library
Name of collection/archive where materials are held	Yes	Yes

**Креирање збирки дигиталних слика: Студија случаја која обухвата истраживачке пројекте о документарном наслеђу српске дијаспоре у Аустралији**  
(резиме)

Протекло је више од седам деценија откако су, после Другог светског рата, стигли у Аустралију српски досељеници. На несрећу, за то време, много изворне грађе (у даљем тексту „грађа“) – фотографије, кратковеки папирни документи и аудиовизуелни материјали – оштећено је или чак нестало. Такође, ова грађа је у малом броју доступна преко јавних научних институција (у даљем тексту „библиотеке“).

Године 2020, започела сам независно истраживање са фокусом на дигитизацији и очувању документарне грађе која постоји у приватним збиркама и бележи с тим повезано индивидуално сећање и културу памћења. Методологија рада је укључивала ангажман учесника, контакте са библиотекама како бих проценила њихову заинтересованост за ово истраживање, селекцију онога што ће бити дигитизовано, ангажовање екипе добровољаца, организовање захтева за дозволе за копирајт и лиценце за снимљени материјал, потрагу за индивидуалним записима на онлајн базама података, истраживање и прегледање литературе, те документовање и верификацију мета-података.

Ово истраживање базирано на практичном раду повезало је горепоменути креативни чин (прибављања и креирања) са произашлим креативним артефактима у виду три пажљиво одабране и презентоване збирке дигиталних слика (од којих је свака у променљивом стадијуму комплетирања): Сећања српске дијаспоре у Квинсленду (*Serbian–Queensland Diaspora Memories*) за Државну библиотеку Квинсленда/*State Library of Queensland*, Сећања југословенске дијаспоре у Маунт Ајзи (*Yugoslav–Mount Isa Diaspora Memories*) за Градску библиотеку Маунт Ајзе/*Mount Isa City Library*, и Посета Аустралији краља Петра II<sup>27</sup> Карађорђевића 1960. године (*The 1960 Australia Visit of King Petar II Karađorđević*).

До данас, око 80 појединаца, учесника широм Аустралије, приложило је преко 4.000 предмета грађи за дигитовање. Главни изазов представљало је време: за учеснике – слабљење индивидуалног сећања и културе памћења, да не помињемо расположивост и стање саме грађе; за истраживачки процес – прво ограничења наметнута пандемијом ковида 19; за мене лично – жонглирање овим истраживањем између рада на консултацијама и породичних обавеза.

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<sup>27</sup> Познатог и под именом ‘King Peter’.

Кључни налази су документовани у виду библиотеке радних папира са мета подацима; истраживање везано за Бризбејн развијало се у форми наратива везаних за индивидуално сећање и културу памћења. Током читавог истраживачког процеса, снимане су дигиталне (тј. изворно дигиталне/*born digital*) фотографије по избору самих учесника које су биле повезане са сећањима о теми и контексту грађе.

Јављале су се повољне околности које су обухватале потенцијално донирање публикација, текстилних материјала, предмета и архивске грађе библиотекама и музејима; изложбе, укључујући онлајн ‘мини-изложбе’; каталози; усмене историје и дигитално приповедање; чланци, те конференцијске презентације и радови.

Мој професионални живот је подразумевао рад у музејима и галеријама, као и консултације. Добровољни рад током више од 30 година за бројне културне догађаје и пројекте Срба омогућио ми је да мобилишем мреже. Године 2024, основала сам *diasporamemories.org* – по мери ‘скројену’ филантропску организацију, приватно финансирану. Остајем бескрајно захвална својим покојним родитељима, досељеницима после Другог светског рата, Душану и Јаворки Мајсторовић, који су ме – између осталих ствари – научили да говорим српски и да читам и пишем ћирилицом.

**Кључне речи:** култура памћења, организација *Diaspora Memories* (*Усјоме-не дијаспоре*) збирке дигиталних слика, документарно наслеђе, Краљ Петар II Карађорђевић, Градска библиотека Маунт Ајзе (*Mount Isa City Library*), изворна грађа, истраживање засновано на пракси, јавне истраживачке институције, српска дијаспора у Аустралији, Државна библиотека Квинсленда (*State Library of Queensland (SLQ)*).

Tamara Štefanac  
Vlatka Lemić

## Sagledavanje migracijskih fenomena iz arhivske perspektive: refleksije projekta AToM

**Apstrakt:** Projekt Kreativne Europe *Arhivi i tragovi migracija - AToM* (2022. - 2025.) bavi se fenomenom migracija iz arhivske perspektive. Projektni partneri iz Hrvatske, Španjolske, Mađarske i Nizozemske, koji predstavljaju različite institucionalne okvire, propise i stručnu praksu arhivske zajednice, zajednički stavljaju fokus na važnost prikupljanja i očuvanja arhivske baštine koja dokumentira pitanja migracija. Cilj AToM-a je istražiti i razviti najbolju praksu za procjenu, stvaranje, očuvanje i pristup arhivskoj i drugoj dokumentarnoj baštini koja se odnosi na emigrante, useljenike, prognanike i izbjeglice, radnike migrante, studente i druge kategorije zajednica iseljeničtva i dijaspore. Projektna aktivnosti usmjerene su na tri glavna cilja: jačanje kapaciteta arhivista i drugih stručnjaka za dokumentarnu baštinu u području povijesnih i suvremenih migracija; povezivanje arhivista i stručnjaka za dokumentarnu baštinu s odgovarajućim migrantskim zajednicama (npr. potomcima useljenika, manjinskim skupinama i pojedincima); zajedničko stvaranje specifičnih kulturnih proizvoda s članovima uključenih zajednica. Autori će pružiti introspektivni pregled projektnih aktivnosti, uz naglasak na ulogu arhiva kao mjesta komunikacije među zajednicama, kulturama i državama kroz različita povijesna razdoblja.

**Ključne riječi:** arhivi, migracije, usmena povijest, transnacionalno gradivo, komunikacija.

### O projektu *Arhivi i tragovi migracija - AToM*

Projekt Kreativne Europe *Arhivi i tragovi migracija* (AToM), koji se odvija u razdoblju od 2022. do 2025. godine, istražuje transnacionalne kontekste migracija i dijaspore kroz arhivsku i arhivističku perspektivu. U projektnim aktivnostima otvaraju se pitanja vrednovanja, očuvanja, opisa i pristupa arhivskom i dokumentarnom gradivu koje dokumentira emigraciju i imigraciju, ekspatrijaciju i zajednice dijaspore, te migracije u širem smislu pojma. Okosnica projekta usmjerena je na dvije teme: čuvanje arhivske baštine o migracijama i istraživanje modela dokumentiranja prošlih i sadašnjih migracija. Vrlo često državne granice nisu stvarne granice arhivske baštine, ljudi putuju, a s njima i zapisi koje su stvorili ili koji su stvoreni o njima. Posebno se analiziraju i propituju uloga

arhivista i drugih baštinskih stručnjaka koji se u okviru projektnih aktivnosti susreću s različitim oblicima i formatima gradiva i građe te pitanjima disperzije arhivskog gradiva, fragmentarnosti, transnacionalnosti baštine i zajednica, razumijevanja potreba imigracijskih i dijasporskih zajednica, problematikom identiteta i afekta, te izazovima kako pristupiti postojećim manjkavostima u sačuvanom gradivu.

AToM konzorcij čine ustanove i organizacije s dugogodišnjim međunarodnim djelovanjem u sektoru kulture i kreativnih industrija; voditelj projekta ICARUS Hrvatska, Ministarstvo kulture i sporta: Španjolski državni arhiv, Nacionalni arhiv Mađarske i Zaklada de Domijnen iz Nizozemske, uz pridruženog partnera Zadružnu baštinu Limbourg. Veličinom najveći partneri, nacionalni arhivi Mađarske i Španjolske imaju prethodna iskustva suradnje na nacionalnim i međunarodnim projektima vezanim uz tematiku migracija. Primjerice, obje su ustanove bile partneri na projektu Kreativne Europe *European Digital Treasures* (EDT)<sup>1</sup> u kojem je jedan dio programskih aktivnosti bio posvećen temama egzila, migracijskih tokova i solidarnosti.



Prilog 1: Španjolski arhivski portal

Španjolski državni arhiv organizacijski je dio sustava Ministarstva kulture i sporta Kraljevine Španjolske, a nadležan je za koordinaciju i organizaciju stručnih poslova zaštite, obrade i prezentacije nacionalne dokumentarne i arhivske baštine. Na španjolskom arhivskom portalu Pares<sup>2</sup> javnosti su dostupne baze podataka u kojima je okupljeno gradivo koje tematizira povijesne migracije, kao što su primjerice mrežni arhivski vodič o egzilu 1939. godine, ibero-američka

<sup>1</sup> Vidi: <https://www.digitaltreasures.eu/>

<sup>2</sup> Vidi: <https://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es/inicio.html>

migracijska kretanja, portal žrtava Španjolskog građanskog rata te deportiranih Španjolaca u nacističke koncentracijske logore i brojni drugi povijesni izvori. U okviru AToM projekta, Španjolski državni arhiv je zadužen za kreiranje multi-medijalne virtualne izložbe i osmišljavanje kustoskog koncepta fizičkih izložbi koje će se kreirati u suradnji s migrantima iz nacionalnih manjina te dijaspor-skih zajednica.

Nacionalni arhiv Mađarske od 1995. godine u svoje je stručne zadaće uključio brigu o identificiranju i sakupljanju mađarske iseljeničke arhivske baštine sačuvane u inozemstvu u originalu ili kopijama. Zahvaljujući dugogodišnjem radu na prikupljanju dijaspor-ske dokumentarne baštine, Arhiv danas posjeduje znatnu količinu informacija o Mađarima koji su emigrirali u različite države tijekom povijesti te dodatno, od 2014. godine, provodi program Mikes Kelemen<sup>3</sup> kojemu je namjera sačuvati ugroženu dokumentarnu baštinu Mađara u drugim državama. Također, od 2017. do 2019. godine sudjelovao je u projektu *Migration in Arts and Sciences*<sup>4</sup> u okviru kojega je izgrađena Europeanina tematska zbirka o migraciji<sup>5</sup>. Aktivnosti Nacionalnog arhiva Mađarske u AToM-u obuhvaćaju prikupljanje i prezentaciju gradiva, te organizaciju završne konferencije koja se planira držati u Budimpešti početkom ljeta 2025. godine.

Nizozemski partner projekta, Zaklada De Domijnen, obuhvaća četiri kulturne ustanove: regionalnu knjižnicu, Povijesni muzej i Muzej modernih umjetnosti, te nekadašnji Povijesni centar u kojem su združeni gradski i regionalni arhiv. Cijela regija Limbourg izrazito je raznolikog sastava stanovništva, što je posljedica migracijskih kretanja radnika sredinom 20. stoljeća. Zaklada De Domijnen u svojim je prethodnim projektima također tematizirala pitanja migracije te surađivala sa suvremenim zajednicama migranata kako bi dokumentirala njihova migracijska iskustva. U AToM projektu zaduženi su za osmišljavanje metodologije i prezentacije usmenih povijesti koje će se prikupljati u suradnji s povijesnim i suvremenim zajednicama migranata.

ICARUS Hrvatska je neprofitna udruga posvećena istraživanju povijesnog nasljeđa, promicanju dostupnosti arhivskih izvora putem novih IT tehnologija i razvoju međuinstitucionalne i međunarodne suradnje na području kulturne, znanstvene i stručne djelatnosti. Aktivnosti udruge uključuju i koordinaciju i implementaciju tekućih programa i projekata međunarodnog konzorcija ICARUS koji okuplja 200 članova iz 35 država svijeta u Hrvatskoj, međunarodne i nacionalne kulturne i znanstvene projekte (Kreativna Europa, Erasmus+,

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<sup>3</sup> Vidi: <https://mikesprogram.oszk.hu/>

<sup>4</sup> Vidi: <https://pro.europeana.eu/project/migration-in-the-arts-and-science>

<sup>5</sup> Vidi: <https://www.europeana.eu/en/collections/topic/128-human-migration>

DARIAH, TMO i dr.) te različite javne programe (stručne skupove, izložbe, izdavaštvo i dr.) usmjerene na istraživanje i razmjenu stručnih znanja i iskustava. Uz ulogu vodećeg partnera zaduženog za upravljanje AToM projektom i administrativne poslove, ICARUS Hrvatska vodi i projektne aktivnosti posvećene edukaciji arhivskih i dokumentarnih baštinskih stručnjaka, što podrazumijeva pripremu edukacijskog priručnika i izvođenje edukativnih radionica po načelu „*training the trainers*“. U pripremi teorijsko-praktičnog edukativnog programa koji predstavlja osnovicu projekta sudjelovali su članovi udruge, sveučilišni profesori arhivistike (odnosno informacijskih i komunikacijskih znanosti), profesori povijesti, te međunarodno priznati baštinski stručnjaci, a u realizaciju pojedinih AToM aktivnosti uključili su se brojni suradnici iz baštinskih i akademskih ustanova, kulturnih udruga i manjinskih zajednica.

Sve faze i aktivnosti projekta podrazumijevaju ravnopravno sudjelovanje svih projektnih partnera uz međusobno uvažavanje organizacijskih i kulturoloških različitosti i usmjerenost na njihovo razumijevanje

### Promišljanja uloge arhiva u kontekstu migracija

Temeljne pretpostavke AToM projekta podrazumijevaju razumijevanje važnosti kulturne baštine za razvoj društva istaknutoj u Konvenciji o važnosti kulturne baštine za društvo iz 2005. (tzv. Faro konvenciji), te u preporukama UN-ove posebne izvjestiteljice u području kulturnih prava Faride Shaheed, koje stručnjake u području kulturne baštine prepoznaju kao ključne aktere u izgradnji odnosa sa zajednicama i pojedincima čiju baštinu čuvaju u svojim repozitorijima.<sup>6</sup> U gotovo dva desetljeća starom izvještaju Europske komisije o arhivima u proširenoj Europskoj uniji<sup>7</sup> naglašava se uloga arhivista kao čuvara memorije društva te potreba podržavanja aktivnosti koje bi mogle poboljšati pristup kolektivnoj memoriji svih društava u Europi. Ovi prioriteti i dalje su aktualni, premda danas kolektivno pamćenje uključuje znatno više čimbenika od korpusa nacionalnih arhivskih narativa. Razumijevanje, vrednovanje, opis i prezentacija arhivskog i dokumentarnog gradiva o migraciji u kontekstu određene zajednice su važni jer doprinose kolektivnom pamćenju i čine ga inkluzivnim, pravednijim i raznolikim. Migracije se odražavaju u različitim izvorima

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<sup>6</sup> Report of the independent expert in the field of cultural rights, FARIDA SHAHEED. Addendum. Preliminary note on the mission to Austria (4 – 15 April 2011). URL: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/706544?v=pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Report on Archives in the Enlarged EU. Increased archival cooperation in Europe: action plan, VIII-IX, p. 5. URL: [http://ec.europa.eu/archival-policy/docs/arch/reportarchives\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/archival-policy/docs/arch/reportarchives_en.pdf)

– dokumentarnom gradivu, javnim i privatnim arhivima i/ili zbirkaama koje su stvorili pojedinci, obitelji ili pravne osobe, što ih čini korisnim alatom za povezivanje dijasporских zajednica, država useljenja i domovine. Pristup gradivu u svim kontekstima uvjetovan je arhivskim praksama i legislativom, a u okviru AToM projekta transnacionalni konteksti migracija i dijaspora ispituju se iz perspektive uloge i prakse arhiva u odnosu na gradivo vezano uz migracije i zajednice dokumentirane u njemu. Zbirke gradiva o migracijama, bilo stvorene u institucijskom okruženju ili u samim zajednicama, mogu biti poveznica između zajednice migranata i baštinskih ustanova. Zajednice u dijaspori i one koje su proživjele disperziju i egzil često su suočene s poteškoćama (ne)mogućnosti vlastite prezentacije<sup>8</sup>, a što se vrlo često očituje upravo kroz službene narative baštinskih ustanova.

Projektni koncepti komplementarni su sa specifičnim ciljevima programa Kreativne Europe koji posebno naglašavaju zaštitu, očuvanje i promociju europske jezične i kulturne raznolikosti i bogatstva te prilagodbu kulturnog i kreativnog sektora digitalnom okruženju i globalizaciji, otvaranje međunarodnih mogućnosti i pružanje pristupa novoj publici.<sup>9</sup> Novi programski ciklus koji je započeo 2021. godine dodatno je usmjeren na jačanje kulturne raznolikosti, te aktualne potrebe i izazove kulturnih i kreativnih sektora, te stavlja naglasak na transnacionalno stvaralaštvo i inovacije, kao i programe koji razvijaju uključivi, digitalniji i ekološki održiviji pristup kulturnim i baštinskim sadržajima. U pripremu AToM-a uključene su i smjernice drugih tekućih europskih programa: program Građani, ravnopravnost, prava i vrijednosti EU<sup>10</sup> posebno je usmjeren prema promidžbi uključivanja građana u izgradnju demokracije te jačanje svijesti o zajedničkoj europskoj povijesti, a program Obzor Europa<sup>11</sup> podržava inovativne modele u edukaciji i istraživanju, te diseminaciji i transferu znanja. Kroz AToM se također preispituju mogućnosti veće društvene uključivosti pomoću dokumentarne i arhivske baštine, promatranu u kontekstu prošlosti,

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<sup>8</sup> T. ŠTEFANAC – K. WHITE, Representation, Rights, and Identity of Croatia's Roma Community: Exploring Archival Implication. *Records, archives and memory: selected papers from the Conference and School on records, archives and memory studies*, University of Zadar, Croatia, May 2013, eds. MIRNA WILLER – ANNE J. GILLILAND – MARIJANA TOMIĆ, Zadar 2015, 165. Dostupno na [http://www.unizd.hr/Portals/41/elektronicka\\_izdanja/RAMS\\_tisak\\_konacno.pdf?ver=2016-10-20-104937-423](http://www.unizd.hr/Portals/41/elektronicka_izdanja/RAMS_tisak_konacno.pdf?ver=2016-10-20-104937-423)

<sup>9</sup> European Commission. Culture and Creativity. About the Creative Europe programme. URL: <https://culture.ec.europa.eu/creative-europe/about-the-creative-europe-programme>

<sup>10</sup> Vidi: [https://commission.europa.eu/about-european-commission/departments-and-executive-agencies/justice-and-consumers/justice-and-consumers-funding-tenders/funding-programmes/citizens-equality-rights-and-values-programme\\_hr](https://commission.europa.eu/about-european-commission/departments-and-executive-agencies/justice-and-consumers/justice-and-consumers-funding-tenders/funding-programmes/citizens-equality-rights-and-values-programme_hr)

<sup>11</sup> Vidi: <https://www.obzoreuropa.hr/>

sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Arhivi nisu samo mjesta prošlosti nego i budućnosti, s obzirom da sadašnje arhivske prakse određuju koje će se gradivo vrednovati i kako, što će se sačuvati a što izlučiti, kako će se gradivo opisati i na koje će se načine njime koristiti stvaratelji, istraživači i zajednice koje su njime dokumentirane, te da li će se i kako koristiti za različite potrebe društva. Aktivnosti planirane u okviru projekta osmišljene su na način da naglašavaju ulogu arhiva kao mjesta komunikacije između zajednica, kultura i vremenskih perioda. Baštinski stručnjaci nerijetko su usredotočeni samo na jedan nacionalni kontekst i djeluju unutar svojih zakonskih nadležnosti, premda su zajednice, kao i gradivo o njima, često disperzirani, fragmentirani i transnacionalni. Dijasporske baštinske zbirke posljedice su migracijskih tokova, a iako utemeljene na lokalnim i nacionalnim razinama istovremeno oslikavaju transnacionalne dimenzije te predstavljaju zajedničku kulturnu baštinu.<sup>12</sup>



Prilog 2: Europeana Migration promo film.<sup>13</sup>

Tijekom pripreme AToM-a razmatrani su rezultati prethodno provedenih europskih projekata iz područja migracija i baštine; između ostalih tu su Europeanina zbirka Migracije<sup>14</sup>, Erasmus+ projekt MIGRANTS<sup>15</sup>, te projekt Maxi-

<sup>12</sup> T. ŠTEFANAC, Dostupnost arhivskih izvora za proučavanje povijesti hrvatske zajednice u San Pedru, Kalifornija. *Hrvatska izvan domovine IV - Zbornik radova predstavljenih na Četvrtom hrvatskom iseljeničkom kongresu (Zagreb, 5. – 6. studenoga 2020. i Marija Bistrica, 10. – 11. lipnja 2021)*, eds. IVANA HEBRANG GRGIĆ – VLATKA LEMIĆ – MARIN SOPTA – TANJA TROŠELJ MIOČEVIĆ, Zagreb 2022, 356.

<sup>13</sup> Europeana Migration YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2E0GJycWOc>

<sup>14</sup> Europeana Migration Collection: <https://pro.europeana.eu/page/europeana-migration>

<sup>15</sup> MIGRANTS Project: <https://migrantsproject.eu>

missing Migrants' Contribution to Society – MAX kojega financira Fond za azil, migracije i integraciju EU<sup>16</sup>. Premda su navedeni projekti znatno šireg opsega, prilikom planiranja AToM aktivnosti pokazalo se nužnim uzeti u obzir otvorena pitanja, rezultate i učinke ovih projekata. Pristup AToM-a temi migracija različit je u odnosu na spomenute projekte jer ne stavlja naglasak na sadržaj nego na informacijski potencijal gradiva i zajednica, kao osnove za sve daljnje programe i akcije. Dodatno, u skladu s nastojanjima Arhivskog portala Europe (APE)<sup>17</sup>, AToM nastoji promovirati važnost zajedničkog pristupa europskim arhivima, kao i važnost arhivske baštine za europska društva. Pri tome, AToM prepoznaje da su neki aspekti arhivske baštine, kao i njezinih dionika, slabije zastupljeni u zajedničkom europskom arhivskom dijalogu te da postoje prepreke u pristupu i prezentaciji arhivske baštine koja oslikava migracijske tokove, te se upravo te prepreke adresiraju kroz sve projektne aktivnosti.



Prilog 3: AToM istraživanje o gradivu o migracijama u arhivima.

Ciljevi projekta usklađeni su i s Ciljevima održivog razvoja Ujedinjenih naroda<sup>18</sup>, točnije s ciljem 10 koji promovira veću društvenu uključenost, budući se

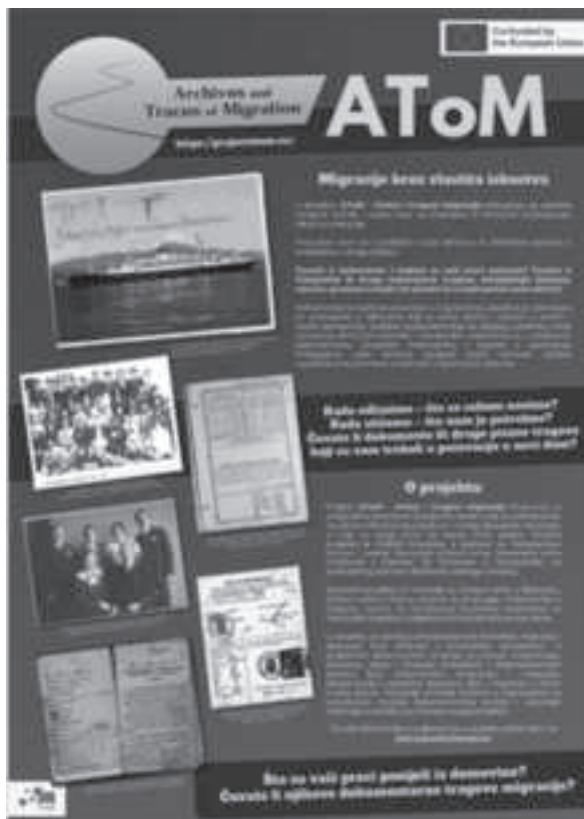
<sup>16</sup> Maximising Migrants' Contribution to Society Project: <https://maxamif.eu/about/>

<sup>17</sup> Vidi: <https://www.archivesportaleurope.net/home>

<sup>18</sup> Vidi: <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcjpcglclefindmkaj/https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf>

kroz AToM prepoznaje da sektor kulture može podjednako djelovati u smjeru isključivosti i/ili uključivosti te da je potrebno sustavno razvijati uključive kulturne prakse.

Europska dimenzija projekta odražava se u činjenici da migracijom ljudi s njima putuju i zapisi o njima koji se nalaze u novom kontekstu (uz kontekst domovine koji ih dokumentacijski zadržava u određenom vremenu). Vrlo često državne granice nisu stvarne granice arhivskog i dokumentarnog gradiva – ljudi migriraju kroz različite države, a gradivo o njima kroz različite institucijske i kulturne prakse. Dosadašnji, prethodno navedeni slični projekti nisu kao osnovu promišljanja pretpostavili arhivsku (i arhivističku) komponentu koju AToM otvara. Također, postavlja se i pitanje edukacije arhivista i drugih baštinskih dokumentarnih stručnjaka koji se u dodiru s transnacionalnim gradivom i zajednicama koje emigriraju i imigriraju suočavaju s raznovrsnim stručnim, institucijskim i kulturnim praksama, kao i prilagodbe profesionalne prakse transnacionalnim okolnostima.

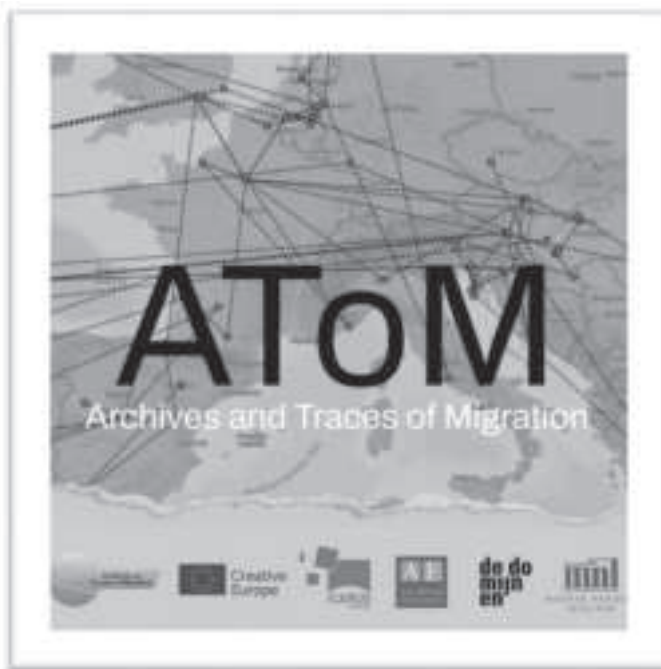


Prilog 4: Plakat ICARUS Hrvatska s pozivom na uključivanje u AToM aktivnosti.

## Metodologija i ciljevi projekta AToM

Sveobuhvatan koncept ovog projekta jest razumijevanje migracija kao transnacionalnog, transgeneracijskog i interdisciplinarnog fenomena u koji su uključeni raznovrsni dionici, među kojima arhivi i baštinske ustanove imaju značajnu ulogu. Oni mogu djelovati kao društveni agenti koji mogu razvijati uključivi pristup svojim programima i uslugama kroz podršku participacijskog pristupa te ujedno odraziti različitost. Osnovne aktivnosti planirane u okviru AToM-a (edukacija, usmene povijesti, te izgradnja zbirke posvećenih migraciji) zahtijevaju pristup mješovite metodologije i transnacionalnu usmjerenost. Važan aspekt AToM-a čine principi zajedničkog stvaranja narativa o povijesnim migracijskim kretanjima sa zajednicama koje su uključene u projektne aktivnosti, što podrazumijeva interdisciplinarnost i uvažavanje različitosti. Osnovne tehnike u provođenju planiranih aktivnosti su uključivanje privatnog arhivskog gradiva u izgradnju narativa, prikupljanje usmenih povijesti koje oslikavaju životne priče pojedinaca koji su (e)imigrirali, te izrada obavijesnih pomagala i vodiča za korisnike u suradnji sa zajednicom koja je gradivom dokumentirana, te lingvistička uključivost. Ciljana skupina sudionika u projektu su arhivisti i drugi dokumentarni baštinski stručnjaci, te pripadnici zajednica, nacionalnih manjina u državama projektnih partnera, te pripadnici dijaspora. Pritom je neophodno prepoznati značaj dokumentarne baštine, vrednovati, sakupiti i opisati imajući na umu da radimo s baštinom koja nužno prelazi granice država, ako ne u doslovnom smislu, onda preko osoba i zajednica koje su migrirale. U skladu s time, neophodno je preispitati uvriježene stručne pristupe arhivskom i dokumentarnom gradivu koje se tiče transnacionalnih osoba, ali i potreba raznih korisnika izvan državnih granica. Istovremeno, valja naglasiti kako u AToM projektu sudjeluju partneri koji djeluju u različitim zakonodavnim uvjetima i čije su državne prošlosti veoma različite, što je oblikovalo migracijske povijesne tokove, a i danas utječe na migracijske politike. Na primjer, kolonijalna prošlost Španjolske i Nizozemske odražava različite povijesne migracijske obrasce (koji se reflektiraju i u arhivskom gradivu) te ujedno utječe na suvremeno djelovanje baštinskih ustanova u tim državama prema kojima se postavlja pitanje post-kolonijalne odgovornosti. Navedeni kontekst pokazuje razliku u odnosu na Hrvatsku i Mađarsku, u kojima stručna i znanstvena rasprava o dekolonizacijskim imperativima u domeni kulture i kreativnih industrija nije, i niti ne može biti, slična španjolskim i nizozemskim primjerima.

Planirani ciljevi projekta obuhvaćaju edukaciju arhivista i drugih baštinskih stručnjaka u upravljanju transnacionalnim gradivom, povezivanje baštinskih stručnjaka sa zajednicama iseljenika i useljenika te stvaranje proizvoda u domeni kulture i kreativnih industrija.



Prilog 5: Najava AToM virtualne izložbe.

Iz perspektive arhiva, kao važni elementi prepoznate su sljedeće teme:

- potreba vrednovanja, opisa i prezentacije gradiva na senzibilizirane, inkluzivne i raznolike načine;
- prepoznavanje migracija i njihovih posljedica (imigracije, zajednice manjina, nedostavno predstavljene zajednice, dijaspora itd.) kao važnih događaja povijesne i suvremene Europe koje je potrebno adresirati kroz arhivsku baštinu i praktični rad u arhivima;
- potreba usvajanja dodatnih znanja i provođenja edukacija za arhiviste i druge dokumentarne baštinske stručnjake kako bi se bolje suočili s izazovima čuvanja tragova migracija;
- potreba aktivnog uključivanja članova zajednica i njihovo sudjelovanje kao su-stvaratelja u arhivskim narativima o njihovim migracijskim povijestima i prezentacijama njihove prošlosti.



Prilog 6: Informacija o AToM Finding Aid na mrežnoj stranici projekta.<sup>19</sup>

Realizacija projekta planirana je kroz četiri međusobno povezane skupine aktivnosti, koje će paralelno pratiti njihova diseminacija na društvenim mrežama na nacionalnim jezicima. Prva od njih uključuje izradu edukacijskog priručnika namijenjenog arhivistima i drugim dokumentarnim baštinskim stručnjacima te provođenje edukativnih radionica u partnerskim ustanovama. Druga skupina aktivnosti obuhvaća sakupljanje, arhiviranje i objave usmenih povijesti osoba koje su migrirale. Treći dio aktivnosti uključuje stvaranje specijaliziranih obavijesnih pomagala uz sudjelovanje članova zajednica useljenika i iseljenika. Četvrti dio projekta čine zajednička virtualna izložba i pojedinačne izložbe u državama partnera. Zadnja projektna aktivnost je simpozij koji će se održati u Budimpešti u svibnju 2025. godine, na kojem će se predstaviti svi rezultati projekta, uz raspravu o potencijalnim učincima. Sve faze i aktivnosti AToM-a podrazumijevaju ravnopravno sudjelovanje svih projektnih partnera uz međusobno uvažavanje različitosti i usmjerenost na njihovo razumijevanje.

### **AToM aktivnosti**

Projektne aktivnosti vezane uz obuku i edukaciju arhivista i stručnjaka za dokumentarnu baštinu odvijale su se od lipnja 2023. do lipnja 2024. u Hrvatskoj, Mađarskoj, Nizozemskoj i Španjolskoj. Postavljeni ciljevi za ovaj dio programa bili su:

<sup>19</sup> AToM News: <https://projectatom.eu/index.php/news/>

- osmisлити i provesti inovativnu obuku za arhiviste i druge stručnjake za dokumentarnu baštinu,
- poticanje obrazovanja o socijalnoj uključenosti kroz kulturno-arhivsku djelatnost,
- doprinos suvremenom arhivskom obrazovanju i prijenosu znanja.

Indikatori za mjerenje planiranih ostvarenja su stvaranje inovativnih proizvoda osmišljenih za potrebe projekta (priručnik, tematski vodiči, edukacijski materijali, priče iz gradiva i sl.). Ciljana vrijednost je uključiti ukupno 40 arhivista i stručnjaka za dokumentarnu baštinu u projektne aktivnosti, pružajući im obuku i edukaciju o ovim specifičnim temama. Tijekom pripreme faze postalo je očito da format radionica treba prilagoditi ključnim sudionicima u svakoj državi, kao i da nekima od njih nedostaje potrebna razina znanja engleskog jezika. Shodno tome, obrazovne su aktivnosti modificirane kako bi se uskladile s načelom „*train-the-trainer*“. Prva radionica za edukatore organizirana je 1. svibnja 2023. u Sittard-Gellenu, a materijal za radionicu pripremljen je na način da ga edukatori mogu koristiti u svojim nacionalnim kontekstima, prevesti na odgovarajući način ili prilagoditi dijelove koji su specifični za njihove sudionike. Svaki je partner u narednom razdoblju organizirao radionice u svojoj zemlji, koje su praćene online podrškom i sastancima s uključenim sudionicima, koji su radili na pripremi izložbi, snimanju usmenih povijesti i drugim projektnim aktivnostima. Cjeloviti priručnik o radu s arhivskim i dokumentarnim gradivom o migracijama koji će sadržavati sve AToM edukativne materijale i primjere dobre prakse iz cijelog svijeta bit će objavljen početkom 2025. godine, a do sada su na mrežnoj stranici projekta objavljena dva priloga: *AToM: Definicija fonda/zbirke o migracijama*<sup>20</sup> i *AToM: Obavijesna pomagala*<sup>21</sup>. U ovim su publikacijama arhivski projektni partneri iz Španjolske, Mađarske i Nizozemske prikazali inventare i gradivo kroz prizmu migracijskih tema, dok je ICARUS Hrvatska prikupio primjere arhiva iz Hrvatske (Državni arhiv u Bjelovaru, Državni arhiv u Pazinu, Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, Državni arhiv u Splitu, Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Državni arhiv u Vukovaru, Arhiv Akademije likovnih umjetnosti i Odjel za dokumentaciju Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku), Bosne i Hercegovine (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine i Arhiv Tuzlanskog kantona) i Srbije (Arhiv Vojvodine i Istorijski arhiv Subotice) koji su se odazvali pozivu na suradnju.

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<sup>20</sup> Archives and Traces of Migration (AToM): A Migration Fond/Collection Definition: <https://projectatom.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Migration-Collection-Definition-AToM.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> Archives and Traces of Migration (AToM): Finding Aid: [https://projectatom.eu/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/AToM\\_D10\\_-31-1-2024.pdf](https://projectatom.eu/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/AToM_D10_-31-1-2024.pdf)



Prilog 7: AToM radionica na mrežnoj stranici projekta.<sup>22</sup>

Paralelno s ovim aktivnostima radilo se i na prikupljanju i opisu gradiva i usmenih povijesti, te pripremi multimedijских sadržaja i virtualne izložbe koja je javnosti predstavljena u srpnju 2024. godine. Virtualna izložba „Arhivi i tragovi migracija“<sup>23</sup> omogućuje pregled i praćenje osobnih narativa zabilježenih u dokumentarnoj i arhivskoj građi, kao i usmena svjedočanstva. Arhivski tragovi migracija raspršeni su diljem svijeta, a izložba naglašava kompleksnost istraživanja migracija za znanstvenike, članove migrantskih zajednica i njihove potomke. Uz konzorcij projektnih partnera, udruzi ICARUS Hrvatska su se u pripremi izložbe kao suradnici pridružili Državni arhiv u Bjelovaru, Državni arhiv u Pazinu i Muzej lokalne povijesti iz Tinjana.

U stvaranju virtualne izložbe AToM partneri su surađivali s povijesnim i suvremenim pripadnicima iseljeničkih i useljeničkih zajednica u Hrvatskoj, Mađarskoj, Nizozemskoj i Španjolskoj, te njihovim dijasporama i zajednicama nacionalnih manjina. Virtualna izložba bavi se migracijama ljudi kroz arhivsko i dokumentarno gradivo, prikazujući životne priče poznatih povijesnih ličnosti na nacionalnoj razini, te manje poznatih pojedinaca značajnih za svoje obitelji

<sup>22</sup> AToM News: <https://projectatom.eu/index.php/news/>

<sup>23</sup> AToM Virtual Exhibition: <https://atomexhibition.mnl.gov.hu/>

i lokalne zajednice. Španjolski državni arhiv prikupio je priče emigranata Španjolskog građanskog rata, Mađarski nacionalni arhiv priče sudionika revolucije 1956. godine u Mađarskoj, a arhivisti i muzealci iz nizozemske Zaklade De Domijnen usredotočili su se na ekonomsku emigraciju iz područja oko grada Sittard-Gellena. Priče iz Hrvatske su raznolike: Državni arhiv iz Pazina priredio je dvije priče: o životu Stojana Brajše te, zajedno s Muzejom lokalne povijesti iz Tinjana, onu o obitelji Depiera iz Tinjana i Vittoriu Depieru. Državni arhiv u Bjelovaru je u suradnji s obitelji Uhlir ispričao priču češke useljeničke obitelji koja je na bjelovarsko područje stigla krajem 19. stoljeća, te priču o Aloisu Dočkalu. Za realizaciju pripovijedanja izabrana je perspektiva životnih priča i pogleda na migracijska iskustva odozdo, kroz dokumente i naraciju osoba i obitelji koje su u njima sudjelovale. Dizajn virtualne izložbe osmislili su suradnici Mađarskog nacionalnog arhiva Krisztián Szabó i Attila Bátorfy, a i informacije i arhivski zapisi vizualizirani su kroz tzv. *scrollytelling* pristup pri kojem se korisnik kreće mrežnom stranicom na interaktivan način prateći zadani slijed prikaza, koji je ovdje određen migracijskim kretanjima i dokumentima kojima su ona dokumentirana. Životne priče moguće je pratiti kroz kretanje globusom, a izložba se također prikazuje i putem društvenih mreža (Instagram<sup>24</sup>, Facebook<sup>25</sup> i X/Twitter<sup>26</sup>) koje prate migracije ljudi te arhivsku i dokumentarnu građu koja ih prati. Svaki je post povezan s interaktivnom kartom, nudeći tehnike vizualizacije sadržaja koje omogućuju istraživanje migracija na jedinstven i inovativan način, a u razdoblju od srpnja 2024. do siječnja 2025. godine planirano je da svaki partner objavi 80 postova na Facebook-u, 150 na X-u te 100 na Instagramu.

Zadaće arhiva i drugih uključenih suradničkih ustanova i organizacija u okviru projekta obuhvaćala su prikupljanje dokumentarnog materijala i osobnih svjedočanstava kroz usmenu povijest, kako bi uključili raznolike narative o migracijskim iskustvima i njihovim utjecaju na obitelj i potomke. Usmene povijesti i dalje se aktivno prikupljaju te su osim virtualne izložbe dodatno objavljene na AToM mrežnim stranicama. Uz suradnike čije su priče korištene u virtualnoj izložbi, ICARUS Hrvatska je tijekom trajanja projekta okupio i druge raznovrsne partnere čiji su materijali objavljeni u pojedinim projektnim aktivnostima: fizičkoj izložbi koja je organizirana u Državnom arhivu u Bjelovaru u listopadu 2024, odakle će putovati dalje, na suradničkoj platformi #PričeIzArhiva, te u snimljenim intervjuima. Tako su na putujućoj izložbi i u popratnom katalogu zastupljene i priče iz Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku, Medicinskog fakulteta

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<sup>24</sup> Instagram: @atom.exhibition

<sup>25</sup> Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=61561334499083>

<sup>26</sup> X/Twitter: @AtoMexhibition

Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Arhiva likovnih umjetnosti HAZU, Arhiva Akademije likovnih umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, kao i one koje su prikupili individualni istraživači iz Dubrovnika, Bjelovara i Istre. Uz njih su na platformi #PričeIzArhiva objavljene i priče o Alfredu Fischeru iz Osijeka, te o slanju hercegovačke djece u Hrvatsku tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata, a dodatno su kroz usmene povijesti predstavljene i priče hrvatskih iseljenika i njihovih potomaka iz Sjeverne i Južne Amerike. Kako migracije izgrađuju stalnu nit europske i svjetske povijesti, razvidno je da odabrane AToM priče čine samo mali izbor iz osobnih, obiteljskih i zajedničkih događaja koje arhivi i uključene zajednice svakodnevno dokumentiraju i predstavljaju, te se one i dalje prikupljaju. Aktualne vijesti, te tijek i rezultati projekta dostupni su na mrežnoj stranici AToM-a<sup>27</sup> i uključenih partnera.<sup>28</sup>



Prilog 8: Sadržaji predstavljeni na AToM virtualnoj izložbi.

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<sup>27</sup> AToM Project: <https://projectatom.eu>

<sup>28</sup> Vidi: <https://www.icarushrvatska.hr/projekti-i-suradnje/atom>

Tamara Štefanec  
Vlatka Lemić

**Approaching the Migration Phenomena from Archival Perspective:  
Reflections of the project AToM**  
(Summary)

Creative Europe project AToM – Archives and Traces of Migration (2022–2025) is dealing with migration phenomena from archival perspective. Project partners from Croatia, Spain, Hungary and the Netherlands, that reflect different institutional framework, regulations and professional practice existing in the archival community, jointly put focus on the importance of collecting and preservation of archival heritage documenting migration issues. AToM aim is to investigate and develop best practices for the appraisal, creation, preservation and access to archival and other documentary heritage material relating to emigrant, immigrant, displaced and refugee, migrant worker, student, and other categories of expatriate and diaspora communities. The Project plan is oriented toward three main objectives: reinforcing the capacity of archivists and other documentary heritage professionals in the area of historical and contemporary migrations; connecting archivists and documentary heritage professionals with respective migrant communities (e.g., descendants of immigrants, groups, and individuals); co-creating specific cultural products (e.g., finding aids, oral histories, exhibitions) with members of the respective communities. The Authors provide an introspection of project activities, putting emphasis on the role of archives as places of communication among communities, cultures, and states across different historical periods.

**Keywords:** archives, migrations, oral history, transnational material, communication.

Sonja Ivanović  
Olivera Krivošić

## Project E-Routes – Time Travel Routes through Europe

**Abstract:** The paper presents the E-Routes Project (2022–2025) within the EU Creative Europe programme dealing with cultural heritage and contemporary artistic production related to travel experience. The project aims to collect digitized material from various GLAM institutions and create thematic travel routes in four European countries: Croatia, Italy, Serbia, and Slovenia. Routes are accompanied by interesting stories and historical parallels, as well as images or artistic representations from the past. The project provides an innovative platform for cooperation and can increase capacities in the cultural and creative sectors, thus improving lifelong learning and professional development. The project results can easily be applied in other European countries, enabling a better international presence of the European cultural heritage.

**Keywords:** E-Routes, project, Creative Europe, travel, digitization, cultural heritage, Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Italy.

### Introduction

The need for movement and travel has been a part of human nature since ancient times. It is an integral part of the general human desire and need to discover a new and different world. Throughout history, people travelled for various reasons — they sought better living conditions, fled from wars, traded, and went on pilgrimages or expeditions to discover new worlds. Travel has shaped human civilization by enabling cultural exchange, economic development, and the advancement of science. In 1841, Thomas Cook organized a rail excursion from Leicester to Loughborough. This trip was a great success and it inspired Cook to establish a travel agency that would make travel accessible to everyone, which marked the beginning of modern mass tourism. In the 1980s, Paul Fussell, an American cultural and literary historian, divided travellers into three categories—the travellers who travelled between the two world wars, the explorers, and the increasingly numerous tourists. “All three make journeys, but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveler that which has been discovered by the mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered

by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity. The genuine traveler is, or used to be, in the middle between the two extremes.”<sup>1</sup> What connects all three categories of travellers is a discovery of cultural heritage in newly discovered territories and an encounter with different socio-historical contexts of peoples and civilizations.

Cultural heritage has always played an important role in tourism. The concept of cultural tourism includes both the material and spiritual dimensions of culture. It involves the discovery of cultural heritage in the form of historical places and monuments, as well as various traditional festivals, customs, and local gastronomy. Tourists visiting certain destinations are often looking for authentic experiences that reflect local identity and tradition. Cultural routes emerged from the need to create thematic cultural itineraries. The terms cultural route, cultural path, and heritage path are considered synonyms and define a unique complex of connected objects of cultural heritage in a certain geographical territory.<sup>2</sup>

The Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes were declared Europe’s first Cultural Route in October 1987.<sup>3</sup> Since then, the Council of Europe has gradually implemented a certification of routes with a cultural, social or historical interest to bring European cultures and peoples closer. The European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) was established in Luxembourg in 1998 as a non-profit association whose aim is to help the Council of Europe ensure the continuity and development of the programme of the Cultural Routes. Routes are thematic and represent specific travel routes where important cultural, historical, landscape or natural toponyms intersect. It is a series of places connected by specific cultural elements such as architecture, gastronomy, crafts, or historical figures and events. By creating cultural routes, tourists are encouraged to travel from one site to another, which thematically represents a whole. In this way, cultural destinations are networked. The term *cultural path* refers, first of all, to a series of attractions that are connected by an existing physical road, while *route* (itinerary) rather means a proposed selection of attractions that a tourist can visit in an area, regardless of the chosen direction of travel.<sup>4</sup>

Cultural routes often cross national borders, which encourages international cooperation in heritage preservation. Organizations like the Council of Europe

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<sup>1</sup> P. FUSSELL, *Abroad, British Literary Traveling Between the Wars*, Oxford University Press 1980, 37.

<sup>2</sup> А. ТЕРЗИЋ, *Перспективе развоја културне руте Тврђаве на Дунаву у функцији обојашивања историјичке јонуге Срдије*, Београд 2014, 9.

<sup>3</sup> M. CRIVILLERS SIMON, *Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe Evaluation Cycle 2019–2020: Expert Report*, Council of Europe [2020], 3.

<sup>4</sup> В. РАВОТИЋ, *Selektivni oblici turizma*, Београд 2013, 199.

develop programmes supporting cultural routes at the European level, such as the Wine Route, St. James Way, Roman Empire Route, and others. The European programme of Cultural Routes includes three such routes in Serbia—the Roman Emperors Route, Transromanica, and Fortresses on the Danube. “The Cultural Routes are grass-roots networks promoting the principles which underlie all the work and values of the Council of Europe: human rights, cultural democracy, cultural diversity, mutual understanding and exchanges across boundaries. They act as channels for intercultural dialogue and promote a better knowledge and understanding of European history.”<sup>5</sup>

### **The E-Routes Project**

The E-Routes project is based on the idea of connecting cultural routes in the new digital environment. It deals with the presentation of cultural heritage and contemporary artistic production related to travel to meet the needs of modern travellers. The Project aims to improve cultural tourism by using new technologies, thus allowing tourists to explore cultural heritage in innovative ways. Its objective is to collect the most important digitized or in digital form cultural and artistic objects from various cultural institutions (galleries, libraries, archives, museums – GLAM) and to provide material for the creation of thematic travel routes that follow the path of cultural heritage in four European countries: Croatia, Italy, Serbia, and Slovenia. Historically, the four countries and their lands were divided between empires, different religions and languages, but at the same time had interlinked routes for commerce and travel, which usually followed ancient roads, rivers, and marine ports. These interlinked routes and pathways inevitably provided a mixing of cultures and languages. The Project emphasises time travel, providing a glimpse into how different authors or writers experienced journeys through the same lands in various periods from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onward. The E-Routes project provides a connection between old travelogues, diaries, maps, images, and other material with the contemporary cultural, creative or artistic experience related to the topic of travel and travel routes.

The Project is supported and co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union<sup>6</sup>. Partners in the project are the Serbian Library Association (coordinator), the association ICARUS Croatia, the National and

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/all-cultural-routes> (cons. September 25, 2024).

<sup>6</sup> Call: CREA-CULT-2021-COOP.

University Library of Slovenia, and UNINA – Centro MUSA (Musei delle Scienze Agrarie) of the Federico II University of Naples (beneficiaries). There are also three associated partners: the Matica Srpska Library from Novi Sad (Serbia), the Prelog City Library and Reading Room (Croatia), and association ICARUS Italy. The project took place over a three-year period, from 1 July 2022 to 30 June 2025.

The Project has five main objectives:

- Preservation and promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity of the partnering countries within the European cultural heritage and for the global audiences.
- Identification of the artistic material in GLAM institutions related to the project topic. Partners from the four main institutions, together with the associated partners, collect material from various collections and institutions to create digital collections displayed on an innovative platform. Each of the selected locations is accompanied by interesting stories and historical parallels, as well as digitized images or artistic representations from the past (places, objects, historical events, toponyms, personalities, biographies, quotations from literary works, and so on).
- Development of digital collections and their ingestion into the Europeana digital library. Web and mobile applications are also the results of the Project, aimed at presenting the new time travel routes to contemporary audiences.
- Enhancement of cooperation and collaboration and the establishment of new ways of communication and cooperation between contemporary artists and audiences interested in cultural heritage and cultural tourism. The Project provides an In-Residence Programme for modern European authors/artists interested in the topics of travel or travel routes. This activity enhances cross-cultural artistic cooperation and collaboration, providing at the same time selected travel material as a basis or inspiration for the chosen authors/artists.
- Better understanding and stronger connection between participating countries which is essential for their good-neighbourly relations.

### **Project Activities**

The project activities are divided into four major phases:

Awareness and collection building. This phase implies the creation of the

Project's website<sup>7</sup> and social network profiles. On the website, there is a blog that started in February 2023 with contributions from Croatia and Serbia. Sanja Domazet, Nikola Popović, and Saša Ilić, the award-winning Serbian writers, shared their travel experiences among other authors. There is also a possibility to subscribe to a Newsletter to stay updated about the Project. In August 2022, the E-Routes team created profiles on two major social networks, Instagram and Facebook.

This phase also includes the identification of the European travel material collections, organization of an international conference, crowd-sourcing campaign for engaging a global audience (available on the Project website), selection, classification, metadata description and digitization of selected travel route material and ingestion of created digital collection into the Europeana portal.

The E-Routes Partners had several virtual, as well as physical gatherings in Belgrade (Serbia) in October 2022 and in Ljubljana (Slovenia) in March 2024. Another on-site meeting of the E-Routes team was held in Šibenik within the conference 8th days ICARUS Croatia “Enhancing Heritage Experience—Exploring Cultural Routes” (22–25 March 2023), which was also introductory public event of the Project. The coordinator of the conference was ICARUS Croatia in cooperation with the E-Routes project, consortium ICARUS (International Center for Archival Research), the State Archives in Šibenik, DARIAH-HR and other partners. The conference took place on the premises of the “Juraj Šižgorić” City Library and the Civitas Sacra Interpretation Center.

Cultural exchange and translation. Activities in this phase comprise the creation of travel routes stories, an open call for the in-residency programme for the European authors and artists, and translation of the most important segments of the selected cultural heritage material and contemporary artistic production related to time travel routes.

Regarding the creation of travel route stories, the focus here is on the activities of the Matica Srpska Library as an associate partner in the Project. The Matica Srpska Library is the oldest Serbian library of national importance and the first public and scientific library of the Serbs, founded in Pest in 1826 and moved to Novi Sad in 1864. It is the central (parent) library for the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and receives legal deposit copies of all publications printed in Serbia. The Library also functions as a university library, thus contributing to the development of scientific work at the University of Novi Sad. The members of the Matica Srpska Library E-Routes team are Gordana Đilas, Head of the

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<sup>7</sup> <https://e-routes.eu/> (cons. September 25, 2024).

Department for Storage and Use of Publications, Olivera Krivošić, Librarian Adviser, and Sonja Ivanović, Senior Librarian, the latter two working in the Acquisition and Exchange Department.

Within this phase, some steps are taken in creating packages suitable for further digital processing and ingestion on the Europeana platform. First, the topics and points of interest or specific locations that potential travellers may find useful or interesting have been identified—Novi Sad, the Petrovaradin Fortress, and the Danube River.

Concerning Novi Sad, the following subtopics have been chosen: The Founding of Novi Sad, Matica Srpska, Zmaj Jovina Street, Tanurdžić Palace, Dunavski Park, Traffic in Novi Sad, and Travel Writers on Novi Sad. The topic of the Danube River also has its subtopics: Names of the Danube throughout History, Novi Sad Danube Bridges, Various Writers on the Danube, Danube Vessels, Štrand—City Beach on the Danube, and Fishermen.

After selecting the topics, the searching of the Matica Srpska Library catalogue and digital database has been performed. Other sources have also been consulted and a list of potential literature covering the chosen topics (points of interest) has been created. The reviewing of the material has been done *de visu* because not all material is appropriate to be included in the packages. The selected texts and illustrations have been scanned or typed up and the translation has been done where necessary. The final form of a package contains texts in Serbian and English and at least one illustration. The illustrations have been taken from books or periodicals, downloaded from the digital collection of the Matica Srpska Library, or obtained from other institutions. The source is cited for all texts and illustrations, so there should be no issues with the copyright. A total of 20 packages have been prepared and sent for further processing.

Here is an example of a package—a short text by the famous Serbian author Danilo Kiš revealing his feelings when crossing the Danube over the bridge, and a postcard representing Prince Tomislav Bridge. Today, there is also a bridge at that location but under a different name – Varadin or Duga (‘Rainbow’) Bridge.

*Peščanik / Danilo Kiš. - Beograd: Arhipelag, 2020*

Koja ga je misao zaokupljala dok je voz, uz zujanje gvozdene mostovne građe, usporavajući prelazio preko reke koja nevidljivo protiče ispod debelih naslaga leda?

Da ta reka pulsira kao velika žila-kucavica, sve negde od Švarcvalda pa do Crnog mora, na dužini od nekih dve hiljade kilometara, spajajući ljude i predele, te bi se svi narodi, podvojeni jezikom, verom i običajima, mogli smatrati srođnicima i braćom.

## *Hourglass*

What thought preoccupied him while the iron bridgework was clanging and the train slowing down crossing the river that flowed invisibly under the thick layers of ice?

The thought that this river was pulsating like a long, throbbing artery, all the way from the Black Forest to the Black Sea, a distance of some two thousand kilometres, connecting people and regions, so that all the peoples, divided by language, religion, and customs, might be considered relatives and brothers.

*Translated into English by Olivera Krivošić*



Figure 1: Prince Tomislav Bridge, a view of Novi Sad, around 1930 (Digital MSL).

The E-Routes In-Residence Programme engaged European contemporary writers of travelogues and artists inspired by travel experience to research cultural heritage collections within different regions of Serbia, Croatia, and Italy and to create original pieces of travel storytelling in various forms of creation. The In-Residence Programme offered a one-month stay in either Serbia (Belgrade), Croatia (Medjimurje or Zagreb), or Italy (Napoli – Portici). The authors/artists were allowed to access the existing digital collections prepared by the E-Routes partner institutions, to use them both as material for creative work and as an

inspiration. From 110 applications, 6 contemporary authors have been chosen to create in Serbia, Croatia and Italy. Between April and June 2024, four resident artists conducted their planned one-month stays in Italy and Serbia. Nikola Popović (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Hertha Miessner (Germany) were guests of MUSA in Naples and Portici (April-May), where they experienced and discovered Naples and its surroundings, working on textual and visual works of art. In June Anja Bohnhof (Germany) and Christoph Haase (France and Germany) were guests of the Serbian Library Association in Belgrade and Čačak, having their first-hand experience of the country's culture and history, which was a fruitful background for their work as visual artists. Their creations contribute to a contemporary collection of artistic travel material. During 2024, Radmila Marčić (Serbia) and Kristina Pongrac (Croatia) completed their residencies with ICARUS Croatia in the Medjmurje region.

Audience engagement and dissemination. The most important activities in this phase are the development of web and mobile applications with augmented reality options, the creation of a multilingual exhibition about the Project objectives and outputs, and the publication of promotional material including an open-access e-book about E-Routes and new European travel routes. One of the project's key results was the 2025 release of web and mobile applications built using the aforementioned packages.

Capacity building and knowledge sharing. The final phase includes activities such as organization of workshops and seminars for professional capacity building in partner countries, participation in professional events organized in other countries, organization of the final international conference for the presentation and peer-evaluation of the Project's results including the publication of the conference proceedings. As part of the Project's final evaluation and dissemination activities, the international conference "Transformative Power of Travelling: From Research to Discovery Experience" took place in Golubac, Serbia, on 5–6 June 2025.

## **Conclusion**

The overall results of the Project contribute to a significantly better understanding of the diverse cultural heritage objects and sites covered by the Project. It is the result of the established multi-level communication between the heritage and the public of the participating countries. Intercultural dialogue developed through the project phases on several levels contributes a lot to a

better understanding and stronger connection between participating countries which is essential for their good neighbourly relations. E-Routes geographic interest is the four countries that make part of a well-connected region in terms of historical paths and modern highways but it is not limited to the borders of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. It also has a wider European perspective, which includes European authors writing about their experience of travel through the mentioned lands from the 18<sup>th</sup> century until today.

The Project stimulates travel and exploration of the created time travel routes, associated points of interest, toponyms, places, and so on. Created routes are projected with an emphasis on the possibility of alternative ways of travelling, such as trains and bicycles, which has a positive impact on the ecology and environment of the region. It contributes to environmental awareness and protection for future generations. Additionally, E-Routes promotes the usage of technological solutions that provide connections between users as individuals and their natural, historical, and cultural environment.

The Project provides new possibilities for GLAM and creative industry sectors and the development of cultural tourism, new thematic routes, and collections. E-Routes has great potential for further development as the resources created as a result of the Project are permanently available for upgrading by researchers, travelogue writers, travellers, as well as all others interested in sharing their travel experiences with the wider audience.

Соња Ивановић  
Оливера Кривошић

### **Пројекат E-Routes – Путовање Европом кроз време** (резиме)

У раду је представљен пројекат *E-Routes* (2022–2025) у оквиру програма Европске уније „Креативна Европа“, који се бави културним наслеђем и савременом уметничком продукцијом везаном за путовања. Циљ пројекта је прикупљање дигитализованог материјала из различитих институција културе (галерије, библиотеке, архиви, музеји – ГЛАМ) како би се креирале тематске путне руте у четири европске земље: Хрватској, Италији, Србији и Словенији. С обзиром на то да савремени путници траже нешто више од обичних туристичких информација, пројекат *E-Routes* осветљава културно наслеђе на један другачији начин. Идеја је да се кроз пројектне активности успоставе везе између старих путописа,

дневника, мапа и слика са савременим културним, креативним или уметничким искуствима везаним за тему путовања и путних рута. Свака од одабраних локација биће пропраћена занимљивим причама и историјским паралелама, као и дигитализованим сликама или уметничким представама из прошлости (места, предмети, историјски догађаји, топоними, личности, биографије, цитати из књижевних дела и друго). Осим креирања вишејезичне апликације која ће водити кориснике кроз културно-историјске руте, реализовани су и резиденцијални програми уметника из све четири земље учеснице, као и две међународне конференције.

Пројекат обезбеђује иновативну платформу за сарадњу и повезивање која може да повећа капацитете у културном и уметничком сектору, унапреди целоживотно учење и професионални развој. Резултати пројекта би могли лако да се примене и у другим европским земљама, омогућавајући боље међународно присуство европског културног наслеђа.

Партнери на пројекту су Библиотекарско друштво Србије (координатор), удружење ICARUS Хрватска из Хрватске, Национална и универзитетска библиотека из Словеније и UNINA – *Centro MUSA (Musei delle Scienze Agrarie)* са италијанског Универзитета „Federico II“ у Напуљу. Придružени партнер из Србије је Библиотека Матице српске из Новог Сада, а из Италије удружење ICARUS Италија и из Хрватске Књижница и читаоница Града Прелога.

**Кључне речи:** *E-Routes*, пројекат, Креативна Европа, путовања, апликација, дигитализација, културна баштина, Србија, Словенија, Хрватска, Италија.

## C4Education – Creating a Virtual Lab for Cultural Heritage Tools

**Abstract:** In summer 2022 a project consortium consisting of 4 European partners (Friedrich Schiller University Jena (Coordinator), the Time Machine Organisation (TMO), ICARUS – International Centre for Archival Research, and Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (NISV)) kicked off a common project co-funded by the European Commission as a Creative Innovation Lab. The intention behind this cooperation was to develop a virtual laboratory to showcase and work with digital tools for (further) education in the field of cultural heritage. The outcome of this initiative is presented here, a comprehensive collection of digital applications for the interested public, such as museum applications, city guides and virtual exhibitions.

**Keywords:** Digitisation, Cultural Heritage Tools, digital applications, EU programme „Creative Innovation Lab“.

“Virtual Lab on the Collection and Commercialization of Digital Tools for Citizen Education in Cultural Heritage,” abbreviated as “C4Education” was a project co-funded by the European Union under the Call for Creative Innovation Labs (CREA-CROSS-2021-INNOVLAB).<sup>1</sup> Running from mid 2022 to mid 2024, the project consortium under the lead of Junior Professor Dr. Sander Münster (Friedrich Schiller University Jena – FSU Jena) at the Chair of Digital Humanities, combined the expertise of leading European organisations in the field of digital heritage. In addition to the FSU Jena, ICARUS – International Centre for Archival Research, Time Machine Organisation (TMO), and the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (NISV) acted as beneficiaries, while the innovation platform META and the interregional “Virtual and Smart Cultural Tourism” partnership were also involved.

The following report aims to summarise and evaluate the outcomes of the project.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/how-to-participate/org-details/999999999/project/101060350/program/43251814/details>

## **Background and Motivation**

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in the audiovisual and cultural sectors face various challenges that the project aimed to address:

- Limited visibility and reach;
- Lack of affordable and ready-to-use digital applications that can be utilized and customized without extensive expertise;
- Missing revenue sources;
- Absence of an educational platform that meets the needs of businesses in the field of digital, audiovisual, and cultural heritage.

C4Education aimed to develop a virtual laboratory for digital tools dedicated to (further) education in cultural heritage. This included a collection of digital applications for the interested public, such as museum applications, city guides, or virtual exhibitions, as well as the development of a strategy for long-term usability and commercialization.

### **What was specifically planned?**

- A digital platform consisting of a marketplace for applications, including accreditation criteria and sales models, along with a corresponding training platform featuring self-guided tutorials and webinars.
- A series of high-quality, concrete flagship applications.
- A business model to ensure sustainable operation and long-term growth of the C4Education Lab.

## **Implementation**

### **Development and Implementation of the Digital Platform**

The digital platform (hereafter referred to as the “Virtual Lab”) was established, featuring the application marketplace, a range of high-quality flagship applications, training platforms, self-guided tutorials, webinars, and blog posts. The platform can be accessed online<sup>2</sup>.

To present the tools and applications on the platform, accreditation criteria with four sub-criteria and an evaluation algorithm were developed. Based on research, studies, interviews, and discussions conducted throughout the project, it was concluded that integrating a sales model on the platform (similar to

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<sup>2</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/>

Amazon) at this stage would not be very efficient, given the expectations and commercial maturity of the cultural heritage and digitization sectors, as well as GLAM institutions. However, the development trends in both sectors indicate that such a sales model could be commercially viable in the near future.

Although the specific goal was not achieved within the project duration, FSU Jena continues to explore a suitable business model for the platform while examining technical and legal processes.

## Contents of the Virtual Lab – The Applications

Throughout the project, ten selected flagship applications were presented on the platform. Three of these had been chosen before the project began to form the foundation for the first version (“minimum viable product,” January 2023) of the virtual platform:

- **NOUS Sonic (Austria):** Selected as a prominent example of museum audio guides, addressing key requirements in the field.<sup>3</sup>
- **HERITAGE XR (Germany):** Large-scale multi-user XR cultural heritage guide developed by Innovent GmbH, Arctron GmbH, and Consensive GmbH (SMEs), Germany. This project serves as an example of cooperative user spaces in cultural heritage and cutting-edge educational technology.<sup>4</sup>
- **Topothek (Austria):** Collaborative database for photos and other privately kept archival material (letters, postcards, etc.). Chosen for its high user numbers, crowdsourcing for information collection, and scalable business models.<sup>5</sup>

These three selected applications were enriched with dedicated tutorials (step-by-step guides, videos, etc.) to introduce users to their functionality. The tutorials were later integrated into the platform and are available in the subsection „Learn“<sup>6</sup>.

In the second step, parallel to the initial launch of the virtual platform, a public call for applications was made between December 14, 2022, and January 31, 2023. This call was spread through newsletters, partner websites, project pages, and social media posts. The purpose was to select an additional 3

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<sup>3</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/nous-sonic/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/heritagexr/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/topothek/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/learn/>

applications, targeting developers/providers of digital applications at the intersection of cultural heritage, archives, libraries, and the digital creative industry. The goal was to choose the most suitable applications for the platform. One of the criteria was also the question of economic and social relevance, and whether the applications had already been developed and validated in corresponding environments (minimum TRL 5 = Technology Readiness Level 5). Another basic requirement was the use of English language applications.

The application form for the call requested technical descriptions of the application, the defined target audience, and how the project goals would be met. Applicants were required to submit any existing visualizations and explain the medium-term plans for their applications. CVs of relevant staff members and links to related works and projects were also requested as additional documents alongside the application form.

The applications were reviewed by independent experts with specific competencies related to the proposed apps through a peer-review process, and final decisions were made by the project partners by February 28, 2023. The proposals were evaluated according to the criteria established during the design phase of the call and outlined in the call text:

- Relevance
- Innovation
- Readiness level

The selected applications were:

- **Chronoscope World (Germany)** is a tool that allows users to explore historical maps through an immersive web app. This enables users to take a time-travel journey around the globe. With over 6,212 historical maps from 60 libraries and archives, this application provides a unique opportunity to study the history of cartography, urban development, and the evolution of borders and infrastructure over time. Chronoscope World can be easily embedded into other websites and offers a range of presentations that demonstrate the app's versatility and groundbreaking efforts in geo-interaction design. As a selected project of the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018, Chronoscope Hamburg illustrates the app's potential for historical storytelling and presentation.<sup>7</sup>
- **XpeCam Solution (Portugal)** is a hardware and software platform that utilizes artificial intelligence, deep learning, and data processing to provide unprecedented imaging solutions for the cultural heritage sector. This innovative platform enables users to look beyond the visible

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<sup>7</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/chronoscope-world/>

spectrum and gain insights into hidden information, revolutionizing the field of art conservation and management. Art conservators, museum curators, and art historians can greatly benefit from this tool, as it offers imaging sensors and access to augmented reality solutions. Professionals in this field can continuously enhance their work by accessing detailed data and insights. XpeCam has already been implemented in educational institutions such as the Instituto Politécnico de Tomar.<sup>8</sup>

- **ZAUBAR (Germany)** is a B2B software solution that enables cultural institutions to offer their visitors immersive, location-based augmented reality (AR) experiences. ZAUBAR's innovative platform targets audiences of all ages, transforming audiovisual data into engaging AR content that is accessible and entertaining for everyone. Since 2019, ZAUBAR has been dedicated to preserving cultural heritage through its AR software solutions. Notable users of ZAUBAR include the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, the German Cinematheque, and the Hamburg Morgen Post. ZAUBAR aims to bring location-based AR experiences into the mainstream, transitioning them from a niche market to a widely used distribution medium. By partnering with more cultural institutions, ZAUBAR seeks to create digital twins of their offerings and make visits more accessible and immersive through AR-guided tours and web tours.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the project team identified over 80 additional digital tools from open data repositories and networks that could be of interest to the users of the virtual laboratory. Additionally, 4 specific tools were selected and highlighted on the platform as active examples of the sector's growing interest in 3D data capture, visualization, and reuse:

- **4Dcity (Germany):** is a mobile application that enables interactive viewing of urban development and historical data over time in a four-dimensional context. This tool is designed to provide access to historical and spatial data on the go, enhancing user engagement and educational opportunities. With 4DCity, users can select a point in the city's history, travel through time, obtain information about their surroundings (with links to Wikipedia), and explore how the cityscape has changed. Currently, this tool is available for the cities of Jena and Dresden.<sup>10</sup>
- **4D Browser – Web-Based Spatial Media Access (Germany):** “Urban History 4D” focuses on the innovative integration of spatial and

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<sup>8</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/xpecam-solution/>

<sup>9</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/zaubar/>

<sup>10</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/product-description-4dcity-mobile-4d-viewer/>

temporal data for exploring urban history. This tool specifically aims at visualizing historical developments and media in a virtual environment. It emphasizes the four-dimensional exploration and presentation of urban history. The goal is to make the evolution of a city over time, along with related historical sources—particularly photographs—accessible through a virtual spatial model. The use of digital content and tools provides researchers, especially in art history, with valuable support in analysing how cities have been photographed over time, taking into account perspectives, positions, and preferred (parts of) buildings by photographers. The large number of photographs requires corresponding quantitative analysis using scientific visualizations.<sup>11</sup>

- **3D Reconstruction Service “3D Heritage” (Germany):** This service enables citizens to capture, and document endangered cultural heritage in 3D through photography. As of now, this service is freely available to anyone who wants to create 3D models of cultural heritage, such as historical buildings or artworks, using their mobile phone—at no cost. Objects such as buildings, artworks, and collections can be photographed with the application and uploaded to the 3D Heritage portal. Photogrammetry then enables the 3D computation based on the images uploaded to the portal servers.<sup>12</sup>
- **Experimental Repository “DFG 3D Viewer” Jena (Germany):** This repository serves as a test environment for the development and evaluation of technology prototypes. It is closely linked to the German 3D Viewer infrastructure and is used for testing a prototypical approach to capturing 3D data from multiple sources, improving data quality, and enabling indexing, search, and display functions. The repository provides German and European data providers with the opportunity to collect, share, and store data. It currently contains 60,000 3D assets.<sup>13</sup>

By the project’s conclusion, the Virtual Lab comprised 93 applications, spanning areas such as Virtual Reality (VR), Augmented Reality (AR), artificial intelligence, historical and digital mapping, 3D and 4D reconstructions and visualizations, audiovisual systems, historical photography, and immersive/location-based technologies.

The platform remains an active resource, including research articles, market analysis, and a “Funding” section for EU co-financing opportunities. A “Service” section offers workshops and project consulting services for the cultural heritage sector.

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<sup>11</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/4d-browser/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://marketplace.heritageinnovation.eu/product/3dheritage-3d-documentation-service/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://dfg-viewer.de/en/dfg-3d-viewer>

## **Business Model – The Virtual Lab as a B2B Marketplace?**

Throughout the project, various business model possibilities beyond a traditional Amazon-like marketplace were explored, focusing on creative services for GLAM institutions and the audiovisual sector. Multiple potential funding solutions were identified, each with the potential to evolve into a standalone project with dedicated efforts.

To validate consulting services, various institutions were actively engaged to understand their specific challenges and funding needs. A workshop in Jena, employing the MESA methodology,<sup>14</sup> facilitated further scenario development. The insights gained were refined and presented during a final online event on June 10, 2024.

Work on identifying a suitable business model for the platform continues under FSU Jena's leadership. The flagship applications and tools will play a crucial role in guiding stakeholders and promoting the Virtual Lab's utilization. Even though a commercial model was not established during the project period, increasing visibility and engagement from researchers, SMEs, and GLAM institutions will enhance the platform's relevance in the coming years.

## **Sustainability and Continuity**

The experiences and insights gained during the implementation of the project have provided significant advantages in terms of sustainability and continuity. Public institutions, research institutes, and SMEs across Europe in the field of cultural heritage were contacted, the project and the Virtual Lab were introduced, and their interest was sparked.

The continuation of the Virtual Lab will be carried out in collaboration with FSU Jena and TMO, ensuring that necessary technical maintenance, troubleshooting, and the addition of new tools or learning materials will be managed by these institutions.

The Project Scouting Service operated by the Time Machine Organisation<sup>15</sup> will support potential stakeholders in successfully applying for co-financing through national or regional programs. This will allow them to leverage the Virtual Lab as a tool for advancing their activities in the areas of digitization, scaling, and internationalization.

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<sup>14</sup> <https://fortelabs.com/blog/introducing-the-mesa-method-creating-the-ideal-work-experience/>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.timemachine.eu/project-scouting-service/>

The project consortium will continue facilitating networking events and collaboration opportunities with stakeholders, policymakers, researchers, and new partners. This will help explore alternative ways to fund, maintain, and further develop the Virtual Lab. Participation in annual conferences and industry-specific meetups will be particularly beneficial in establishing direct connections between the Virtual Lab and other affiliated institutions.

Каролина Максимоф

**Пројекат C4Education – Стварање Виртуелне лабораторије за алате  
намењене културном наслеђу  
(резиме)**

У лето 2022. године, пројектни конзорцијум који су чинила четири партнера – Универзитет „Фридрих Шилер“ у Јени као координатор, Организација ТМО (*Time Machine Organisation*), ICARUS (Интернационални центар за архивска истраживања) и Холандски институт за звук и слику (NISV) – покренуо је заједнички пројекат који је суфинансирала Европска комисија под називом *Creative Innovation Lab* (Лабораторија за креативне иновације). Иза ове сарадње стајала је намера да се изгради једна виртуелна лабораторија која би приказивала дигиталне алате и примењивала их за (напреднију) едукацију у области културног наслеђа.

На крају двогодишњег рада, може се извести врло позитиван закључак. Кључне тачке на путу су достигнуте (а неке и премашене), па иако резултат није у потпуности испунио очекивања – јер до окончања пројекта није било могуће одредити конкретан пословни модел за тржишно окружење – Виртуелна лабораторија је створена и њена функција одржавана. Рад на њој се наставља и по завршетку самог пројекта, под вођством Универзитета „Фридрих Шилер“ у Јени у сарадњи са ТМО (*Time Machine Organisation* са седиштем у Бечу) као партнером. Сада се истражују даље суфинансирање и прилике за њено коришћење.

**Кључне речи:** дигитализација, културно наслеђе, дигиталне апликације, ЕУ програм „Creative Innovation Lab“.

**CHARTERS PORTAL *MONASTERIUM.NET***

**ПОРТАЛ ПОВЕЉА *MONASTERIUM.NET***



Maria Pia Tiseo

**Analog Archives, Digital Future.  
The Medieval Archives of Benedictine Monasteries in Southern Italy:  
Collections on Monasterium.net and HTR.<sup>1</sup>**

**Abstract:** This research project aims to develop a model for studying and accessing documentation from the medieval Benedictine archives of Southern Italy, starting from the diplomatic fonds of the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria (Neapolitan Library of Homeland History), or BSNSP. The model integrates traditional methodologies with digital tools, such as Transkribus for Handwritten Text Recognition (=HTR). Furthermore, it seeks to increase the accessibility to the monastic records of Southern Italy by creating online *collections* on the Monasterium.net portal. These *collections* will be linked to the records of the monasteries in the Atlas produced as part of a Project of Relevant National Interest (often abbreviated as PRIN in Italy), 2022, entitled *The cloister and power. Maps and destinies of Benedictine monasteries in Apulia, Campania and Basilicata in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries: papacy, monarchy and feudality*.

**Keywords:** medieval monastic archives, inventories, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, S. Maria della Grotta, Handwritten Text Recognition, Monasterium.net, Transkribus, digital archives.

**The source: the collection of BSNSP**

This study centers on the diplomatic fonds at the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria – BSNSP.<sup>2</sup> This collection was established with

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<sup>1</sup> This research is part of the PhD dissertation of MARIA PIA TISEO within the PhD program in *Storia, culture e saperi dell'Europa mediterranea dall'antichità all'età contemporanea* - Cycle XXXVIII, University of Basilicata (Supervisor: Francesco Panarelli; Co-supervisor: Antonella Ambrosio). The research is also conducted as part of the activities of the DSWLab (Laboratory of Historical Documents on the Web) at the Department of Humanities, University of Naples Federico II <https://www.studiumanistici.unina.it/dipartimento/strutture-dipartimento/laboratori-e-archivi/dsw-lab-documenti-storici-nel-web-e-altrove/>.

<sup>2</sup> For more details on Società Napoletana di Storia Patria see A. VENEZIA, *La Società Napoletana di Storia Patria e la costruzione della nazione*, Scuola delle Scienze Umane e Sociali. Quaderni 6, Napoli 2017, available at <http://www.fedoabooks.unina.it/index.php/fedoapress/catalog/view/52/57/391>; all cited websites have been consulted for the last time on October 31, 2024.

parchment documents donated by the Fusco family in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Following subsequent acquisitions, the collection comprises approximately 2,500 charters produced in Southern Italy between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>4</sup> Due to several reorganizations over the years, the collection now consists of miscellaneous series that do not necessarily reflect the archival fonds of the institutions of origin.<sup>5</sup>

While parts of the fonds have previously been published,<sup>6</sup> the collection can be explored under a new aspect: the medieval charters originating from Benedictine monastic archives. The study of Benedictine monasteries in Southern Italy, particularly during the late medieval period, is part of the broader PRIN (Project of Relevant National Interest) 2022 *The Cloister and Power*.<sup>7</sup> This initiative seeks to map the Benedictine monasteries in Terra d'Otranto, Terra di Bari, Capitanata, Basilicata, Principato Citra and Ultra, Terra di Lavoro, which were provinces

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<sup>3</sup> For the Fusco family see at least P. BALZANO, *Della vita e delle opere di Salvatore e Giovan Vincenzo Fusco ragionamento, Onori funebri renduti alla memoria di Salvatore e Gio. Vinc. Fusco*, ed. M.L. D'AVELLA, Napoli 1850, 153–306; *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. 1. Il fondo pergameneo del monastero di S. Maria della Grotta ed osservazioni sulle minuscole pregotiche dell'Italia meridionale* 1, ed. J. MAZZOLENI, Napoli 1966, 3–4; S. PALMIERI, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria. Inventario*, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. Cataloghi e inventari. Serie digitale 1, Napoli 2010, 1 n.1; A. AMBROSIO, *Il monastero femminile domenicano dei SS. Pietro e Sebastiano di Napoli. Regesti dei documenti (secoli XIV - XV)*, Documenti per la storia degli Ordini mendicanti nel Mezzogiorno 1, Salerno 2003, XXIX–XXX.

<sup>4</sup> For the composition of the fonds of the BSNP see B. CAPASSO, *Acquisto di manoscritti e pergamene, Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 7 (1882) 802–804; ID., *Dono di pergamene, Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 15 (1890) 844; *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, 1–47; S. PALMIERI, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria*, V–XI; A. AMBROSIO, *Il monastero femminile domenicano dei SS. Pietro e Sebastiano*, XXIX–XXX; A. AMBROSIO, *Introduzione, Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN). Secc. XI–XII*, ed. A. AMBROSIO, *Fonti per la storia del Mezzogiorno medievale* 21, Salerno 2013, V–X; ED., *La Diplomatica e il digitale. Il Fondo della Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria online, Quaderni Think Tank di RTH* 7 (2020) 1–15.

<sup>5</sup> For more details on this aspect, see also A. AMBROSIO, *La Diplomatica e il digitale*, 7–9.

<sup>6</sup> For a general bibliography on the publications related to the charters, see S. PALMIERI, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria*, V–VI n. 3; see also A. AMBROSIO, *Il monastero femminile domenicano dei SS. Pietro e Sebastiano di Napoli; Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN); I documenti dell'abbazia di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN). 1200–1250*, eds. A. AMBROSIO – V. I. SCHWARZ-RICCI – G. VOGELER, *Fonti per la storia del Mezzogiorno medievale* 26, Battipaglia (Sa) 2018.

<sup>7</sup> For more details on the PRIN 2022 *The Cloister and Power* (P. I. FRANCESCO PANARELLI) see the site <https://sites.google.com/unibas.it/chiostroepotere/home>. This project involves five universities of Southern Italy: University of Basilicata, University of Naples Federico II, University of Bari Aldo Moro, University of Foggia, University of Salerno.

of Regno di Napoli (in Southern Italy).<sup>8</sup> The data obtained will be entered into a georeferenced database, and the connections between monastic institution and various centers of power will be analyzed. The centers of power are the papal court, monarchs and their families, urban centers and feudal authorities. In addition, the project will analyze the reforms within some monasteries and the cultural education of monks.

### **Reconstructing the monastic archives: methodology and first data**

The charter collection in the BSNP can contribute to the PRIN project, by reconstructing the composition of the original Benedictine archives, i.e. by organizing the documents of the BSNP according to their archival provenance. This addresses a gap in the overall study of these parchment fonds, namely the lack of a systematic reconstruction of the Benedictine monastic archives in Southern Italy, which are often fragmented into different archival series, especially regarding the late medieval period. To this end, we created a dataset extracting data from various modern inventories of charters. These inventories are undated, but they likely date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and are currently preserved together with the original parchments at the BSNP. They inventories had not been comprehensively analyzed before, limiting scholars' understanding of the history of the monastic institutions and the documentation they produced and preserved.<sup>9</sup>

In detail, this research focuses on the following inventories:

- an anonymous manuscript inventory, which marks the charters with their current identification number and provides the chronological date and a brief abstract<sup>10</sup>;

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<sup>8</sup> These ancient provinces correspond to the present-day regions of Basilicata, Puglia, and Campania, all located in Southern Italy. These provinces share a substantially homogeneous historical-documentary context.

<sup>9</sup> These inventories, not currently catalogued, were known to scholars of the BSNP fonds and within the DSW Lab (Documenti storici nel Web), but were never analyzed in depth for the purposes of reconstructing the archives. See J. MAZZOLENI, *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, 1–3; S. PALMIERI, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria*, VI–VII. See also A. AMBROSIO, Introduzione, *Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN). Secc. XI-XII*, VII n. 5, who highlights the need for an in-depth study of inventories to identify the archives still distinguishable within the fonds.

<sup>10</sup> Cited in S. PALMIERI, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria. Inventario*, VI–VII, n. 4; *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, 1.

- the appendices to the above inventory, in which the documents are listed with reference numbers that do not appear on the *verso* of the charters. However, next to the serial number, there is in parentheses a reference to a previous classification, which points to the index entitled *Indice delle pergamene della famiglia Fusco*<sup>11</sup>;
- an index entitled *Indice delle pergamene della famiglia Fusco*, listing the charters by typology and with reference numbers that appear on the *verso* circled in black.<sup>12</sup>

In a complementary way, for the reconstruction we are analyzing the notes on the *verso* of the charters from the medieval period (up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century), which are systematically linked, to the corresponding items in the manuscript inventories.<sup>13</sup>

At present, the reconstruction phase of the original archives is still ongoing, but we are already able to present the first results, based on the analysis of the appendices to the inventory and the *Indice delle pergamene della famiglia Fusco*. The most extensive collection belongs to the monastery of Santa Maria della Grotta (=SMG) in Vitulano (BN)<sup>14</sup>, consisting of 645 documents (12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries): 462 of which are in the dedicated *Santa Maria della Grotta* series of the current archival organization, while 183 records are distributed across nine additional BSNSP series (see the table below).

As soon as the inventory analysis is completed, the updated data will be detailed and shared in future publications and made accessible online on the Monasterium.net portal (see below).

Regarding the other monasteries, we can highlight that while a large number of charters from the monastery of SMG is preserved at BSNSP, only one or very few documents remain for other Benedictine monasteries. This is evident, for

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<sup>11</sup> According to the hypotheses of Jole Mazzoleni, these appendices were compiled upon the acquisition of the Fusco charters, before the organization present in the manuscript inventory. *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, 2.

<sup>12</sup> This Index is not mentioned in either J. MAZZOLENI, *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria* or S. PALMIERI, *Le pergamene della Società napoletana di storia patria. Inventario*.

<sup>13</sup> For the methodology of the reconstructed archive, see E. BARBIERI, Per l'edizione del fondo documentario: la ricomposizione dell'archivio antico, *S. Giulia di Brescia. Archeologia, arte, storia di un monastero regio dai Longobardi al Barbarossa. Atti del Convegno internazionale*, Brescia 1992, 49–92; A. AMBROSIO, *Il monastero femminile domenicano dei SS. Pietro e Sebastiano di Napoli*, XIX–XLIV; *Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN)*, V–X.

<sup>14</sup> On the monastery of SMG see at least *Le pergamene della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, 19–43; A. AMBROSIO, Introduzione, *Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN)*, I–XXII.

instance, in the cases of the monasteries of S. Gregorio Armeno, SS. Severino e Sossio, S. Stefano del Bosco, S. Salvatore al Goletto, S. Arcangelo a Baiano, S. Maria di Monteoliveto. In these instances, part of the surviving documentation has been preserved in other institutions, such as the parchments of S. Gregorio, now held at the State Archive of Naples, or has been lost, as in the case of S. Maria di Monteoliveto.<sup>15</sup>

The identification of these archives is crucial because it offers the opportunity for deep reflections on the form and structure of monastic archives as historical sources for monastic institutions.

Table 1: Records of the SMG archive in the BSNP archival series (outside the S. Maria della Grotta series).

Series	no. of records
Atti giudiziari	15
Atti privati	23
Carte ecclesiastiche	2
Carte feudali	2
Censi e mutui	7
Chiese diverse	16
Compre e vendite	102
Monasteri diversi	15
Napoli, monasteri di S. Gregorio etc.	1

### Digital archives on Monasterium.net: between research and education

For a detailed description of the Monasterium.net portal we refer readers to the bibliography noted below.<sup>16</sup> Monasterium.net, established in 2002, is the largest digital repository of medieval and modern charters, with 238 archives, 2039 fonds, 200 *collections*, 688,639 charters, 987,429 images (status June 2025).

<sup>15</sup> J. MAZZOLENI, Archivi di monasteri benedettini conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli, *Monastica IV*, Montecassino 1983, 85–190.

<sup>16</sup> For a brief introduction on Monasterium.net see A. AMBROSIO, La Diplomatica e il digitale, 5–15. A. AMBROSIO – V. I. SCHWARZ-RICCI – G. VOGELER, Digital Scholarly Edition of Medieval Documents on Monasterium.Net: Santa Maria della Grotta (1200-1250), *Archives and Archival Research in the Digital Environment: a thematic volume*, eds. ŽARKO VUJOŠEVIĆ – NEBOJŠA PORČIĆ, Belgrade (2023) 142–145.

The portal also offers a Virtual Research Environment (=VRE) that facilitates advanced scholarly interaction and research. This paragraph will focus on: why Monasterium.net was chosen for our work and how we intend to integrate it into the study of the Benedictine monasteries in the late Middle Ages. Monasterium.net was chosen as a research tool due to the large amount of digital reproductions and metadata that it makes available, its robust VRE with digital tools, and its capacity to perform effective keyword searches. Our research team has already experienced firsthand the advantages of Monasterium.net.<sup>17</sup> However, the portal is currently evolving through MomNG, a significant update under the ERC (European Research Council) Advanced Project *DiDip – From Digital to Distant Diplomatic* (PI Vogeler).<sup>18</sup> This new phase promises a larger dataset and a virtual environment enhanced with an integrated hub of tools for HTR, computer vision analysis, computational text analysis and more. These improvements will create a more versatile platform for researchers, enabling deeper analysis and broader access to resources.

For the second aspect, within the PRIN project on Benedictine archives, one of the objectives is the digital representation of the reconstructed archives through the creation of *collections* on Monasterium.net. Each collection will consist of BSNP documents from the medieval period belonging to the same reconstructed Benedictine monastic archive. Although digital reproductions of these documents already exist on Monasterium.net—resulting from a previous digitization project—their online organization reflects their current archival location at the preservation institution.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, all documents relevant to this research will be copied as digital records and re-grouped into the new target collections. Subsequently, each document will be described by all relevant metadata collected during the project, including details about notaries, abstracts, any transcriptions resulting from HTR and other information that will serve as the basis for future digital editions. This digital representation aims to provide the accessibility of historical sources, through images associated with content descriptions and indexing processes.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Le pergamene di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN)*; A. AMBROSIO, *La Diplomatica e il digitale*; EAD – V. I. SCHWARZ – RICCI, *Un' esperienza al di fuori di EVT. L' edizione digitale dei documenti dell'abbazia di S. Maria della Grotta sul portale internazionale Monasterium. Net*, *Umanistica Digitale* 10 (2021) 359–371; see also the website on Monasterium Italy group at <http://www.coop-unina.org/south-italy-medieval-documents/>.

<sup>18</sup> <https://didip.hypotheses.org>.

<sup>19</sup> A. AMBROSIO, *Open the shrine. The South Italian charters preserved at the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria are now accessible for all on Monasterium.net*, *European Archival Blog* (2016), <https://coop.hypotheses.org/867>.

<sup>20</sup> On this aspect see G. VOGELER, *Edizione, “proto-edizione” e riproduzione dei documenti*

The Monasterium.net *collections* will serve as a base model for subsequent activities of the PRIN project, whose main objective, as already mentioned, is an Atlas of Benedictine monasteries in Southern Italy, which will include links to the corresponding digital archives. We hope that this project will offer a model for future projects to adopt a similar approach in creating digital archives for Benedictine monasteries throughout Southern Italy. Such efforts will not only improve accessibility but also allow for the integration of Southern Italian monastic archives into a broader European documentary landscape, providing a rich dataset that can be analyzed using the latest digital research technologies.

Moreover, Monasterium.net offers educational and formative value, empowering students through collaborative engagement, allowing them to see the tangible results of their work and fostering a sense of research community. For this reason, we plan to organize workshops and labs focused on Monasterium.net in the upcoming academic semester. These sessions have been successfully developed in the past and will continue to animate our training programmes.<sup>21</sup>

### **Future goals: HTR in the charters from the monastic archives of Southern Italy**

The research model under development in this project aims to explore the potential advantages of using digital technologies for the history of monastic documentation and medieval history more broadly. Therefore, our project will test the potential of the Transkribus platform for HTR.<sup>22</sup> This approach presents a significant challenge, as no publicly models specifically trained on the handwritings of our corpus are yet available on the platform. To address this, we will attempt to develop a custom model designed to identify the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century handwritings in our charters, including the numerous abbreviations they

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storici nella trasformazione digitale, *Medioevo Digitale. Documenti e Archivi | Arte e Architettura*, eds. A. AMBROSIO – P. VITOLO, Roma 2023, 23–40.

<sup>21</sup> A. AMBROSIO, Insegnare la Diplomatica con le nuove tecnologie? Potenzialità e spunti di riflessione, *SIT LIBER GRATUS, QUEM SERVULUS EST OPERATUS. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno 2*, eds. P. CHERUBINI – G. NICOLAJ, Città del Vaticano 2012, 1315–1326.

<sup>22</sup> Visit the platform at <https://www.transkribus.org/>. See also J. NOCKELS – P. GOODING – S. AMES, ET AL. Understanding the application of handwritten text recognition technology in heritage contexts: a systematic review of Transkribus in published research, *Arch Sci* 22 (2022) 367–392, at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10502-022-09397-0>.

contain. Training of the model has already begun with charters from the SMG archive, focusing initially on charters from early 13<sup>th</sup> century.

For model training, it is necessary to upload charter images to the platform and perform a layout analysis. This includes identifying text regions, which are rectangular areas encompassing all text, and baselines, which are polylines running along the bottom of each line of written text. For this process, Transkribus's automatic layout analysis feature was used. The text regions were generally accurately identified; interventions were only necessary for images containing two documents, from which two distinct text regions were derived. Automatic baseline recognition also yielded satisfactory results, requiring minimal manual adjustments.

The subsequent step involves providing the corresponding transcriptions for each line. During this phase, the focus is on establishing editorial criteria for machine learning, ensuring consistent transcription and expansion of abbreviations. Regarding abbreviations, three approaches are possible:

- keeping the abbreviated forms;
- expanding the abbreviations;
- transcribing in abbreviated form and using a tagging system to train neural networks to resolve abbreviations.

In our case, we have adopted a hybrid system: abbreviations have generally been expanded as in the available transcriptions, except for some truncation abbreviations (e.g., *oblig.*, *notar.*). In these cases, since the abbreviations must be resolved with a different ending depending on the context (e.g., *obligo*, *obligamus*, *obligavi*, etc; *notarius*, *notarii*, *notario*, etc.), we preferred to maintain the abbreviated form. This choice was made to avoid providing inconsistent training data to the neural networks.

For the initial training, we chose well-preserved documents from the period 1200–1250 because their transcriptions were already available.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, images of the 41 selected documents, along with their corresponding transcriptions, served as our initial Ground Truth, which refers to accurate and verified data used to train machine learning models. During training, users may choose to train their model with their own uploaded Ground Truth or combine it with a pre-existing model on the platform. After several unsuccessful attempts without a base public model, the “Compute Accuracy” function was used to determine which existing public model best matched our

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<sup>23</sup> *I documenti dell'abbazia di S. Maria della Grotta di Vitulano (BN)*; see also the digital edition on Monasterium.net at <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/SMG1200-1250/collection>. The transcriptions have been standardized in accordance with the new transcription criteria.

documents' handwritings. The best-performing model was *UCL – University of Toronto #7* which has been created with medieval charters from a similar period.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, training commenced using the *UCL Toronto* model associated with our Ground Truth. The resulting model performed reasonably well in recognizing the writings from SMG from the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, with a Character Error Rate (= CER) of 8.7% on the validation set.<sup>25</sup> We have to emphasize that this is currently a preliminary experiment. Through the expansion of the training set, our future goal is to develop a model capable of recognizing the handwritings from SMG archive in subsequent centuries and, over the long term, the handwritings from other monasteries in Southern Italy.<sup>26</sup>

## Conclusion

Due to the fragmentation of the documentation, the reconstruction of medieval monastic archives represents a significant challenge for historical research. Organizing documents digitally according to their monastic institutions of origin, we can contribute to reconstructing original archives, provide greater accessibility to historical sources, and improve the understanding of the dynamics between monasteries and society. Digital methodologies offer new opportunities for accessibility and research, as demonstrated for the *Monasterium.net* and *Transkribus* portals, tools that can significantly support academic research while contributing to a wider dissemination of medieval historical documentation. The project proposes a model that, if applied on a wider scale, could connect the monastic archives of Southern Italy and integrate them into the broader European documentary heritage, facilitating historical research that goes beyond the boundaries of nations and disciplines.

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<sup>24</sup> For this model see <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/transcribe-bentham/2021/04/20/ucl-university-of-toronto-transkribus-htr-and-medieval-latin-abbreviations/>.

<sup>25</sup> This means that out of every 100 characters, 8.7 are incorrect. According to the *Transkribus* Help Center, results with a CER of 10% or lower can be considered usable for automated transcription.

<sup>26</sup> Work is currently underway to extend these experiments to SMG charters dated 1250–1499. Following a reassessment of transcription guidelines for HTR (forthcoming in the Proceedings of the 33th Icarus Convention, Portici, European Travel Routes through GLAM: the Challenge of Becoming Digital), we are transcribing a varied and representative sample of six identified handwriting types and are also testing the open-source platform *eScriptorium* (B. KIESSLING – R. TISSOT – P. STOKES – D. STÖKL BEN EZRA, *e-Scriptorium: An open source platform for historical document analysis*, in 2019 International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition Workshops (ICDARW), Sydney 2019).

**Аналогни архиви, дигитална будућност.  
Средњовековни архиви бенедиктинских манастира  
у Јужној Италији на порталу Monasterium.net  
и аутоматско препознавање рукописа (НТР)  
(резиме)**

Пројекат се односи на збирку пергамената Библиотеке Напуљског друштва за историју отаџбине (Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria – BSNP) која садржи око 2.500 докумената насталих у Јужној Италији између 10. и 19. века. Као делу већег пројекта од релевантно националног интереса (Project of Relevant National Interest – PRIN) *Самостјан и моћ (The Cloister and the Power/Il chiostro e il potere)*, главни му је циљ да реконструише древне архиве бенедиктинских манастира груписањем докумената из поменуте библиотеке према архивима порекла. Пројекат укључује и анализу различитих инвентара из новијег доба, сачуваних заједно са пергаментима. Прелиминарни резултати указују на то да већина манастирских докумената потиче из манастира Свете Марије Пећинске (Santa Maria della Grotta – SMG) у Витудану близу Беневента у Јужној Италији. Ове повеље и приватне исправе сада су, међутим, распоређене по архивским серијама у оквиру фрагментованих фондова. Поред овог, идентификовани су и други бенедиктински манастирски архиви, али је број њихових докумената по правилу врло ограничен.

Пројекат такође истражује употребу дигиталних технологија у сврху истраживања и боље доступности древних манастирских повеља Јужне Италије. Циљ је, заправо, да се у дигиталном облику представе реконструисани архиви у виду збирки на порталу Monasterium.net и тиме побољша приступачност ових историјских извора путем снимака, регеста и одговарајућих регистара. Као највећи дигитални репозиторијум средњовековних и повеља раног новог века, Monasterium.net унапређује академску сарадњу и истраживање као тзв. виртуална истраживачка средина (Virtual Research Environment – VRE). Портал такође представља користан алат за рад у настави. Тако је у оквиру пројекта развијен студијски модел који испитује потенцијал дигиталних технологија за препознавање рукописа (Handwritten Text Recognition – НТР). С тим у вези, у програму Transkribus „тренира“ се прикладан модел како би се идентификовали рукописи у манастирским повељама из Библиотеке Напуљског друштва за историју отаџбине, при чему се у првој фази обрађују документи манастира Свете Марије Пећинске из прве половине 13. века. Према почетним тестовима, стопа словних грешака у валидационом узорку износи 8,7%, што засада представља добар резултат. Ипак, ово је тек први покушај да се развије модел који би, када се још

унапреди, био у стању да препозна рукописе Свете Марије Пећинске из 14. и 15. века, а затим – дугорочно гледано – и оне из других манастирских архива у Јужној Италији.

**Кључне речи:** средњовековни манастирски архиви, инвентари, Библиотека Напуљског друштва за историју отаџбине, Света Марија Пећинска, препознавање рукописа, Monasterium.net, Transkribus, дигитални архиви.



## The Collection of Charters and Diplomas in the Archives of Vojvodina Presented on the Monasterium.net portal

**Abstract:** Archival collections are artificially organized entities consisting of documents and items of diverse provenance, put together on a certain basis (e.g. kindred subjects, personalities, events etc.). Herein, we provide a concise survey of the Collection of Charters and Diplomas (F. 398) deposited at the Archives of Vojvodina and made accessible to broad public via a number of 'channels', including the portal Monasterium.net.

**Keywords:** portal Monasterium.net, charter, diploma, archival collection, Archives of Vojvodina, Habsburg Monarchy.

The portal Monasterium.net has been envisaged to be a virtual archive which currently (2025; numbers keep growing) counts over 700,000 documents – charters from the Middle and Early Modern Ages – treasured at more than 200 archives from 26 countries. These documents have been organized as archival fonds and collections; as to the way in which they are presented virtually, decisions thereon are made by the institutions which cooperate within the portal. The work on this project began as early as in 2002 by digitalization of some 20,000 documents kept in the monasteries of Lower Austria.

The Archives of Vojvodina is one of the institutions that maintain collaboration within Monasterium.net. In the year 2013, its Collection of Charters and Diplomas (F. 398) found its way to the said portal, thus making this highly precious archival material available to a far broader circle of interested users. Due to the necessity of presenting the Collection virtually, a revision of the Collection had been undertaken, translation of the description of its content into English provided, as well as digitalization of the charters and diplomas it comprises<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/RS-AV/archive> (cons. October 4, 2024).



Figure 1: Portal page of Monasterium.net displaying descriptions of the content of the archival units (items) within the Collection of Charters and Diplomas (F. 398) treasured at the Archives of Vojvodina.

The archival Collection of Charters and Diplomas 1565–1861 (F. 398) occupies a prominent place among the fonds and collections kept at the Archives of Vojvodina owing to its oldness, historiographical significance, visual appearance in terms of artistic/graphic aspect, material on which the documents were handwritten or printed, as well as their dimensions. The Collection contains a document which is considered to be one of the oldest archival documents at the Archives of Vojvodina – grant charter issued to János Mustafa/Musztapha by Emperor Maximilian II dating back to 1565. The historiographical significance of the Collection lies in the fact that the documents and items it contains provide

– among other things – an illustration of the relations between rulers and rights holders, i.e. of a certain legal practice in particular periods of history, and the data regarding some historical events and figures.

The archival documents in the Collection F. 398 are rather simple copies of the originals, but also include ornamented manuscripts and high-quality craftsmanship befitting the donors of high ranks. Thus, some of the charters contain graphic ornaments, interesting coloured drawings of nobility coats-of-arms that accompany granting of nobility titles. On some of the archival units (items), one can perceive the presence of seals made in wax or paper. On some items, the seals are damaged or lacking. Some charters have wax seals separate from the material on which the text is written/printed, attached to it and protected by a metal or wooden box. The preserved manuscripts are prevalingly written out on paper, but there are some on parchment as not quite typical surface for the manuscripts among the archival materials treasured at the Archives of Vojvodina.

Dimensions of some charters are in some cases non-standard ones for archival materials (e.g. A3 format); their shape varies from classical rectangular one to the form of a book in soft or hard binding<sup>2</sup>.

Before presenting the archival units (items) contained in the Collection F. 398, it is found recommendable to survey the terms used in its name, the concepts of the charter and the diploma respectively, the reasons for their issuance, and the basic elements they consist of, that is, their structure.

By definition, a charter is a solemn legal act in writing by which a right, privilege or honour is bestowed on a legal or physical/natural person. A diploma is defined as a document which solemnly recognizes and certifies a credit, commendation or honours conferred on someone, that is, a decree proclaiming a right and privilege to be enjoyed by legal or physical persons. The issuance of charters is often linked to conferring nobility status and privileges on lay persons/individuals, by the ruler. The main reasons for the issuance of nobility charters to lay persons are military merits or loyal service of the individuals.

What proved characteristic of the already granted nobility status and privileges was the need to confirm and evidence the said status, most often in order to update the rights and privileges given to a lay person/individual; for that purpose, certificates used to be issued of granting nobility status, or estates,

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<sup>2</sup> In the monograph *Zbirka povelja i diploma Arhiva Vojvodine [The Collection of Charters and Diplomas in the Archives of Vojvodina]*, Novi Sad 2018, authored by Zagorka Avakumović and Dejan Jakšić, each charter and diploma is accompanied by the data about its language, material, dimensions and all other important external characteristics.

castles, revenues and other properties. The certificates of such confirmations were not necessarily issued by the ruler in person; they could be issued by counties, territorial and administrative units of the Kingdom of Hungary. Apart from the Collection F. 398, such certificates are not rarely found in the archival materials of other fonds and collections at the Archives of Vojvodina, mostly in the fonds of some Hungarian counties/*vármegyek*: Bács-Bodrog County – Baja, Sombor/Zombor (1699–1849), 1688–1849 (F. 2), Temes County – Temesvár/Timișoara (1779–1849), 1731–1849 (F.10) and Torontál County – Veliki Bečkerek [now Zrenjanin]/Nagybecskerek (1779–1849), 1731–1849 (F. 11).

With regard to the structure of the nobility-granting charters, it is observable that some elements (information) are repeated in a certain order within the very texts of the charters. Therefore, we can conclude that their basic elements are as follows: 1. the name of the ruler granting nobility (status, rights and privileges) with his extended or shortened intitulation; 2. the name of the grantee(s), often with the names of family members (not rarely, the charter states that the given nobility status implies the inheritors of the grantee); 3. the nobility title granted (e.g. the titles of baron, count etc.); 4. the reason for granting the nobility status; 5. a detailed description of the noble's coat of arms, often accompanied with its graphic form (provided the coat of arms is awarded); 6. the ending provides information on the charter's issuance (date and place).

Although the concept of the charter is mostly associated with conferring nobility status on lay persons, i.e. individuals (physical persons), noteworthy are the special privileges granted to towns or villages, such as the statuses of free royal cities and market towns, as well as the privileges of craftsmen's organizations (guilds, fellowships). In the latter cases, the grantees have the status of legal persons.

Now that we have tried to explain the meaning of the terms 'charter' and 'diploma' and the reasons for the issuance of these documents as well as their basic elements (i.e. structure), here follows a survey of the Collection of Charters and Diplomas kept at the Archives of Vojvodina, that is, the archival units thereof.

The said Collection of Charters and Diplomas F. 398 consists of 50 archival units (items) that chronologically fall within the period 1565–1861. The items are arranged following the principle of timeline (beginning with the oldest and progressing toward the latest one). They have been numbered (given inventory numbers) in a continual manner (from 1 to 50). The content (text) of a charter or diploma provides numerous data, including descriptions of particular historical events, biographical details regarding some personages, lineages of some families etc. Placed together on a certain basis, the archival units (items) of this collection

differ mutually, and those differences regard: time span (different years of creation of documents and items), creators (provenance; different legal and physical persons that produced documents and items), intendedness, significance, content, purpose, diplomatic status (document/item preserved as the original or as a copy). Since the items which make up the Collection were produced in various ages/times by different creators, they were written or printed in various languages and alphabets. The Latin language prevails, but there are also some in German (in Gothic alphabet), Hungarian, Slavonic-Serbian (in old Cyrillic orthography), Greek, Italian and Slovak.

Speaking of the content of archival units (items), those are prevalingly rulers' charters and diplomas, but also some charters by other representatives of civil or ecclesiastical authorities which mostly confer or confirm the granted rights and privileges (titles, property etc.) or make appointments to various posts/offices and the like.

Regarding the grouping of items of the Collection F. 398 according to the characteristics of their content, one at first discerns two basic groups of these: those related to granting nobility status and those related to the confirmation of such status. The said groups are most numerous in the Collection F. 398, but there are others, based on the properties of their content: grants (deeds of gift); items related to appointments and namings; privileges of cities and market towns; craftsmen's privileges, and, finally, one group related to Josif Rajačić, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Karlowitz (arranged chronologically).

To illustrate the above-mentioned groups, one example for each of these shall be presented below.

Of the items related to conferred nobility statuses that – as has been said – were mostly granted by the ruler for deserving individuals' merits and loyalty to the Crown, we herein present the charter from the year 1699, in the Latin language, wherein Emperor Leopold (I) informs that by his royal grace – for their loyalty and truehearted service, Avram and Adam Miković, who had in various places and at various times proved their loyalty and committedness to both the Crown of Hungary and His Imperial Majesty, as well as the men's spouses and sons, Marija, Stanislav and Georgije of the former, Pava, Vid and Vuk of the latter, are ranked and admitted to the order and number of the nobles of the Kingdom of Hungary and the areas attached thereto. To the named ones, and to their heirs of both sexes, the right is “for all time“ recognized of enjoying all the honours, privileges, rights, freedoms and immunities enjoyed by the nobles in the Kingdom of Hungary. As a verification of the expressed King's grace and freedoms granted, and a sign of unquestionable nobility, the said persons are granted a coat of arms or the nobility insignia which they can use – like all those

graces and honours of the nobles – on all occasions when needed (the text also provides a description of the coat of arms)<sup>3</sup>.

An example illustrating confirmation of nobility status is the copy of the diploma from 1691, in the Latin language, wherein Emperor Leopold (I) informs that Count Djordje Branković, member of the Serbian people's, i.e. the Orthodox, community which falls under the Ruler's protection, with the purpose to confirm his rights, has requested verification of the Ruler-bestowed Privilege on the title of the count granted in 1688, so that based on the plea of the aforesaid, taken



Figure 2: Portal page of Monasterium.net providing a description of the content and the visual appearance of the archival unit (item) No. 16, pertaining to the confirmation of Djordje Branković's title of a count.

<sup>3</sup> The Archives of Vojvodina (AV), F. 398; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *Zbirka povelja i diploma Arhiva Vojvodine [The Collection of Charters and Diplomas in the Archives of Vojvodina]*, Novi Sad 2018, 37–38.

over from the Kingdom's Protocol or Registry, the above-mentioned privilege is presented and confirmed. The text informs that the document, dated in Vienna on September 20, 1688, had been issued by Emperor Leopold for Djordje Branković whose ancestors had settled in the Kingdom as had some other prominent families for the reason of either Turkish tyranny or another force. The Privilege states that among the antecedents of the aforesaid man, Vuk (Wolfgangus) Branković of Podgorica, the owner of land in Hercegovina, Syrmia etc., had stood out by particular bravery, shrewdness, adroitness and skill. By an imperial diploma issued in the city of Laxemburg on June 6, 1683, Djordje Branković had been recognized and confirmed the right to the above-mentioned territories, and, in addition, ranked among the free barons of the Kingdom of Hungary and the areas attached thereto. By the Ruler's grace, Djordje Branković of Podgorica, as well as his future legal heirs of both sexes, is granted the title of a count with the epithets "the most excellent, the most respectable and the most esteemed". He is granted all the graces, freedoms and prerogatives of the counts, and confirmed the right to use the family coat of arms (the text also provides a description of the coat of arms)<sup>4</sup>.

By means of grant documents, rulers of states and territories grant estates, castles, monasteries, revenues and other properties to deserving individuals and communities. This is illustrated below by a presentation of the document from the Collection F. 398 which is one of the oldest items treasured at the Archives of Vojvodina. It is the deed of gift from 1565, written in the Latin language, by which Emperor Maximilian II informs all that – for the sake of verification of the granted estate and rights to János Mustafa/Musztapha – presented was the deed of gift issued by Lajos Pekrÿ de Petrowÿna, Grand Count of the Liptó County, whereby he granted to the aforesaid man who, having left Turkey, converted to the Christian faith, as well as to his future heirs, for his loyal service, free from all taxes and labour, a house and a rural estate in the village of Lizkaffalwa which was governed by the Lÿkawa Fortress on the territory of the said county. Presented is the text of the deed of gift which repeats the abovesaid content and bears the date of May 27, 1543 at Innsbruck, with a note saying that the captains of the Lÿkawa Fortress had been told to install the designated person into the said property and keep him therein. To János Mustafa, who had demonstrated his loyalty to the Crown and His Majesty in various places and at various times, the Emperor confirms the previous deed of gift word for word<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 16; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

<sup>5</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 1; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 25–26.



Figure 3: Portal page of Monasterium.net providing a description of the content and the visual appearance of the archival unit (item) No. 1, pertaining to the granting of manor to János Mustafa, a Turk who converted to Christianity.

To illustrate the items related to namings and appointments, two examples are described below – one from the church practices and one from the lay domain. Among those from the ecclesiastical sphere, there is a document dating from the year 1757 and written in the Slavonic-Serbian language. Therein, Pavle Nenadović, the Orthodox Archbishop of Karlowitz, Metropolitan of “all Slavo-Serbian and Vlach people in the states of the Imperial and Royal Majesty” and [also appointed – Translator’s note] the imperial and royal secret counsellor – informs that Protopresbyter Andrej Nikolić, with indubitable merits in administration of the congregation, is transferred from the Palanka Protopresbyterate (*protopopija*) to the Sombor Protopresbyterate of the Bačka Diocese and granted the degree of a “protopope” at the Church of the Holy Great Martyr

and Christ's Victory-Bearer George in the Free Royal City of Sombor. Announcement is made of his installment and investiture in the said protopresbyterate and the villages under its administration, namely: Stapar, Brestovac (German name Ulmenau or Brestowatz), Prigrevica Sentivan (Batsch-Sentiwan or Sankt Johann an der Schanze), Miletić (Milititsch or Berauersheim), Bogojevo (Hungarian name Gombos), Karavukovo (Wolfingen or Karbok), Odžaci (Hanfhausen or Hodschag) and Parabuć (Parabutsch), with an appeal to all to "express and display submission and obedience" to the designated person, in compliance with the church law<sup>6</sup>. Among the items from the lay sphere of life, there is a document dating from 1813, in the Latin language, in which the Emperor of Austria Franz I informs that, based on the King's grace and authority, Vucolaus (Serbian name Vukolaj) Vuković, the owner of the village of Bereghszo (German name Großberegsau) on the territory of the Timiș County who is still not an adult by the law of the Kingdom, mere several months missing to come of age, wherefor, in the spirit of the current laws of the Kingdom of Hungary he cannot freely dispose of property, due to his inborn maturity and soundness and the proven proper habits (character) is hereby recognized as capable of personally managing the property in his ownership which is now under the guardian's control<sup>7</sup>.

The areas of the ruler's jurisdiction included the elevation of some communities to the rank of free royal cities and market towns, which was a precondition for their future social, cultural and economic growth. As an illustration thereof, here follows a reference to one item – a copy in the Slavonic-Serbian language of the Privilege from 1749 wherein Empress Maria Theresa informs that the inhabitants of the town of Sombor, until recently "the Military Trench of Sombor" which had in 1745 been transferred from "military" jurisdiction to the jurisdiction of the Kingdom and the Bács County, have sent a petition to Her Majesty asking for the town to be elevated into a Free and Royal Town. Due to the merits of its population and the loyalty to the Hungarian Crown and to Her Majesty displayed in various circumstances, and through the payment of 150 thousand Forint deposited into the Royal Treasury and to the promised loyalty and submission, it is by the Royal grace and as an example of loyalty and faithful service being recognized and rewarded by Her Majesty, as well as for the indubitable benefits resulting from such grace, that the "name and title" of the Free Royal City of Sombor with all the rights and advantages of the free royal cities in the Kingdom of Hungary is granted. Further in the text, through nineteen clauses,

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<sup>6</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 24; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 42–43.

<sup>7</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 34; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 50–51.

the rights granted are described, including the right to use the seal (coat of arms) the depiction of which is found in Clause Eighteen of the Privilege<sup>8</sup>.

Imperial charters used to regulate the issues of organization, obligations and privileges of craftsmen associated within their fellowships, i.e. guilds. The Collection of Charters and Diplomas boasts one of such imperial charters – a transcript of a Privilege from 1815 written in the Latin language; therewith, the Emperor of Austria Franz I informs that some articles (clauses) intended for better organization of the taylor's guild in the Free Royal City of Timișoara were presented to Him, and that the said clauses – with all the rights and graces they contain – have been written into the Privilege He granted to the fellowship. The Privilege contains 53 articles (clauses) related to the organization of the taylor's guild, as well as to the rights and obligations of its members. The same document regulates the issues of obligations and behaviour of the apprentices and journeymen, the procedure of promoting someone into a master craftsman, the master craftsmen's obligations, the way of burying and funeral escorts (for master craftsmen, journeymen, apprentices, master craftsmen's wives or children), the issue of master craftsmen's widows, guild meetings (holding and competences of these), the ways of electing the head craftsman and the man second in authority, etc.<sup>9</sup>.

One group of items occupies a special place in the Collection of Charters and Diplomas 1565–1861 (F. 398), and it is related to the public activities of the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Karlowitz Josif Rajačić (Serbian Patriarch). It stands out in terms of originality, visual appearance, and the historic significance of the dignitary to whom some documents were issued. Considering the said significance, here are the descriptions of two items from this file. The first, written in the Latin language, dates from 1842; therein, the Emperor of Austria Ferdinand I informs that, based on His Royal authority and jurisdiction, He appoints Josif Rajačić, until then the Bishop of Vršac, who had at various times displayed his loyalty to the Ruler, to the office of the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Karlowitz, which had been left vacant following the death of Stefan Stanković in the previous year, 1841, whereafter the Ruler had summoned an assembly in the matter of electing a new metropolitan in keeping with the concessions (privileges) given, at various moments, by the Hungarian kings to the Orthodox clergy and people living under the Holy Crown of the Kingdom of Hungary. It is ordered that the candidate should by all of the Orthodox people under the Holy Crown of the Hungarian Kingdom be recognized as the Archbishop and Metropolitan, and

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<sup>8</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 21; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 40–41.

<sup>9</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 35; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 51.

that “obligatory honours“ should be payed to him. This file contains yet another document, which repeats whatever is said above, and pertains to the recognition of Josif Rajačić as the Archbishop and Metropolitan by all of the Orthodox people within the Military Frontiers of Croatia, Slavonia and Banat.<sup>10</sup>.



Figure 4: Visual presentation of the archival unit no. 47, related to the appointment of Josif Rajačić as the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Karlowitz.

<sup>10</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 47; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 60–62.

The other item of that file is written in the German language and dates back to the year 1857. It is a diploma by which the City Administration of the Free and Royal City of Novi Sad awards honorary citizenship to the Serbian Patriarch Josif Rajačić<sup>11</sup>.



Figure 5: Visual presentation of the archival unit no. 48, related to awarding Josif Rajačić honorary citizenship of the town of Novi Sad.

<sup>11</sup> AV, F. 398, Item 48; ZAGORKA AVAKUMOVIĆ, DEJAN JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.*, 62.

**Збирка повеља и диплома Архива Војводине  
представљена на порталу Monasterium.net  
(резиме)**

Архивска Збирка повеља и диплома 1565–1861 (Ф. 398) истиче се међу архивским фондовима и збиркама који се чувају у Архиву Војводине због своје старости, историографског значаја, ликовно-графичког изгледа, материјала на којем су документи исписани или штампани, као и њиховим димензијама. Заинтересованим корисницима (истраживачима) она је доступна на порталу Monasterium.net, где је представљена на енглеском језику. Збирку Ф. 398 сачињава 50 архивских јединица (предмета) сређених према хронолошком принципу. Архивске јединице (предмете) могуће је пак груписати и према карактеристикама њиховог садржаја. Ради лакшег приказа, у раду је извршена њихова условна подела на групе по овом принципу, и за сваку је као илустрација приказан садржај по једног предмета из Збирке. Уочене су две основне групе предмета: предмети који се односе на доделу племства и предмети који се односе на потврђивање племства. Поред тога, на основу садржаја и његових карактеристика, у Збирци су уочене и следеће групе предмета: даровнице, предмети који се односе на именована и постављења, привилегије градова и трговишта (вароши), привилегије занатлија, те група предмета везаних за карловачког архиепископа и митрополита Јосифа Рајачића.

**Кључне речи:** портал Monasterium.net, повеља, диплома, архивска збирка, Архив Војводине, Хабзбуршка монархија.



**CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF PAPER  
AND PARCHMENT – CASE STUDIES**

**КОНЗЕРВАЦИЈА И РЕСТАУРАЦИЈА ПАПИРА  
И ПЕРГАМЕНТА – СТУДИЈЕ СЛУЧАЈА**



## Visual Examination of Written Heritage

**Abstract:** Research on written cultural heritage materials always poses a challenge due to limited access to the study of the material. The carrier of written cultural heritage is mostly paper, which carries information, whether in letters, colour, or form. Paper is perceived as a fragile material, but throughout its history, it has proven to be stable and reliable.

Modern approaches to paper research provide the possibility of non-destructive testing, but even through observation and visual inspection, very valuable information can be obtained that can lead to new knowledge. Non-destructive research methods include analytical methods that do not require samples, which do not damage the material. The visual analytical method satisfies this important condition for studying written cultural heritage materials. Analysis of the arrangement of sheets within the sets of a book block provides insight into the way the sheets of paper are arranged during printing, as well as the format of handmade papers. Analysis and identification of watermarks can provide information on the dating and provenance of handmade paper. Microscopic analyses of the surface of paper and fibres provide information on the composition of the paper and its quality.

An example of research using the visual inspection method is shown in the first printed edition of Euclid's book *Elementa geometriae* from 1482. The book was printed by the famous German printer Erhard Ratdolt in Venice, in 1482. It is one of the great classics in the history of science, a masterpiece of early typographic techniques. The results of the research showed that the copy from the Metropolitan Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese is a personalised copy that was bound in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** visual examination, written heritage, paper, Euclid.

### 1. Introduction

Research on written heritage is often challenged by limited access to the study of this material. Despite being considered fragile, paper has proven its stability and reliability throughout its history. Modern approaches to paper research allow for non-destructive methods, allowing for valuable insights without damaging the material. Visual inspection, a non-destructive technique, can provide significant information that leads to new knowledge.

We conducted research using the visual inspection method on a copy of Euclid's *Elementa geometriae* from 1484, located in the Metropolitan Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb. The copy contains 138 printed pages, richly decorated with woodcut borders, initials, and mathematical diagrams.

In the book's preface, printer Erhard Ratdolt cites the lack of mathematical works and difficulty in illustrating geometric figures. But he notes that he has discovered a method for printing them. Although he does not share the secret of his success, later research revealed that metal wires were used for this, bent into the desired shape.



Handmade papers from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when Euclid's *Elementa geometriae* was produced, can be considered the “early period of production in Europe.” This was a time when paper was in high demand as a result of Gutenberg's creation of the printing press and increased printing productivity. The book was printed in 1482 in Venice, a significant European printing hub with over 150 printers at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The first mention of paper manufacture in Italy was in 1276 at Fabriano, and the first usage of a watermark for protecting paper quality was in 1282. The first reference of gelatin as a sizing agent or binder in paper dates back to 1337, also at Fabriano. *Two hundred years later, in 1568, the Swiss graphic artist Jost Amman detailed paper manufacture across Europe in the Book of Crafts*<sup>1</sup> (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Paper Maker, *Book of Trades*, 1568, letterpress, woodcut.

<sup>1</sup> Amman's portrait of a papermaker. J. AMMAN, H. SACHS, *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden, hoher und nidriger, geistlicher und weltlicher, aller Künsten, Handwercken und Händeln* Offsite Link... Durch d. weitberümpften Hans Sachsen gantz fleissig beschrieben u. in teutsche Reimen gefasset in Frankfurt am Mayn, 1568. <https://www.fulltable.com/vts/aoi/a/amman/06.jpg> (cons. February 11, 2025).

## 2. Euclid's book *Elementa geometriae* from 1482 (Metropolitan Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb)

In 1482, a version of Euclid's *Elements* was published as the first printed edition of the book. This was a significant moment because it was one of the earliest examples of a mathematical text being printed. The book was in Latin and was printed by Erhard Ratdolt in Venice on May 25, 1482. This particular edition contained 15 books instead of the usual 13. Ratdolt printed more copies than was typical for the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with a run of over 300 copies. The translation used for this edition was done by Campanus from the Arabic version of Euclid's *Elements*.

This book is one of the classics in the history of science, a masterpiece of early typographic techniques. It is widely recognised as a great achievement of Renaissance printing, a masterpiece of typographic ingenuity. The printer Erhard Ratdolt was the first publisher of scientific and mathematical material, and this first edition of Euclid bears the first printed mathematical diagrams. Ratdolt himself, renowned for his initials and borders, crafted these. It is still unclear what method he used to get these figures into the text, although he describes the pains he went to in the dedication, but there are over four hundred throughout the volume<sup>2</sup>.

An example of Euclid's book from the Metropolitan Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb is an interesting book for research for several reasons. It is one of the rare, famous copies in Croatia, printed only 37 years after the printing of the Gutenberg Bible. It is about the very beginnings of printing and paper production on the European soil.

## 3. Non-destructive research methods – Visual examination

In the field of cultural heritage, it is essential to use research methods that avoid harming the item under study. The goal is to apply that method to learn as much as possible about the materials used in cultural artefacts, such as their composition, qualities, and identifying characteristics<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> V. MAGIĆ, M. PELC, M. ABAFFY, *Cimelia Metropolitana. Povijest i knjižno blago Knjižnice Zagrebačke nadbiskupije*, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Prvostolni kaptol zagrebački, Zagreb 2016, 104–105.

<sup>3</sup> PMG Non-destructive Testing and Instrumental Analysis, American Institute for Conservation (AIC), AIC Wiki (initiated) 2009. [https://www.conservation-wiki.com/wiki/PMG\\_Non-destructive\\_Testing\\_and\\_Instrumental\\_Analysis](https://www.conservation-wiki.com/wiki/PMG_Non-destructive_Testing_and_Instrumental_Analysis) (cons. April 11 2025).

Non-destructive research methods, such as visual examination<sup>4</sup>, allow researchers to study and analyse objects and artefacts without causing any harm or alteration to them. Visual examination is observing an object using the naked eye or with optical tools. It is often the first step in non-destructive analysis and helps researchers gather preliminary information about the subject's physical condition, structure, and surface features. Key aspects of visual examination, despite others using these observation tools, like the unaided eye, are basic observations using natural or artificial lighting. Then, magnification devices using hand lenses, microscopes, or stereomicroscopes for detailed surface analysis. And, imaging systems like cameras for equipment to document findings.

Non-destructive examination method is the initial stage of analysing an object's state in the conservation and restoration process in order to evaluate the level of damage and choose a technique of repair.

Visual examination, besides using the naked eye and magnification, can also include two other methods: measurements and spectroscopic analyses. Measurements can include measuring mechanical properties of paper, like paper thickness, and optical properties like brightness, yellowness, opacity, and paper colour<sup>5</sup>. Spectroscopic analyses like FT-IR (Fourier transform infrared

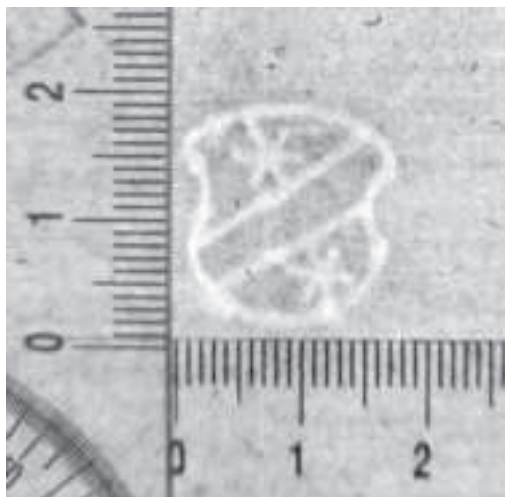


Figure 2: Visual examination of watermarks under transmitted light.



Figure 3: Visual examination with digital microscope.

<sup>4</sup> BPG Visual Examination, American Institute for Conservation (AIC), AIC Wiki 2025. [https://www.conservation-wiki.com/wiki/BPG\\_Visual\\_Examination](https://www.conservation-wiki.com/wiki/BPG_Visual_Examination) (cons. April 11, 2025).

<sup>5</sup> A. DRAGOJEVIĆ, D. GREGOR SVETEC, J. VODOPIVEC TOMAŽIČ, B. LOZO: *Characterization of seventeenth century papers from Valvasor's collection of the Zagreb Archdiocese*, *Heritage Science* (2050–7445) 9, (2021), 1–20.

spectroscopy) can give information about organic compounds of paper, and XRF (X-ray fluorescence) can give information about inorganic elements in paper (Table 1). The results of the visual examination can be compared and supplemented with other non-destructive testing methods to support other assessments of objects, particularly cultural assets.

Table 1: Non-destructive examination methods for objects of written heritage.

Methods	Analysis
Visual examination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• analyses of the layout of sheets within book blocks</li> <li>• analyses and identification of watermarks</li> <li>• microscopic analyses of the morphological structure of paper and fibres</li> </ul>
Measurements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• paper thickness</li> <li>• optical properties: brightness, yellowness, opacity, paper color</li> </ul>
Spectroscopic analyses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FT-IR ATR</li> <li>• XRF</li> </ul>

These studies were performed using the naked-eye inspection method on the papers from the 1482 book *Elementa geometriae*. That includes three types of analysing the arrangement of the pages within book blocks, analysing and identifying watermarks (Figure 2), and conducting microscopic investigations on the morphological structure of paper and fibres (Figure 3). These analyses can give information about the origin of papers, the composition and structure of papers, and organising sheets of paper into the book block.

### 3.1. Analyses of the layout of sheets within book blocks

Examining the sheets arrangement in a book block, we can learn about how the paper sheets were stacked during the printing process<sup>6</sup>. The location of

<sup>6</sup> DOUGLAS COCKERELL, illustrator NOEL ROOKE, New York 1910 – Project Gutenberg’s e-book <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/26672/26672-h/26672-h.htm> (cons. May 15, 2025).

the watermark and structure of the paper's mould indicate the size of the paper sheet, while the organisation of the sheets into signatures shows how they were folded and stacked in the book.

SHEET NUMBERING: 2 front pages + signatures „a” and 10 pages each (Figures 4, 5), the rest up to signature „r”, each 8 pages + 2 end pages; a total of 142 pages; folio sheet format: 204 x 270 mm; full sheet format: 408 x 270 mm.

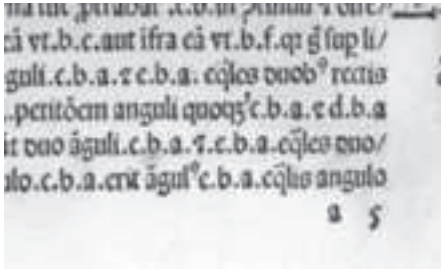


Figure 4: The letter mark of the signatures in the book in the lower right corner of the page (a5).



Figure 5: Scheme of arrangement of sheets within “a” signature with watermark.

The first thing to notice on a sheet of paper in a book is the position of the watermark, or rather on the right side of half of the sheet. The watermark is on every other page of the book except for seven sheets, or 16 pages, and the book is printed in the folio format. Signature “a” contains five sheets, or 10 pages, while the other 16 signatures contain four sheets, or eight pages (Table 2). There are three types of watermarks in the entire book block, which are coloured in different colours in Table 2. Thus, the tower symbol is coloured green, the bull’s head with a crown is orange, and the scales symbol is grey, while papers without a watermark are coloured white. Research into the arrangement of sheets according to the position of the watermark showed that most papers have the scales watermark, followed by the tower watermark with only four sheets, while the paper with the bull’s head with a crown watermark is found on only one paper.















Table 2: Arrangement of sheets in signatures of the text block in *Elementa geometriae* from 1482.

Sign.		Sign.		Sign.	
a		g		n	
b		h		o	
c		i		q	
d		k		p	
e		l		r	
f		m			
<input type="checkbox"/> no watermarks		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			

**3.2. Analyses and identification of watermarks**

A watermark on paper is a mark or pattern that is embedded in the paper during the manufacturing process and can be seen when the paper is held up to the light. A watermark is created by changing the thickness or density of the paper during manufacturing so that in places where the paper is thinner, light passes through it more easily, making the watermark visible. Table 3 shows all types of watermarks found in the book, their dimensions, classification according to the IPH standard, and identification according to available watermark collections.

Table 3: Identification of watermark in Euclid's book *Liber Elementorum* 1482.

Watermark	COAT OF ARMS	TOWER	BULL'S HEAD	SCALE			
IPH Standard; class/subclass	T1; Coat of arms	K7/1; Tower, single	C4/2/3; Bull's head, type III: head with eyes and nostrils	N28/1; Scale, beam type, triangular pans			
Multispectral recording of the watermark							
Dimensions	18 x 17 mm	59 x 28 mm - 74 x 38 mm	158 x 36 mm	38 x 20 mm	69 x 34 mm	87 x 34 mm	82 x 33 mm
Identification	Briquet, Les Filigranes, Nr. 1008; 1533; München	L. Mazzoldi: 1021; 1481, giugno 16 (A.S.B., Notarile-Brescia, f. 26).	L. Mazzoldi: 264; 1488, giugno 23 (in A.S.B., Cancelleria Pretoria, arti, reg. n. 20, C. 28).	L. Mazzoldi: 310, 1473, febbraio 4 (A.S.B., Notarile-Brescia, f. 83, doc. n. 392).	L. Mazzoldi: 286; 1473, ... (A.S.B., Notarile, Distretto di Salò, f. 3).	L. Mazzoldi: 328; 1479, ... (A.S.B., Notarile, Distretto di Salò, f. 4)	L. Mazzoldi: 336; 1480, maggio 17 f. 1 l). (A.S.B., Notarile-Brescia, f. 87).
							

A detailed investigation of watermarks identified four types of watermarks, such as coat of arms, tower, bull's head, and scales. Watermarks are included in classes and subclasses according to the IPH (International Paper Historian) International Standard for the Registration of Papers with or without Watermarks, Version 2.1 (2012), Version 2.1.1 (2013)<sup>7</sup>. Thus, the coat of arms is listed as T1; Crest, tower as K7/1; Tower, single, bull's head as C4/2/3; Bull's head, type III: head with eyes and nostrils, while the scale is listed as N28/1; Scales, type of beam, triangular vessels. All watermarks are recorded with a multispectral camera for better time visibility and identification. Dimensions were measured so that watermarks could be compared with those from literature and databases. All marks were identified by appearance and dimensions according to one book and one database of watermarks, namely Briquet-online<sup>8</sup> and the book by Leonardo Mazzoldi, *Filigrane di cartiere Bresciane*, tomo I&II, Brescia, 1990. Tomo I<sup>9</sup>. The coat of arms is identified according to Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, no. 1008; w 17 h 16; date 1533; Munich, then the tower according to L. Mazzoldi: no. 1021; date 1481, June 16 (A.S.B., Notarile-Brescia, f. 26). Bull's head after L. Mazzoldi: no. 264. Date 1488, June 23 (in A.S.B., Cancelleria Pretoria, atti, reg. n. 20, C. 28). Four types of scales with a beam and triangular bowls have been identified, the first being identified according to L. Mazzoldi: no. 310; date 1473, February 4 (A.S.B., Notarile-Brescia, f. 83, doc. n. 392), the second according to L. Mazzoldi: no. 286; date 1473, ... (A.S.B., Notarile, Distretto di Salò, f. 3), the third according to L. Mazzoldi: no. 328; date 1479, ... (A.S.B., Notarile, Distretto di Salò, f. 4), and the fourth according to L. Mazzoldi: no. 336; date 1480, maggio 17 f. 1 l). (A.S.B., Notarile-Brescia, f. 87).

### 3.3. Microscopic analyses of the surface of paper and fibres

For a more detailed research and analysis of paper, microscopic analyses of the surface of paper and fibres were used, which enabled the study of the structure of paper and fibers. Two types of microscopic analysis were performed: paper and fibre surface analysis with a digital microscope (Dino-Lite Pro-AM-413T5, magnification 500x) and morphological analysis of fibres with an optical

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<sup>7</sup> [chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcgclefindmkaj/https://www.paperhistory.org/Standards/IPHN2.1.1\\_en.pdf](chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcgclefindmkaj/https://www.paperhistory.org/Standards/IPHN2.1.1_en.pdf) (cons. April 21, 2025).

<sup>8</sup> <https://briquet-online.at/> (cons. April 21, 2025).

<sup>9</sup> <chrome-extension://kdpelmjpfafjppnhbloffcjpeomlnpah/https://www.ateneo.brescia.it/controlpanel/uploads/supplementi-ai-commentari/S-1990b%20MazzoldiFiligrane.1.pdf> (cons. April 21, 2025).

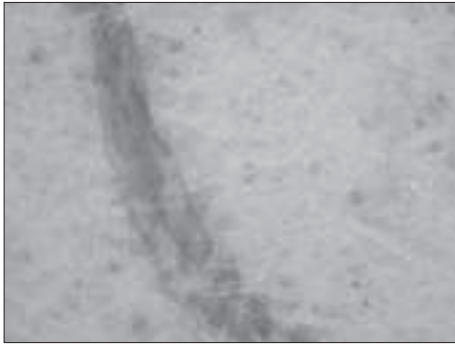


Figure 6: Thin light brown fibre.

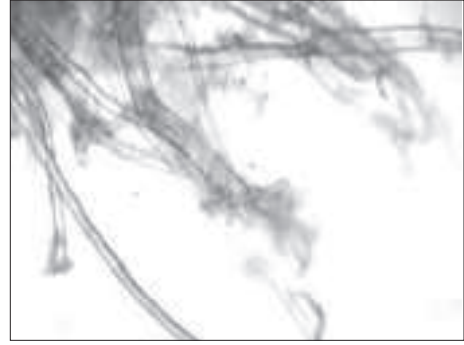


Figure 7: Flax and hemp fibres from the first leaf of the book.

microscope (Micros Austria type MCx500 optical microscope, magnification 100x). Several types of white fibres and several types of specific fibres were observed in the paper structure. By measuring the width of the fibres, two types of fibres were observed, thin with a width of less than 100  $\mu\text{m}$  and thicker with a width of more than 100  $\mu\text{m}$ . Examining the paper with a digital microscope revealed specific fibres that stand out from the whitest fibres (Figure 6). The blue (Figure 8) and red fibres in the Euclid book papers can be characterised as thin (blue 20-26  $\mu\text{m}$ ) according to their width. A thick, light brown fibre with a 146-147  $\mu\text{m}$  width was also observed (Figure 6). White fibres were visible, and their width was measured in the 12  $\mu\text{m}$  - 19  $\mu\text{m}$  range. According to the morphological structure of the fibre, two types of white fibres are recognised: flax and hemp<sup>10</sup>. Flax fibres and hemp and sometimes cotton fibres are visible under an optical microscope on all papers (Figure 7). According to the morphological structure, flax fibres (Figure 9) can be described as long, transparent, cylindrical tubes that can be smooth or grooved along their length. Swellings or knots along the fibre on which characteristic cross marks are visible. The fibres have a lumen or channel running through the middle that is narrow and clearly defined, of regular width. Hemp fibres are cylindrical, with swellings and other similar irregularities, but with a rougher appearance, like flax fiber. The central channel, or lumen, is wider than flax, and the ends of the cell are blunt.

Microscopic examination of the lettered and woodcut parts of the print led to the conclusion that the painted parts covered the printed woodcut part (Figure 10) and that the colour on the lettered parts was printed on the surface of the paper (Figure 11).

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<sup>10</sup> M. ILVESSALO-PFÄFFLI, *Fiber Atlas: Identification of Papermaking Fiber*. Berlin Heidelberg 1995, 336-339.



Figure 8: Blue fibre.

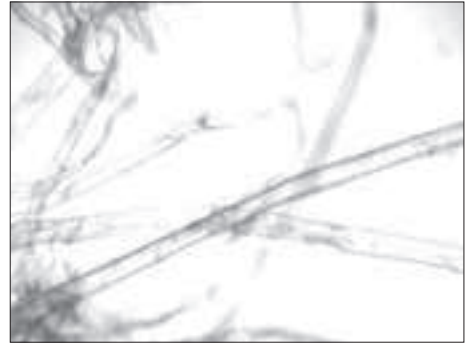


Figure 9: Flax, hemp and cotton fibres from the cover.

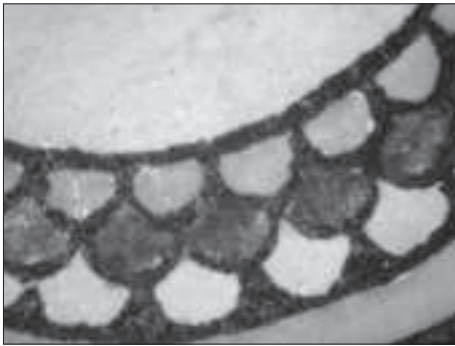


Figure 10: Detail of woodcut floral border, hand-made coloured.

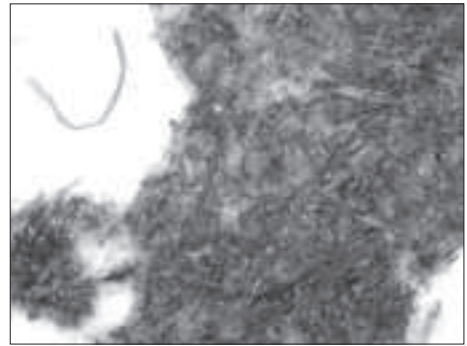


Figure 11: Detail of print on paper.

The coloured parts of the woodcut print suggest that they were probably subsequently hand-coloured, as were some copies of the same book in other European collections. In the example from the Metropolitan Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb, the woodcut part is coloured in two colours: yellow and green, while it was initially coloured in red and green, and the geometric figures in yellow (Figure 12). The copy from the Munich-based Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, has a coloured part in the lower zone of the woodcut part of the print, only in a circle in the shape of a coat of arms (Figure 13). The Glasgow University Library holds a copy whose woodcut parts are coloured (in the lower zone and the initial letter) in three colours: yellow, red, and green, as well as the geometric figures (Figure 14).



Figure 12: Zagreb, Metropolitan Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese, Euclides. *Elementa geometriae*. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482., MR 1162.



Figure 13: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Euclides *Elementa geometriae*. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482., Rar. 292.



Figure 14: Glasgow University Library, Euclid. *Elementa geometriae*, Erhard Ratdolt in Venice 1482, Sp Coll BD7-c.5.

#### 4. Conclusion

Objects of historical and artistic importance can only be investigated using non-destructive methods. The results can help in revealing the composition and properties of the material and sometimes historical data. It is crucial to select any approach that will not harm the study object for this reason.

By visual examination, or rather by analysing the arrangement of the sheets of paper according to the watermark found in the paper, it can be concluded that the dimensions of the folio format sheets are width 204 mm and height 270 mm, and the entire sheet/sheet format is height 270 mm and width 408 mm, which indicates that this is a small paper format for the 15<sup>th</sup> century. By analysing the watermarks, 4 types of watermarks were recorded, a total of 68: one coat of arms, four towers, one sign with a bull's head, and the remaining 4 types of scales. All paper signs within the book block were identified according to Mazzoldi's collection of watermarks from the Brescia/Toscolano Valley area in the period from 1473 to 1488. The watermark of the coat of arms recorded on the title page of the book is dated according to Briquet's collection of watermarks in 1533 in the Munich area, which indicates that the book was probably bound in time. Microscopic analyses of the surface of the paper and the fibres from which the paper is composed have shown that the paper mainly consists of white fibers. According to the morphological structure of the fibres, two types of fibres – flax fibres and hemp are distinguished, and their width ranges from 12 µm to 19 µm. In addition to white fibres, several types of specific fibres were separated in the structure of the paper: blue, red, light brown, and dark brown fibers. The raw material for paper production in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was textile residues mainly composed of stem fibres that were mainly grown on European soil. Examination of the surface of the paper using a microscope revealed that the woodcut parts of the print were probably subsequently coloured. Comparison with other copies in Europe probably personalised or coloured according to the wishes of the book owner, so we find differently coloured copies.

The investigation has led to the conclusion that the copy housed in the Metropolitan Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese is a rebound copy from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, based on the summary of the results.

## Istraživanje pisane baštine vizualnim pregledom (rezime)

Istraživanja materijala pisane kulturne baštine uvijek predstavljaju izazov zbog ograničenog pristupa proučavanju materijala. Nositelj pisane kulturne baštine je većim dijelom papir koji nosi informaciju, bilo da je ona u slovima, boji ili formi. Papir se percipira kao krhki material, no pokazao se kroz svoju povijest kao stabilan i pouzdan.

Suvremeni pristupi istraživanju papira daju mogućnost neinvazivnog istraživanja, ali već i samim promatranjem, vizualnim pregledom, moguće je dobiti vrlo vrijedne informacije koje mogu dovesti i do novih saznanja. Pod neinvazivnom metodom istraživanja podrazumijevaju se analitičke metode za koje nisu potrebni uzorci, čime se ne oštećuje materijal. Vizualna analitička metoda zadovoljava taj bitan uvjet proučavanja materijala pisane kulturne baštine. Analiza rasporeda listova unutar slogova knjižnog bloka daje uvid o načinu slaganja listova papira prilikom tiskanja kao i formatu ručno rađenih papira. Analizom i identifikacijom vodenih znakova mogu se dobiti informacije o dataciji i provenijenciji ručno rađenog papira. Mikroskopske analize površine papira i vlakana daju informacije o sastavu papira i njegovoj kvaliteti.

Primjer istraživanja metodom vizualnog pregleda pokazan je na prvom tiskanom izdanju Euklidove knjige *Elementa geometriae* iz 1482. Knjigu je tiskao znameniti nje-mački tiskar Erhard Ratdolt 1482. g. u Veneciji. Knjiga je jedan od velikih klasika u povijesti znanosti, remek-djelo ranih tipografskih tehnika. Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da je primjerak iz Metropolitanske knjižnice Zagrebačke nadbiskupije personalizirani primjerak koji je u 16. stoljeću preuvezan.

**Ključne riječi:** vizualni pregled, pisana baština, papir, Euklid.

## Amino Alcohol-Based Protic Ionic Liquids for Fungi Removal from Paper Heritage Artefacts

**Abstract:** One of the main directions for improving cooperation between artists (conservators) and scientists (chemists) is the improvement of the existing conservation methods and techniques for cleaning paper materials, which is one of the riskiest phases of conservation treatment. In this paper, a new approach to cleaning paper materials from fungi is proposed using new environmentally friendly solvents called ionic liquids. New protic ionic liquids (PILs) with 1-ammonium-2-propanol cation and nine different anions: formate, acetate, lactate, trifluoroacetate, chloroacetate, trichloroacetate, 3-chloropropionate, 4-chlorobutyrate and mandelate were prepared in order to study their antimicrobial activity and possible application for fungi removal from deteriorated paper heritage. Ionic liquids possess remarkable physicochemical properties, making them a viable alternative to traditional volatile, corrosive, and toxic solvents commonly employed in the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage. Often referred to as “design solvents,” their structure can be customized during synthesis to achieve specific characteristics, including non-volatility, non-toxicity, and non-oxidization. This adaptability substantially lowers environmental pollution risks and minimizes health hazards for conservators.

**Keywords:** protic ionic liquids, antimicrobial activity, fungi removal, paper materials, conservation methods.

### 1. Introduction

Paper, a widely used medium for recording information, can exhibit strong resilience to aging if produced under suitable conditions.<sup>1</sup> However, as a cultural heritage material, paper is highly susceptible to biodeterioration caused by microbial communities, especially fungi and bacteria, which produce metabolites that chemically and physically degrade the paper's structure. This deterioration, which weakens the paper, is influenced by intrinsic factors (such as material type, production process, and pH) as well as external factors (such as climate, pollution, and biological activity). Given the fragile state of many historical

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<sup>1</sup> M. L. CERNIC and J. VODOPIVEC, Influence of Paper Raw Materials and Technological Conditions of Paper Manufacture on Paper Aging, *Restaurator* 18 (1997) 73–91, p. 73.

documents and artworks, effective conservation methods are crucial for their preservation.<sup>2</sup>

Historically, fungicides like thymol have been employed in conservation practices to inhibit microbial-induced degradation. Although effective, thymol poses health risks and can negatively impact the paper, causing yellowing and structural degradation.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the conservation field is exploring safer, environmentally friendly alternatives to traditional volatile and toxic solvents.<sup>4</sup> Ionic liquids (ILs) have emerged as promising substitutes due to their potential as green solvents with favorable properties like low volatility, recyclability, and biodegradability, which collectively reduce environmental and health hazards.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, ILs exhibit antimicrobial activity, making them suitable for applications in paper conservation where microbial-induced degradation is a concern.<sup>6</sup>

ILs, defined as organic salts with melting points below 100°C, are known for their chemical stability, adjustable miscibility, and significant application potential in sustainable chemistry.<sup>7</sup> Structurally, ILs can be categorized as either aprotic (AILs) or protic (PILs).<sup>8</sup> While AILs are commonly regarded as “classic” ILs, PILs are gaining traction due to their straightforward synthesis, lower costs, and enhanced hydrogen bonding capacity, which contributes to properties like high proton conductivity. These traits have sparked interest in PILs for potential use in fuel cells, organic synthesis, and conservation processes.<sup>9</sup>

In this study, nine new PILs featuring the cation 1-ammonium-2-propanol paired with various anions were synthesized to explore their applicability in heritage conservation. This amino alcohol cation was selected due to its low

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<sup>2</sup> *Conserving Our Cultural Heritage: The Role of Fungi in Biodeterioration*, eds. E. JOHANNING – P. MOREY – PIERRE AUGER, Albany, New York 2012, n°6, 293–309.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. JOHNSON, *Book Repair and Conservation*, London 1988, 161–163.

<sup>4</sup> M. MCCANN, *Artist Beware*, New York 1992, 549–555.

<sup>5</sup> S. STOLTE and P. STEPNOWSKI, Editorial Hot Topic: Ionic Liquids: Analytical and Environmental Issues, *Current Organic Chemistry* 12 (2011) 1871–1872, p. 1871.

<sup>6</sup> A. KOZIRÓG, A. WYSOCKA-ROBAK and K. PRZYBYSZ, Antifungal Activity of Paper Modified with Ionic Liquids, *Fibres & Textiles in Eastern Europe* 23 (2015) 134–137, p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> D. R. ROBIN and R. S. KENNETH, Chemistry. Ionic liquids – solvents of the future?, *Science* 302 (2003) 792–793, p. 792.

<sup>8</sup> I. COTA, R. GONZALEZ-OLMOS, M. IGLESIAS and F. MEDINA, New Short Aliphatic Chain Ionic Liquids: Synthesis, Physical Properties, and Catalytic Activity in Aldol Condensations, *The Journal of Physical Chemistry B* 111 (2007) 12468–12477, p. 12468.

<sup>9</sup> T. L. GREAVES, A. WEERAWARDENA, C. FONG, I. KRODKIEWSKA and C. J. DRUMMOND, Protic Ionic Liquids: Solvents with Tunable Phase Behavior and Physicochemical Properties, *The Journal of Physical Chemistry B* 110 (2006) 22479–22487, p. 22479.

toxicity, stability under normal conditions, compatibility with polar and nonpolar solvents, and cost-effective synthesis. Characterization of the PILs included density measurements and analysis of their antimicrobial activity against fungi and bacteria, emphasizing their potential role in mitigating or preventing biodeterioration in paper artifacts. The PILs' low toxicity, ease of production, and antimicrobial properties underscore their promise as safe, effective alternatives for the protection of culturally significant materials.

## 2. Experimental

### 1. Material and methods

In this study, novel protic ionic liquids (PILs) were synthesized, each containing a 1-ammonium-2-propanol cation paired with nine different anions: formate (For), acetate (Ac), lactate (Lac), trifluoroacetate (TFA), chloroacetate (ClA), trichloroacetate (TClA), 3-chloropropionate (3-ClP), 4-chlorobutyrate (4-ClB), and mandelate (Man). The purpose of this synthesis was to investigate the antimicrobial properties of these PILs and their potential application in removing fungi from deteriorated paper heritage. All reagents were used as supplied by the manufacturers without further chemical treatment: 1-amino-2-propanol (Merck, purity 95%), formic acid (Sigma Aldrich, 98%), acetic acid (Centrohem, 99.8%), lactic acid (Sigma Aldrich, 98%), trifluoroacetic acid (Sigma Aldrich, 98%), chloroacetic acid (Sigma Aldrich, 99%), trichloroacetic acid (Merck, 99.5%), 3-chloropropanoic acid (Sigma Aldrich, 98%), 4-chlorobutyric acid (Sigma Aldrich, 99%), and mandelic acid (Centrohem, 98%).

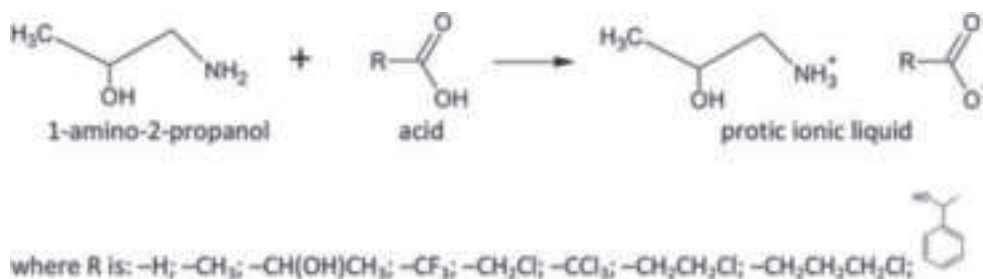


Figure 1: The synthetic pathway for investigated protic ionic liquids.

The synthesis of the nine PILs followed the synthetic pathway illustrated in Figure 1. In a typical procedure, an equimolar amount of the specified acid was

added dropwise to 1-amino-2-propanol under ice-bath cooling. After adding the acid, the reaction mixture was stirred at room temperature for 15 minutes. The resulting ionic liquid was subsequently vacuum dried for 30 minutes to 3 hours to eliminate residual water. The dried products were then stored in a vacuum desiccator with  $P_2O_5$  for 24 hours. Karl Fischer titration (Metrohm 831 Karl Fischer coulometer) was employed to measure water content, which was found to be below 100 ppm across all prepared PILs. The detailed synthesis procedure, together with the recorded infrared (IR) spectra, their assignment and the results of thermal stability were reported in a previous work.<sup>10</sup>

During the disinfection treatment of book materials, absorbent paper (Carta Assorbente Canson, Art. KT 1111000, Feuilles buvard neutre), a cotton swab, and an automatic pipette were utilized. A portable digital microscope (Levenhuk DTX 500 Mobi) facilitated real-time observation of the disinfection process, providing magnification from 20x to 500x with fine zoom capabilities up to 4x. Specialized software enabled precise measurements of linear dimensions, radii, and angles with 1-micrometer accuracy, allowing detailed monitoring of treatment effects on the material.

## 2. Antimicrobial assays



Figure 2: Damaged books from the Matica Srpska Library.

Ten strains of filamentous fungi, including *Trichoderma sp.*, *Cladosporium sp.*, *Penicillium sp.* <sup>(1-3)</sup>, and *Aspergillus sp.* <sup>(1,2)</sup>, were isolated from specific pigmented areas on damaged books from the Matica Srpska Library (Novi Sad, Serbia) (Figure 2). By analyzing spore and conidiophore morphology down to the genus level, a significant mold presence was confirmed. Selected cultures were then transferred to the *FungiCult* mold culture collection

in the microbiology laboratory, where specific strains were chosen for further testing. Additionally, three fungal strains: *Aspergillus flavus*<sup>(FCD00007)</sup>,

<sup>10</sup> N. DIMITRIĆ, N. SPREMO, M. VRANEŠ, S. BELIĆ, M. KARAMAN, S. KOVAČEVIĆ, M. KARADŽIĆ, S. PODUNAVAC-KUZMANOVIĆ, D. KOROLIJA-CRKVENJAKOV and S. GADŽURIĆ, New Protic Ionic Liquids for Fungi and Bacteria Removal from Paper Heritage Artefacts, *Royal Society of Chemistry* 9 (2019) 17905–17912.

*Fusarium graminearum*<sup>(FCD0016)</sup> and *Penicillium citrinum*<sup>(FCD00033)</sup>, were obtained from the mycological culture collection at the Faculty of Science, Department of Biology and Ecology, University of Novi Sad, Serbia. Cultures were cultivated on Malt agar (Torlak, Serbia), which facilitated rapid growth and sporulation within 7 days at 27°C. After incubation, samples of the cultured fungi were suspended in sterile distilled water. The spore suspension of *Trichoderma sp.*, *Cladosporium sp.*, *Penicillium sp.*<sup>(1-3)</sup>, *P. citrinum*, *Aspergillus sp.*<sup>(1,2)</sup>, *A. flavus*, and *F. graminearum* was adjusted to a density of  $1.5 \times 10^7$  cells/ml (c/ml). A Bürker Türk hemocytometer and a microscope (Olympus BX51, Japan) were used to determine the appropriate inoculum turbidity and density by directly counting spores in the chamber grids. The antifungal activity of the PILs was assessed in vitro using the microdilution method in 96-well microtiter plates (Spektar, Serbia) to determine the minimum inhibitory concentration (MIC) and minimum fungicidal concentration (MFC), following the Clinical Laboratory Standards Institute<sup>11</sup> and Spremo et al.<sup>12</sup> procedures. Sterile polypropylene microtiter plates with a well volume of 101 µl were used. Each well received 50 µl of Malt broth (Torlak, Serbia) for fungal strains and 1 µl of fungal spore suspension, diluted across nine serial concentrations (100%, 50%, 25%, 12.5%, 6.25%, 3.125%, 1.56%, 0.78%, and 0.39%). PILs were prepared in sterile deionized water in concentrations ranging from 0.58 to 150 mg/ml, with growth and sterility controls for PILs included on each plate. The microtiter plates were incubated for 72 hours at 27°C, and results were observed visually. The lowest concentration of ionic liquid that prevented visible growth was considered the MIC, while the MFC was determined by transferring the entire well contents onto Malt agar petri plates and counting colonies after a 72-hour incubation at 27°C.

### 3. Results and discussion

The results from the microdilution method, provide a comparative overview of MICs and MFCs for various fungal strains, including *Trichoderma sp.*,

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<sup>11</sup> Clinical Laboratory Standards Institute, M07-A9 - Methods for Dilution Antimicrobial Susceptibility Tests for Bacteria That Grow Aerobically, Approved Standard – Ninth Edition (2008).

<sup>12</sup> N. SPREMO, K. TEŠANOVIĆ, M. RAKIĆ, Lj. JANJUŠEVIĆ, M. IGNJATOV, D. BIJELIĆ, M. KARAMAN, Antifungal Activity of Macrofungi Extract on Phytopathogenic Fungal Species of Genera *Fusarium sp.* and *Alternaria sp.*, *Matica Srpska Journal for Natural Sciences* 133 (2017) 231–240.

*Cladosporium sp.*, *Penicillium sp.* <sup>(1-3)</sup>, *P. citrinum*, *Aspergillus sp.* <sup>(1, 2)</sup>, *A. flavus* and *F. graminearum*. A detailed graphic representation is available in Nataša Dimitrić's scientific dissertation.<sup>13</sup>

The described toxicity tests were performed to examine how different anions affect the antimicrobial properties of the PILs. All PILs tested displayed antimicrobial activity, with variations dependent on the anion component. Protic ionic liquids containing ClA, 3-ClP, and 4-ClB anions demonstrated strong antifungal effects even at the lowest concentrations, as shown in Figure 3. By contrast, PILs with Man and TFA anions exhibited the weakest antimicrobial activity.

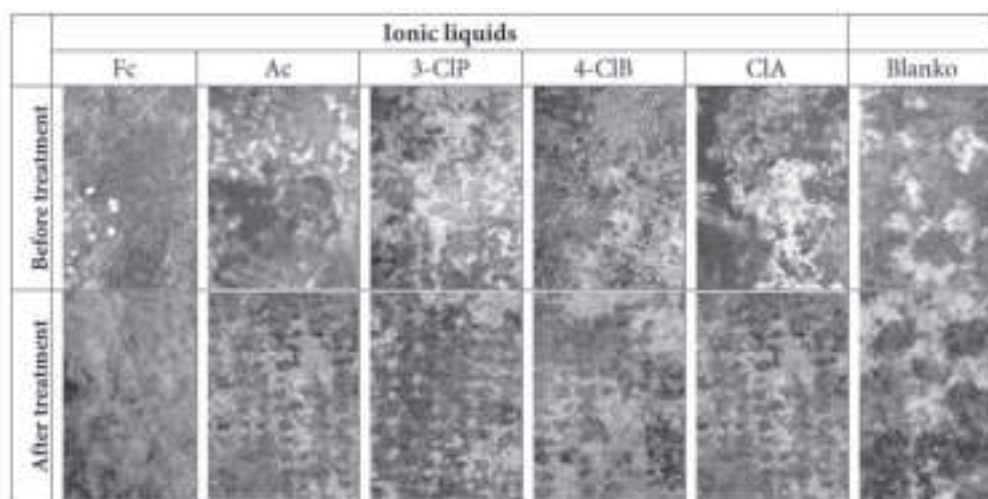


Figure 3: Sample of paper artefacts before and after treatment with selected PILs.

For the PILs examined, antimicrobial efficacy correlated with alkyl chain length, peaking with anions containing three or four carbon atoms. While hydrophobicity plays a key role in membrane interactions for antimicrobial agents, enabling better partitioning into the lipid bilayer, the results suggest that PILs are more effective with longer alkyl chains, especially when the terminal carbon atom is chlorinated. Additionally, PILs with a mono-halogenated terminal carbon, such as in ClA, showed higher antimicrobial activity than multi-halogenated derivatives like TClA and TFA, which may be due to their increased affi-

<sup>13</sup> NATAŠA DIMITRIĆ, Characterization, Toxicity and Application of Newly Synthesized Ionic Liquids for Cleaning and Conservation of Paper Heritage Artefacts. Dissertation at the University of Novi Sad 2020.

ity for cell membrane interaction. Previous research has explored how specific functional groups affect the anion's structure, density, volumetric properties, and interaction nature in aqueous solutions.<sup>14</sup>

To assess the potential of these PILs in disinfecting paper materials, we conducted tests on infected book materials. For these tests, we selected ionic liquids with high activity levels and anions containing a single chlorine atom (ClA, 3-ClP, 4-ClB), as well as two other PILs with simple and economical anions (Ac and Fc). The PILs were prepared in sterile deionized water at concentrations that met MIC and MFC requirements. Instead of applying the PILs directly to contaminated book surfaces, we soaked absorbent paper with the solutions using an automated pipette and placed them on the book covers. Strips of absorbent paper were replaced every 24 hours for seven days. Before applying the treatment, a control swab was taken from the book surface to confirm contamination (Figure 4). Upon treatment completion, the effectiveness of the PILs was evident, with no visible signs of colony growth, such as color, texture, or oily spots, as shown in Figure 3. This observation was further verified by examining the samples with a portable digital microscope and taking a post-treatment control swab.



Figure 4: The procedure of book cover cleaning.

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<sup>14</sup> N. ČAKÓ BAGÁNY, N. DIMITRIĆ, S. BELIĆ, M. VRANEŠ and S. GADŽURIĆ, Volumetric Properties of Amino Alcohol-Based Protic Ionic Liquids: Influence of Counterions, *Journal of Chemical & Engineering Data* 67 (2022) 956–965.

The paper treated with ionic liquids Ac, Fc, 4-ClB, 3-ClP, and ClA showed no changes in terms of print, fragrance, or texture, and no structural alterations were observed.

#### 4. Conclusions

The research findings indicate that the newly synthesized protic ionic liquids (PILs) serve as an effective alternative to the traditional methods of disinfecting paper archival and library materials. The tested PILs demonstrated significant antifungal activity, with four out of the fourteen liquids proving ineffective, while the remaining showed a high degree of efficacy against most of the fungal strains examined. Notably, ionic liquids containing chlorinated anionic components were particularly effective. Their adaptability to specific needs, along with their safety for human health and the environment, makes them ideal for application in paper conservation. Further research and optimization of these protic ionic liquids could enhance existing conservation methods and contribute to the preservation of cultural and historical heritage.

Наташа Димитрић

#### **Уклањање гљивица са уметнина на папиру помоћу јонских течности на бази аминокиселина**

(резиме)

Овај рад истражује примену новосинтетисаних протичних јонских течности (PIL) као зелених растварача за дезинфекцију папира у архивима и библиотекама, са циљем унапређења конзерваторских метода у складу са начелима зелене хемије и одрживог развоја. Традиционалне технике очувања папира често користе токсичне и лако испарљиве раствараче, што представља ризик за здравље конзерватора и корисника, као и за животну средину. Стога је неопходно пронаћи ефикасне, али мање штетне алтернативе.

Папир, иако деликатан, може показати изванредну отпорност на старење ако је правилно произведен и чуван. Ипак, биолошка оштећења, посебно она узрокована микроорганизмима попут гљивица, представљају значајан изазов у очувању папира. Тимол, који се користи више од 60 година као фунгицид, има

неколико недостатака, укључујући умерену токсичност за људе и негативне ефекте на папир, као што су жућење и деградација боје.

Јонске течности су се показале као потенцијално решење за ове проблеме. Оне су органске соли са тачком топљења испод 100°C и имају различита корисна својства, укључујући ниску испарљивост, висок вискозитет, могућност рециклаже и биоразградивост. Девет протичних јонских течности је синтетизовано и тестирано на антифунгалну активност против више сојева гљивица прикупљених из “Чешког магацина” Библиотеке Матице српске и добијених из колекције култура са Департамента за биологију и екологију Природно-математичког факултета, Универзитета у Новом Саду.

Резултати показују да су се течности са монохалогенованим анијонским компонентама, попут хлорацетата, 3-хлоропропана и 4-хлоробутирата показале као посебно ефикасне.

Експериментални део рада обухвата синтезу јонских течности, карактеризацију њихових физичко-хемијских својстава, као и тестирање њихове антимикробне активности. Синтетисане течности су биле стабилне под нормалним амбијенталним условима, лако су се мешале са водом и мање токсичним растварачима, што омогућава њихово сигурно уклањање након примене. Антимикробна активност је одређена *in vitro* микродилуционом методом, што је омогућило прецизно утврђивање минималних инхибиторних и минималних фунгицидних концентрација.

Примена протичних јонских течности представља значајан корак напред у конзерваторским методама, јер омогућава ефикасну дезинфекцију без негативног утицаја на здравље и животну средину. Њихова прилагодљивост специфичним потребама очувања, уз задржавање структурног интегритета папира, чини их идеалним решењем за заштиту писане културне баштине. Даља истраживања и оптимизација ових течности може додатно унапредити постојеће методе и допринети очувању угрожене архивске и библиотечке грађе.

**Кључне речи:** протичне јонске течности, антимикробна активност, уклањање плесни, папирни материјали, методе конзервације.



## Конзерваторско-рестаураторски радови на картама и плановима Архива Војводине<sup>1</sup>

**Апстракт:** Збирка карата и планова Архива Војводине броји 1134 архивске јединице различитих формата, настале у распону од 1718. до 1956. године.<sup>2</sup>

Последице неадекватног чувања архивске грађе манифестоване су механичким оштећењима готово на сваком предмету из Збирке (насталим првенствено услед вишеструког савијања), деформацијама, прљавштином, као и развојем микроорганизама на групи предмета на којима је било потребно извести и третман дезинфекције у циљу заустављања постојећих штетних процеса, а ради очувања грађе и здравља корисника, тј. свих оних који њоме рукују.

На основу листе приоритета, до сада су изведене интервенције на укупно 45 предмета из Збирке, који датирају из 18. и 19. века. У раду је описано затечено стање оштећених предмета и процес извођења конзерваторско-рестаураторских радова.

Својства материјала и степен и врсте оштећења утицали су на избор метода којима су она санирана и којима су постигнута жељена естетска побољшања.

**Кључне речи:** карте, планови, Збирка, оштећења, конзерваторско-рестаураторски радови.

### Увод

Архиви, као институције заштите, чувају карте и планове као драгоцену архивску грађу која преноси знања у истој мери као што то чине и историјски списи, с том разликом што податке приказују првенствено графички. Овај картографски материјал међусобно се разликује не само по формату, већ и по техникама изведбе и подлогама на којима је сачињен, па се најчешће сусрећемо са цртежима који су изведени тушем, са или без колорације техником акварела, али и са онима који су реализовани неком од графичких техника – углавном бакрореза, дрвореза и литографије.

<sup>1</sup> Неизмењена верзија рада објављеног у: *Археон* 7/7 (2024) 323–335.

<sup>2</sup> Архив Војводине, Ф. 373 Збирка карата и планова 1718–1956, белешка о фонду.

Архивска грађа Збирке карата и планова Архива Војводине сачињена је на различитим носиоцима – папиру, картону и платну – и садржи планове градова, црквених и секуларних објеката, инфраструктуре, као и административне, географске и демографске карте некадашњих територијалних јединица и ширег окружења. Графички прикази тј. цртежи садрже и пратећи текст исписан мастилима различите боје и састава. На појединим предметима из Збирке налазе се папирни и воштани печати, као и забелешке исписане оловкама у боји.

Карте и планови који датирају из 18. века израђени су на ручно произведеној хартији од квалитетних сировина. Прегледом водених знакова утврђено је да је велики број мапа изведен на хартијама чувених холандских произвођача. Најучесталији међу њима је водени знак који упућује на холандског произвођача Хониг (Honig), који карактерише приказ крунисаног штита са салцбуршким љиљаном и иницијалима произвођача С & I HONIG (Прилог 1). Производња ове ручно рађене хартије одвијала се у чувеном млину *Позлаћена кошница* (*De vergulde Bijkorf*), као и у другим фабрикама у Зандејку (*Zaandijk*).



Прилог 1: Водени знак холандског произвођача папира Хониг (Honig).

Контрамарка<sup>3</sup> IV упућује на Жана Виледарија (Jean Villedary), француског произвођача папира, чија фабрика је имала огранак у Холандији (Gelderland, Hattem).<sup>4</sup>

Боја се користила као техничко средство у изради карте,

<sup>3</sup> Споредни знак са иницијалима на другој половини арка.

<sup>4</sup> *A unique collection of old watermarks from the Smoorenburg Collection: 165 watermarks on 143 blank paper sheets*, PDF catalog and watermark images Electronic reproduction, Rockingstone 2017, 6–7.

<https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll4/id/35727/> (приступљено 25. 05. 2024).

заједно са папиром, оловком, пером, четком и тинтом, и то по тачно утврђеним правилима тј. обрасцима.<sup>5</sup> Бојење карата за циљ је имало побољшање естетских својстава и читљивости, тј. наглашавање картографских елемената, па је постало нормативна пракса у стварању рукописних мапа великог формата. Што се штампаног материјала тиче, графичка слика, која подразумева и мапе, значајно се разликује од штампане речи. Она је са перцептивне стране много комплекснија, а због своје концептуалне сложености, аутор не само да је морао пажљиво да постави симболе како би мапа била тачна, већ је морао да посвети пажњу и њеном целокупном графичком дизајну.<sup>6</sup>

### Оштећења карата и планова из Збирке

Идентификација врсте и степена оштећења и разумевање узрока њиховог настанка, као и самих карактеристика материјала од којих је архивска грађа сачињена, чине кључне елементе у одређивању избора конзерваторско-рестаураторских метода. Како се предмети из ове архивске збирке међусобно разликују по формату, избор начина чувања је од велике важности за њено очување и дуготрајност.

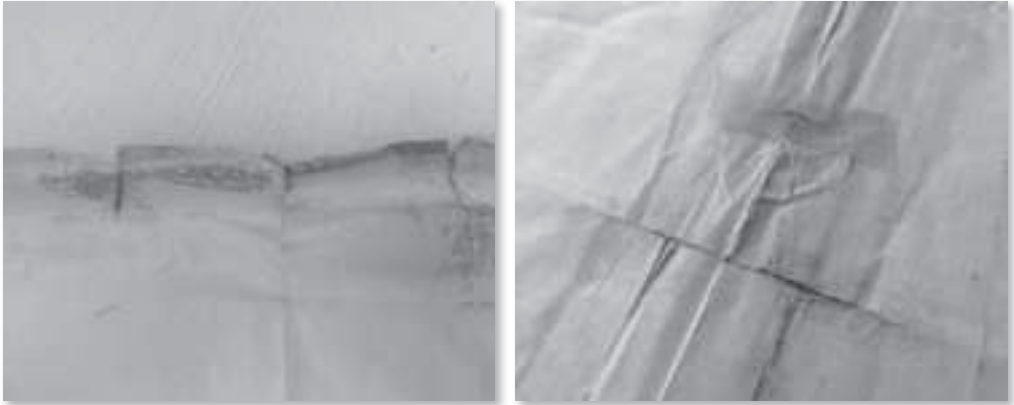
Механичка оштећења, констатована увидом у затечено стање предмета, најчешћи су тип оштећења, и првенствено су последица пређашње неадек-



Прилог 2: Неадекватан начин чувања карата и планова – вишеструко пресавијање.

<sup>5</sup> N. VERDIER – J. M. BESSE, Color and cartography, *History of Cartography*. Volume 4: *Cartography in the European Enlightenment*, eds. EDNEY M. H. – SPONBERG PEDLEY M., Chicago 2020, 294–302, p. 8 halshs-03053545

<sup>6</sup> D. WOODWARD, ed., *Five Centuries of Map Printing*, Chicago and London 1975, 2.



Прилози 3, 4: Последице неадекватне санације механичких оштећења употребом селотејп трака – оштећења хартије у виду мрља (деталји).

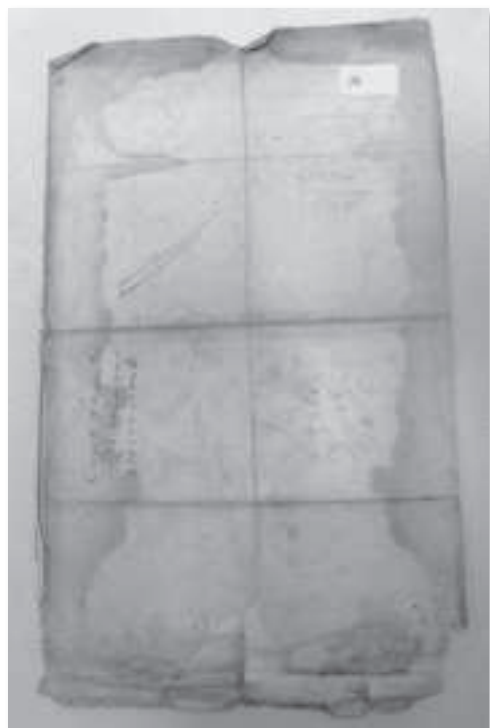
ватне похране – посебно у случајевима када су карте због великог формата вишеструко пресавијане (Прилог 2).

Слабљење механичке јачине хартије на местима пресавијања довело је до појаве процепа, а неретко и до губитка мањих фрагмената. Гужвање папирног носиоца, као и појава мрља и подеротина, узроковани су немаром и ранијим нестручним руковањем, а неадекватани покушаји санације механичких оштећења употребом лепљивих трака, најчешће селотејпа, за последицу имају жуте мрље на местима апликације (Прилози 3, 4). Ова оштећења задају велике муке конзерваторима, а оксидација лепка и његово продирање у структуру папира за последицу има трајно нарушену естетику предмета.

Дисколорација папирног носиоца приметна је на полеђини готово свих карата и планова на којима је цртеж тониран вердигрисом,<sup>7</sup> пигментом зелене боје, који је веома реактиван и нестабилан. Карте на картону, поред раслојавања и уобичајених механичких оштећења манифестованих подеротинама и недостајућим деловима, карактерисала је и киселост носиоца праћена дисколорацијом.

Како услови чувања ове архивске грађе у прошлости нису увек били оптимални, с обзиром на то да је и Архив више пута мењао своју локацију, јасно је да су оштећења на поједним предметима последица деловања влаге на коју је папир као органски материјал посебно осетљив. Вла-

<sup>7</sup> Данас је вердигрис опште име за ацетате бакра различитог састава, чија боја варира од зелене преко плавозелене до плаве. В. РАДОСАВЉЕВИЋ, *Техника старој њисма и минијатури*, Београд 2007, 184.



Прилози 5, 6, 7: Манифестације  
микробиолошких оштећења на  
предметима из Збирке  
(планови бр. 7, 11, 20).

га је довела не само до деформација хартије, већ и до микробиолошких оштећења – развоја бактерија и плесни. На групи предмета из Збирке микроорганизми су својом активношћу изазвали бројне промене на материјалу – структурне, хемијске и естетске. Плесни су узрок појаве различито обојених мрља чији облик, величина и нијанса варирају у зависности од саме врсте која их је проузроковала, од њеног развоја, квалитета хартије, амбијенталних услова, коегзистенције са другим врстама итд.<sup>8</sup> Деградација

целулозе за последицу има смањену механичку отпорност папира, а губитак информација на цртежима, умањена читљивост текста, одвајање, па и губитак фрагмената на неким предметима, најчешће су манифестације ових оштећења (Прилози 5, 6, 7).

<sup>8</sup> А. ЂАРДУЛО, *Konzervacija i zaštita knjiga. Materijali, tehnike i infrastruktura*, Beograd 2005, 118.

## Конзерваторска испитивања

Пре конзерваторско-рестаураторских радова израђена је фотографска документација (снимање затеченог стања лица, полеђине и детаља дигиталним фотоапаратом) и изведена су конзерваторска испитивања која су обухватили визуелну инспекцију предмета под бочним и контра светлом, преглед UV лампом и увећавајућим лупама, рН тест папирног носиоца и спот тестове растворљивости мастила, оловака и штампарске боје на воду и етил



Прилози 8, 9: Микробиолошко испитивање методом бриса и помоћу контактних плоча.

алкохол (етанол). Растворљивост свих мастила и боја било је неопходно испитати како би се утврдила могућност извођења мокрих поступака. Резултат спот теста показао је да је црвена боја најнестабилнија у контакту са водом и дезинфицијенсом.

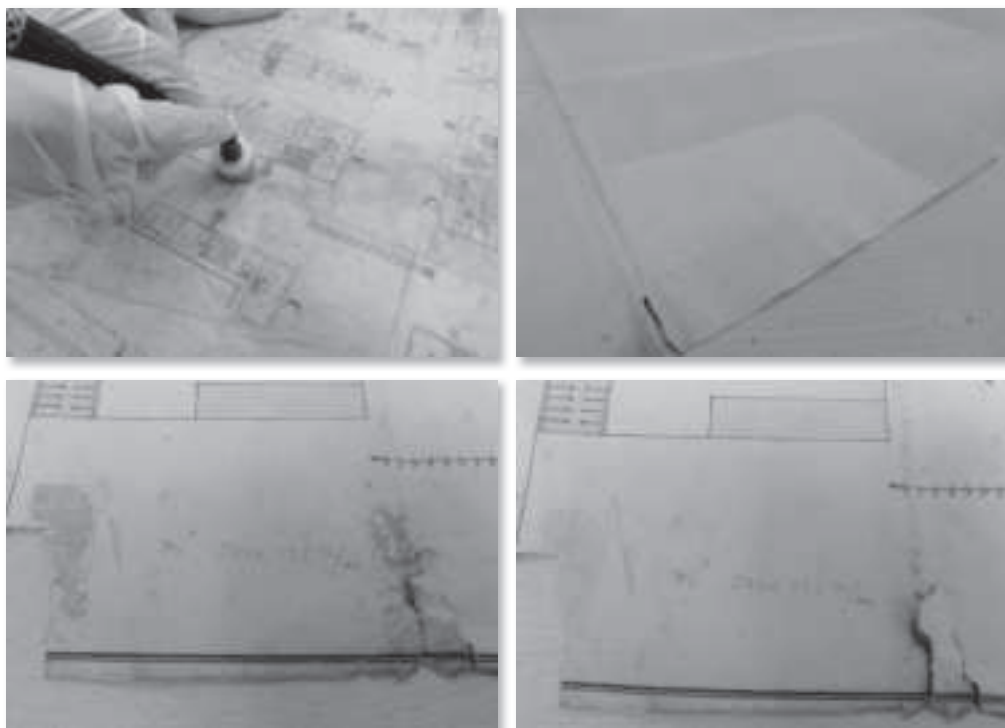
Како би се утврдило присуство микроорганизама на предметима из Збирке са евидентним променама које су указивале на контаминацију, стручну помоћ Архиву Војводине пружили су научници са Катедре за биотехнологију и фармацеутско инжењерство Технолошког факултета у Новом Саду. Микробиолошко испитивање је спроведено методом бриса и помоћу контактних плоча са разливеном хранљивом подлогом за одређивање укупног броја микроорганизама Plate Count Agar (PCA) (HiMedia, Mumbai, India) (Прилози 8, 9). За изолацију микроорганизама са оштећених предмета

из Збирке, коришћене су две хранљиве подлоге: PCA (Plate Count Agar; HiMedia, Mumbai, Indija) за култивисање бактерија и PDA (Potato Dextrose Agar; HiMedia, Mumbai, Indija) за култивисање плесни и квасаца. Засејане хранљиве подлоге су инкубиране: PCA на 30°C током 72 сата, а PDA на

25°C, током 120 сати. За изоловање чистих култура коришћене су исте хранљиве подлоге као и у поступку изолације. Одабрани изолати су идентификовани до нивоа рода према: Ранковићу (2011),<sup>9</sup> на основу макроморфолошких и микроморфолошких одлика колонија. Резултати микробиолошких испитивања су указали на доминантну заступљеност плесни рода *Aspergillus* готово на свим узорцима. Плесни рода *Aspergillus* су услед своје целулолитичке активности веома штетне по папир, а такође имају и патогену потенцију, те као такве представљају здравствени ризик за сва лица која контаминираном грађом рукују.

### Ток радова

Суво чишћење микробиолошки оштећених карата и планова изведено је најпре помоћу музејског усисивача са *HEPA* филтером (MUNTZ 555-MU-E HEPA), како би се са површине папира уклониле честице прашине

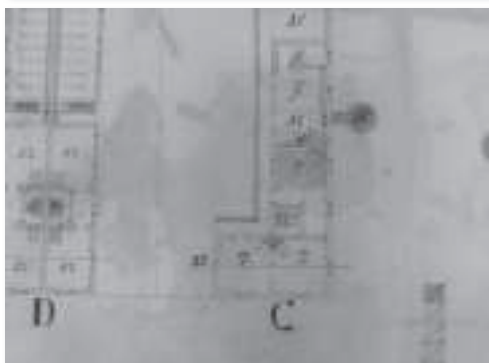


Прилози 10, 11, 12, 13: Уклањање површинских нечистоћа и остатака лепка од старих селотејп трака механичким путем (суво чишћење).

<sup>9</sup> B. RANKOVIĆ, *Sistematika gljiva*, Kragujevac 2011.

и трагови плесни. Потом је уследило, као и на осталим издвојеним предметима из Збирке, уклањање површинских нечистоћа употребом меке четке, гумица, сунђера различите мекоће и састава (*Akapad*, *Wallmaster*, *Magic Rub*), и скалпелом – када су у питању биле тврдокорне нечистоће. Старе селотејп траке уклоњене су механичким путем, помоћу хируршког скалпела, и употребом етилацетата, с тим да су овим поступком мрље на местима апликације селотејпа могле бити само ублажене, не и у потпуности уклоњене (Прилози 10, 11, 12, 13).

Третман дезинфекције на групи предмета са микробиолошким оштећењима изведен је етанолом 70%,<sup>10</sup> локално, помоћу туфера, и излагањем пари етанола, у случајевима када је постојала могућност разливања тинте. Препрека апликацији етанола напрскавањем и урањањем у раствор била су не само нестабилна мастила и боје којима је изведен или тониран цртеж, већ и забелешке на полеђини карата исписане растворљивим оловкама у боји.



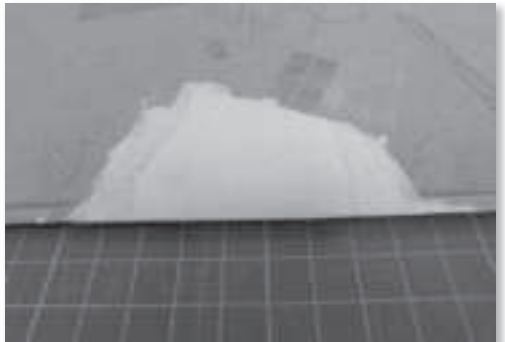
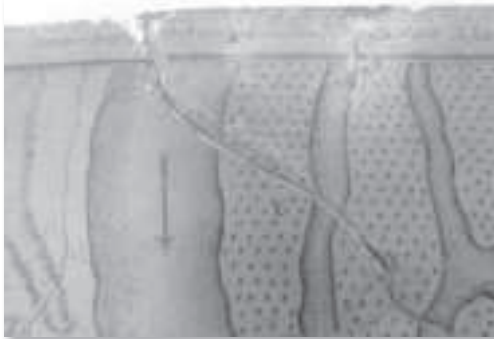
Прилози 14, 15, 16: Уклањање нечистоћа контролисаним прањем – изглед пре и након извођења мокрих поступака, карта бр. 7 (деталји).

<sup>10</sup> S. O. SEQUEIRA, *Fungal biodeterioration of paper. Development of safer and accessible conservation treatments*. (FCT: DCR - Teses de Doutoramento, 2016), 103. <http://hdl.handle.net/10362/18496> (приступљено 4. 06. 2024).

Мрље на папирном носиоцу су третиране локално, употребом органских растварања – само на деловима где нема цртежа и записа мастилом – а остале нечистоће, водене мрље и део киселине из папира, извучене су контролисаним прањем (влажним третманом) са документа на упијач, употребом дестиловане воде, као и мешавине воде и етанола у размери 1:1. Овим поступком је папирни носилац постао релаксиран тј. довољно влажан да се могло извести исправљање деформација под притиском пресе (Прилози 14, 15, 16). На појединим картама, веће деформације хартије у виду набирања, настале као последица стреса који су влакна претрпела услед наизменичног бубрења и скупљања узрокованог великим колебањем влаге, морале су бити исправљане најпре локално, па тек онда под притиском пресе, како би се могао спровести поступак уклањања нечистоћа. С обзиром на то да су се на полеђини предмета налазили печати архива и старе сигнатуре исписане растворљивим оловкама у боји, као заштита од разливања током извођења мокрих поступака коришћен је циклододекан у спреју. Исправљање набора на предметима који нису захтевали прање, као и онима на којима оно није било изводљиво због осетљивости тинте,



Прилози 17, 18, 19: Исправљање деформација на папирном носиоцу, план бр. 42.



Прилози 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27: Конзерваторско-рестаураторске интервенције – план на картону (бр. 2).

спроведено је поступком посредног влажења и пресовањем у меко-тврдом сендвичу између холитекса, вуненог филца, лепенки и дрвених дасака, у књиговезачкој преси (Прилози 17, 18, 19).

Санације процепа и подеротина изведене су јапанским папиром, употребом скробног лепка и метилцелулозе. Такође, на свим оштећеним предметима, апликацијом трака тањег јапанског папира изведено је и парцијално ојачавање хартије на местима пресавијања, на којима је ослабљен папирни носилац. Недостајући делови надомештени су јапанским хартијама у боји и грамажи која је најсличнија оригиналу. Будући да су поједини цртежи израђени на дебљим хартијама и картонима, за израду инсерата користила се комбинација више различитих врста хартија, лепљених у неколико слојева. Изузетак је била карта (бр. 2, Опис главне и граничарске тврђаве Београд, без године) на картону – на којој су констатована већа механичка оштећења у виду раслојавања, преламања и недостајућих делова – затечена са неадекватном закрпом од чврстог картона на полеђини, којом је синтетичким лепком фиксиран већи фрагмент у горњој зони листа. На полеђини ове карте налазили су се слојеви старог лепка са остацима картона које је требало уклонити како би се извело каширање на нову подлогу – хартију веће грамаже. На овај начин спојени су фрагменти карте и фиксирани све постојеће подеротине, а због киселости носиоца, поступку каширања претходила је неутрализација апликацијом калцијум-хидроксида са полеђине. Након што су надомештени недостајући делови, урађен је ретуш акварелом у оловци, како би се ублажиле тонске разлике између инсерата и оригинала (Прилози 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27).

### **Закључак**

Степен и врсте оштећења, као и својства материјала, утицали су на избор конзерваторско-рестаураторских метода којима су оштећења санирана и на тај начин постигнута жељена естетска побољшања, а у циљу очувања и дуговечности Збирке. По завршетку конзерваторско-рестаураторских радова, сваки предмет је засебно упакован у тањи омот од бескиселинског папира, а групе предмета похрањене у мапе од картона архивског квалитета – ради чувања у свом пуном формату.

Како би се на третираној архивској грађи избегао настанак нових оштећења, од посебне важности је пажљиво руковање и адекватно чување у оптималним условима.

## **Conservation and Restoration Works on Maps and Plans at the Archives of Vojvodina**

(Summary)

The collection of maps and plans in the Archives of Vojvodina counts 1134 archival items of various formats, produced between 1718 and 1956.

The consequences of inadequate storage of archival materials have been manifested as mechanical damages found in nearly each item of the F. 373 Maps and Plans Collection 1718–1956 (caused by multiple folding primarily), deformities, dirt, and the proliferation of microorganisms in a series of items that also required disinfection treatment aimed at halting the ongoing harmful processes for the sake of preserving the materials and safeguarding the health of the users, that is, of whoever handles them.

Based on the priority list, appropriate procedures have been performed on a total of 45 items from the Collection, all dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century. The paper describes the condition in which the items were found and the process of performing the works on their conservation and restoration.

It was the properties of the materials the items were made of and the degree and type of damage they had suffered that determined the choice of the methods resorted to in their repair, those which enabled achievement of the desired esthetic improvements.

**Keywords:** maps, plans, Collection, damages, conservation and restoration works.

## Израда копије Повеље царице Марије Терезије о установљењу Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта из 1774. године<sup>1</sup>

**Апстракт:** Великокикиндски привилеговани дистрикт је био аутономна територијално-организациона јединица у оквиру Хабзбуршког царства од 1774. до 1876. године, са седиштем у Великој Кикинди (данашња Кикинда). Дистрикт је био махом насељен Србима. Постојање Дистрикта са његовим повластицама помогло је очувању националног идентитета српског живља на просторима овог дела Баната. Аутономија Великокикиндског дистрикта је 74 године старија од Српске Војводине. Аустријска царица Марија Терезија је основала Великокикиндски дистрикт 12. новембра 1774. године. Тим поводом је издата и посебна повеља<sup>2</sup> којом је гарантована самоуправа са седиштем у тадашњој Великој Кикинди. Захваљујући томе, подручје и становници Дистрикта су уживали привредне и политичке повластице у оквиру Царства (политичку аутономију, управна и судска аутономна права на нивоу општина, били су власници земље коју су обрађивали и ослобођени од феудалних обавеза)<sup>3</sup>.

Повеља је рађена у форми књиге, писана је на пергаменту немачком готицом. Корице повеље су пресвучене у свилени плиш тамно црвене боје. Траке којима се везује повеља су подвучене под корице и израђене су од пуније свиле у жутој боји. На левом делу књиге, на два места су избушене рупе (кроз корице и цео књижни блок) и кроз њих пролази декоративна плетеница.

С обзиром да Повеља припада грађи од изузетног значаја, Архиву Војводине је стигла молба за израду копије повеље из Историјског архива Кикинде. Копија је рађена по узору на оригиналну повељу, а за њену израду су коришћени

<sup>1</sup> Неизмењена верзија рада објављеног у: *Археон* 7/7 (2024) 337–345.

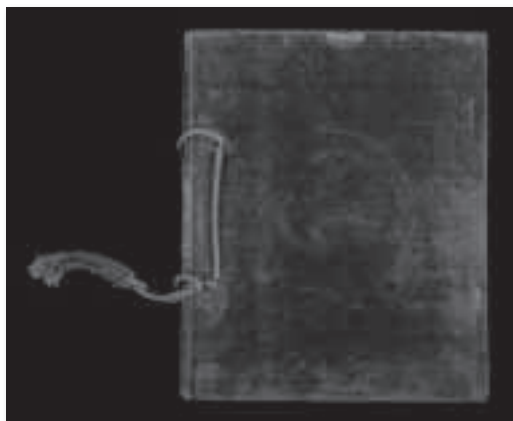
<sup>2</sup> Повеља је исправа којом се додељује неко право, привилегија или част. Свечани писани акт, украшен ликовним орнаментима и писан свечаним стилем, којим се нешто објављује, потврђује, допушта или додељује. Повеље представљају сведочанство којим се утврђује пословно-правни однос владара, великаша и црквених великодостојника према установама или појединцу, односно према правном или физичком лицу. У литератури се среће низ других термина којима се означава овај пословно-правни документ као што су писмо, лист, књига, даровница и Прилог. Сама реч настала је у средњем веку, као преведеница са грчког *прѠстауца* – повеленије, од које се касније и развио најчешће употребљаван али не и у народу шире прихваћен термин – повеља. ЗАГОРКА АВАКУМОВИЋ, ДЕЈАН ЈАКШИЋ, *Збирка повеља и гиллома Архива Војводине*, Нови Сад 2019, 9–10.

<sup>3</sup> МИТАР М. КРЕЈИЋ, *Administrative-territorial division of Southern Hungary in the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, Kikinda 2010, 32–39.

најквалитетнији материјали који по изгледу и карактеристикама веродостојно имитирају оригинални изглед Повеље царице Марије Терезије о установљењу Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта из 1774. године.

**Кључне речи:** повеља, царица Марија Терезија, Великокикиндски привилеговани дистрикт, израда копије.

“Одобрењем царице Марије Терезије од 12. новембра 1774. године, озваничено је оснивање Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта. Повеља којом је Дистрикт основан израђена је од пергамент<sup>4</sup> са висећим печатом. Унутрашњи садржај повеље можемо поделити на званичне, дипломатичке делове који, поред владарске титулатуре, наводе и историјске околности због којих је настала повеља, као и осамнаест тачака које прецизно утврђују унутрашње уређење новоосноване територије. Дистрикт је био сачињен од десет насеља, односно општина. Места која су сачињавала дистрикт била су: Велика Кикинда, Башаид, Мокрин, Тараш, Јозефово, Крстур, Меленци, Кумане, Карлово и Фрањево. Седиште администрације налазило се у Вели-



Прилог 1: Оригинални изглед повеље царице Марије Терезије.

кој Кикинди. Власт је била подељена на централну, оличену у магистрату, и локалну, чије су се институције налазиле у општинама. Са дејством локалних и централне власти вршио се избор чиновника, сакупљали су се намети, планирао се привредни развој и надзирала се национална структура становника. Како бисмо увидели значај повеље, морамо истаћи да је она већинском српском становништву доделила унутрашњу судску, финансијску и територијалну аутономију са

<sup>4</sup> Пергамент - Кожу као подлогу за писање користили су још антички народи, прво као сирову, а затим различито прерађену. Име је добио по граду Пергаму, који је дуго времена остао центар производње [пергамент]. У средњем веку у Европи највише је писано на пергаменту, јер је био врло цењен као лепа и трајна подлога за писање и илуминирање. За рукописе су углавном коришћени пергаменти од јарећих, јагњећих и телећих кожа.

В. РАДОСАВЉЕВИЋ, Р. ПЕТРОВИЋ, *Конзервација и рестаурација архивске и библиотеке траје и музејских предмета од њексџила и коже*, Београд 2000, 16–17.

слободом самосталног постављања чиновничког апарата, чиме су могли бити ударени темељи за оснивање српске државе”<sup>5</sup> (Прилог 1). Издата је путем Аустријско-чешке дворске канцеларије.<sup>6</sup>

С обзиром на то да Повеља царице Марије Терезије о установљењу Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта (*Privilegierte Bezirk Gross Kikinda*) из 1774. године припада грађи од изузетног значаја<sup>7</sup>, Архиву Војводине је стигла молба за израду копије повеље (у четири примерка) из Историјског архива Кикинда, у чијем се власништву налази оригинална повеља. У сусрет јубилеју 12. новембра 2024. године, када се навршава 250 година од успостављања Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта, планирана је прослава на којој ће се две копије повеље поклонити граду Кикинди, док је за друге две повеље планирано да се чувају у Архиву и да се једна изложи у стаклену витрину на сталној поставци како би се оригинална повеља заштитила и сачувала од пропадања.

Копија повеље је рађена по узору на оригиналну повељу за чију су израду коришћени најквалитетнији материјали који по изгледу и карактеристикама веродостојно имитирају оригинални изглед Повеље.

### **Изглед оригиналне Повеље царице Марије Терезије о установљењу Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта из 1774. године**

Повеља је рађена у форми књиге у тврдом повезу и писана је на пергаменту немачком готицом (Прилог 2). Корице повеље су пресвучене у свилену плиш тамно црвене боје. На предњим корицама књиге се налази утиснути траг настао од металне кутије за воштани печат. Боја плиша је на том месту избледела. Повез који је коришћен приликом израде Повеље је тзв. повез на “биндове”, тј. подигнуте траке (канапе).<sup>8</sup> Траке нису видљиве

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<sup>5</sup> С. Сивчев, Д. Белеслић, В. Дудић, *Повеље Великокикиндској привилегованој дистрикта*, Кикинда 2024, 23.

<sup>6</sup> В. Вујин, Д. Белеслић, В. Дудић, *Окруј златној лава 250 година од оснивања Великокикиндској дистрикта*, Кикинда 2024, 40.

<sup>7</sup> Историјски архив Кикинда Ф. 2 Збирка повеља и легата 1783–1881. 1774.

<sup>8</sup> Врста повеза коришћена у 18. или раном делу 19. века. Према овом методу канапи се не постављају у жљебове који их урањају испод површине леђа, већ се једноставно полагају уз леђа [књижног блока]. Приликом шивења конач може изаћи на ближеј страни канапа и унутра на даљој страни, тако да заобиђе канап на полеђини књиге; или може изаћи на даљој страни и унутра на ближеј страни, тако да у потпуности окружује канап. У оба случаја шивење је изузетно снажно.

A. L. BAILEY, *Library Bookbinding*, White plains, N.Y. and New York City 1916, 41.



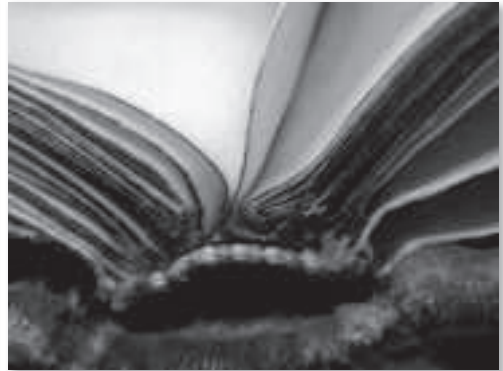
Прилог 2: Унутрашњи изглед повеље – текст на готици.



Прилог 3: Изглед хрбата и декоративне плетенице на оригиналној повељи.



Прилог 4: Предлисти израђени на марбл хартији.



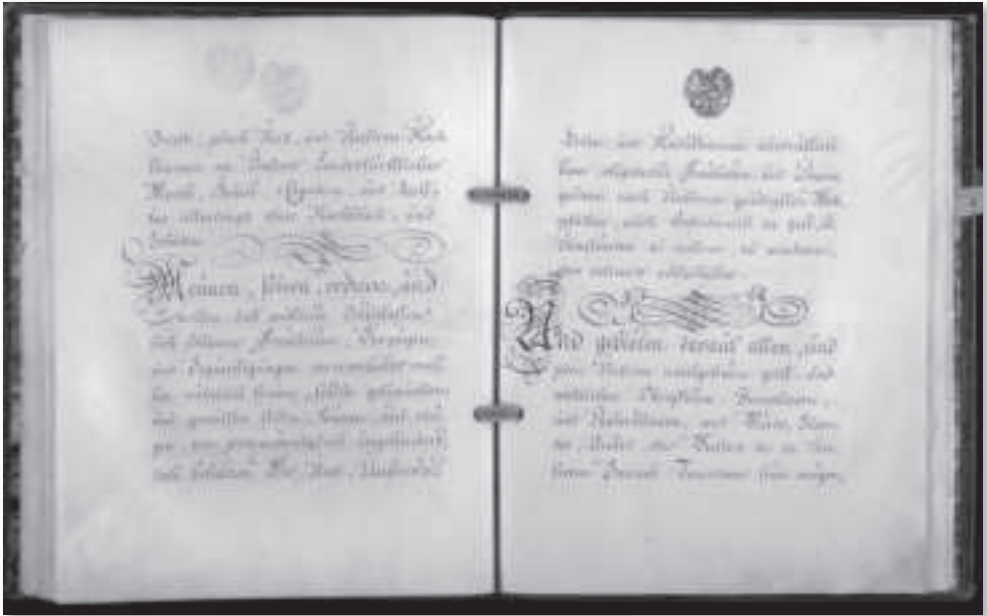
Прилог 5: Капиталне траке (доњи хрбатни део).

на хрбатном делу (како је то обично био случај код ове врсте повеза), него је хрбат израђен од мекшег картона (Прилог 3). Предлисти су рађени на марбл хартији<sup>9</sup> (Прилог 4). Траке којима се везује повеља су кроз танке прорезе подвучене између корица и предлиста и израђене су од шантунг<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Марбл [мраморни] папир – Овај папир поседује боју распоређену тако да имитира мермер; отуда и његово име. Производи се прскањем правилно припремљених боја на површину кељива, направљеног или од биљне емулзије или од раствора смоласте гуме.

J. W. ZAENSDORF, *The Art of Bookbinding: A Practical Treatise*, London 1890, 34.

<sup>10</sup> Шантунг свила – Добијање влакана из чауре свилених буба било је познато у давним временима. Производњом су се bavиле широке народне масе, али су предмете од ње носиле само имућније, више класе друштва. У Кини, у провинцији Шантунг, ту вештину су



Прилог 6: Декоративни елементи на страници повеље.

свиле у жутој боји. На повељи се укупно налазило осам трака (по четири на свакој корици), од којих је сачувана само једна. (Прилог 4) У горњем и доњем делу хрбата налазе се капитали<sup>11</sup> израђени од зеленог и белог конца (Прилог 5). На левом делу књиге, близу хрбата, на два места (горњем и доњем) избушене су рупе (кроз корице и цео књижни блок) и кроз њих пролази декоративна плетеница (Прилог 3). Плетеница је израђена тако што је више танких канапа обавијано једно уз друго уз додавање танких трачица метала, а затим је рађен преплет са четири канапа. Плетеница пролази тако што улази кроз доњу рупу, пролази кроз цео књижни блок и завршава се поново у доњој рупи. Повеља садржи 61 писану страницу. Текст је писан црним мастилом, калиграфски и слободноручно, са деловима текста на којима су додати декоративни елементи (Прилог 6). На 47.

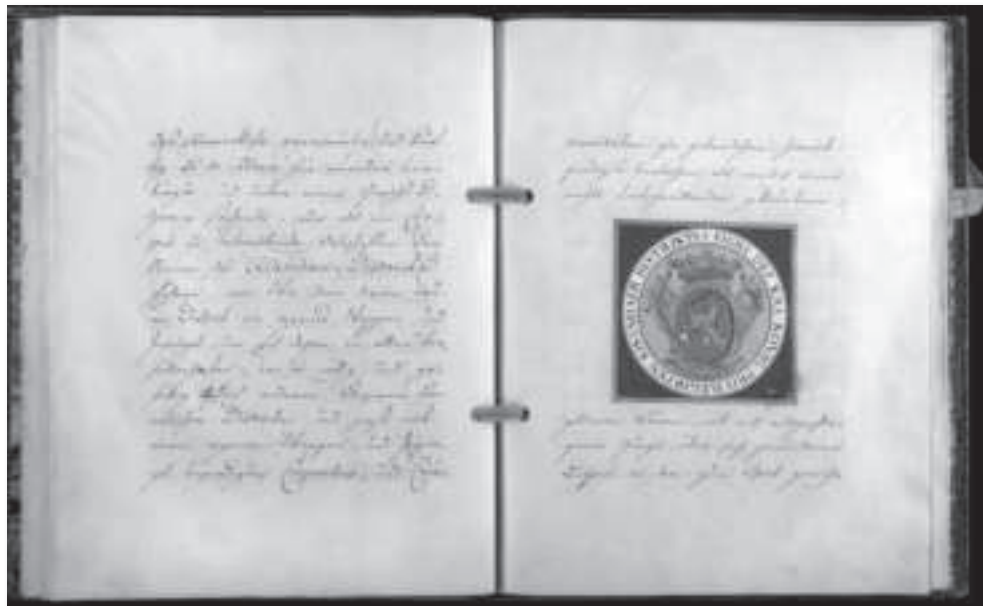
знали још у XXVII веку п.н.е. У Европи су гајење први почели Византинци, 552. године нове ере.

В. РАДОСАВЉЕВИЋ, Р. ПЕТРОВИЋ, *Конзервација и реститурација архивске и библиотеке и музејских предмета од шекспира и коже*, Београд 2000, 286–287.

<sup>11</sup> Капитали [капиталне траке] су мали комади велума, црева или гајтана пришивени на главу и реп књиге свилом или концем. Имају функцију да онемогућавају настанак оштећења књиге приликом њеног узимања са полице.

D. SOCKERELL, *Bookbinding, and the Care of Books*, New York 1910, 148.

страници повеље налази се грб Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта. На грбу се налази приказ златног лава са сабљом који у подигнутој десној предњој шапи за перчин држи одсечену турску главу. Грб је осликан златном, црвеном, плавом и белом бојом, а текст око грба је писан црном бојом великим словима. (Прилог 7)



Прилог 7: Грб Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта.

### **Израда копија Повеље царице Марије Терезије о установљењу Великокикиндског привилегованог дистрикта из 1774. године**

Изради копије Повеље претходила је детаљна припрема за штампу (скенираних страница Повеље) која је подразумевала обраду у фотошопу, као и слагање текста. Оригинални текст је писан на пергаменту који је на средини пресавијен напола и на тај начин је добијен дволист. На дволистима се на обе стране налази писани текст. Пре обраде у фотошопу било је потребно “послагати” странице на начин на који су сложене у оригиналној Повељи тако да, када се уради реконструкција повеза на новим повељама, текст на страницама буде идентично послоган као и на оригиналном документу. Књижни блок је изведен са четири лога (свеске). Приликом посматрања оригиналне Повеље примећено је да су на другом логу додатно убачена још два дволиста, тако да је слагање текста на страницама предста-



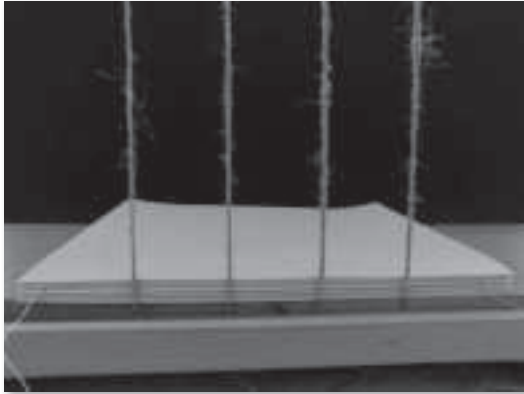
Прилог 8: Изглед одштампаних страница копије.

вљало додатни изазов за аутентичну поставку текста на дволистима. Такође, било је потребно и да се текст преклапа на страницама, јер је хартија на којој је штампана копија благо транспарентна (као и код оригиналног документа). Странице су чишћене тако да текст остане на транспарентној подлози, како се приликом штампе не би приказивала и оригинална боја пергаментна. Све послове везане за припрему и обраду текста извршила је Татјана Цавнић, начелник Одељења за издавачку делатност Архива Војводине. Обрађене странице у фотошопу штампане су на дигиталном штампачу у боји. Штампа је рађена на пергаментном папиру<sup>12</sup> веће грамаже, а предлисти са оригиналном декорацијом марбл папира су одштампани на хартији веће грамаже у пуној боји (Прилог 8).

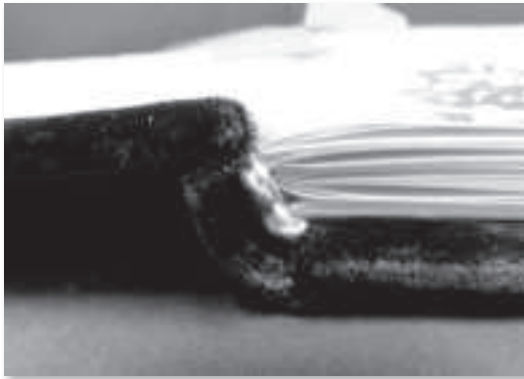
Повез је изведен по узору на оригиналну Повељу, помоћу четири канапа. Повезивање логова је рађено књиговезачким ланеним концем на дрвеној шивалици. Повез је изведен тако што је игла са концем пролазила

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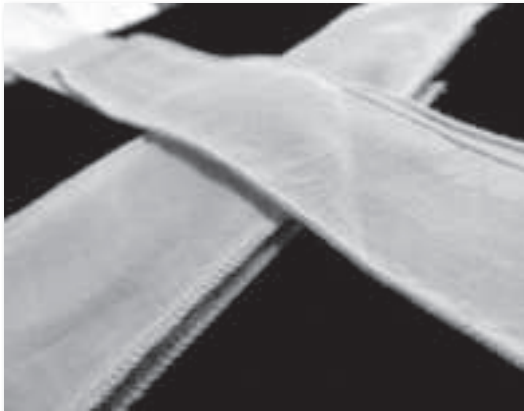
<sup>12</sup> Пергаментни папир је врста чврстог, полупрозрачног папира непрпусног за масноће, који је изгледом и својствима врло сличан пергаменту. Производи се пергаментирањем, тј. обрадом сулфатном киселином или цинковим хлоридом. ([https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pergamentni\\_papir](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pergamentni_papir))



Прилог 9: Израда повеза на копијама.



Прилог 10: Изглед капитала на копији.



Прилог 11: Изглед свилених трака.

на даљу (леву) страну канапа, затим је окруживала канап и излазила кроз ближу (десну) страну канапа (Прилог 9). Након израде повеза (на све четири повеље) рађени су капитали тако што је на платнене траке ушивен преплет (сличан као на оригиналу) помоћу две игле у две боје (белој и зеленој) конца (Прилог 10). Укупно је израђено осам капитала. Траке којима се везује повеља израђене су од беле шантунг свиље у димензијама као и на оригиналној повељи. Траке су потом порубљене машински и бојене бојама за свиљу. Укупно су израђене 32 траке (Прилог 11). Израда декоративне плетенице рађена је преплетом помоћу четири танка канапа у жутој боји, са додавањем две до три танке нити “златног” конца (Прилог 12). За сваку повељу било је потребно израдити по 1,5 метар плетенице тако да је укупно израђено 6 метара плетенице (Прилог 12а). Корице су израђене од дебље лепенке, а преко њих је обложен најфинији свилени плиш тамно црвене боје (Прилог 13). За потребе транспорта и чувања повеља израђене су заштитне кутије.



Прилог 12: Изглед декоративне плетенице унутар копије.



Прилог 12а: Изглед декоративних плетеница на копијама.



Прилог 13: Завршни изглед повеље царице Марије Терезије у четири примерка.

**Crafting a Copy of the Charter of Empress Maria Theresa on the Establishment of the Privileged District of Great Kikinda Issued in 1774**

(Summary)

Crafting a copy of the Charter of Empress Maria Theresa on the Establishment of the Privileged District of Great Kikinda (*Privilegierte Bezirk Gross Kikinda*) was a challenge that required harmonization of a contemporary approach, choice of available materials and the traditional methods of creating a charter. By a detailed scrutiny of the original Charter, insight was gained into the understanding of the crafting process used by the craftsman who produced it two and a half centuries ago. Considering the fact that any instructive literature dealing with the charter-crafting methods used in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is not known, and the impossibility to procure materials identical to those used in the making of the said Charter, most of the working techniques had to be improvised, escaping the danger of reducing the importance and the esthetics of the original document. In addition, the experience and knowledge gained through the training in the bookbinding craft, when our colleagues from the Budapest City Archives and the National Archives of Hungary unselfishly shared these with us, deserves to be mentioned as highly precious for the understanding of the process of making copies of the Charter. The crafting of the Charter of Empress Maria Theresa on the Establishment of the Privileged District of Great Kikinda issued in 1774 has ensured long-lasting safety for the original document, while the copy has become available to the visitors of the Historical Archives of Kikinda and the users of archival materials for observation and study of the valuable item.

**Keywords:** charter, Empress Maria Theresa, Privileged District of Great Kikinda, copy-crafting.

## **Methods for the Protection of Archival Materials and Fonds against Biological Agents – the Treatments by Anoxia**

**Abstract:** The term preventive protection supports a number of measures, procedures and steps taken to prevent, delay or at least mitigate the damage suffered by archival and library materials. In order to select and decide on the most appropriate processes for preventive protection and preservation, it is necessary to know and determine the causes and factors responsible for the damage.

In general, the causes of damage to archival materials such as paper, parchment, papyrus and other natural materials are the processes connected with natural aging, inappropriate environmental conditions, improper handling and mechanical damage, natural disasters and biodegradation.

The purpose of this article is to give a brief overview of possible alternative and more environmentally acceptable methods for disinfection and preventive protection of archival materials from biodegradation and microorganism attacks. Microbiological analyses were made on samples from archival fonds and collections at the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia, dating from different historic periods and times.

**Keywords:** preventive protection, archival materials, biodegradation, microbiological tests, anoxia, carbon dioxide, nitrogen, inert gases.

### **1. Introduction**

Archives and libraries along with their functions represent cultural heritage as guardians of human thought, development and history. The materials stored in collections and a range of holdings contain the oldest records written on various types of substrates such as stone, metal, papyrus, parchment, the first forms of paper and cellulose media. This process of collecting, preserving, and archiving documents that have lasting value continues and it follows civilizational development as an inseparable companion of general human history. Along with the development of technology and the evolution of new information and possibilities today, in addition to the basic and still most common forms recorded on paper, archival and library holdings include new forms of documents recorded on new types of media, using new methods on various

photographic and electronic supports, which leads to the formation of new digital forms of archival holdings and collections.

The digitization of archival materials undoubtedly has a major role and use in the preservation of archival materials, especially considering that archival records are most often unique and rarely published.

Starting from the knowledge of the originality and value of archival materials which in the highest percentage globally, despite new technologies, consist of content placed on substrates and organic materials such as paper, cellulose sheets, papyrus, parchment, wood (that are susceptible to decay and damage). The preventive protection and physical security of written documents are still a real challenge and a topic for reflection for archivists, librarians, restorers and other professionals involved in these processes and procedures. Moreover, the concept of preservation in archival doctrine has quite a broader meaning. It is not only about passive preservation of documents, which includes international regulations for preventive protections, but also concerns their optimal availability for research in all segments of social activity, such as administrative, cultural and legislative ones<sup>1</sup>.

## **2. The influence of environmental conditions and biological agents on the physical condition of archival holdings and collections**

There is a large number of literary and scientific works dedicated to the causes and factors that damage or impact the physical condition of materials and archival records.

For example, it is known that the environmental climate where archival materials and holdings are located has an impact on the physical condition and composition of the substrate, especially for materials of plant, animal or synthetic origin. Elements of these environmental factors include: temperature and temperature changes, relative humidity of the air, exposure to UV light.

The composition of the air where the archival materials are located has a great influence on the material condition of the substrate, especially regarding air pollution. The harmful impact of polluted air in storage depots and rooms where archival materials are located does not only apply to solid particles and dust that cause mechanical damage to the substrate or paper, but also to

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<sup>1</sup> ROBERTO NAVARRINI, The conservation of Documents: A Fundamental Principle for Evolution in Societies, *Memoria e futuro dei documenti su carta = Memory and Future of Paper Documents*, ed. A. ZAPPALÀ, Udine 2002, 78.

aerosols and inorganic compounds, such as sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides that change the chemical composition and quality of the material. "Polluted air contains spores of microorganisms and biological agents which cause further damage and decomposition of the material substrate"<sup>2</sup>.

In the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia (SARNM), as part of the organizational structure of the institution, one of the departments is specially dedicated to the protection, storage and preservation of archival materials. This organizational unit includes the storage depots in the central part of the Archives and the depots in the regional departments, as well as a special department for microfilming and recording of archival fonds and records, and a centralized laboratory for preventive protection, conservation and restoration of archival materials.

Each of the abovementioned divisions has specific responsibilities, tasks and roles. Control, supervision and continuity of the protection and security of archival fonds and collections is carried out through mutual cooperation and synchronized actions of these three divisions.

### **3. The presence of microorganisms and their harmful effects on written archival documents**

One of the aspects of the preventive protection and conservation of paper materials relates to the problems associated with, and caused by, the action of biological agents.

In the conservation and restoration laboratory at the State Archives, in addition to regular conservation and restoration procedures and activities, microbiological analyses and tests were conducted to provide additional knowledge for preventive protection against damage caused by various biological, i.e. microbiological agents.

In the presence of certain unfavorable and inadequate environmental conditions, the harmful biological effect on archival materials, primarily caused by the presence of microorganisms and insects, is inevitable. There are over two hundred known species of microorganisms and several hundred entomological species that pose a real threat to paper. The composition and nature of the paper used as a substrate also play a major role in biodegradation and resistance to

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<sup>2</sup> VERA KALAJLIEVSKA, *Preservation and Protection of Archival and Library Materials*, Skopje 2001, 67.

biological agents<sup>3</sup>.

Fungi and bacteria cause serious paper damage. Slow decomposition of the paper substrate is the result of specific enzymes, cellulases, proteases, ligninases and organic acids secreted by these microorganisms. Pigmentation of the paper and visible physical changes are a reliable indicator of the presence of biodegradable agents on the materials. The danger of fungi and their spores is even greater due to their tolerance for different environmental conditions and resistance to lower relative humidity. The spores are easily transmitted through the air, which further increases the risk of contamination not only of archival materials, but can also cause diseases and allergies in the people in the immediate vicinity<sup>4</sup>.

The inevitable presence of fungi and bacteria that attack cellulose substrates such as *Penicillium Fusarium*, *Trichoderma*, *Alternaria*, *Citromyces*, *Aspergillus* and *Monilia*<sup>5</sup>, requires continuously microbiological analyses and assessment of the condition of the material, as part of preventive protection and reduction of damage caused by microorganisms and the appropriate procedures and techniques against biodegradation.

This was the initial idea, to organize and carry out the microbiological examination. The aim of the research is to gain some knowledge about the possibilities and effects of using new, less aggressive methods in the fight against biodegradation and their implementation for the protection of written archival materials in the State Archives.

#### **4. Disinfection methods and techniques in the preventive protection of archival materials**

Previous experiences in this area clearly indicate the difficulties in choosing universal techniques or procedures applicable to all cases of preventive protection. On the one hand, this provokes a large amount of research and attempts to find appropriate solutions, which are mainly aimed at controlling the factors that lead to the growth of bacteria and fungi. Here we can list the

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<sup>3</sup> ELENA RUSCHIONI, *Biological Deterioration, Memoria e futuro dei documenti su carta = Memory and Future of Paper Documents*, ed. A. ZAPPALÀ, Udine 2002, 193.

<sup>4</sup> N. VALENTIN, *Microbial Contamination in Archives and Museums: Health Hazards and Preventive Strategies Using Air Ventilation Systems*, The Getty Conservation Institute, Spain, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> BASAVARAJ S. KADEMANI, et.al. *Preservation of Information Resources in Libraries: New Challenges*, BOSALA One Day Seminar: Resource Management 2003, 69–70 <http://eprints.rclis.org/4927/1/preservation.PDF>

conditions where the materials are placed and stored (temperature, humidity, air pollution), the composition of the paper and inks used, the concentrations of fungal and bacterial spores in the air and more.

One method for inhibiting microbial growth and biodegradation is use of disinfectants and different antibiotics during paper production. However, given the large number of known fungi and their metabolites, it is very difficult to find a means that could be used for all cases<sup>6</sup>.

In the past, a frequently used method for preventive protection against biological agents in archival and library materials was fumigation, using vapors of strong chemicals such as thymol, orthophenylphenol, a mixture of ethylene oxide, carbon dioxide and methyl bromide compounds, which are toxic to human health and the environment. The procedure itself is very specific, requires great attention and qualified personnel, and is not very economically justified<sup>7</sup>.

Other research suggests using gamma radiation for combating some insects, which could also be used against fungal infections. However, this method requires precise dosing and intensity of radiation, due to possible chemical depolymerization of the cellulose that makes up the substrate of written materials. Also, it is harmful for humans and the environment.

Increasingly, research in the preventive protection and control of biodegradation is focused on finding alternative, more environmentally friendly techniques and procedures, such as the application of low temperatures (deep-freezing) to inhibit the growth of microorganisms. Another possible method of disinfection that has attracted attention in preventive protection against biological contaminants is the exposure of materials to conditions of a controlled modified atmosphere or an atmosphere with a very low percentage of oxygen (less than 0.5%), known as the anoxia condition or procedure.

The treatment by anoxia is based on providing conditions in a certain hermetically sealed space, for example a polyethylene bag or chamber, where the treated material is placed in an atmosphere with an extremely low percentage of oxygen (up to 0.5%), with an increased presence of CO<sub>2</sub> or inert gases such as nitrogen – N<sub>2</sub> or argon – Ar, or a combination with carbon dioxide - CO<sub>2</sub>.

When exposed to conditions where the oxygen level is less than 0.5% for a certain period of time, temperature and pH, the growth and reproduction of

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<sup>6</sup> CORRADO FANELLI, *Methods to Control the Paper Deterioration Induced by Fungi, Memoria e futuro dei documenti su carta = Memory and Future of Paper Documents*, ed. A. ZAPPALÀ, Udine 2002, 205–207.

<sup>7</sup> VERA KALAJLIEVSKA, *Preservation and Protection of Archival and Library Materials*, Skopje 2001, 116.

biological pests is inhibited or reduced. This method is used in the control and protection from pests during storage in the food industry, which has proven to be an effective and safer alternative to classic chemical treatments with the use of toxic and aggressive chemicals. At the Getty Conservation Institute, guided by this realization, first attempts were made to apply anoxic nitrogen conditions in the preventive protection of sensitive objects of organic origin from the harmful effects of biodegradable agents. This procedure is part of a project for the protection of the Royal Mummy at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in the period from 1987 to 1989. The results showed high efficiency in the protection and prevention of biodegradation<sup>8</sup>. The publication “Inert Gases in the Control of Museum Insect Pests” published by the Getty Conservation Institute describes the successful effects of preventing or reducing the impact of insects and fungi on organic museum collections with a combination of carbon dioxide and nitrogen as an inert gas under anoxic conditions. Anoxic atmospheres with a combination of carbon dioxide and nitrogen, in the presence of less than 0.3% oxygen, have shown more reliable effects in preventing fungal growth and in healing affected exhibits than pure nitrogen alone<sup>9</sup>.

## 5. Research subject and methods

Based on these findings, the effects of the application of anoxia to inhibit the growth of microorganisms in laboratory conditions were the focus of microbiological analyses and research conducted in the conservation laboratory at the State Archives, in collaboration with the microbiological laboratory at the Faculty of Science and Mathematics. The aim of the research was to obtain knowledge on the effects of this method that could be applied in the preventive protection of archival materials and holdings at the Archives from biological pests, including cellulose microorganisms (bacteria and fungi).

For microbiological examinations, samples of archival materials dating from different ages and times were used, all with different compositions and qualities of paper. In the selection for the isolation of microorganisms, samples were taken from special collections of old manuscript books, Serbian recensions from the first third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a festal menaion from the third quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, sealed Turkish law court books and printed documents from

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<sup>8</sup> SHIN MAEKAWA – KERSTIN ELERT, *The Use of Oxygen-Free Environments in the Control of Museum Insect Pests/ The Getty Conservation Center*, Los Angeles 2003, [https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/pdf/oxygen\\_free\\_envIRON\\_vl.pdf](https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/oxygen_free_envIRON_vl.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

the Civil Registry Books from the first half of the last century, all owned by the SARNM.

The list of archival materials used in this study is presented in Table 1. Some of these rare specimens can be seen in Figures 1 to 6.

Table 1: List of tested materials.

Archive/Book name	Period/Year
Civil Registry Books	1940–1946
Old Church Slavonic Book (Lenten and Flowery Triodion)	15 <sup>th</sup> century
Official Menaion for June and July (Serbian recension), cm M-8	16 <sup>th</sup> century, third quarter
“Psalter” on parchment	Beginning of 16 <sup>th</sup> century
Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 1	1607–1912
Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 185	1607–1912
Negotino Regional Administration, Box No. 1	1941–1948
A collection of old maps from Europe and the Balkans	17 <sup>th</sup> century, year 1657



Figure 1: Inner part of a sealed law book.

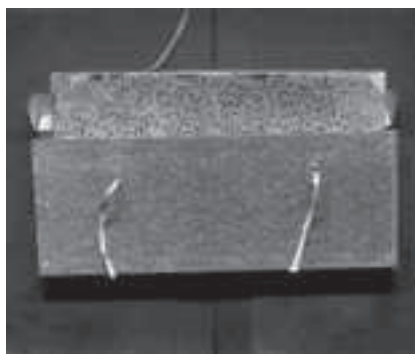


Figure 2: Sealed law book in protective covers.



Figure 3: Sealed law book, front cover.



Figure 4: Old Slavonic book, cover.



Figure 5: Flowery Triodion Lazarevac, first page.



Figure 6: Flowery Triodion Lazarevac, middle page.

The entire procedure of taking samples from the damaged archival materials, which will be further used for testing, i.e. isolating the biodegradable microflora, was carried out in the conservation and restoration laboratory at the State Archives. For this purpose, sterile work areas were provided in a section of the conservation laboratory which served as a temporary chamber for the separation of the material. The methods used were adapted so as to suit the archival materials and samples for examination<sup>10</sup>. With using sterile tweezers and gloves, sampling was carefully performed. Selected areas were the ones that showed significant contamination, dark spots, fading or discoloration of the substrate, and the parts which were already mechanically damaged and did not have any written text. In some cases, due to the type and value of the materials that were the subject of examination, the original sampling procedure was replaced with the impression method, i.e. copying onto sterile filter paper discs. In our case, we used pieces of thick Japanese paper measuring 2x2 mm soaked in sterile peptone water, which were fixed to the contaminated areas. The papers used in research in both cases were then washed with sterile peptone solution (0.1% peptone and 0.05% Tween 80) and transferred to sterile Petri dishes with a diameter of 100 mm. Further testing procedures took place in the microbiology laboratory at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics in Skopje, University of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

The microbiome used for examination for the isolation from written archival materials were: Greathouse, Klemme and Barker Medium<sup>11</sup> and its

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<sup>10</sup> ELŻBIETA CZERWINSKA – RYSZARD KOWALIK, Microbiodeterioration Audiovisual Collections. Part 1. Protection of Audiovisual Records against Destructive Microflora, *Restaurator* 3 (January 1979), 63–80.

<sup>11</sup> RYSZARD KOWALIK – IRENA SADURSKA, Microflora of Papyrus from Samples of the Cairo Museums, *Studies in Conservation*, 18 (1), 1973, 1–24.

modified version<sup>12</sup>. The composition of the two media is given in Tables 2 and 3.

The samples that were taken for examination in Petri dishes were covered with 15 ml of sterile Greathouse, Klemme and Barker Medium, with different pH values, specifically pH 5.0-5.5 and 7.0-7.5. Prepared this way, they were placed in a chamber with a temperature of 20-22°C corresponding to the temperature in the State Archives depot.

Table 2: Composition of Greathouse, Kleme and Barker Medium.

Component	Chemical element	Quantity in 1 liter of solution
Mineral solution	$K_2HPO_4$	1.3940 g
	$MgSO_4 \cdot 7 H_2O$	0.7395 g
	$NH_4NO_3$	1.006 g
	$CaCO_3$	0.005 g
Microelements	$FeSO_4$	traces
	$ZnSO_4$	traces
	$MnSO_4$	traces
Distilled water	$H_2O$	up to 1 liter

Table 3: Composition of Greathouse, Kleme and Barker Medium (modified).

Component	Chemical element	Quantity in 1 liter of medium
Mineral solution	$K_2HPO_4$	1.3940 g
Magnesium Sulphate Heptahydrate	$MgSO_4 \cdot 7 H_2O$	0.7395 g
Monoammonium phosphate	$NH_4H_2PO_4$	1.3013 g
Calcium carbonate	$CaCO_3$	0.005 g
Microelements	$FeSO_4$	traces
Zinc sulfate	$ZnSO_4$	traces

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Component	Chemical element	Quantity in 1 liter of medium
Manganous sulfate	$MnSO_4$	traces
Distilled water	$H_2O$	up to 1 liter
Agar		10 g
Signacell cellulose type 20 (Sigma-Aldrich)	$(C_6H_{10}O_5)_n$	

After approximately 7-14 days, depending on the degree of contamination, colonies of microflora could be observed on the surface of the tested paper samples, which were then used to isolate pure (axenic) microbiological cultures.

Figures 7 to 9 show some of the samples taken with microflora colonies.



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9

The isolation of pure cultures was done by multiple seedings of the microflora on non-selective media, namely on a medium of Nutrient agar for bacteria (composition given in Table 4) and Czapek Yeast Extract Agar (CYA) and Malt Extract Agar (MEA) for fungi (composition given in Tables 5 and 6), with incubation at a temperature of 20-22°C.

Table 4: Composition of Nutrient Agar.

Components	Components in 1 liter of medium
Peptone	5g
Meat extract	3g
NaCl	5g
$K_2HPO_4$	0.3g

Agar	15g
Distilled water	up to 1 liter

Table 5: Composition of Czapek Yeast Extract Agar – CYA.

Component			Quantity in 1 liter of medium
K <sub>2</sub> HPO <sub>4</sub> Mineral solution			1,0g
Czapek concentrate			10ml
	NaNO <sub>3</sub>	30g	
	KCl	5g	
	MgSO <sub>4</sub> * 7 H <sub>2</sub> O	5g	
	FeSO <sub>4</sub> * 7 H <sub>2</sub> O	0.1g	
	ZnSO <sub>4</sub>	0.1g	
	CuSO <sub>4</sub> * 7 H <sub>2</sub> O	0.1g	
	Distilled water	100ml	
Yeast extract			5,0g
Sucrose	C <sub>12</sub> H <sub>22</sub> O <sub>11</sub>		30g
Agar			15g
Distilled water	H <sub>2</sub> O		up to 1 liter

Table 6: Composition of malt agar extract – MEA.

Components	Quantity in 1 liter of medium
Sweet extract	20g
Peptone	1.0g
Glucose	20g
Agar	20g
Distilled water	up to 1 liter

The developed microflora colonies (examples in Figures 10 to 15) were then used for multiple reseeded, with special techniques and according to the Pitt method<sup>13</sup>, to isolate pure colonies of fungi and bacteria (Figures 16, 17 and 18).

Given the large number of isolates obtained from the used archival material samples, it was particularly important that they be appropriately labeled and maintained for a longer period of time, uncontaminated and clean. The labels of pure cultures that were then used in the tests and the inhibition methods are noted in Tables 7 and 8. The obtained bacterial and fungal isolates were maintained in pure condition on solid nutrient medium, covered with sterile paraffin oil, in a chamber at a temperature of +4°C<sup>14</sup>.



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15

<sup>13</sup> JOHN I. PITT, *A Laboratory Guide to Common Penicillium Species*. CSIRO, North Ryde 1991.

<sup>14</sup> RYSZARD KOWALIK, Microbiodeterioration of Library Materials, Part II, *Restaurator* 4 (1980), 135–219.



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18

Table 7: Labeling of pure cultures of fungi and yeasts isolated from the examined archival material (isolates).

Number of wells with pure cultures of fungi and yeasts	Name of archival material (book/collection)
from 1 to 7	Negotino Regional Administration, Box No. 1
from 8 to 14	Old Church Slavonic Book (Lenten and Flowery Triodion)
from 15 to 19	Official Menaion for June and July (Serbian recension)
from 20 to 30	Civil Registry
from 31 to 32	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 1
from 33 to 34	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 185
from 35 to 36	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 1
from 37 to 38	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 185
from 39 to 47	“Psalter” on parchment

Table 8: Labels of pure cultures of bacteria isolated from examined archival materials.

Number of wells with pure bacterial cultures	Name of archival material (book/collection)
from 48 to 53	Negotino Regional Administration, Box No. 1
from 54 to 63	Old Church Slavonic Book (Lenten and Flowery Triodion)

from 64 to 70	Official Menaion for June and July (Serbian recension)
from 72 to 73	Civil Registry Books
from 74 to 75	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 1
from 76 to 77	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 185
form 78 to 82	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 185
from 83 to 84	Sealed law books – “Bitola Kadiluk”, Book No. 1
from 85 to 92	A collection of maps from Europe and the Balkans

In our case, the study was conducted using standard microtiter plate, seeded or inoculated with 0.1 ml of suspension of previously purified isolates with varying concentrations of bacterial and fungal cultures.

The scheme for seeding i.e. filling the microtiter plates with the appropriate suspensions of bacteria and fungi is shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Schematic representation of seeding a suspension of pure cultures on a microtiter plate.

Scheme of seeding bacterial cultures												Scheme of seeding fungal cultures													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	4	4	3		5	5	5		5	5	6		A	1		2		3		4		5		6	
B					3	4	6		8	8	3		B		7		9		10		11		12		13
C	6	6	6		6	6	6		7	7	7		C	1		1		1		1		1		1	
D					6	7	9		9	1	6		D		2		2		2		2		2		2
E	7	7	8		8	8	8		8	8	8		E	2		3		3		3		3		3	
F	7	9	0		1	3	6		7	8	9		F		2		2		2		2		2		2
G	9	9			1	3	3						G	3		4		4		4		4		4	
H	0	2			7	7	8						H		3		1		2		3		4		5
													I	4		4									
													J	4		7									
													K												
													L												

The seeded plates were placed in polyethylene bags which were then filled with a previously prepared mixture of carbon dioxide and nitrogen gas in various percentages shown in Table 10, under anoxic conditions. For comparison, control tests were also performed, with pure carbon dioxide and nitrogen and one test with a normal air mixture. The cylinders with the gas mixtures were prepared according to the needs of the test, by the specialized company Technical Gases-Skopje. After being filled with the appropriate gas mixture, using a thermal source, the opening of each well (chamber) was sealed by polyethylene bags, thus ensuring anoxic conditions for exposure of the specimens.

In the following Figures 19 and 20, the microtiter plate wells are shown before being placed in anoxia conditions and after the chamber is filled with gas.

Table 10: Percentage of the mixture of gases used.

Gas Mixture	Percentage [%]
CO <sub>2</sub>	100 %
N <sub>2</sub>	100 %
CO <sub>2</sub> / N <sub>2</sub>	12% – 88%
CO <sub>2</sub> / N <sub>2</sub>	28% – 72%
CO <sub>2</sub> / N <sub>2</sub>	30% – 70%
CO <sub>2</sub> / N <sub>2</sub>	56% – 44%

## 6. Analysis of the results

The filled and prepared gas bags containing the seeded microtiter plates were placed in a dark chamber at a temperature of 20-22°C for 72 up to 96 hours. After the indicated exposure time, growth control, i.e. inhibition, was checked by inoculating nutrient agar and a selective cellulose medium with Sigmacell cellulose type 20 (Sigma-Aldrich).<sup>15</sup>

The time interval that was chosen for the research is in accordance with previous findings and research conducted by several authors within the Getty

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<sup>15</sup> JOHANNA G. WELLHEISER, *Nonchemical Treatment Processes for Disinfestation of Insects and Fungi in Library Collections*, de Gruyter 1992.

Conservation Institute and the Patrimonio Institute of Culture in Madrid.<sup>16</sup>

The results obtained from the effects of the treatment and inhibition of the growth of the inoculated fungal suspensions are schematically shown in Tables 15 to 18.

The results of the control tests that served for comparison are recorded in Tables 12, 13, and 14.

According to the microbiological characteristics, table number 11 has the recordings of the growth intensity and microfloral activity of the inoculated suspensions after exposure to anoxia.



Figure 19: Microtiter plate in a polyethylene bag before filling.



Figure 20: Microtiter plate in a polyethylene bag filled with a mixture of CO<sub>2</sub> – 12% and N<sub>2</sub> – 88%.

Table 11: Indication of the intensity of microbiological activity.

Good microflora activity, intense growth	+ + +
Medium microflora activity, medium intensity	+ + -
Weak microflora activity, low intensity	+ - -
No microfloral activity	-

<sup>16</sup> N. VALENTIN, *Insect Elimination in Historic Collection Using Low Oxygen Environment Velocity System*, Spain 1989.

From the results of the control tests, it could be concluded that when exposed to 100% CO<sub>2</sub> with all concentrations of the fungal suspensions growth is negative. With the fungal suspensions exposed to 100% N<sub>2</sub>, the results showed different growth intensity and appearance of fungal colonies, depending on the concentration of the suspension. The results from the exposure of the material to a mixture of 56% CO<sub>2</sub> and 44% N<sub>2</sub> gas showed greater efficiency in inhibiting the growth of these biological agents, which is due to the higher presence of carbon dioxide. Interesting for thinking were results obtained from the exposure to a mixture of 12% CO<sub>2</sub> and 88% N<sub>2</sub>. In this combination, inhibitory effect on fungal growth is greater than one where the presence of CO<sub>2</sub> is bigger.

According to data in literature<sup>17</sup>, the oxygen content in the composition of carbon dioxide as a gas can affect the total percentage of oxygen in anoxic atmosphere, which contributes to reducing the inhibitory effect on the growth of spores and larvae of some insects. This would mean that when choosing a modified anoxic atmosphere, a combination of gas percentages should be selected that will be safe to handle and at the same time achieve effective preventive protection. On the other hand, in our case, the control parameters with pure CO<sub>2</sub> showed negative growth with all concentrations of fungal suspension.

Table 12 Control

Table 13 100% CO<sub>2</sub>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A												
B												
C												
D				POSITIVE								
E												
F												
G												
H												

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>17</sup> S. MAEKAWA – K. ELERT, The Use of Oxygen-Free Environments in the Control of Museum Insect Pests/ [https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/pdf/oxygen\\_free\\_enviro\\_n\\_v1.pdf](https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/oxygen_free_enviro_n_v1.pdf)

Table 14

100% N<sub>2</sub> – PURE NITROGEN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>A</b>	•• •		•••		••		• •		• • •		••• •• •	
<b>B</b>		• •• •		•		••		••		••• •• •		••• •• •
<b>C</b>	•• •• •		••• •• •		••• •• •		••• •• •		•		••• •• •	
<b>D</b>		••• •		••• •		••• •		••• •		••		••• •

Table 15

Mixture of 20% CO<sub>2</sub> and 80% N<sub>2</sub>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	↑↑↑ ↑		↑↑ ↑		↑		↑↑		↑			
B		↑↑ ↑		↑↑↑		↑		↑ ↑ ↑		↑↑ ↑		↑↑ ↑
C	↑↑↑		↑↑		↑↑↑ ↑		↑↑↑ ↑		↑		↑	
D		↑↑		↑↑↑ ↑		↑↑		↑ ↑		↑		↑
E	↑		↑↑		↑↑↑ ↑		↑		↑		↑↑ ↑	
F		↑↑		↑		↑		↑ ↑ ↑		↑↑ ↑		↑ ↑ ↑
G	↑↑↑ ↑		↑↑ ↑									
H												

Table 16

Mixture of 12% CO2 and 88% N2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +	
B		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +
C	++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +	
D		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +
E	.		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +	
F		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +		++ +
G	++ +		++ +									
H												

Table 17

Mixture of 56% CO<sub>2</sub> and 44% N<sub>2</sub>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
A	++ -		-		-		-		-		+	
B		+++ +		-		-		+		+++ +		++ +
C	+		-		++ +		+		-		+++ +	
D		++ +		++ +		+		++ +		++ +		++ +
E	+- -		+- +		+- -		-		+- -		++ +	
F		++ +		-		+- -		+- -		+- -		++ +
G	+- -		+- +									
H												

Table 18

Mixture of 28% CO<sub>2</sub> and 72% N<sub>2</sub>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>A</b>	~		++ +		++ +		++ +		+		++ ~	
<b>B</b>		++ ~		++ +		~		++ +		++ ~		++ +
<b>C</b>	++ ~		++ +		++ +		++ +		~		~	
<b>D</b>		++ ~		++ +		++ ~		++ +		++ ~		++ +
<b>E</b>	++ ~		~		++		+		~		++ ~	
<b>F</b>		++ ~		++ +		++ ~		++ +		++ ~		++ +
<b>G</b>	~		++ ~									
<b>H</b>												

**Методи заштите архивске грађе и фондова од биолошких агенса  
– третмани аноксијом  
(резиме)**

Почетна идеја овог истраживања била је примена знања о превентивној заштити од биолошких агенса коришћењем модификоване атмосфере с ниским садржајем кисеоника. Надаље, да се на добијеним резултатима провери могућност примене овог метода на материјалима и подлогама природног порекла које садрже целулозна једињења, а какве чине већину архивских докумената похрањених у депоима Државног архива Републике Северне Македоније. Ако упоредимо постојећу литературу о том методу и резултате добијене овим истраживањем, може се закључити да је једна комбинација угљен-диоксида и азота у правилној сразмери делотворнија, нарочито код заштите од гљивица и њихових спора које су обично аеробни организми и могу се у одређеном временском интервалу потпуно искоренити у условима ниског садржаја кисеоника. Тестирање бактерија није показало толику ефикасност, пошто ови микроорганизми, а посебно неки од њих, могу да преживе у анаеробним условима.

У пракси, уколико се намерава предузети примена аноксије као превентивног метода заштите, најбоље је третирати читаву архивску кутију одговарајућом мешавином инертног гаса и угљен-диоксида. Да би се то постигло, неопходно је створити одговарајуће услове коришћењем полиетиленских кеса у димензијама које одговарају стандардним архивским кутијама, као и цилиндричне напуњене одабраном смесом инертног гаса и угљен-диоксида. Овде неизбежни изазов представља начин на који се обавља пуњење кеса гасом, али и услови у које ће архивски материјал бити смештен после третмана. Овим се на практичан начин потврђује један од основних принципа на којима почива превентивна заштита. Можемо спровести најефикаснији модеран третман за уништавање биолошких агенса, али уколико архивска грађа буде поново изложена неприкладним условима средине после одређеног времена неминовно ће доћи до промене у квалитету и саставу подлоге на којој су забележени архивски садржај и информација од доказано трајне историјске и националне вредности.

**Кључне речи:** превентивна заштита, архивски материјали, биодеградација, микробиолошки тестови, аноксија, угљен-диоксид, азот, инертни гасови.



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