

# ВЕСНИК

ЧАСОПИС ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ, МУЗЕОЛОГИЈУ И УМЕТНОСТ

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# ДОБРЕ ВОДЕ – МОЈСОРСКЕ БАРЕ – МИРОЧ, НОВО КУЛТНО МЕСТО ТРИБАЛА

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# DOBRE VODE – MOJSORSKE BARE – MIROČ, NEW TRIBAL CULT PLACES

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**Сажетак:** налазишће Добре воде – Мојсорске баре откривено је током рекогносцирања ширеж подручја планине Мироч 2007. године, а током октобра 2009. године извршена су ископавања очуване кружне камене конструкције пречника 6,3 м. За разлику од конструкција испражених претходних година, она није имала јасно издвојен спољни прстен од ломљеног камена и била је формирана на земљи. Прикупљени археолошки налази – керамика и предмети од метала – припадају постбасараби хоризонту, односно времену с краја VI и почетка V в. пре н. е. Такође, извршена су мања сондажна истраживања на локалитету Голубиња глава, на коме је констатирано вишеслојно налазишће са краја бронзаног и почетка раног гвозденог доба, као и даља рекогносцирања ширеж подручја планине Мироч.

**Кључне речи:** Мироч, Добре воде, камене конструкције, предмети од метала, керамика, пробне сонде, трибали, светилишта.

**Abstract:** *Dobre Vode–Mojsorske bare locality was discovered during the reconnaissance of mountain Miroč area in 2007 and in October 2009 excavations of preserved circle stone construction, with diameter of 6.3m, were carried out. Contrary to constructions excavated in previous years, this one had no clearly separated outer ring made of broken stones, and it was formed on ground. Gathered archaeological artefacts – pottery, metal objects belong to Post-Basarabi horizon, that is to period from the end of 6<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Some sondage excavations were also carried out on locality Golubinja glava, where multilayer locality from the end of Bronze Age and the beginning of Early Iron Age was found, as well as further reconnaissance of wide are of mountain Miroč.*

**Key words:** *Miroč, Dobre vode, stone constructions, Metal artefacts, Pottery, Test Pit, Triballi, Sanctuaries.*

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## Dobre vode – Mojsorske bare – Miroč, new Tribal Cult Places

*Mirko Peković, Miloš Jevtić*

During reconnaissance of wide area of Miroč Mountain in 2007, in place called Dobre vode–Mojsorske bare, two circle stone constructions were found. One of them was completely dig up by illegal diggers. This locality is 17.7 km far from the centre of village Miroč, along the forest path to village Petrovo selo (Fig. 1). In October 2009, we carried out an excavation of preserved construction with diameter of 6.3m.

Contrary to earlier explored constructions on locality Mihajlov ponor, these constructions had no outer ring made of broken stones, but on some places there were larger pieces of stones and inner space was covered with small broken stones and earth (Fig. 2-3). Also, they were not formed on rocks like constructions in Mihajlov ponor, but they were made on almost flat surface, that is, heavily stamped yellow earth (Fig. 4). Because of that, there was no need to level the inner space of the construction, so it was easy to notice the system of its forming, that is, system of arranging smaller or bigger pieces of stones, mixed with large quantities of earth. Depth of construction was 0.3–0.4 m, depending on terrain fall.

Gathered pottery in this exploration is identical to those from Mihajlov ponor and from many localities in north-eastern Serbia, and it points to connection with Olthenia and Ferigile group, namely, that it belongs to Post-Basarabi horizon (Plate III). Also, many of metal artefacts discovered in this construction, mostly made of iron (one edge blades, horse equipment, arrow heads of Ferigile type), point that this locality could be

placed in early phase of Early Iron Age, that is, in period from the end of 6<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Fig. 5-11, Plate I-II).

Beside the excavation of this construction, sondage excavations of locality Kopana glavica – Golubinja glavica were also carried out, in which multilayer locality from the end of Bronze Age and beginning of Early Iron Age was found (Plate IV).

Further reconnaissances of Miroč Mountain were also carried out, during which, several similar circle stone constructions were found near place called Kremenjar (Fig. 1). On locality Velika Spartura, debris of, probably, Roman road to Kladovo were noticed.

After five explored stone circle constructions on locality Mihajlov ponor and constructions from locality Dobra voda – Mojsorske bare as well as from other recorded localities with identical constructions on Miroč Mountain, our opinion is that these are special cult places in part of forest shrines. From the territorial and culture view, Tribals can be identified as ethnical carriers of this complex.

Numerous localities, in which they were found, that is, wide territory in which these constructions were found, are in favour of assumption of longer lifetime of this religious phenomenon.

However, on this level of exploration, every attempt to briefly reconstruct cult rituals in these shrines, even beside certain similarities to some cult places in Thrace, seems quite impossible.

# РИМСКЕ ФИБУЛЕ ИЗ АРХЕОЛОШКЕ ЗБИРКЕ БРАНКА НАЈХОЛДА

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# ROMAN FIBULAE FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION OF BRANKO NAJHOLD

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**Сажетак:** у раду су анализиране римске фибуле из приватне археолошке збирке Б. Нахолда из Земунa, које потичу са десне обале Дунава, од Сурдука (Rittium) до Земунa (Taurinum). С обзиром на то да немају поуздан археолошки контекст налаза, узети су у разматрање само јединствени или ретки примерци. Издвојене су три групе налаза: импортоване фибуле, фибуле настале на аутохтоној, познатој традицији и провинцијално-римски типови. Функционалном анализом ових фибула констатован је војнички, империјално-пропагандни и култни карактер неких типова.

**Кључне речи:** фибуле, Земун, Србија, римски период, Taurinum, дунавски лимес, Pannonia Inferior, Pannonia Secunda.

**Abstract:** In this article Roman fibulae from the private collection of B. Najhold from Zemun, originate from the right bank of Danube from Surduk (Rittium) to Zemun (Taurinum), were analyzed. As there was no certain archaeological context of this finds, only unique and rare specimens were considered. Three groups of finds were distinguished: imported fibulae, fibulae originated on the Late La Tène tradition and roman – provincial types. The functional analysis of these fibulae showed military, imperial – propaganda and cult character of some types.

**Keywords:** Fibulae, Zemun, Serbia, Roman Period, Taurinum, Danube Limes, Pannonia Inferior, Pannonia Secunda.

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# Roman fibulae from the archaeological collection of Branko Najhold

Sofija Petković

Among the Roman fibulae from the archaeological collection of Branko Najhold there are significant specimens for typological-chronological and functional analysis. It must be stressed that this collection clearly shows all basic characteristics of the fibulae from Roman provinces on the territory of present Serbia, i.e. the mostly represented are the types of the strongly-profiled arch fibulae (Kräftigprofilerte Fibeln), the knee fibulae (Kneifibeln) and the crossbow fibulae (Zwiebelknopffibeln). As these specimens have no certain archaeological context of find, I considered it useless to repeat already written. On the other hand, I selected fibulae of rare or unknown types in our country, as well as *unica*. After their analysis the three groups of finds were distinguished: imported fibulae, locally manufactured fibulae originated from the Late La Tène tradition, and the local production of Roman – provincial types. The first group is interesting for tracking the ways of romanization in the surroundings of Zemun and the region of Srem, in the first place on the right bank of Danube from Surduk (Rittium) to the mouth of Save (Taurinum – Singidunum). The second and the third group showed the process of assimilation of the autochthonous elements producing Roman – provincial culture specific for the region of Srem and Danubian *limes* in Serbia.

Imported fibulae from the Najhold collection were manufactured in Gallic workshops. They belong to the early types of hinged fibulae dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. (Figs. 3–5, Pl. I, 3–5), enameled brooches (Figs. 6–7, Pl. I, 6–7), *tutulus* - fibulae, (Figs. 14–15, Pl. I, 10–11) as well as starlike specimen decorated with red and green enamel (Fig. 16, Pl. I, 12).

Taurinum is mentioned by Plinius in the second half of 1<sup>st</sup> century as a settlement downstream from Sirmium. This was confirmed by the archaeological excavations in Zemun, which had discovered a horizon of life from the first half of 1<sup>st</sup> century – earthen rampart, civil settlement and necropolis. Intensive romanization had begun during the Flavian dynasty, in the reign of Vespasian when Taurinum became the most important harbour of Pannonian fleet on Danube (*Classis Flavia Pannonica*). However, considered Gallic fibulae reached Taurinum at the end of 1<sup>st</sup> and beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. with the Roman army engaged in Dacian wars of Domitian (96 – 98. A.D.) and Traianus (102 – 107. A.D.). Fibulae developed on autochthonous Late La Tène tradition appear

during the whole Roman period, from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> / beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest among them is the latenoid type of fibulae with rectangular plate on the bow already ascertained in Upper and Lower Moesia (Figs. 1–2, Pl. I, 1–2), followed by the Pannonian *trumpet* fibulae (Trompetenkopffibel) (Fig. 13, Pl. I, 9) and the unique *anchor* fibula (Ankerfibel) with zoomorphic motives (Fig. 8, Pl. I, 8), while the unique specimen of T – fibula ornated with birds' protomes belongs to Tetrarchic period (Fig. 30, T. III, 1).

The types of fibulae in the form of swastika, (Figs. 19–20, Pl. II, 2–3) zoomorphic fibulae, (Figs. 21–24, Pl. II, 4–7) the fibula in the shape of *labrys* (Fig. 29, Pl. II, 9) and the hinged fibula with twice-bent bow (Fig. 32, Pl. III, 2) are characteristic for the Roman – provincial production in the Danube Basin. They could be dated in the flourishing period of Roman culture in our country, from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the end of 4<sup>th</sup> century. The unique specimens, like the fibula with the representation of tower, i.e. fort, in openwork, (Fig. 17, Pl. II, 1) as well as the fibula in form of legionnaire (Fig. 25, Pl. II, 8) are the evidence of the high – skilled local masters.

The most of the analysed fibulae had an outstanding military character, which was comprehensive considering the fact that they had originated from *limes*. These are the fibulae in the shape of swastika (Figs. 19–20), the zoomorphic horse fibulae (Figs. 21–23), and probably the *labrys* fibula (Fig. 29).

The fibulae in the form of fortification (Fig. 17) and modeled as legionnaire (Fig. 25) could be considered as the means of imperial propaganda, while the *anchor* fibula probably had cult or magical function (Fig. 8). The cult, i. e. apotropaic, function had the fibula with birds' protomes, the *labrys* fibula and all zoomorphic fibulae. Nevertheless, these fibulae could be used as the military signs of the officers in some army units, as river fleet or cavalry (*Classis Flavia Pannonica*, *Equites Delmatae*).

It's interesting that two fibulae from the Najhold collection could be directly connected to imperial ideology of Tetrarchy – the fibula in the form of fort and the *labrys* fibula (Figs. 17, 29). This confirms the fact that the border provinces in Illyricum have had an important role in Roman empire in the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century.

## SUMMARY

# Pliny the Elder on artworks brought to Rome

Zoja Bojić

## Painting

In his *Historia Naturalis* Pliny the Elder wrote about the arts, among many other subjects. Passages on sculpture, painting and architecture can be found in several of his books, and more specifically in the books XXXIII – XXXVII dedicated to the nature of stones, metals and pigments. These passages have now been brought together and will be published as *Plinije Stariji, O umetnosti*, text selection, editing, translation, selection of reproductions, commentary and indices by Zoja Bojić. The publisher is the Zavod za udžbenike in Belgrade, and the book is scheduled for publication later in 2011. This is the first such translation of Pliny into Serbian, and the first such selection of Pliny's texts, although several similar books have already been published in English.

In the process of selecting and editing the texts into one coherent whole, a question emerged – did Pliny, the founding father of the methodology of scholarly research, use a previously existing text on the arts? Although in many such passages he mentioned Varro, there is no known title or fragments of Varro's writing that could be matched to Pliny's possible source. Simultaneously, Pliny talked about some monuments in Rome that he stated he saw. Indeed, some of these monuments did not exist in Varro's time. The possible source of Pliny's texts on the arts – let us call it the text X – could

just as well have been Pliny's own never published book on the subject that he would have incorporated into his encyclopaedia.

In his writings about the arts, Pliny wrote about painting, metal sculpture, stone sculpture, applied arts and architecture. In this, first in the series of essays on Pliny's writings about the arts, only a segment, that about the painting, is examined, taking into consideration Pliny's texts about the provenance of paintings.

Pliny informs us about the manner in which some of the paintings were exhibited – some as part of a more permanent collection (both public and private) and some as part of the temporary exhibitions. The first category includes several temples, porticos and the emperors' private residences; the second category includes displays in the Forum. In both the instances Pliny sometimes specified the provenance of the works – either as a loot or as artworks that were bought or in few instances commissioned – whilst in some other instances he did not. Nevertheless, Pliny seemed to condone the act of looting artworks and their 'transferring' to Rome. The artworks public display in Rome appears to be sufficient reason for this, as supported by his passage on the Greek construct of art as a common heritage, and the construct of artist in service to their community.

# АРХЕОЛОШКА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА НИКОЛЕ ВУЛИЋА НА ТЕРИТОРИЈИ МАКЕДОНИЈЕ

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# THE ARCHEOLOGICAL FIELD WORK OF NIKOLA VULIĆ ON THE TERRITORY OF MACEDONIA

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**Сажетак:** рад се бави вишедеценијским археолошким истраживањима Николе Вулића на територији Македоније. Током систематских истраживања на великом броју локалитета у Македонији, Вулић је дошао до значајних резултата који су послужили као полазиште у појединим археолошким истраживањима. У раду је дат преглед и најновијих резултата до којих се дошло током радова на локалитетима у Македонији.

**Кључне речи:** Никола Вулић, археологија, антички град, гробнице.

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**Abstract:** The work is a result of archaeological excavations of Nikola Vulić on territory of Macedonia which lasted for several decades. During systematic excavations on numerous sites in Macedonia, Vulić achieved significant results which served as a base for future projects. Work also presents the newest results that were achieved during excavations in Macedonia.

**Key words:** Nikola Vulić, archaeology, ancient settlement, graves.

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# The archeological field work of Nikola Vulić on the territory of Macedonia

*Irena Ljubomirović*

Archeological excavation, conducted by Nikola Vulić, which lasted for several decades, produced some very important findings. The discovery of six tumbs in the vicinity of Trebenište, with impressive burial offering (i.g. gold masks, gold thugs, gold and silver jewelery etc.) was one of his most important achievement in the field of archeology. The next importnat discovery concerns the remains of Roman theatre in the vicinity of present day Skopje. For the those mentioned contribution in the field of archeology, Nikola Vulić was honoured by membership of French Academy of Science. He also excavated six settlements and several

rock tombs in the area between Bitolj and Prilep. In addition, in the Bitolj' area he managed to excavate an very impresive tomb and to conclude, based on its location and constraction, that it belong to an aristocrat. In the immediate vicinity Čepigovo, he excavated the remains of the ancient town of Stubera. The detailed analysis of his archeological reports reveals that some of his expeditions were founded by his own resources, although the majority of his archeological work financed by the former state Yugoslavia. His results were important for the development of national, as well as of world archeology.



# ТАМНАВСКИ МАНАСТИР ДОКМИР

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# TAMNAVA MONASTERY DOKMIR

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National Library of Serbia, Belgrade

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**Сажетак:** Манастир Докмир налази се на око 20 km северно од Ваљева, на путу за Уб, у селу Докмир. Лежи на реци Докмирици, десној пријатоци Уба. Није познато време настанка овог споменика, али се, на основу архитектонских одлика, претпоставља да је саграђен крајем XIV или почетком XV века. Црква, која је посвећена Ваведењу, припада шакозваној рашкој школи, те као и Радовашница, Маркова црква, Јованја, Ћелије и Пустинја има концепцију Беле цркве каранске. Међу малобројним српским школама до XIX века истиче се и уметничка школа при манастиру у Докмиру. Тачан период постојања ове школе је донекле споран, али се сматра да је то био период од 1780. до 1788. године, када је школа престала са радом, у време позв. Кочине крајине. Последњи датум када се као манастир помиње је април 1837. године, када је претворен у парохијску цркву. Сестринство Манастира Житомислић, највеће српске светинје у Херцеговини, средином 1992. године дошло је у Докмир, који је с благословом Српске православне цркве поново добио статус манастира.

**Кључне речи:** Тамнава, Манастир Докмир, писани помени, докмирска уметничка школа, архитектура манастира, споменици.

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**Abstract:** The Dokmir Monastery is situated about 20 km north of Valjevo, on the road toward Ub, in village Dokmir. It lies on the Dokmirica River, a confluent of the Ub River. The exact period when this monastery was built is unknown, but it is assumed that it was built in late 14<sup>th</sup> century or in first decades of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Church of Presentation belongs to "Raška style" of architecture and, like Radovašnica, Markova crkva, Jovanja, Ćelije and Pustinja, has the same conception as Bela Crkva Karanska. Among small number of Serbian schools until 19th century, an art school formed in the Dokmir Monastery stands out. The exact period of existence of the school is still an issue, but it is assumed that the period was between 1780 and 1788, when school stopped working during the war known as "Kočina krajina". The last records of the monastery are from 1837, when it was transformed into parish church. Sisterhood of the Žitomislić Monastery, the greatest Serbian sanctity in Herzegovina, came to Dokmir in 1992. Dokmir again became a monastery with a blessing of Serbian Orthodox Church.

**Key words:** Tamnava, Dokmir Monastery, written documents, Dokmir Art School, Monastery architecture, tombstones.

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# Tamnava monastery Dokmir

Irina Nešić, Mirko Peković

Monastery Dokmir is situated in village called Dokmir, about 20 km north of Valjevo, on the road toward town Ub. It lies on the Dokmirica River, a confluent of the Ub River. The exact period when this monastery was built is unknown, but, on the basis of architectural features, it is assumed that it was built in late 14<sup>th</sup> century or in first decades of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Church of Presentation belongs to *Raška style* of architecture and, like Radovašnica, Markova crkva, Jovanja, Čelije and Pustinja, has the same conception as Bela Crkva Karanska.

Among small number of Serbian schools until 19<sup>th</sup> century, whose presence was approved also by popular beliefs and living tradition, an art school formed in the Dokmir Monastery stands out. The exact period of existence of the school is still an issue, but many historians believe that the period was between 1780 and 1788.

Monastery school in Dokmir had an important role in development of national culture. Many famous artists, who made Tamnava region an art-center in 18<sup>th</sup> century, were students of this school.

Founder of the school was monk Joachim. Subjects were: writing, reading, religious painting, carving, stone carving and chanting. Many famous persons that participated in establishment of modern Serbia found their ways from Dokmir school. Such were: Mateja Nenadović, Hadži Ruvim, Petar Nikolajević Moler and many other known or less known persons. Monastery school in Dokmir was closed in 1788, during the war known as *Kočina krajina*, when many monasteries were burned down. Dokmir monastery has been restored in several occasions. It is not known exactly when it was transformed to parish church, but the last records of it as monastery are from 1837.

In 1992 sisterhood of the Žitomislić Monastery came to Dokmir as war refugees. With blessing of Serbian Orthodox Church, Dokmir gains a status of monastery again.

Church of Presentation is a single-nave building, with basis built in *Raška style*. It is a significant architectural project with distinctive roof construction.

Circular dome, placed on square pillar, emphasises central area of church. Roof construction is divided in shape of cross with wavy surfaces and wreaths. Eastern apse is semicircular from both inside and outside. A bell tower rises over parvis that was built in addition. Northern side is supported with three counterforts, probably after the 1734 earthquake. Naos has five windows, three on southern wall and one on both northern and eastern wall. A somewhat rough plastic decoration, probably from the period when the church was built, continues the tradition of *Morava style*.

There are no old icons and vessels in church that were recorded in detailed description from 1735. Old iconostasis is also completely gone with only three compositions preserved, but in a really poor state: *Baptism of Christ*, *Assumption of Holy Mary* and *Holy Trinity* together with icon of St. Nicolas. The only remaining art inventory of the church is a large, carved wooden cross from 1807.

Sondage exploration of Dokmir church interior realized in 1988, aiming to discover original medieval wall paintings, proved that there were no such paintings inside the church.

Near the southern wall, there is one of the most beautiful tombstones in Serbia. It is a square shaped stone with pyramid shape top. Front side presents a relief of a warrior wearing a short kirtle, probably a person that built the monastery. The second side is rough, the third side has a motif of spiral and the fourth has images of sword and sun.

Another tombstone, inside the church, is used as a pillar for altar table. It is square shaped with images on three sides also. On western side, on the pillar basis, there is an ornament – a six petal flower. Below this ornament is a rectangular frame made in deep relief that looks like a small niche. An inscription is chiselled along the entire middle part, and it starts from the lower edge of the frame. On eastern side, there is an image of cross and on northern images of spear and six petal flower.

## ТРАГОМ САМСОНА ЧЕРНОВА

Саша Ђ. Ружесковић,  
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**Сажетак:** у чланку је реч о раду познатог руског фотографа Самсона Чернова у српској војсци током балканских ратова и Првог светског рата. За разлику од ранијих текстова који су његов рад посматрали као изузетно пријатељски, овај открива и финансијску позадину његовог деловања. Такође, домаћој јавности први пут се дају подаци о Чернову након Првог светског рата.

**Кључне речи:** фотограф, кинематографски сниматељ, ратни извештач, изложбе, човек послова, вила у Биарицу.

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## TRACING A SAMSON ČERNOV

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**Abstract:** Text is about work of known Russian photographer Samson Černov with Serbian army during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Contrary to previous text that presented his work as solely friendly contribution, this one presents financial aspects of his work. Also, data about Černov are being presented for the first time after the First World War.

**Key words:** Photographer, cinematographer, war correspondent, exhibitions, businessman, Villa in Biarritz.

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## Tracing a Samson Černov

Saša Ružeskić

Already as renowned painter, photographer and cinematographer, Samson Mojsilović Černov came to Serbia at the outbreak of First Balkan War as a war correspondent of Russian papers *Ruskoe slovo*, *Novoe Vremja* and French illustrated weekly magazine *Illustration*. Because of his reputation, he had the privilege from the beginning to be in the escort of young Serbian Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević. During Balkan Wars he made huge photo and cinematic material. This material was used for exhibitions in Paris, St. Petersburg and Belgrade, which brought him substantial earnings. At the outbreak of the First World War, he found himself again in Serbia as war correspondent and cinematographer. Some of his action at the time caused suspicion of Serbian Intelligence of him being a spy. Anyhow, he still enjoyed great trust of Serbian authorities so he made profitable business deals. In 1915,

he crossed Monte Negro and Albania with Serbian 2<sup>nd</sup> Army. In 1916, he made a contract with Nikola Pašić on the Corfu Island to arrange an exhibition of his photos from all three wars in London. The exhibition was opened in London on June 5<sup>th</sup> and it lasted for three months. At the end of July, he converted to Orthodox religion, with Army Minister Božidar Terzić as his godfather. Until March 1917, he spent time in London publishing albums of his photos, while not paying bills to English companies. After he failed to make an exhibition of his works in Thessalonica, he went to United States where he continued with his propaganda activities. After the end of the First World War, he continued in 1919 to give lectures about Serbian fight. In the following year, as a very wealthy man, he bought a Villa in Biarritz. Samson Černov died in 1929. He left an exquisite photo material.

# ВОЈНИ АЕРОПЛАНИ КРАЉЕВИНЕ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ (модернизација – немачки типови)

Огњан М. Петровић,  
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**Сажетак:** чланак (2. наставак) описује пет стандардних немачких типова ваздухоплова (један хидроплан и 4 сувоземна типа) који су набављени у доба модернизације југословенске авијације, у периоду 1937–1941. године. То су Дорнијер До-Х (Dornier Do-22Kj), најмодернији морнарички 1-моторни хидроплан; Месершмит Ме-108 (Messerschmitt Bf-108B-1 Taifun), модерни тренажни и 4-седавион за везу; Месершмит Ме-109 (Messerschmitt Bf-109E-3a), један од два стандардна ловачка типа и најбројнији ловац ВВ; Физелер Фи-156 Рода (Fieseler Fi-156C-1/2 Storch), проверени вишенаменски осматрачко-извиђачки авион и Бикер Јунгман (Bücker Bü-131D-2 Jungmann), школски основни двосед. Описан је и једини заплена немачки борбени тип, двомоторни проседи разарач Месершмит Ме-110 (Messerschmitt Bf-110C-4). На крају, кратко су побројане још неке југословенско-немачке активности, укључујући и кратко приказ деловања југословенских фабрика које су радиле за Трећи рајх у току немачке окупације Краљевине Југославије.

**Кључне речи:** југословенско-немачки односи, Ваздухопловство војске (ВВ), Поморско ваздухопловство (ПВ), немачке испоруке, лиценце и типови авиона у ВВ и ПВ, Би-131Д Јунгман, До-17К, До-22Кј, Фи-156Ц Рода, Ме-108Б Тајфун, Ме-109Е, Ме-110Ц.

# MILITARY AIRCRAFTS OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA (modernization – German aircraft types)

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**Abstract:** The article (second part) widely describes five standard modern aircraft types (one hydroplane and four land-based types) which were purchased for modernization of Yugoslav Aviation, during 1937–1941. These are Dornier Do-H (Do-22Kj), the most modern naval one-engine hydroplane type; Messerschmitt Me-108 (Bf-108B-1 Taifun), modern trainer and liaison four-seater; Messerschmitt Me-109 (Bf-109E-3a), one of two modern fighter types and most numerous VV's fighter; Fieseler Fi-156 Roda (Fi-156C-1/2 Storch), reliable multi-purposed observation-recce plane and Bücker Jungmann (Bü-131D-2 Jungmann), primary trainer. Sole captured German warplane, Messerschmitt Me-110 (Bf-110C-4), two-engine three-seat heavy fighter (zerstörer), added in text, too. At the end, some of Yugoslav-German aviation activities presented, including very short review of Yugoslav aviation factories which were working for the Third Reich during German occupation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

**Key words:** Yugoslav-German aviation relationships, Military Aviation (Vazduhoplovstvo vojske or VV), Naval Aviation (Pomorsko vazduhoplovstvo or PV), German deliveries, licence and aircraft types in VV and PV, Bf-108B Taifun, Bf-109E Emil, Bf-110C, Bü-131D Jungmann, Do-17Ka, Do-22Kj, Fi-156C Storch.

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## Military aircrafts of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Modernization - German aircraft types, 2nd part)

Ognjan Petrović

In addition to two-engine Dornier Do-17Ka medium bomber type, Yugoslav air services used during 1937–1941 five more German aircraft types of modern design. While Do-17Ka was imported and licence-built by DFA Kraljevo, the others were purchased and delivered directly from German factories. All these six modern German aircraft types were the backbone of both of two Yugoslav military aviation services, Air Force or Military Aviation (Vazduhoplovstvo vojske or VV) and Naval Aviation (Pomorsko vazduhoplovstvo or PV), operated by Yugoslav Army and Yugoslav Navy, respectively.

The most modern one-engine hydroplane type in PV's inventory was Dornier Do-22Kj light bomber floatplane. This universal machine could operate with floats (as Do-22W or D-22/See), wheels or skis (as Do-22/Land). The first prototype, known as Do-C3, delivered to PV in 1935 and originally became No 302. Later, Dornier developed more improved Do-22 model according to PV's specification. Friedrichshafen's factory produced the total of 28 series machines, 12 Do-22Kj (WNR 753–759, 786–790) for Yugoslavia (Jugoslawien), 12 Do-22Kg (WNR 741–752) for Greece (Griechenland) and 4 Do-22Kl (WNR 797–800) originally intended to Latvia (Letland) but later delivered to Finnish Air Force. The first two Do-22Kj sent to Yugoslavia at the end of 1938, the rest arrived at the beginning of the next year. These 12 floatplanes, officially known in PV as Dornier-Hispano (or Do-H), received PV serials 302–313, while Do-22 Prototype (ex Do-C3 No 302) reserialled as No 301. Two PV units, 25nd and 20th Hydroescadrilles (HE) equipped with Do-H. During the April War, eight Do-Hs (and sole Rogojarsky SIM XIV-H two-engine recce floatplane) escaped to Middle East and entered RAF service on May 2nd, 1941. Machines received RAF serials AX708–AX715 (ex PV 302, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 313) and then transferred to 201. Naval Cooperation Group RAF (as No2 Yugoslav Squadron), based at Abouqir, Alexandria. The last flight of Yugoslav Do-22 AX710 (No 307) in RAF service was held on April 22nd, 1942. Three Do-Hs (301, 303, 304) captured by Italians but never used.

The first Messerschmitt Bf-108B-1 Taifun (Typhoon) in Yugoslavia was civil registered YU-PFC (WNR 1669), purchased by Niš Flying Club in July 1938. The first four military Bf-108B-1s flew to Zemun airport on

August 14th, 1939. The rest 8 Taifuns arrived gradually until the end of this year. Yugoslav machines delivered with factory applied codes Š-01 to Š-012 (Š - Školski or trainer) which were corresponded with serials BR 1 to BR 12 (BR - Broj or number ie No or numero). After the beginning of April 1941, VV officially accepted new 4-digit serial system, known as *evidential numbers* (evidencijski brojevi - evbr) and Taifuns received new serials 0771–0782 (usually stated as 771–782). The 13th machine, which was never delivered from Germany, intended to be Š-013/0783 and the 14th VV's Taifun (mobilized ex-civil YU-PFC) became Š-014/0784. Originally, all VV Taifuns (known in VV as Me-108) used as transition trainers or fighter-trainers for quickly pilots's conversion to Me-109 fighters. In later periods, all became liaison or courier machines. The type was nicknamed „Limousine“ because of luxurious cabin. Taifuns flew in 4th, 5th and 6th Fighter Regiments (FR), 602nd Training Escadrille (TE) and 3rd Flying School (FS). Eleven machines entered in April War, seven in Liaison Escadrilles (LE), one in 5th FR and three in 3rd FS. At least two of them escaped to Greece. Italians captured three, one of them flew until to Italy's capitulation.

One of two standard modern low-wing monoplane and most numerous one-seat fighter in VV inventory was Bf-109E-3a, known in VV simply as Me-109. All aircrafts had factory applied L-codes (L - Lovac or fighter) to fuselage sides. The first five machines (coded L-1 to L-5) arrived to Zemun (together with four Me-108s and three Storchs) on August 14, 1939, even before contract was signed. Forty Me-109s were delivered until the end of 1939, but one (L-27) was lost during ferry-flight. The next 33 fighters arrived during March–April 1940, but again, one machine was lost (L-55/D-IWKU). So, of 73 Me-109s (L-1 to L-73) which were sent from Germany, VV received 71. Of that number, fifteen badly damaged machines (which already had new serials) were sent to Third Reich for overhauling and Germans returned 15 (not the same) repaired fighters, coded L-74 to L-88. The last 12 second-hand aircraft (L-89 to L-100) were delivered shortly before April War, when Yugoslavia accepted to join Axis. So, according the Germans, VV received all of 100 ordered Bf-109s, but in Yugoslav point of view, VV got 15 aircraft less. Originally, Yugoslav Messerschmitt fighters carried VV serials from BR. 1 onwards which corresponded with L-codes. Later,

Me-109s received new 4-digit serials from 2501 onwards. Two lost aircraft were not calculated, so relations between new serials and L-codes (ie old Nos) were 2501/L-1 to 2526/L-26, 2527/L-28 to 2553/L-54 and 2554/L-56 to 2571/L-73. Overhauled Me-109s (L-74 to L-88) inherited earlier issued 4-digit serials from damaged machines (belonging to 2501–2571 block). The last 12 fighters were 2572/L-89 to 2583/L-100.

Three VV Fighter Groups (FG) equipped with Me-109 fighters, 31st and 32nd FGs (both in 6th FR) and independent 51st FG. On July 8th 1940, all machines from 51st FG were transferred to two new formed *third escadrilles* in two remained FGs (141st E in 31st FG and 142nd E in 32nd FG). Shortly before April War started, 31st FG was transferred to newly formed 2nd FR. After August 9th, 1940 three Me-109s served in 3rd FS. VV entered in April War with 54 operational Me-109s (one in Headquarters of 1st Fighter Brigade, 32 in 6th FR, 19 in 2nd FR and 2 in 3rd FS). With one repaired machine added during the war, total of 55 Me-109s flew in April War. Germans captured 11 Me-109 in different stages of damaging.

Famous German STOL highwing monoplane Fieseler Fi-156C Storch (Stork) was in VV inventory, too. The total of 22 machines (three Fi-156C-1 and 19 C-2) were imported from Germany. The first three arrived to Yugoslavia in August 1939 and the rest until the end of March of next year. This observation, liaison and artillery spotting machine, known in VV service as Fieseler Storch (or Fieseler Roda), received VV serials 801–822. At least two Storches were locally modified to carrying one dorsal M.30 (Darne 1930) machine-gun. One machine was lost in peace-time period, all remained aircrafts were used operationally in April War as auxiliary (liaison) or as war (observation) machines. Thirteen aircrafts equipped some of LEs (Operational Aviation's units), one was in Air Gunnery School, all remained flew in recce air groups (Army Aviation's units).

The Bücker Bü-131D-2 Jungmann (Youngman) was sole primary trainer type of German origin in service within the VV. The first Bücker in Kingdom of Yugoslavia was civil machine purchased in October 1938 by Central Board of Yugoslav Flying Club. When number of FN trainers lowered to only 90 machines in 1939, VV Headquarters decided to import German Bü-131s or British DH Tiger Moths. After British officials refused to delivered Tiger Moths, Yugoslavs turned to German

type. The first series of 50 Bü-131D-2s were delivered from Germany between January and the beginning of April 1940. At the end of October VV ordered the second series of 100 machines with deliveries fixed to 2,5 months. Materials arrived from Germany in kit form and Utva A. D. factory assembled 98 machines until the April War. In addition, shortly before war started, Bücker factory sent to Utva Pančevo one Bü-133C-1 Jungmeister, as forerunner of 20 ordered aircrafts for VV which never arrived. Originally, VV issued serials from 601 onwards for the first series machines, but shortly after that, all Bückers received new serials in two blocks, 401–499 and 901–950 (total of 149 machines, one impressed, 50 imported and 98 Utva-assembled). Machines of 1st FS carried large white 2-digit codes (the last two number of serials) on black rectangle on fuselage noses, aircrafts of 2nd FS had black 2-digit codes applied directly on light grey coloured noses. The rest machines had black codes on fuselage or complete serials on the same place.

The most of Bückers served as standard equipment of non-combat flying units within the Auxiliary Aviation (school and training escadrilles). Bückers flew in 1st FS (30 machines), 2nd FS (30) and 3rd FS (2). In April War, some aircrafts were in combat units of Operational Aviation. Italian Regia Aeronautica used 41 captured ex-Yugoslav Bü-131D-2s. After one year of service, Italy sold all remaining machines (34) to new Axis member, so-called Independent State of Croatia. After WWII some of Croatian Bü-131s fell in Partisan's hands. Post war Yugoslav Air Force used 18 ex-Croatian machines as 0850–0767.

All VV's efforts to form an assault unit stayed without success. Yugoslav domestic industry delayed to produce two-motor destroyer types and Third Reich refused all Yugoslav demands for purchasing Bf-110 and Ju-87 Stuka aircrafts. Nevertheless, VV got one *zerstörer* when three-seat Luftwaffe's Messerschmitt Bf-110C-4 lost his way in bad weather en route Vienna-Turnu Severin and forced-landed at Kraljevo airport on the eve of April 1st, 1941. Captured fighter-bomber immediately dismantled and inspected by Test Air Group in Kraljevo and then, on April 6th, Yugoslav technicians applied in a hurry VV's standard three-tone camouflage scheme and Yugoslav markings on this aircraft. This plane, known in VV as Me-110, flew to Zemun on April 9th and immediately pointed to 51st FG which based at war-stripe Veliki Radinci. Unfortunately, aerodrome's air gunners hit



plane during landing procedure and damaged hydraulic installation. When unit withdraw from this base, VV personnel set fired to damaged Me-110 (and some Me-109 and IK-3 fighters, too) to prevent fall to German hands. So, the sole VV's Me-110 carried out only two short flights with Yugoslav markings.

Some interesting details in Yugoslav-German relationships pre and during the WWII must be mentioned here. Yugoslav inventor and researcher Franjo Bratina worked on jet propulsion and had in 1931 his own patent in Germany. World famous Serbian engineer, inventor of well-known railway brake systems, Dobrivoje Božić, had experimental works with *reactor*. He sent in pre-war period his work to Yugoslav Army's General Staff, but never got answer. Many years after WWII, he saw Verner von Braun's jet engine for V-flying bombs and understood with surprise that this German engine was very similiar to his own jet project of pre war-period.

German occupation of Kingdom of Yugoslavia stopped some deliveries (20 Bücker Jungmeisters, material for 40 Do-215 bombers, different vehicles and aviation equipment), licence production of aviation engines (Hirth) and aircrafts (Do-215 and Bücker Bü-131) and, of course, manufacture of domestic aircrafts with German engines (Argus-equipped Rogojarsky SIM XIV-H and DB.601Aa-equipped Hurricane, known as LVT-1). Shortly after April War, German occupying administration, including high rank officials of German militarized economy, were hardly engaged to put Serbian industry and economy in German war efforts. The most of Serbian military and aviation factories supported German

war economy during the WWII, including Engine Industry Rakovica (overhauling Argus, Siemens-Halske and BMW aero-engines and engine parts production), Ikarus and Rogojarsky factories (manufacturing tails and fuselage parts for Bf-109) within the WNF concern, and Teleoptik, Mikron and Nestor firms (production of instrumentation, gunsights, bomb-pylons, etc). According to German 1942 report, Serbian engineers were *first class* but without experience in large series production, technicians were average and workers were the worst with about a half of German worker's productivity. Certain number of Serbian and Yugoslav workers were in forced labour in Third Reich. One of them, Serbian technology engineer, Miodrag (Mick) Ilić, who worked in jet turbine blade's production in Germany, succeeded in sabotaging blade manufacturing which led to short-lived jet engines for Me-262s.

During the war, many factories in Croatia and Slovenia also produced different parts for German aviation industry. At least five or six Zagreb-situated firms were Luftwaffe's suppliers (battery factories Munja and Alba, colour-producing Perunika (ex-Moster, post-war Chromos), wood industry in Slavenska Požega, etc). Some of famous German concerns established aviation part's production in old and new German-built plants in Slovenia, especially in Maribor or Marburg (VDM and Junkers propellers, gearboxes, engine parts, bolts, etc), Kranj or Krainburg (parts for LGW and Siemens companies, parts for Me-109, fabrics, perspex, bombs, mines, etc) and Jesenice (armour-plates for Dornier, Junkers and Messerschmitts concerns).



Амблеми произвођача (с лева на десно, горњи ред) „Месершмит“, „Физелер“, „Бикер“, „Утва“, „Дорниер“, „Хиспано Суиза“; (доњи ред) „Мерцедес Бенц“ (или „Дајмлер Бенц“), „Аргус“, „Хирт“, „Гноме-Рон“, ИМ Раковица.

Manufacturer's logos (from left to the right, upper row): Messerschmitt, Fieseler, Bücker, Utva, Dornier, Hispano-Suiza; (lower row) Mercedes-Benz (or Daimler-Benz), Argus, Hirth, Gnome-Rhône, IM Rakovica.

# ВАЗДУХОПЛОВНЕ ОЗНАКЕ КРАЉЕВИНЕ СХС/ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ 1924–1944.

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# AVIATION MARKING OF THE KINGDOM OF SCS/YUGOSLAVIA 1924-1944

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**Сажетак:** увођењем службене ознаке војне авијације 1924. године под називом кокарда за аероплане, стављена је тачка на дошаташњи низ привремених решења. Непрецизно упућивање о димензијама ознаке оставило је у наредне две деценије простора за доста слободну интерпретацију почетног пројекта. Други светски рат је у условима савременог војног сукоба показао да су ваздухопловне ознаке изгубиле своју основну намену препознавања и да су постале пре свега атрибути државног, политичког и идеолошког легитимитета.

**Кључне речи:** Априлски рат, Балкан, боје, ваздухопловне ознаке, Ваздухопловство војске, Велика Британија, Краљевина Југославија, Краљевство СХС, кокарда, Косовски крст, Народно ослободилачка војска Југославије, РАФ, САД.

**Abstract:** The introduction of cockade as official air force marking in 1924 meant the end for the whole line of temporary solutions in use by then. Unprecise instructions about its measures left a lot of space for free interpretations of the initial rule during the next two decades. The Second World War proved that aircraft markings have lost their primary assignment of the identification and became more than anything else the attribute of the state, political and ideological legitimacy.

**Key words:** April War, Balkan, colors, aviation insignia, Royal Yugoslav Air Force, Great Britain, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Kingdom of SCS, Cockade, Kosovo Cross, Peoples Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, RAF, USA.

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## Aviation marking of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia 1924-1944

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Being the youngest service of the armed force, Air Force of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes suffered from the lack of technical and flying cadre. Many departments in the air force were in the process of development, and the proof of such situation is the example of the adoption and implementation of the military aircraft insignia. Proposition of the definitive appearance of the Yugoslav cockade with white Kosovo Cross from 1924 was unprecise from the beginning. The command of the air force did not have a office which would control the exact implementation of the provisions of the Marking Rule. For that reason, during the two decades of its use there has been a large variety of Yugoslav cockades, depending on the producer or workshops which executed the final assembly and paintjob of Yugoslav aircraft and hydroplanes.

The beginning of the Second World War in Europe emphasized new and partially contradictory de-

mands. The aircraft insignia had to be adjusted with the needs of camouflage scheme. From 1940 the principle of the asymmetrical markings and reduction in their size was implemented. After the swift April War in 1941 and capitulation of the Yugoslav Kingdom, the cockade of the Royal Yugoslav Air Force remained in use for another year within the British Royal Air Force in Egypt. On the wings of the aircraft of the 2nd squadron of the Yugoslav Aviation Wing the cockade received some changes. Preemptively the Kosovo Cross was removed in order to avoid any similarity with German markings. The standard Yugoslav Cockade reappeared in 1943 on B-24 Liberator bombers of the Yugoslav Heavy Bomber Detachment. Finally, the political turnover which happened in the occupied Yugoslavia repelled this military insignia at the margins of history.

## МОТОРНЕ ТОРПИЉАРКЕ КЛАСЕ ОРЈЕН

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## ORJEN CLASS TORPEDO BOATS

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**Сажетак:** у чланку аутор обрађује набавку, конструкцију, карактеристике и службу торпедних чамаца наручених и саграђених у Немачкој и испоручених Југославији у току 1937. године. Обрађена је такође служба 6 торпиљарки у италијанској морнарици, крајњи период употребе под немачком заштитом и повратак два брода 1945. године у домовину.

**Кључне речи:** југословенско-немачки економски односи, Југословенска Краљевска морнарица, испоруке наоружања из Немачке, моторне торпиљарке, инелбооти.

**Abstract:** Article is about purchase, construction, features and service of torpedo boats ordered from and constructed in Germany, which were delivered to Yugoslavia in 1937. Article also covers the service of 6 torpedo boats in Italian Navy, brief period of service under German banner and return of two boats back to homeland in 1945.

**Key words:** Economic relations between Yugoslavia and Germany, Yugoslav Royal Navy, delivery of armament from Germany, torpedo boats, schnellboots.

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## Orjen Class Torpedo Boats

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After the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has been granted the right to form naval forces. Vessels inherited from Austro-Hungarian Empire were obsolete and of small combat value. Unlike the Ground Forces and Air Force, German armament and equipment were present in great amount. However, there were no big investments in the Navy by the end of 1930's. Official fleet plans were not carried out even partially, primarily because they were completely unrealistic. With election of Milan Stojadinović as prime minister, economy of Yugoslavia started to increase with rapid production growth. At the same time Germany became the leading economy in Europe that repulsed Versailles Treaty military restrictions. Yugoslavia had stable and increasing surplus in foreign-trade transactions with Germany. To reduce the surplus, an agreement was signed on purchase of weapons from Germany. A contract was signed with the Lirsén Company from Bremen in June 1936 to purchase eight torpedo boats. These boats were first-class material for Yugoslav Navy. They were the best boats in their class at the time - relatively big, fast, well armed and of great naval features. After the purchase of boats, torpedoes were bought in France, 40 mm guns in Sweden and 15 mm

guns in Czechoslovakia. Full armament of boats was completed in winter 1939/1940 when Zbrojovka M-38 machine guns were bought. Purchase of these torpedo boats and construction of *Belgrade*-class destroyers established a combat capability of the fleet. However, due to inadequate planning, lack of cooperation and treason above everything, Yugoslavian Royal Navy was helpless in the April War. Two torpedo boats sailed away to Alexandria port where they were used in service of Yugoslav Navy in Exile. Six boats were captured by Italians, which was great gain for them. After the modification, all of these have been deployed to Italian fleet and were used in Aegean Sea despite the lack of spare parts and frequent damages. These boats were also used as base for construction of large series of identical torpedo boats. After the capitulation of Italy, four boats were taken by German Navy, which used them in Aegean and Ionian Seas until autumn of 1944 when they were sunk in Salonika Port. Two remaining boats returned back to Yugoslavia in 1945 and were deployed to torpedo boats division of the NOVJ fleet. Former *Durmitor* and *Kajmakčalan* remained in Yugoslav Navy until 1960's, when they were withdrawn from service and taken as an expenditure.

# НАБАВКЕ НАОРУЖАЊА ИЗ ВАЈМАРСКЕ НЕМАЧКЕ ЗА ПОТРЕБЕ ВОЈСКЕ КРАЉЕВИНЕ СХС/ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ

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# PURCHASE OF WEAPONS FROM WEIMAR GERMANY FOR THE ARMY OF KINGDOM OF SCS/YUGOSLAVIA

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**Сажетак:** у раду се обрађује набавка наоружања, авиона и бродова из Вајмарске Немачке за потребе Војске Краљевине СХС, и то било куповином, било на име ратних репарација. Посебно је наглашено да је то оружје у време набавке било врло модерно и у потпуности задовољавало постављене тактичко-техничке задатке. Нарочито су немачки хидроплани имали велики значај за Поморску авијацију Краљевине СХС.

**Кључне речи:** Краљевина СХС, Југославија, Вајмарска Немачка, Рајхсвер, Војска Краљевине СХС, Дорније, Хајнкел, миноносци класе Јастреб, Змај, крстарица Далмација.

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**Abstract:** The work describes purchase of weapons, airplanes and vessels from Weimar Germany for Army of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes both by purchase and as a part of war reparations. It is pointed out that weapons were, at the time, modern and completely answered tactical and technical demands. Especially German hydroplanes were great contribution to development of Yugoslavian Navy Airforce.

**Key words:** Kingdom of SCS, Yugoslavia, Weimar Germany, Reichswehr, Army of Kingdom of SCS, Dornier, Heinkel, Jastreb type mine-laying vessels, Zmaj, Cruiser Dalmacija.

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## Purchase of weapons from Weimar Germany for the Army of Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia

Небојша Ђокић, Радован Радовановић

Kingdom of SCS acquired German weapons in several ways. First, some of them were legacy of the Serbian Army. Lot of these were captured in final operations in 1918 whether directly from Germans or indirectly from Bulgarians. Certain amount of equipment Serbia received from Germany as part of war reparations. Some were also bought from German companies in Germany and abroad. Finally, some were bought on the third market, first of all in Czechoslovakia (e.g. Mauser rifles).

On July 21, 1921 Kingdom of SCS bought 6 mine carriers class M 97 for 1.4 million marks each. These mine carriers were officially bought as tugboats. They became part of the Navy Fleet in 1923 by King's Decree M.No. 13425/0. Their names were Galeb –GL (Sea Gull), Labud – LB (Swan), Jastreb – JS (Hawk), Kobac – KC (Sparrow Hawk), Orao – OA (Eagle) and Sokol – SK (Falcon). Cruiser *Niobe* was left from German Fleet Chartson June 24, 1925. In the same year it was sold to Kingdom of SCS. During 1925 and 1926 it was being repaired in Deutschen Werken AG Shipyard in Kiel. It entered Fleet charts in 1926 by King's Decree M.No. 13812/0 as training vessel named Dalmacija.

In 1926 Ministry of the Army and Navy ordered 10 hydroplanes of type Do-D (Werk Nr. 131-140) and one Do-J Val from the Dornier Company. During trials, one plane was destroyed (Werk Nr. 131-140) so a new one was delivered instead. In Navy Air Force, Do-D planes received serial numbers 201-210. The second order of 14 hydroplanes was ordered was delivered in August 1929 as part of German war reparations. First ones were delivered as torpedo hydroplanes and the second ones as bombers and reconnaissance planes. Soon after, in 1930, a decision was made to purchase six more hydroplane of the same type with Gnome-Rhone Jupiter 480HP engines. These were Do-J II 8 Tonnen-Wal hydroplanes, most probably version Do J IIa Bos or Do J IIb Bos but with Gnome Rhone Jupiter engines instead of original BMW VI. Navy Air Force designated them as Do-Val/J (251-256). Planes 253 and 256 had their Jupiter engines replaced with Kestrel XVI engines. Eight Wal, also version Do J Militär Wal, was bought in 1935 and was more or less identical to the first one. His designation number was 257. The last three planes (258-260) with Hispano-Suiza 12Ydrs engines were bought in 1936.

Zmaj factory signed a contract with whit the Heinkel Company on March 17, 1930 to licence produce one hydroplane type He 8 for the price of 7920 Reich marks.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the only customer interested in new Do-Y planes. They ordered 4 of these

arranging that two of these should be delivered in 1931 and two in 1932. The purchase was to be arranged as part of war reparations. These planes were officially designated as cargo planes. Prototype trial flight happened on October 17, 1931 on the airfield of the Friedrichshafen – Löwenthal Company. In November 1931 German Ministry of Finance refused to pay the order of first two planes RM 570.591, and when Yugoslav government also refused to pay the Dornier Company found itself in difficult situation. After series of difficult negotiations German Government accepted to pay for planes and two of them (W. Nr. 232 и W. Nr. 233) with temporary German registrations flew to Belgrade via Wien-Aspern. Dornier had remaining two planes on production lanes but Yugoslavs didn't want to accept new conditions of payment: to pay for themselves instead on the account of war reparations. Although planes were almost complete and almost identical to those delivered, Dornier changed their designation to Do 15 and decided to participate in the tender for new passenger plane in which they were denied. After this failure, planes remained for a while in Mentzel and were then transferred to Dornier's compound in Altenhein, Switzerland. Essential modernization then followed, adding improved and more powerful Gnome-Rhone 9Kers engines. New serial numbers were added (W. Nr. 555 и W. Nr. 556). They were finished by the end of 1936 receiving temporary Swiss registration numbers HB-GOE and HB-GOF. After hard negotiations with Yugoslavian Government, an agreement on acquisition was found by the end of 1935. For unknown reasons Kingdom of Yugoslavia took them over on March 7, 1937.

According to decision of Air Force HQ, two Junkers' bombers were ordered, although the plane was obsolete as bomber at the time. Deal was finished trough company *Aeropot* because Germany still couldn't export fighting planes. Entire acquisition was ordered on account of war reparations. In July 1931, Yugoslavian commission visited factory in Dessau. This factory delivered two bombers of original type G 24nao with certain modifications, primarily addition of powerful Jupiter 480hp engines. Yugoslavian planes were made in Swedish franchise in 1928as type K 30, but were never sold. After the 1931 order, they were transferred to Germany where final works have been done scaling them to original bomber type G 24nao. Yugoslavian planes were the last planes of the type made. Planes were finished by the end of 1931, but were delivered for known reasons as with Do Y by the end of 1932 with temporary German registration numbers D 4 and D 5.

# РАТ ИЛИ МИР НЕУТРАЛНОСТ ТУРСКЕ У ДРУГОМ СВЕТСКОМ РАТУ

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**Сажетак:** у раду је обрађена турска војска непосредно пред избијање Другог светског рата и врши се њено поређење са Војском Краљевине Југославије. Такође је обрађена и војнотехничка сарадња турске и југословенске војске. Наглашено је и да је доста оружја које је наручила, па и платила Краљевина Југославија завршило у Турској још пре Априлског рата због тога што су све зарађене стране покушавале на тај начин да куле турску неутралност, ако не и наклоност.

**Кључне речи:** Република Турска, турска војска, Балкански споразум, Фабрика авиона Краљево, Бреге 19, Харикен, Спитфајер.

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# WAR OR PEACE TURKISH NEUTRALITY AT WORLD WAR II

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**Abstract:** In this paper the processed Turkish Army just before the World War II and its comparison with the Army Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It also shows the military technical cooperation between the Turkish and Yugoslav army. It was also stressed that a lot of weapons ordered and paid Kingdom Yugoslavia ended in Turkey even before the April war because all the warring factions attempted to on the way to purchase Turkish neutrality, if not affection.

**Key words:** Republic of Turkey, Turkish Army, Balkan agreement, Aircraft Factory Kraljevo, Breguet 19, Hurricane, Spitfire.

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## War or Peace

### Turkish neutrality at World War II

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Shortly before WWII, the internal and external policies of the Turkish government began to diverge from the course undertaken by K. Atatürk; subsequently to Atatürk's death in 1938, under combined pressure from reactionary domestic elements and from imperialistic powers, Turkey halted the realization of social reforms while, in foreign policy, it adopted an anti-Soviet stance. After the eruption of World War II, it announced a declaration of neutrality, and on 19/10/1939 it signed a mutual assistance pact with Great Britain and France. Influenced by the early war triumphs of Nazi Germany, Turkey decided to initiate cooperation with the Axis; on 18/06/1941 it signed a pact of friendship with the Third Reich. Subsequently, it provided considerable quantities of strategic raw materials to support the German war effort, including 30% of all chrome needed by Germany. Western powers fruitlessly attempted to persuade Turkey to abandon this Axis-friendly neutrality and to join the Allied cause. Not until 02/08/1944 did Turkey sever diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany; it did the same with Japan on 03/01/1945. On 01/03/1945 it formally declared war on both of these countries, although, it never fought against them. Turkey is a co-founding member of U.N.

In 1938 the Turkish standing army had 20 000 officers and 174 000 men. Military service lasted for three years. In 1939 the Turkish army was administratively divided into three army inspectorates, nine corps, and one military governorship; the country's armed forces were composed of 20 infantry divisions, three brigades of mountain troops, one fortress brigade, and five cavalry divisions (including two reserve cavalry divisions) – altogether 132 regiments (60 infantry, six mountain troops, 21 cavalry, eight reserve cavalry, 20 field artillery, 10 heavy artillery, and seven fortress ar-

tillery). In early 1941 Turkey established 17 corps headquarters, 43 divisions and three independent infantry brigades, two divisions and one independent cavalry brigade, as well as two mechanized divisions. The armed forces were poorly equipped; weapons shipments from Germany, Great Britain and U.S. did little to improve that condition. Just before the onset of hostilities, the Turkish navy underwent a program of expansion and modernization; two submarines were ordered for construction in Germany, two submarines and four destroyers were ordered for construction in U.K. Lesser vessels were also constructed in home shipyards. After Germany delivered one submarine in 1939, the Turkish navy contained 19 naval vessels and they included one armoured ship, one line cruiser, two light cruisers, two torpedo-boats, four destroyers, five submarines and four other lesser ships (most vessels were obsolete) with a total displacement of 55 775 tonnes (the number of naval personnel stood at 9 200). The real combat value of the navy was insignificant. By the end of WWII, the navy had one battle cruiser, two cruisers, two gunboats, three minesweepers, eight destroyers, 12 submarines, three motor torpedo boats, five minelayers, a surveying vessel, a depot ship, a fleet tug, a collier and an oiler. By 1940, the Turkish air force was composed of four air regiments (each regiment contained six air companies), and had in possession a total of 370 aircraft (it had 8 500 personnel). Thanks to British and French shipments, one more air regiment (along with five independent air wings) was formed in 1941. Shipments of military equipment from Germany replaced the shipments from Allied countries in the same year. Close to the end of the war, two air force divisions were organized; they together contained 15 air wings (or 30 flights). The Turkish armed forces did not participated in any military operations of WWII.



# КОКАРДЕ НОВЈ-ЈА 1944–1946<sup>1</sup>

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**Сажетак:** *политички и војни односи између Коминтерне и СССР-а, са једне, и Народнослободилачког покрета с друге стране, односно, Црвене армије и НОВЈ, били су сложени и оштерењени повременим размирицама. Југословенско руководство је од првог дана имало тенденцију да се што више осамостали, што није одговарало Коминтерни, а посебно Москви, која је била у расцепу између односа са западним савезницима и југословенском владом у Лондону, и политички сродног покрета под руководством КПЈ. Један од, на први поглед минорних, разлога за размимоилажења представљао је покушај СССР-а, односно Црвене армије, да НОВЈ наметне ознаке које неће изазвати подозрење у политичку суштину и крајње циљеве покрета после ослобођења Југославије. Решење је пронађено у интеримском компромису; крајем 1944. године усвојено је графичко решење домаћих аутора – елипсаста кокарда са представом црвене петокраке звезде у центру, али без срца и чекића. Но Врховни штаб НОВЈ избегао је да озваничи овај тип ознаке за капу. Првом Уредбом о одећи ЈА, из 1946. године, официјелно је усвојена црвена петокрака звезда, са (за пролетерске јединице) и без срца и чекића (за остале јединице).*

**Кључне речи:** НОВЈ, Црвена армија, Коминтерна, црвена петокрака, кокарда, Јосип Броз, Стаљин, Ђорђе Андрејевић Кун, Антун Ауџустинчић.

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# THE COCKADE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY OF YUGOSLAVIA/YUGOSLAV ARMY, 1944-1946

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**Abstract:** *The military political relations between the Comintern and USSR on one side, and the National liberation movement in Yugoslavia on the other, in other words, the relations between the Red Army and the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (NOVJ) were a complex matter burdened with occasional differences. From the early first, the Yugoslav leaders tended to become independent, which displeased the Comintern and the Moscow establishment who were balancing between their Western Allies and the Yugoslav Government in exile on one side and politically close movement led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) on the other. One of seemingly minor reasons for their disagreement was the USSR i.e. the Red Army attempt to force on NOVJ the insignia which would not provoke any political suspicions nor would they indicate the ultimate goals after the liberation of Yugoslavia. The issue was solved by an interim solution and at the end of 1944 a design by the domestic authors was accepted. It was an elliptical cockade with red five-pointed star in its centre but without sickle and hammer. However, the Supreme Headquarter of NOVJ avoided making this cap insignia official. According to the First Regulation of 1946 on the Yugoslav Army (JA) military dress, the red star was officially introduced bearing sickle and hammer for the Proletarian units and without these symbols for the rest of the army.*

**Key words:** NOVJ, the Red Army, the Comintern, red five-pointed star, cockade, Josip Broz, Stalin, Djordje Andrejevic-Kun, Antun Augustincic.

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## SUMMARY

# The Cockade of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia/Yugoslav Army, 1944-1946

Branko Bogdanović

On the very day of the German invasion on the USSR on June 22nd 1941, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CK KPJ) issued a Proclamation calling the people to fight the occupiers. On June 27th CK founded the Head Quarter of the National Liberation Detachments of Yugoslavia (GS NOPOJ). At the session held on July the 4<sup>th</sup>, 1941, the decision was made that the guerrilla war would be a basic form of armed combat and the combatants would bear red five-pointed star as their cap insignia in accordance with the Comintern policy. Soon after that, the Partisans started bearing circle and hammer on the star. However, the introduction of these symbols met the opposition of the USSR. Moscow had to retain good relations with Western Allies and it was still cooperating with the Yugoslav Government in exile so that all the symbols which might suggest revolutionary features of the combat were politically inappropriate. Such disa-

greement lasted as late as 1944 when a large number of decorations and cap insignia for the NOVJ were ordered from USSR. A compromise solution was found on that occasion because Moscow agreed with the drafts and designs by Djordje Andrejevic-Kun and Anton Augustincic. These two authors suggested an elliptic cockade as a traditional Serbian and Yugoslav insignia until 1939 but with an inscribed red five-pointed star. USSR delivered cockades of military, officer's and general's patterns. However, in late 1944 and early 1945 similar type of insignia was manufactured in the liberated regions of Yugoslavia. Yet, the Supreme Head Quarter had never made the cockade official. By the first official Regulation on Yugoslav Army uniform of 1946 the red five-pointed star was introduced for all military ranks whilst the Proletarian units were given the same type insignia with an application of the circle and hammer in addition.

## CERAMIC PLAQUE WITH TWO GLADIATORS FROM VIMINACIUM

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**Abstract:** *This paper is dedicated to an exceptional relief decorated ceramic plaque from the site Selište near Kostolac (Viminacium). Based on its peculiar shape and inverse stamped inscriptions it was assumed that object in question represent a mold with a relief scene depicting two fighting warriors. Their characteristic weapons indicates popular duel of heavily armed gladiators (trax vs. murmillo) often held in the arena or presented in mosaics, frescoes or different objects of every day use or votive purposes. Interpreting the inscriptions placed by the warrior figures author opens several options: gladiator's cognomens, name of the games editor (editor munerarius) or workshop stamp with the owner's name. The finding was seen as an additional testimony of gladiatorial games held in Viminacium and dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, period of the greatest economic rise of Roman province Moesia Superior and its largest urban center.*

**Key words:** *Viminacium, Selište, ceramic mold, crustulum, gladiators, munera, epigraphy, Upper Moesia.*

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## КАЛУП СА ПРЕДСТАВОМ ГЛАДИЈАТОРА ИЗ ВИМИНАЦИЈУМА

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**Сажетак:** *у раду се објављује налаз рељефно украшеног керамичког предмета са локалитета Селиште код Костолаца (Viminacium). На основу облика и натписа утиснутог у негатииву, претпостављено је да се ради о плочастом калупу са рељефним приказом борбе два ратника. Њихово карактеристично наоружање упућује да се ради о популарном дуелу тешко наоружаних гладијатора (trax, murmillo) који је често приређиван у арени, представљан на мозаичким и сликаним композицијама, те предметима утилитарне и војивне намене. У тумачењу натписа поред фигура ратника, аутор отпвара неколико могућности: когномени гладијатора, лично име приређивача изара (editor munerarius) или радионички печат са именом власника. Налаз је посматран као још једно сведочанство одржавања гладијаторских изара у Виминацијуму те датован у период II–III века, у време највећег економског успона римске провинције Горње Мезије и њеног највећег урбаног центра.*

**Кључне речи:** *Viminacium, Селиште, керамички калуп, crustulum, гладијатори, мунера, епиграфика, Горња Мезија.*

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<sup>2</sup> Овај рад је произашао из ангажовања аутора на пројекту Министарства за науку и технолошки развој Републике Србије под насловом *Романизација, урбанизација и трансформација урбаних центара цивилног, војног и резиденцијалног карактера у римским провинцијама на тлу Србије* (евиденциони број 177007).

# Калуп са представом гладијатора из Виминацијума

Мирослав Вујовић

Током заштитних археолошких истраживања 1987. године на локалитету Селиште код Костолца, 1.100 m северозападно од легијског логора Виминацијума, откривен је керамички предмет (сл. 1, 2) карактеристичног облика и рељефног украса. Реч је о плочастом предмету (висина: 7,6 cm, ширина: 11 cm, дебљина: 1,4 cm) са равном доњом ивицом и пет угластих кракова по ободу горњег дела. Рађен је од фино пречишћене, мркоцрвено печене глине. Руб предмета прати канал којим је уоквирена сцена борбе два гладијатора, на шта јасно указује њихово наоружање. Фигуре су утиснуте матрицом у меку глину пре печења, удубљене су у односу на позадину и имају пластично изведене детаље. Са леве стране представљен је ратник са шлемом без кресте, штитом и кратким бодежом у десној руци. Кружним утиснућима на месту лица стилизован је мрежастим визир карактеристичан за шлемове тешко наоружаних гладијатора. На руци у којој држи кратак бодеж или мач приказани су паралелни украси који симулирају сегменте манике (*manica*), уобичајеног дела наоружања римских бораца из амфитеатра. У другој руци гладијатор држи већи штит са јасно наглашеним умбом и украшеном таблом. На грудима су урезане укрштене траке, а око бедара је приказана драпирана прегача (*subligaculum*).

Други ратник приказан је десно, на вишој равни и нешто искошеније у односу на супарника. Упркос израженој стилизацији, и на овој фигури можемо препознати неколико карактеристичних детаља ратничке опреме. Шлем је приказан аморфно, са мрежастим визиром који покрива лице ратника и нешто израженијим горњим делом који би могао извесније да представља кресту или перјаницу. Гладијатор противника напада кратким мачем закривљеног сечива, који држи у руци такође оклопљеној маником. Слично као и на супротстављеној фигури приказан је правоугаони конкавни штит, укрштене траке на грудима и прегача са радијалним наборима. Издваја се једино широки појас којим је борац опасан. На истуреној нози, која је приказана нешто шири од друге, ратник носи кнемиду која је једно-

ставно наглашена косим урезима. Карактеристично наоружање – криви мач (*sica*), правоугаони штит (*parmula*) те штитници за изложену ногу (*ocrea*) и руку (*manica*) – упућују нас да у овом ратнику препознамо једног од најпопуларнијих гладијатора трачана (*thraex*), који су се у арени најчешће борили против тешко оклопљеног мурмила (*murmillo*). Ипак, треба изнети и још нека запажања која се односе на приказано наоружање. Шлем без кресте са мрежастим визиром у којем су наглашени кружни пробоји на левом ратнику подсећа на шлем гладијатора провокатора (*provocator*), а укрштене траке на грудима оба борца могу приказивати ремење за *cardiophylax* – грудни оклоп правоугаоне или полумесечасте форме (сл. 4). Провокатори су се, међутим, углавном сукобљавали са другим гладијаторима исте врсте или, сасвим ретко, са турмилом. Криви мач – сика оружје је које се, по правилу, јавља у рукама гладијатора трачана. Упркос поменутих недоследностима, сматрамо да је на рељефу са Селишта приказан уобичајени двобој тракса и мурмила.

## Натписи

У слободном простору између профилисаног оквира и оклопљене руке левог гладијатора приказана су два легирана слова АМ (сл. 3). Слова су испупчена, што значи да су била урезана у прототип којим је направљен отисак. Треба их стога читати у обрнутом положају, као МА (сл. 5). Ово потврђује део текста у доњем делу калупа, где се јасније види да су слова приказана инверзно. Слово А приказано је са правилном попречном цртом, а М са искошеним вертикалама. Висина слова износи 6–7 mm. Могуће је да се ради о скраћеном имену које се односи на приказаног гладијатора. Пример за то имамо у керамичком медаљону из Саварије, на којем је уписано име победника. Овакво навођење имена гладијатора није ретко и среће се на керамичким светиљкама, посудама, зидним графитима и мозаичким представама са гладијаторским борбама. Испод штита десног ратника такође је приметан

натпис. Он се састоји од четири рељефна слова (сл. 3) која се у отиску могу прочитати као VRSI или VRSA (сл. 6). Висина слова такође износи 6–7 mm. Наведено име припада релативно бројним когноменима изведеним из термина *vrsvs* (медвед), често забележеном на тлу римске провинције Далмације, а посебно у Салони. Вероватнијом се чини прва варијанта (VRSI), која би указивала на имена: *Vrsicinvs*, *Vrsilianvs*, *Vrsinvs*, *Vrsio* или *Vrsico*. На тлу Горње Мезије такви когномени су такође потврђени, али у знатно мањем броју, и међу припадницима угледнијих staleжа или професија. Међу њима се истичу два натписа из Виминацијума датована у период II–III века. Стога је могуће и другачије читање уколико објединимо натпис у трочлану именску формулу, на пример: *M(arcus) A(urelius) Vrsi(nus)*, која би пре одговарала особи вишег ранга. Даље натпис се може читати и у генитиву: *M(arci) A(urelii) Vrsi* – што би евентуално упућивало на организатора гладијаторске борбе (*editor*) или, можда, власника радионице у којој је предмет израђен. Такво име упућивало би на датовање у последње деценије II, односно прву половину III века.

Намена рељефно украшене плочице са Селишта није потпуно јасна будући да нам услови налаза и директне аналогije нису познате. Сличне представе срећу се у монументалнијој форми на мозаицима, рељефима и зидним сликама, као фигурална пластика, али и на разнородним употребним предметима који су често служили и као нека врста сувенира. За поједине калупе претпостављено је да су служили као матрице за израду воштаног прототипа намењеног серијском изливењу металних предмета. Извесна сличност постоји са рељефним приказима трка, гладијаторских борби и лова на тзв. кампана плочама из раноцарске епохе, које су служиле као декоративна керамопластика. Натписи који се јављају на њима су ознаке керамичарских радионица и мајстора. Калупи са рељефним сценама из позоришта, арене или циркуса нађени у Остији и Пестуму тумачени су као модле за колаче, који су заједно са следовањем вина или медовине (*crustulum et mulsum*) дељени народу у различитим свечаним приликама које је пратило јавно издава-

ње хране (*epula publica*). То се догађало током прослава јубилеја, рођендана царева, значајних грађевинских подухвата или организовања игара од богатих и угледних грађана. Донатори или приређивачи таквих светковина (*editor muneris*) обично су били званичници високог ранга или свештеници империјалног култа, којима је закон налагао повремено исказивање добротинства. Према дугом мишљењу, у овим калупима израђивани су заветни дарови у виду фигурина или плочица од воска или олова које су у светилишта прилагали гладијатори, возачи кола или глумци.

Иако керамички калуп са Селишта нема кружну форму уобичајену за керамичке медаљоне – *crustulum*-е, сматрамо да је имао сличну, вотивну намену. Приближно исте димензије (11–12 cm), профиловани обод и отиснута фигурална представа карактеристични су за већину керамичких медаљона из Подунавља и Србије.

Керамичка плочица–калуп са карактеристичном сценом борбе два гладијатора посебно је значајна јер се може непосредно повезати са одвијањем игара у Виминацијуму, до данас једином налазишту у Србији на коме је потврђено постојање амфитеатра. Његови остаци уочени су у виду карактеристичне депресије на локалитету Тавничкиште у североисточном углу античког насеља Виминацијума већ приликом првих археолошких истраживања крајем XIX века, али и каснијим топографским анализама овог локалитета. Систематска ископавања амфитеатра започета су 2003. године, у оквиру научно-истраживачког пројекта истраживања античког Виминацијума. Прелиминарни резултати истраживања указују да је виминацијумски амфитеатар највероватније био у употреби од почетка II до почетка IV века. Елипсастог је облика (80x70 m) и грађен од камена и дрвета, као стандардни војни амфитеатар. Такво датовање амфитеатра, посебно епоха владавине царева Антонина и Севера (II–III век) одговара времену највећег економског успона провинције Горње Мезије и Виминацијума као значајног цивилног центра и војног логора *Legio VII Claudia* и уклапа у хронологију организације и трајања игара у другим, суседним областима на Балкану.



## Helmets or „Morion“ and „Cabaset“ types from the collection of the Military museum in Belgrade

*Kristijan Relić*

In Collection of Western European arms and armour belonging to a Military museum in Belgrade there are five helmets of *morion* type (inv. no. 5392, 5395, 5443, 17245, 17246), a *cabaset* helmet, as well as 2 specimens with transitional characteristics of *burgonet* and *cabaset* type, and of *morion* and so called *pikeman's pot*. These are distinctive for the period of XVI and XVII centuries, and their source can be found in so called *Kettle-Hats* – a type of helmets which were used across Europe from XIII until XV century.

At the end of XV century in Spain a special type of *Kettle-Hat* named *cabaset* had been developed. *Cabaset* had been transformed to a shape known as *morion*, most likely in the workshops of Northern Italy, where it had been produced in large scale for the Spanish market. The appearance of *morion* had been influenced also by the development of *burgonet* type helmets which were used in Italy and Germany around 1500. The early forms of *Morion* were seen in European armies as early as in XVI century in transitional form between a *kettle-hat* and a classical type, and in 2<sup>nd</sup> half of XVI century a classical *morion* was finally created under the influence of Spanish *cabaset*, by further development of early *morion* of *kettle-hat* origin and from a *burgonet*. Along with this type, a Spanish *mo-*

*rion* had emerged as well, and it combines characteristics of classic *morion* type and *cabaset*. In the 1<sup>st</sup> half of XVII century a new version of *cabaset*, also known as *zuccoto*, has been created. As most distinctive and most prevalent type of this group of helmets, *morion* had been used until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of XVII century, and was replaced by so called *pikeman's pot* (a new *kettle-hat* type of helmet, typical for the 1<sup>st</sup> half of XVII century, which was developed from *morion*).

What follows is an overview of helmets of these types from the Military museum including their detailed description, dimensions, typological determination and approximate dating.

The lack of precise date regarding the origin of these helmets i.e. unknown circumstances under which they have been found or brought to the museum leaves us with no possibility to look at cultural and historical context of these items. Therefore, the aim of this paper is only to show the existence of these helmets in Serbia, putting them in broad typological frames and more precise dating, which represent extraordinary display value and imply to some details of material culture of a period which has been unjustifiably neglected in Serbian historiography and archaeology.



# БОЈ У ДРЛУПИ ПОД КОСМАЈЕМ

(разноврсности казивања о првом устаничком боју 1804. године)

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**Сажетак:** у космајском селу Дрлупи, 24. фебруара 1804. године, збили су се први преговори, али и сукоби између устаничке и дахијске војске. Вести о тој догађају пренело је и описало мноштво савременика, сведока, као и поштоњих казивача и истраживача. У раду се наводе неколики најкарактеристичнији и најзанимљивији извори који на разноврстан и посве опречан начин сведоче о овим знаменитим устаничким збивањима.

**Кључне речи:** бој у Дрлупи, Први српски устанак, Карађорђе, Аганлија, преговори, усмена казивања, приповедање, историографија.

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# THE BATTLE OF DRLUPA NEAR MOUNTAIN KOSMAJ

(diversity of testimonies about the first battle of the First Serbian Uprising in 1804)

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**Abstract:** Village Drlupa on mountain Kosmaj was location of first negotiations, but also of fight between Serbian rebels and army of Ottoman governors (srb. Dahija) on February 24, 1804. News about the event were delivered and described by many contemporaries, witnesses as well as by future researchers. Text cites few most distinctive and most interesting sources that are describing this important event in different and entirely opposing manners.

**Key words:** The Battle of Drlupa, The First Serbian Uprising, Karađorđe, Aganlija, negotiations, oral tradition, storytelling, Historiography.

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**МИЛОСАВ ЗДРАВКОВИЋ  
РЕСАВАЦ  
ВОЈВОДА РЕСАВСКИ**

**MILOSAV ZDRAVKOVIĆ  
RESAVAC  
COMMANDER OF RESAVA**

**Драган Н. Николић,**  
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**Сажетак:** у раду је укратко обрађена биографија Милосава Здравковића Ресавца, војводе ресавског из времена Првог српског устанка, касније ресавског кнеза, затим исправника ћуприског маџистарата, члана Совјета, а у време владе уставобраниоца пар пута и министра. Посебна пажња посвећена је његовој административној делатности, али није занемарено ни његово ангажовање у устаницима и бунама.

**Кључне речи:** Милосав Здравковић Ресавец, Први српски устанак, Други српски устанак, Ресавца, Милош Обреновић, Свилајнац, Милија Здравковић, Стеван Синђелић

**Abstract:** A biography of Milosav Zdravković Resavac, commander of Resava during the First Serbian Uprising, later a police official of Čuprija County, also a member of Government during the reign of "Constitutionalists" and a minister in couple occasions. Focus is on his administrative work, but his activities in rebellions are also a theme.

**Key words:** Milosav Zdravković Resavac, The First Serbian Uprising, The Second Serbian Uprising, Resava, Miloš Obrenović, Svilajnac, Milija Zdravković, Stevan Sindelić.

Кратко саопштење

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## Milosav Zdravković Resavac commander of Resava

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Milosav Zdravković was one of six sons of Milija Zdravković, famous rebel from the First Serbian Uprising and member of the Government. Milosav Zdravković was born in Lomnica in 1787. At first he had a private teacher but later he continued his education in newly formed Grand School in Belgrade. During the First Serbian Uprising, after the Battle of Kamenica in 1809, when Stevan Sindelić died, Milosav Zdravković as his son in law was ordered as new commander of Resava. He was a member of National Court, State Government, Land Government and members of numerous delegations. Milija and his son Milosav surrendered in 1813 to Grand Vizier Hurshid Pasha. Vizier disposed milosav to his secretary priest Dina. When priest Dina became Dionisije, Metropolitan of Belgrade, Milosav has spent some time as his scribe, collecting chimney tax and other incomes for him. Milosav was one of organizers and leaders of the Second Serbian Uprising in Resava.

People of the Čuprija County chose him on August 24, 1815 for Governor, which was approved by Prince Miloš on December 2, 1815. Milosav Zdravković was a business partner of Prince Miloš Obrenović, and that partnership brought him substantial financial incomes. He was applying autocratic methods to local peasants for personal benefit. He punished them, forced them to labours and was extremely violent. For a while Milosav Zdravković was a member of National Court in Kragujevac. In 1836 he was appointed as a police official of the Čuprija County. By the end of the

same year, Prince Miloš advanced him to rank of colonel. In 1839, when the Government of Principality of Serbia was formed, he was one of its seventeen chosen members.

In 1835 Milosav participated in rebellion known as *Miletina buna* as a conspirator against Prince Miloš. When bad relations between Miloš and *Constitutionalists* brought to rebellion led by Toma Vučić Perišić in 1842, Milosav was organizer of rebellion in the Čuprija County. When Prince Mihailo left Serbia, Milosav was among most prominent members of *Constitutionalists* movement that had main role in organizing of new government. On Assembly held in Topčider in 1843 Milosav and two other members of Government were appointed as Regency until the election of new Prince. When Prince Aleksandar soon came to power, Milosav Zdravković had a high place in administration as renowned and popular person. As member of Government, in 1847, Milosav temporarily acted as deputy of Minister of Internal Affairs, Ilija Garašanin. In 1850 and 1851, he was temporarily appointed as Minister of Finance.

Milosav Zdravković was a great benefactor of Serbian Church. He was a trustee of church in Gložan in 1820, but he also helped to many churches not just in Resava region.

In 1853, Milosav Zdravković Resavac applied for retirement pension. Year after his retirement, on July 26/ August 7 1854 Milosav Zdravković has died.

# ВИЗУЕЛНА КУЛТУРА У СРПСКО-ТУРСКИМ РАТОВИМА ОД 1876. ДО 1878. ГОДИНЕ

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# VISUAL CULTURE IN SERBIAN-TURKISH WARS 1876-1878.

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**Сажетак:** српско-турски ратнови од 1876. до 1878. године, са својим изузетним значајем у процесу борбе за ослобађање од вишевековне османске владавине и стварања независне државе током читавог XIX века, заузимају посебно место у истраживању целокупне визуелне српске културе XIX века. Проучавањем многобројних дела визуелне културе са представама српско-турских ратова, долази се до сагледавања оштрије значаја ратова и комплексне употребе саме визуелне културе у њима. Тако се анализом бројних елемената који су у саставу комплексне ратне машинерије, као што су војне заставе, војничке униформе, системи лођоровања и многи други елементи, долази до сагледавања изузетно важне улоге коју је имала визуелна култура у одвијању самих ратова. Такође, проучавањем појаве масовне продукције слике из ових ратова, највише кроз српску и инострану штампу, доприноси се разумевању развијености и функционисања тадашње штампе, као и изузетно важне улоге ратних извештача при војним лођорима. Тиме се употпуњује слика о комплексности употребе визуелне културе и њене неопходности у српско-турским ратовима од 1876. до 1878. године.

**Кључне речи:** српско-турски ратнови од 1876. до 1878. године, ратнови за ослобођење и независност.

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**Abstract:** Serbian-Turkish wars (1876-1878) with its exceptional significance in the struggle for liberation from centuries of Ottoman rule and the creation of an independent state throughout the nineteenth century, they occupy a special place in the study of the entire Serbian visual culture of the nineteenth century. By studying a number of works of visual culture with images of the Serbian-Turkish wars, one comes to perceive general importance of wars and complex use of visual culture in the same wars. Thus, the analysis of numerous elements that are part of a complex war machine, such as military flags, military uniforms, camping systems and many other elements, we can perceive a very important role played by the visual culture in facilitating the wars themselves. Also, studying the phenomenon of mass production of these images of war, mainly by Serbian and foreign press, contributing to the understanding of development and functioning in the press as well as an extremely important role of war reporters in military camps. This completes the picture of the complexity of the use of visual culture and its necessity in the Serbian-Turkish wars (1876-1878).

**Key words:** Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876. to 1878, wars of liberation and independence.

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## Visual culture in Serbian-Turkish wars 1876-1878.

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Serbian-Turkish wars 1876-1878, rather Wars of Release and Independence were had a great role in combat for release from Turkish rule in XIX century. Namely, Serbian-Turkish wars were provided release from five century of Turkish rule and also a procreation of modern and independent state, where visual culture was had a important role.

Visual culture was participated in determining and emphasis of certain elements that were used in war's conflict. Thus, visual culture was being provided, from example of using already established national flags and symbols, identification of each nation on the battlefield, and in that way visual culture was provided to expression continuity of nation and her's authenticity. On the battlefield of Serbian-Turkish wars were Serbian national flag in three colour, many flags of volunteer's units which were component of Serbian army, Turkish nation red flag with a star and lune and flag of Red Cross as a visual determinant of Serbian war's sanitary organisation. Nevertheless, visual culture also was participated in visual shaping of military uniforms, arms etc.

Nevertheless, visual culture also was had a role in reporting from battlefield and a great role in memorisation of the Wars. It was been very important to present images of wars because in that way had been formed a certain access in political and social ideology of nation to whom the Wars of Release and Independence were been the crucial movement. Likewise, many of Serbian and foreign war's reportages were participating in reporting directly from battlefield whose illustrations were published as in Serbian and foreign illustrated paper. In that way, the whole publicity in Serbia and abroad was introduced with events on the battlefield of Serbian-Turkish wars. Nevertheless, images of Serbian-Turkish wars were appeared on other art's versatile mediums as photography, lithographs etc, whereby it was contributed to public memorisation of Wars, their's praising, and glorification of their's successful soldier and certain battles.

# 90 ГОДИНА ОД ПОСЕТЕ ФРАНШЕ Д'ЕПЕРЕА БЕОГРАДУ – ОД ВОЈВОДЕ СРПСКЕ ВОЈСКЕ ДО ФРАНЦУСКОГ МАРШАЛА

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# NINETY YEARS FROM GENERAL FRANCHET D'ESPEREY VISIT TO BELGRADE – FROM DUKE OF SERBIAN ARMY TO FRENCH MARCHAL

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**Сажетак:** Врховни командант Солунског фронта у Првом светском рату био је француски генерал Франше Д'Епере. Године 1921. Београд је одликован Орденом Легије части. Том приликом принц регент Александар Карађорђевић доделио му је титулу почасног војводе Српске војске, а по повратку у Париз унапређен је у маршала Француске. За војне заслуге Франше Д'Епере је био одликован I степенима највиших српских одрета са мачевима; Карађорђевог звездом и Белим орлом, које је имао само принц регент Александар.

**Кључне речи:** Франше Д'Епере, генерал, војвода, маршал, Београд, Легија части, Наполеон, изложба, Солунски фронт, српски одрети са мачевима, Карађорђева звезда, Бели орло.

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**Abstract:** Commander in chief of Saloniki front in WW I, was French general Franchet d'Espercy. In 1921, he came to Belgrade to decorate the town with Légion d'Honneur. The Prince Regent Alexander Karageorgevic promoted him in the rank of Honorable Duke of Serbian army, and after that he was promoted to the French Marshal. For military valours Franchet d'Espercy was decorated with I classes of two highest Serbian orders with swords; Karageorge Star and White Eagle, that had only Prince Regent Alexander. Origine and general rank of cited orders were discussed.

**Key words:** Franchet d'Espercy, general, duke, marshal, Belgrade, Légion d'Honneur, Napoleon, exhibition, Saloniki front, Serbian decorations with swords, Karageorge Star, White Eagle.

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# Ninety Years from General Franchet d'Esperey visit to Belgrade – From Duke of Serbian Army to French Marchal

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During The World War I, Serbian Army, after Albanian retreat in the winter 1915. was reorganized on Corfu. In the spring of 1916. the Allies formed Saloniki front of revived Serbs, French, British, and some Russian troops. First Allies commander in chief, ineffective General Sarrail, was replaced at the end of 1917 by General Guillaumat, who was in turn succeeded in July 1918. by General Franchet d'Esperey (1856–1942), who launched a major offensive in September with six Serbian and two French divisions against a seven-mile front held by only one Bulgarian division. Front was broken in 3 days and Serbian Army by strong attack liberated Belgrade till October 30.

As chief commander of one of the most famous battles in WW I, Franchet d'Esperey stayed in General rank for further 3 years. Initiative for correction of his rank came from the Serbian side 90 years ago, in 1921, when Franchet d'Esperey came in Belgrade to decorate the town with order of Légion d'Honneur for heroic behavior 1914-1918. On that occasion, Prince Regent Aleksandar Karadjordjevic promoted him in the rank of Honorable Duke of Serbian army, that corresponded to

the Marchal rank in Allies armies. Consequently, Franchet d'Esperey was promoted to Marchal rank a month after returning to France.

Franchet d'Esperey was for WW I service decorated with main French and Allies orders, including two Serbian highest military decoration with swords; Grand cross of Karageorge Star and Grand cross of White Eagle. Three years ago, on 90 anniversary of WW I, French cultural center in Belgrade, Military museum and Museum of war air forces organized the exhibition: *Epopée of Allies forces on Saloniki front*. Franchet d'Esperey's grandson, colonel of Legion Etrangere Christian de Gastines, brought to the exhibition cited Serbian decorations.

In article are given pictures of three decorations; Légion d'Honneur, Franchet d'Esperey's Grand cross of Karageorge Star with Swords and Grand cross of White Eagle with Swords. The short origin and main characteristics of the decorations are given, followed by drawings Karageorge Star and White Eagle from the order documents.

# ДЕТЕРМИНАНТЕ ХЕРИТОЛОШКОГ ПОГЛЕДА НА ОДБРАМБЕНЕ ТЕХНОЛОГИЈЕ

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# DETERMINANTS OF THE HERITOLOGICAL VIEW OF DEFENCE TECHNOLOGIES

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**Сажетак:** Одбрамбене технологије, као гео технолошке, индустријске и шире, културне баштине, могуће је херитолошки детерминисати са више аспеката: иновативности идејних решења, извођења технолошког процеса, испитивања и употребе материјала, проблема одржавања система, као и модела њиховог нарушавања. У раду ће бити анализирана основна подручја која идентификују херитолошке детерминанте области одбрамбених технологија, као и импликације примене основних херитолошких начела у креирању модерног тумачења улоге одбрамбених технологија у слици технолошке баштине савременог света.

**Кључне речи:** одбрамбене технологије, херитологија, детерминанте.

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**Abstract:** Defense technology as part of the technological, industrial, and cultural heritage, it is possible in heritological point of view determine with several aspects: innovation basic solutions, the performance of the technological process, testing and use of materials, problems of the system, as well as of models of damages. In this paper will be analyzed basic heritological areas for identify determinants of the field of defense technology, as well as the implications of applying the basic heritology principles in creating modern interpretations of the role of defense technologies in the picture of technological heritage of the world.

**Key words:** defence technologies, heritology, determinants.

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## Determinants of the heritological view of defence technologies

Suzana Polić-Radovanović

From the beginnings of scientific research of civilisation, technological heritage has been in the focus of interest as a part of a wider, cultural, heritage. However, changes that have been taking place in the sphere of culture in the last decades with expansion of information and other technologies and capital (due to which cultural autonomy has been lost as a discipline becoming infiltrated into other areas) have resulted in perceiving research subjects as cultural ones, although once seen solely as technological. Hence, culture is observed as a comprehensive theory and practice of human experience, while heritology studies all aspects of protection, taking into research focus the future of that collective experience. Contemporary scientific knowledge at the turn of the century, although primarily connected with technical progress in empirical growth, uses intellectual resources of common civilisation and cultural milieu as a basis for its notional development. Hence the future of science is seen as an expected creation new parallels between science development and other areas of culture, whereby heritology, due to the nature of its subject of research, undoubtedly comprises the largest number of scientific disciplines.

Defence technologies provide a complex basis for heritological analysis, due to its specific place in scientific and social environment, as well as relation towards tradition and innovativeness. Thematization of the heritological view is equally provoked by each of the said extremes, since heritology requires multidisciplinary analysis of scientific-technological nexus around which the requested unified view is situated. Theoretical impulses for this kind of analysis can be found in natural, technical and social sciences, as well as in differently generated accumulations of contemporary social events, which in a new way refract the role of defence and other technologies in the modern world, where, without doubt, we have layers of mutual influences.

Focusing on the statement in the description of heritological items, where in defence technologies we have at our disposal technical and technological description in all its forms (preliminary sketches, drawings, photos, calculations (formulas), tables, charts, etc.), referring to the concept stated by Dreyfus and Rabinow, we may say that within heritological discourse a map, picture or text (report) about defence technology item may be equally valued, the item undoubtedly becoming, by its very manifestation, a subject of examination of visual culture. Taking into account theoretical views of heritological discourse, the issue of discursive practice in respect of defence technologies may be resolved in several ways, in accordance with the opinion that *discursive practices are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behaviour, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them.*

The state of material of a defence tool that has become a museum exhibit is continually the subject of heritological research irrespective of whether its primary disfunction occurred after expiry of its designed lifespan or as a consequence of combat operations. Thus a defence technology tool is not only the focus of research of technological history but of a much wider complex of issues. A special role in such production is played by information technologies, which in modern museological practice by means of interactive multimedia allow for multidisciplinary view of a defence tool as an exhibit. Web pages and specially designed CD-ROM titles are becoming an integral part of exhibitions themselves. A special segment of presentations are virtual museums where it is possible to dynamically present massive documentation. It enables innovating knowledge and broadening databases, without jeopardising the basic idea of presentation of a defence tool, i.e. exhibit.