

**Dragana Grbić,**

Slavic Department, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Cologne

## SERBIAN CULTURE OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BETWEEN CULTURAL TRANSFERS FROM THE EAST AND WEST

**Abstract:** The theory of cultural transfer recognizes both the material and the abstract model of transferring. This article primarily focuses on the material model showing how the transfer of objects was reflected in the historical and political circumstances caused by the migrations during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and consequently marked Serbian cultural and literary development. The second part sheds light on the abstract model of cultural transferring and translating of ideas based on one case study of Z. Orfelin's *Eternal Calendar* (*Věčni kalendar*), published in Vienna in 1783.

**Keywords:** material and abstract models of cultural transfer, Serbs in the Habsburg Empire, Zaharija Orfelin

If one compares different approaches of cultural transfer studies, one can see that the essence of this theory lies in the efforts to answer the question of *what is culture*. There is no culture that is completely isolated, and, according to M. Espagne,<sup>1</sup> each cultural system is based on *métissage*, i.e. an interference of intercultural elements in the national cultural frameworks. Therefore, cultural transfer studies represent an attempt to encompass several national concepts at the same time, including their common elements and complementation but also showing the limitations that occurred during the process of transferring. Two case studies of migrations and popular literature of the 18<sup>th</sup> century will paradigmatically illustrate Serbian culture of the early modern period and show its national and, at the same time, “non-national”, i.e. culturally transferable, aspects.

Since M. Werner and M. Espagne<sup>2</sup> paved the way for the study of cultural transfer arising from the theoretical framework of comparative literary studies, numerous articles and books have been written on this topic.

---

1 Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels: franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 3-8.

2 Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, “Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C. N. R. S.”, in *Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, No. 13 (1985), 502-510; Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels: franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999); Michel Espagne, “Kulturtransfer” – Eu-

Cultural transfer studies naturally supplemented the theoretical principles of comparative studies by insisting on reciprocity and mutual relations between cultures rather than privileging one-dimensional reception and the process of (an uncritical) imitation and implementation. In the context of this research work, there are several authors whose theoretical approaches are best applicable considering the nature of the corpus of Serbian literature and culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century – Peter Burke,<sup>3</sup> Wolfgang Schmale,<sup>4</sup> Doris Bachmann-Medick,<sup>5</sup> Matthias Middell,<sup>6</sup> Michael North<sup>7</sup> and Stefanie Stockhorst.<sup>8</sup>

- 
- ropäische Geschichte gegen den Strich nationaler Mythen, in Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2003).
- 3 Peter Burke, R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, European Scientific Foundation (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Peter Burke, “Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures”, in Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch – Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
  - 4 Wolfgang Schmale, *Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransfer: europageschichtliche Perspektiven für die Landesgeschichte, eine Einführung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sächsischen Landesgeschichte* (Bochum: Winkler, 1998); Wolfgang Schmale, “Europa wissenschaftlich konstruieren: Theoretische Ansätze zur kulturellen Integration Europas in der Neuzeit”, in W. Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 157-171. Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2003); Wolfgang Schmale, *Cultural Transfer*, in European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-12-05. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501 [2022-05-15]; Wolfgang Schmale, “Kulturaustausch und Kulturelle Transfers in der Frühen Neuzeit”, in Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
  - 5 Doris Bachmann-Medick (ed.), *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997); Doris Bachmann-Medick, “Übersetzung in der Weltgesellschaft. Impulse eines ’translational turn’”, in Andreas Gipper, Susanne Klengel (eds.), *Kultur, Übersetzung, Lebenswelten* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), 141-160.
  - 6 Matthias Middell, “Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis”, in *Comparative*, Hf. 1 (2000), 1-38; Matthias Middell, “Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransferforschung. Vom bilateralen Beispiel zu Beiträgen für eine globale Geschichte”, in *Eurostudia – Transatlantische Zeitschrift für Europaforschung*, Vol. 4, No 2 (Dec. 2008): Europäische Komparatistik und darüber hinaus.
  - 7 Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch – Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
  - 8 Stefanie Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation* (Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2010).

The interpretations of the material aspect of cultural transfer, as it is shown in the works of W. Schmale<sup>9</sup> or J. Rüpke,<sup>10</sup> are applicable to the study of cultural changes that took place after the migrations of the Serbian people at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Their understanding of cultural transfer of *objects* and *relics* opened a completely new perspective for analyzing the alteration of cultural models that marked Serbian culture during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Latin term *translatio*, as a springboard for cultural transfer or cultural translation, does not mean exclusively the translation of texts from a source language to a target language. Much more broadly, this process of cultural translation means translating a certain horizon of ideas from one culture to another. Concurrently to the abstract level, it is understood as the material translation or transfer of objects of distinct semantic potential from one geographical, religious, and cultural space to another, including even humans and other living beings like animals or plants. Therefore, *translatio* could also be used for the transfer of relics and profane goods, symbols, and ideas. In this context Schmale's definition of *kultureme*<sup>11</sup> as a cultural product with a strong semantic potential of identity and origin is crucial for understanding the importance of the relics transfer during the Great Migration.

Jörg Rüpke,<sup>12</sup> in his study on cultural transfer and religion, argued that religious infrastructure, i.e. monasteries, dioceses or the "negative" religious praxis, such as prevention of religious freedom, contributed to the dynamic of cultural transfer triggered by migration and the exchange of people, practices, objects and ideas. In this process, religiously motivated people such as monks, clerics, and pilgrims on the one hand, and on the other, a religious object such as scriptures, incunabula, books, relics, remains of saints, ritual furniture etc. marked the transfer processes that permanently changed one cultural space. So, the distribution of people, goods, ideas, and concepts triggered the process of cultural transfer and contributed widely to the dynamism of cultural exchange.

---

9 Ibid; Wolfgang Schmale, "Europäisierungen", in Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010b-de> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20101011139 [2022-09-15].

10 Jörg Rüpke, "Religion", in Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2020-09-08. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ruepkej-2020-de> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2020062408 [2022-09-15].

11 Wolfgang Schmale, "Struktureme und Kultureme: Einige theoretische Grundlagen für die Erforschung frühneuzeitlichen Kulturtransfers", in W. Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, 45-46.

12 Jörg Rüpke, "Religion", 1.

The transfer of relics during the Crusades could be seen as an exceptional example of material translation. It is known that the transfer of relics and other similar objects during the Crusades from one area to another, from one religious system to another, from one culture to another, served not just to the process of Christianisation, but moreover, this type of cultural transfer and translations caused the Europeanisation of the whole continent to bridge the gaps among different cultures, languages, and nations. According to Schmale, the concept of Europe in the medieval period was equated with Christianisation, which changed in the early modern period, especially with the process of “Europeanisation” during the Enlightenment.<sup>13</sup>

This approach to the material aspect of cultural transfer is perfectly applicable to the case of cultural transfer caused by the migrations of people and objects as well as the translation of ideas, knowledge, tradition, and emotions from one culture to the other that marked Serbian history at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The migrations and organized group moves or relocations that profoundly influenced early modern Serbian literature were the Great Migration of Serbs (1690), the arrival of Russian teachers to the Metropolitanate of Karlovci (1726, 1733), Schwabenzüge throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the Habsburg monarchy and the Migrations of Serbs to the Russian Empire (1751–54).

\*

Important changes took place in the Serbian society at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, following the Great Migrations of Serbs from territories once their own and now under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, towards the north, i.e. to the territories that belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>14</sup> As a consequence of this territorial shift, there were changes with cultural, political, economic, and religious effects. The issue of faith was vital for the establishment of national and cultural identity. Firstly, after the Ottoman conquest and the discontinuation of the medieval ruling dynasty, the people were headed by the patriarch instead of the monarch; secondly, faith was the key element of distinction from the adversaries and, at the same time, of convergence with their Christian brothers – Ro-

13 Schmale, Wolfgang, “Europäisierungen”, 7-11.

14 See: Dragana Grbić, “The Great Migration and Individual Travels – Precursors of Serbian Modernity?” in J. DeLucia, J. Shields (eds.), *Migrations and Modernities: the state of being stateless, 1700-1850* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 150-169.

man Catholics, Protestants, and other Orthodox Christians, which itself resulted in the political initiative for organizing the migrations. “The estimated number of Serbs who migrated during the Great Migration varies, according to literature, from 40,000 to 500,000. The greatest problem which remains unresolved by historical research is that some sources mention large numbers of Serb families consisting of at least 7 to 10 members, thereby significantly affecting the tally of persons relocated at the end of the 17th century.”<sup>15</sup>

The migrating people carried with them different sorts of items, tools, weapons, animals etc., which could be understood as not just a transfer of human potential but also as a material and immaterial transfer at the same time. Records of material transfer that marked the cultural change are to be found in the manuscripts written at the time of migrations by the monks who participated in the Great Migration. One of them was Atanasije Daskal, who noted the following:

Towns and villages were deserted. The great imperial monasteries and the beautiful churches painted with gold were abandoned too. *And the holy altars where the bloodless sacrifice was offered – there are now wild animals and beasts breeding.* Thus, God allowed suffering because of our sins, and we perished for our iniquities as ancient Israel.<sup>16</sup>

The emptiness of churches implies that objects from the sacral space were transferred to another geographical space. Their *kultureme* consisted not just of material objects but of immaterial cultural assets too, and even two centuries after the Great Migration, historians and linguists that researched Serbian settlements around Budapest and Szentendre found that the original identity potential of those *kulturemes* was either totally or partly preserved: “Coming from a very wide territory of the entire Serbian land, they brought with them all the differences that existed between them in the homeland: differences in language, clothes, customs and traditions. Although, over time and gradually, merging with the new surrounding took place, the variegation that originated from the difference in origin lasted a long time. Even in June 1909 the differences were still recognizable, and Aleksandar Belić found that the language features of almost all our provinces are mixed in the language around Buda *Like*

---

15 Vladan Gavrilović, “Velika seoba Srba kao migracioni talas u vreme Velikog Bečkog rata”, in *Istraživanja*, Vol. 24 (2013), 167.

16 Atanasije Daskal Srbin (before 1698), in *Književnost*, Vol. 5 (1990). “И градови и села сва запустеше. И манастири велики царски и цркве красне животописане златом запустене. *А жртвеници и олтари свети где се приносила бескрвна жртва – тамо се сад звери дивље и нечисте плоде.* Тако, када је Бог дозволио због грехова наших (страдање), погибосмо за безакоње наше као древни Израил.” My underlining.

colors in a kaleidoscope.”<sup>17</sup> Due to the fact that they mingled with the new environment in Southern Hungary and that the new environment was visually changed under their influence and filled with their contents, such as architectural structures, new churches, paintings, clothes, objects from the private sphere etc., it could be concluded that the Great Migration resulted in a massive cultural transfer that consisted of both *strukturemes* and *kulturemes*. Simultaneously they adopted new customs and languages and introduced a new school system under the influence of the Habsburg environment so that this kind of *struktureme* strongly impacted their cultural system that was (re)modelled gradually during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Even though in the 18<sup>th</sup> century “the concept of Europe as an entity no longer depended on Europe being equated with Christianity”,<sup>18</sup> as it had done in previous periods, the migrations of Serbian people from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy are usually still presented as migrations from the oriental type of civilisation to a European one.<sup>19</sup> This binary splitting continues to exist in the Balkans longer than in the other parts of Europe due to the political and historical circumstances since “the historical fear of the Tatars and Saracens, archetypes of the powerful pagan, was replaced by a fear of the Turks after the Ottoman Empire had expanded and conquered Constantinople” and that “Eastern and Southeastern Europe began to see themselves as an *antemurale christi-anitatis*, as the bulwark of Christendom.”<sup>20</sup> The longer persistence of the medieval perspective in this part of Europe, especially in the Balkans, was one of the possible reasons that “only with the Enlightenment was Europe brought into a West-East-Rhythm.”<sup>21</sup>

Due to the Ottoman oppression of the Christians in the Balkans, their glorious medieval past was not perceived as *the dark age*,<sup>22</sup> as was commonly the case in the West. On the contrary, the past periods, both

17 Tihomir Djordjević, “Srpske kolonije u Budimu i okolini”, *Književnost*, 1990/5, 876-877.

18 Wolfgang Schmale, “Cultural Transfer”, in European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-12-05. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501 [2022-05-15], 1.

19 More in Dejan Medaković, *Die Lage des serbischen Volkes in Österreich im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bruxelles: L' Université libre de Bruxelles, 1988); Milorad Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba XVII-XVIII*, (Belgrade: Nolit, 1970); Jovan Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti*, (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2002).

20 Wolfgang Schmale, op. cit., 19.

21 Wolfgang Schmale, “Europäisierung”, 26.

22 More in Dragana Grbić, “The Reception of The Middle Ages in Serbian Enlightenment Literature”, in Lidija Merenik, Vladimir Simić, Igor Borozan (eds.), *Imagining the Past and The Reception of Middle Ages in Serbian Art of the 18<sup>th</sup>*

ancient and medieval, were seen as the source for the renewal of the golden age and the revitalising source for national rebirth and, especially during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this kind of perception was closely connected with political developments in the Balkans. The revival of antiquity manifested in different kinds of cultural transfers led to philhellenism not just among Greek people but all over Europe.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the admiration for the rediscovered medieval past and the lost Christian kingdoms widespread among Bulgarian and Serbian people in eighteenth-century-histories resulted in very diverse forms of the religious Enlightenment, even though some representatives of the Enlightenment also looked towards western 18<sup>th</sup>-century sources.

Therefore, one of the most significant cultural transfers that happened during the Great Migration was the transfer of relics and other similar objects because it served to preserve the axis of cultural and national identity. Serbian monks carried with them manuscripts, icons and other church items, but aside from material objects, they also transferred elements of their traditions and creative skills, such as writing, building, painting, and other competences and crafts. A remarkable example of this kind that could be seen as a typical transfer of a *kultureme* represents the case of the monks of Ravanica Monastery, who took the “relics of Tzar Lazar” with them when they migrated in 1690. Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović lost his life in 1389 in the Battle of Kosovo and, due to the historical but also symbolical significance of this battle and his martyrial death, was declared a saint, and his remains are considered one of the most valuable relics in the Serbian Orthodox Church. According to Rüpke,<sup>24</sup> the selectivity and carefully planned selection of the religious objects transmitted played an important role in the dynamic of cultural transfer so that religion either promoted or prevented and channelled the exchange processes. The monks of Ravanica Monastery brought the relics with them to the Habsburg Monarchy, to Szentendre, to preserve one valuable element of their identity connected with the Kosovo mythos, and this cultural and religious transfer was recorded in a diary written by the monk Stefan of Ravanica.

Some of our people fled up the Danube – some on boats, others on horses or in carriages, and some on foot, like me, the poor wretch. *We walked along the road for 40 days and came to Buda town.* There was His Holiness the Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević, several bishops, and monks from many monasteries and many people from all over the Serbian land, both male

---

and 19<sup>th</sup> century (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, Institute for Byzantine Studies, 2016), 59-67.

23 Wolfgang Schmale, “Europäisierungen”, 16.

24 Jörg Rüpke, op. cit., 1.



*'Ratzenstatt', the Seriban Town in Buda.  
Copper engraving from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century*

and female. Also, we, the fellow brethren of the Ravanica monastery with the relics of the saint among the emperors, Prince Lazar of Serbia. And we moved to a place close to Buda called St. Andrew's [Szentendre], a good place for foreigners to live. [...] There we built small houses, as best we could, and we built a wooden church near the bank of the Danube, and there we laid the relics of the Holy Emperor Lazarus of Serbia.<sup>25</sup>

This motif of a forty-day journey on foot to the new territories could be seen as a kind of pilgrimage to the new promised holy land, carrying the relics of the holy Prince Lazar, who made an oath before the Battle of Kosovo and chose the eternal heavenly empire instead of the empire on earth. At the same time, the monk Stefan uses the Biblical symbolism

25 Stefan Ravaničanin in *Književnost*, Vol. 5 (1990), 880. "Мало нашег народа бегу се даде горе уз Дунав – једни на лађама, други на коњима и колима, а неки пешке, као и ја сиромаш. 40 дана смо по путу ходили и дођосмо до Будима града. Тамо је (био) и светејши патријарх Арсеније Чарнојевић и неколико владика, из многих манастира калуђера и многи људи из све српске земље, мушки пол и женски. Такође и ми житељи манастира Раванице са моштима светог међу царевима кнеза Лазара Српског. И уселисмо се у неко место више Будима звано Сент-андреја, добро место за пребивалиште странаца. [...] Ту саградисмо кућице, како који може, и цркву од дрвета подигосмо близу обале дунавске, те ту положисмо мошти светог цара Лазара Српског." My underlining.





*Josif Falta, Monastery Vrdnik/Nova Ravanica (1888), pen and ink on paper. Courtesy of the Gallery of Matica Srpska.*

of this number to underline the important change that befell the Serbian people but also to imply the martyrial destiny of the people who refused to renounce their faith even in the direst of circumstances. The symbolism of forty days could be interpreted within the religious context. In Christian tradition, there is a belief that the soul continues to wander for another forty days after physical death. In the end, the soul finally departs from this world and finds its salvation. Metaphorically, this description could be understood as the transformation of one cultural model and initiation of a new cultural model that should bring a new, better life in a promised land, whereby the transfer of relics should help to preserve the essence of the old identity in the new environment.

The importance and prominent status of these relics in Serbian culture are evidenced by the fact that the monks moved the relics whenever they had to change their place of residence. After several years, the monks of Ravanica Monastery left Szentendre and moved to Fruška gora, and they took the relics again with them and transferred them to Vrdnik, to the monastery of Nova Ravanica (New Ravanica), where they remained until 1942. The New Ravanica Monastery in the Habsburg Monarchy was built according to the architectural model of the old Ravanica monastery in medieval Serbia, another exceptional example of the material

type of cultural transfer. They not only tried to transfer the relics as the crucial “content”, but also to rebuild and recreate the original setting of the relics and their religion in general in this new environment.

The construction of New Ravanica, as well as of other Serbian Christian Orthodox monasteries built in Fruška gora in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, represents an excellent illustrative example of Schmale’s interpretation of cultural transfer as a medium for manifesting visibility and demonstrating cultural and even political power. Gradually adapting to the new environment and being included in the social, political, military and economic aspects of life, until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Serbs became an important political and cultural “element” in Southern Hungary. Simultaneously with their mingling with the new surrounding, the transferring of relics, as one of the most important traditional and religious elements, from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy could be seen as their effort to preserve the old tradition and secure the axis of their cultural identity condensed in the Kosovo mythos. The role of the relics was to safeguard their identity despite leaving the holy land of Kosovo and overcome the challenges of adaptation to the new environment after the Migration.

Their culture was a continuation of medieval culture and directly followed the traditions of the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć. Serbs strived to preserve their cultural identity in the new environment, so cultural creation was revived on the old foundations in all areas. Since it was similar to the culture of other peoples of the Byzantine zone, it is called post-Byzantine culture. At the same time, life forced them to adapt to the new cultural environment and the processes of acculturation began based on cultural adaptation with the inevitable transformations that lead to the creation of a new type of culture.<sup>26</sup>

This new type of culture was based on the Western European cultural model and strongly influenced and shaped by the transfer of ideas and objects from the West, especially by the representatives of the Enlightenment. Cultural transfer could be seen as one of the key mechanisms for the process of Europeanisation and bridging the geographical space divided either through natural circumstances, such as geographical distance, or divisions of other kinds that stem from religious, political, or cultural causes. The change of the cultural model among one part of the Serbian people settled in the Habsburg Monarchy after the Great Migration and their later attempt in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to help their compatriots who stayed under the Ottomans to liberate themselves from the oppression represents an exceptional example of the power that cultural transfer can manifest.

---

<sup>26</sup> Jovan Deretić, *Kulturna istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Filološki fakultet, and Kragujevac: Nova svetlost, 2001), 197.



Unlike the transfer of material sacral objects, which served to transplant and to preserve the identity framework in a new environment, the transfer of material profane objects, primarily books, opened a cultural model for new contents and thus kept changing permanently. The process of adaptation to the new environment and the acceptance of Western European ideas also took place in unexpected ways and was influenced by the material type of transfer, such as the transfer of prohibited books. In addition to cultural transfers that already existed through direct contact and exchange with the new environment, other examples could be found in the transfer of profane objects from West Europe. The example of books confiscated from a soldier who came back to the Habsburg Monarchy from France speaks in favor of that. In the Habsburg Monarchy, the Patent of Censorship (Zensurpatent) banned certain literature, and there was a list of writers and prohibited books called the Index or *Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum*. During the Theresian reforms, not only the works of radical Enlightenment but also certain works of writers in French and German, like Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Wieland and Lessing, were banned. One case is known from 1781, when a Guards officer, on his return from Paris, had a box full of books in French seized in the Military Frontier (Vojna krajina), in which all but three books were on the list of the mentioned catalog.<sup>27</sup> “The censorship commission was particularly dissatisfied with: *La Pucelle d’Orleans*, *Etrennes du Parnasse*, *Le Nouvel Abeilard*, *La nouvelle Heloise*.”<sup>28</sup> Also, soldiers and military officers “On their return from the Seven Years’ War, secretly brought Voltaire’s works from Saxony and Silesia to Croatia and Slavonia”<sup>29</sup> and in that way, through the transfer of objects, i.e. books, the ideas that gradually influenced and changed the old cultural model based on the Byzantine tradition were also transferred.

Another aspect of transferring objects as a specific method of cultural transfer was represented through the organized migrations of a predominantly German-speaking population from the western part of Europe, the so-called Schwabenzüge, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Germans who were colonized in Hungary, Slavonia, Banat and Bačka implemented their skills, such as cultivation or building in a new area, which visually changed the swampy and wild surroundings, and thus could be under-

---

27 Mita Kostić, “Prve pojave francuske kulture u srpskom društvu. Kulturno-istorijska raskrsnica Srba u XVIII veku“, in *Mita Kostić, Iz istorije Srba u Ugarskoj i Austriji XVIII i XIX veka: odabrane studije*, Vlastimir Djokić (ed.) (Zagreb: SKD Prosvjeta, 2013), 180-183.

28 Ibid, 187.

29 Ibid.

stood as a transfer of *struktureme*. At the same time, they brought not just different objects from the private sphere but also some books that transmitted the ideas of the Enlightenment. This was mostly the case with the latest phase of colonization i.e. the third Schwabenzug during the '80s because, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, only Catholics were permitted to come because the Habsburg rulers chose the settlers based on confession rather than nationality. Protestant settlers tried to move to Banat as well, but in the first and second phase they were usually prevented or were exceptionally allowed to immigrate to other parts but not in Southern Hungary. This stance was altered by Joseph II when he issued the Tolerance Patent in 1781, and Protestants from Pfalz settled in Slavonia, Banat and Bačka, bringing with them, among other things, books written by popular representatives of the Enlightenment not commonly found in this part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

\*

The transfer of books and *kulturemes* that mediated the ideas of the Enlightenment to the Serbian people settled in the Habsburg Monarchy came not just from the West but, much earlier and with an even stronger impact, from the East. The 18<sup>th</sup> century was an epoch of cultural transition in the history of the Serbian people, a transition from the Middle Ages to the new century, i.e., the transition from the Byzantine to the early modern European culture. The mediator in that transition was an already modernized, Europeanized Russia. After the Great Migration, the automatic acceptance of Western European cultural models by the Serbs in the Habsburg territory was impossible because of their resistance to the new environment. This resistance among Serbs arose out of the political intentions of the Habsburg authorities to convert Orthodox South Slavs into the Catholic union. That was why Orthodox South Slavs intensified their relations with the Russian Empire. Until the 1780s, Russian domination was almost absolute: books were coming from Russia because Serbs were not allowed to establish a printing house, and the first regular schools were founded by Russian teachers. The Scholastic school in Sremski Karlovci, founded by students of the Kiev Academy, marked the beginning of a new era in Serbian education. The implementation of this kind of educational system could be seen simultaneously as a transfer of *struktureme*, in reference to the school as such, and as a transfer of *kultureme*, regarding the content that was taught and transmitted. Consequently, the usage of the liturgical and literary language changed, so Russian-Slavic replaced the Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic. This aspect of cultural transfer was again mostly based on the material transfer of objects such as the catechism and liturgical books, but also dictionaries and grammar books.

Peter the Great granted the request of the Serbian metropolitan Mojsije Petrović and sent the first books – grammars and primers – to the Serbs living in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy as a gesture of support. Shortly thereafter, he sent not just books and objects but also teachers from the Russian Empire to pursue an educational mission, and they were led by Maxim Suvorov. In 1726, Suvorov founded a school in Sremski Karlovci, in 1727, in Belgrade, and then in Arad, Valjevo, Majdanpek, Požarevac, Novi Sad and Szeged. Suvorov brought to the Serbian people “70 copies of Meletius Smotrycky’s grammar, ten copies of Polikarpov’s trilingual dictionaries and 400 primers.”<sup>30</sup> So, in total, 480 books were brought as “first aid”.

The second group of teachers arrived from the Russian Empire in 1733 at the request of the new Serbian Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović, who had turned to the Archbishop of Kyiv for help. They came under the guidance of Emanuel Kozachinsky from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In 1736, he was appointed rector of all schools in the Metropolitanate of Sremski Karlovci and Belgrade and the main church preacher. He had not just brought the books but also wrote original plays for the Serbian pupils and directed them in the form of school theatre based on Jesuit Polish playwriting, starting a completely new tradition in Serbian literature and culture.<sup>31</sup>

The significance of this cultural transfer resulted in the fact that the Serbs, because of their education and the process of literacy development based on Russian textbooks, gave up their official use of the Serbian redaction of the Church Slavonic language and adopted Russian Church Slavonic as the official language of their church. This language remained in use almost until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. But if the nature of this language is considered from a linguistic point of view, there is a paradox that the linguist Aleksandar Mladenović has described brilliantly:

Although Russian Church Slavonic was actually an old church language for the Russians, just as Serbian Church Slavonic was among the Serbs up to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this Old Russian church language became our new church language. In the beginning, not only works with spiritual, ecclesiastical content were written and printed in this language, but also texts with literary, historical, or scientific topics.<sup>32</sup>

---

30 Aleksandar Mladenović, *Slavenosrpski jezik* (Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada, 1989), 13.

31 More in Dragana Grbić, *Alegorije učenog pustinjaubitelja* (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2009), 274-276.

32 Aleksandar Mladenović, “Tipovi književnog jezika kod Srba u drugoj polovini 18. i početkom 19. veka”. *Referati za 7. međunarodni kongres slavista u Varšavi* (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1973), 46.



*The town of Sremski Karlovci with the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul.  
The illustration was made by Zaharija Orfelin in 1770.*



It is documented that “in 1732, in Srem, there were 1146 church books in 104 churches and with priests, of which 465 were ‘Srbulje’ [Serbian] and 681 were Russian books.”<sup>33</sup> In a very important part of the Habsburg Monarchy such as the Military Frontier inhabited by Serbs, almost more than half of the book fund consisted of church books in Russian. One of the most important representatives of the Serbian religious Enlightenment, a pupil of the Russian school in Sremski Karlovci and later a student of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, who wrote the most important part of his complete works in Russian Church Slavonic, was Jovan Rajić (1726–1801). In his autobiographical work *Точное изображение катихизма* (The True Story of the ‘Catechism’), he described his attempt to write a new original Serbian Catechism, ordered by the court in Vienna to prevent Russian influence and underlined the importance of the school system for Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. He evoked the memories of his school beginnings and learning from the primers by Theophan Prokopovich, creating an important testimony to the religious, educational, and political situation of that time.

By Her Majesty the All-Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna, the Grand Russian Maxim Suvorov, a native of Moscow, was sent. When he came, he brought with him many primers and grammar books (and I, as a young boy, was lucky enough to get a small eight-page primer at the time).<sup>34</sup>

Following the example of the Russian scholastic schools in the Metropolitanate in Sremski Karlovci, it is possible to trace not just the self-evident elements of the cultural transfer from the East, i.e., the Russian Empire but, surprisingly, also a flow of cultural transfer from the West, from Protestant Prussia. It happened through the visit of Simon Todorsky (1700–1754), who traveled across the Balkans on his way back from his studies in Halle to Kyiv and who visited Kozachinsky and other Russian schools around the Metropolitanate of Karlovci.<sup>35</sup> In Halle,

33 Vladimir Ćorović, *Istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Lirika, 1999), 395.

34 Jovan Rajić, *Istorija katihizma pravoslavnih Srbalja u cesarskim državama* (Pančevo: Štamparija braće Jovanović, 1884), 21. “Од Њенога Величества сверусијске императрице Ане Јовановне би послат Великорус родом Максим Суворов из саме Москве. Овај кад дође, донесе собом велико число букварава и граматика (и мени тада младу сушту, срећа послужи, те добих на дар осмолистни букварчић)”.  
35 Dragana Grbich, “Културно-istoricheskiј kontekst serbskoј recepcii perevoda Simeona Todorskogo *Chtiri knigi o istinnom’ Hristijanstve*, Galle 1735” in Svetlana Mengel’ (et. al.), *Alternativnye puti fomirovaniya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka v konce XVII – pervoy treti XVIII veka. Vklad inostrannyh uchenyh i perevodchikov* (Moscow: Izdatel’skiy dom YASK, 2021), 288–299.



he translated into Russian some important Protestant works of the representatives of Pietism and Enlightenment and brought those books to the Balkans and the Russian Empire. The most important among them were the works of Johann Arndt and August Hermann Francke. Todorsky stayed temporarily in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci and Belgrade, as he worked shortly as a professor of Greek, where he transferred not just his translations but also all the knowledge he had gained while studying theology in Halle.

Johann Arndt's book *Vier Bücher von Wahrem Christenthum* represents a marvelous example of how powerful the religious and cultural transfer based on cultural translation could be. This book speaks for the strong dissemination of ideas through intertwining the institutionalized and private sphere. It was, in a certain way, a trial translation for the future translation of the Protestant bible in the Slavic "Esperanto" language that was to follow if the reception of Arndt's book succeeded. The original plan was to, if the reception of the translation of these works into "Slavic Esperanto" proved successful, translate the Protestant version of the Bible into that language and distribute it among all Slavs.<sup>36</sup> After several years of the reception of these Christian books with a clear Protestant orientation, the Russian Synod "recognized their harmfulness" and banned them. This prohibition also affected the plan to translate the Bible into "Slavic Esperanto", so this failed.

This example testifies to the multilayered and hybrid nature of cultural transfer. At the same time, it was a cultural transfer of the material type and a cultural translation of abstract ideas impacting the religious life of the people. In the first phase of this transfer, not only translation but also cultural translation took place, because certain places in the translation were consciously changed by Todorsky, bearing in mind that Protestant literature would be perceived by the Christian Orthodox.<sup>37</sup> In the second phase, material transfer took place through printing, transferring, and distributing books in the Balkans and the Russian Empire. If we analyze the nature of this transfer and translation in terms of content, we will see that the scope of influences extends to several domains – language and linguistics, religion, literature, politics, and culture.

---

36 More in Svetlana Mengel' et. al.: *Al'ternativnye puti fomirovaniya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka v konce XVII – pervoy trety XVIII veka. Vklad inostrannykh uchenykh i perevodchikov* (Moscow: Izdatel'skiy dom YASK, 2021), 273-281; Svetlana Mengel, "Übersetzungen hallescher Pietisten: Simon Todorskiy, 1729-1735", in S. Mengel (ed.), *Myslyashchyu svobod'no imen'm' i nravom'. Žu Ehren von Dietrich Freydanck* (Münster, 2000), 167-188.

37 Ibid.



The results of this massive cultural transfer served, in a way, as preparation for the migrations of the Serbian people and other Slavia Orthodoxa from the Balkans to the Russian Empire, so it represents an exceptional illustrative example of the reciprocal nature of cultural transfer. The first wave of Serbian migration to the Russian Empire happened from 1750 to 1754. The reasons for the migration of Serbs to the Russian Empire can be summarized as follows. In addition to the disregard for the privileges that the Serbian people had received from the Viennese court as a reward for their participation in the Turkish wars and after the Great Migration of the Serbs in 1690, which mainly pertained to religious practices, language, education and press, the straw that broke the camel's back was the decree on the development of the Tisza-Marosh border and Military Frontier, where the Serbs served as guardians defending the southern border from the Ottoman attacks.

At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they were driven by a longing for a better life among their Christian brothers and motivated by the myth of the promised land. The Serbs left the territories that had been part of the Ottoman Empire for centuries and headed north into the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy and southern Hungary. Half a century later, when the Serbs migrated to the Russian Empire, they were once again inspired by the myth of the promised land. They hoped that this time, they would have better luck than half a century earlier among Christians, but Orthodox Christians of the same faith, who also spoke almost the same language. Like it had been the case after the migration to the Habsburg Monarchy when the local military frontier was formed, after the Serbs had migrated to the Russian Empire, they settled in two colonies of New Serbia and Slaveno-Serbia and were organized in Serbian military units within the Russian Army.

The statistics of the Serbian migrations to the Russian Empire, according to Pavel Rudjakov,<sup>38</sup> show that during the first phase of Migration with General Horvat in October 1751, a total of 218 people came. Of these, 77 were military personnel with 82 family members with servants. 59 people were part of the accompaniment. A report written just a month later (November 12) shows 115 ranks (second group) with 116 family members with 68 servants, that is, a total of 299 people with 445 horses. Looking at the figures from all reports, we get a clear picture of the extent of the Serb immigration to the Russian Empire. Adding the figures of this migration to the statistics of the first and second phases of

38 More in Pavel Rudjakov: *V sluzhbu i vechnoe poddanstvo: serbskije poseleniya Novaya Serbiya i Slavyanoserbiya na ukrainskikh zemlyah (1751-1764)*, (Kyiv: Artekt, 2001).

the Serbian migration from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy reveals the full extent of resettlement and territorial fragmentation of the Serb people in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In records left in ego-documents, such as autobiographies, memoirs, correspondence, etc., we can find detailed descriptions of these migrations. This literature shows the hybrid nature of the cultural transfer that took place through the migration of 1) people, 2) weapons, 3) horses, 4) plants but also 5) clothing and 6) furniture, dishware, tableware, and other personal belongings. This material transfer encompassed not just all segments of the private sphere but also interfered in the transfer of cultural and political relations in the sense that migrants brought with them 1) a new culture of living, 2) new sorts of plants and 3) a new type of military service due to the fact that they were very well trained in the Habsburg Monarchy and had participated in wars in the western part of Europe such as the Seven Years' War.

The crucial question about the migration to the Russian Empire is the aspect of mutuality by cultural transferring. While after the migration to the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire, the Serbs managed to retain the key features of their identity, but at the same time also contributed to certain changes in their environment, this reciprocity as an essential feature of cultural transfer was missing after moving to Russia. The key question here is the fluctuation of national and cultural identity due to assimilation.

The most intensive migration of Serbs took place from 1750 to 1754, and only ten years later, Aleksandar Pišćević, born in 1764, identified himself as Russian. His father, Simeon Pišćević, one of the leaders of the Migrations to the Russian Empire, had already been made aware of this problem by Baron von Elfenreich, his superior and chief in the Habsburg army. Around 1752, before Simeon Pišćević moved to the Russian Empire, Elfenreich warned him of the danger of losing their identity, which threatened Serbs and which later turned out to be true – as can be seen from Aleksandar Pišćević's autobiography:

I don't deny it, said the General [von Elfenreich; D.G.] that they were well received there. But therein lies politics. All this will be lost over time and reversed, their grandchildren and great-grandchildren will not know their true origins, they will lose their common name – which nobody here would deny them forever. Nor could anyone take away from them the freedom that you have according to your privileges. As for their dismissal, if they insist, they do as they can.<sup>39</sup>

---

39 Simeon Pishchevich, *Izvestie o pohozhdenii Simeona Stepanova sina Pishchevicha. Chteni-ya v' imperatorskom' obshchestve istorii i drevnostey Rossiskih' pri Moskovskom' Univer-sitete*, Oct.-Dec. 1881, book 4 (Moscow, 1882), 91. "Я не спорю, продолжалъ

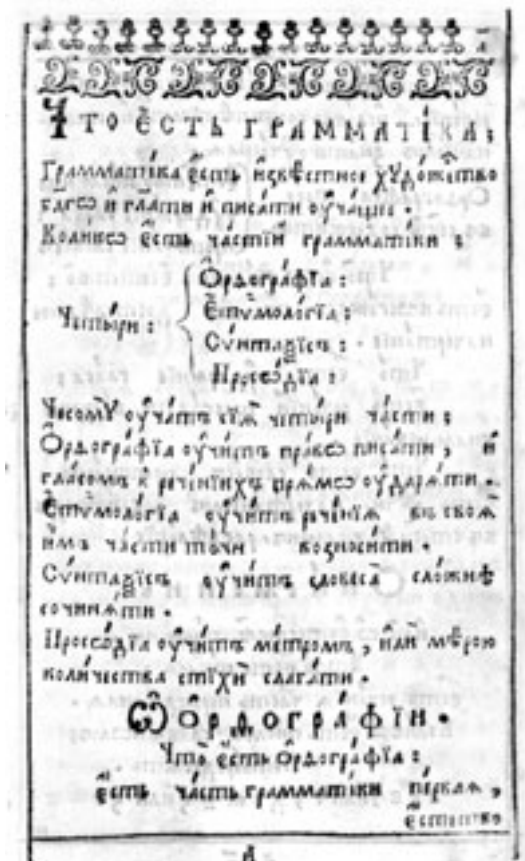
Paradoxically, the Serbs who migrated to the Russian Empire were completely assimilated religiously, linguistically, and culturally. The fear of conversion they had harbored when they migrated to the Habsburg Monarchy came true after they migrated to the Russian Empire. This went so far that the new generations of Serbs born in Slavens-Serbia and New Serbia slowly lost their original identity and took up the identity traits of the milieu in which they lived. The final step in their assimilation is reflected primarily in language. Simeon and Aleksandar Pišćević wrote their extensive ego documents, memoirs, and autobiographies in Russian, not Serbian. While Simeon Pišćević explained in detail in his memoirs the motives and circumstances behind the migration of Serbs to the Russian Empire and identified as Serbian, his son Aleksandar Pišćević depicted the life of the first generation of Serbian migrants born in Russia in his autobiography *My Life* (Мой Живот). These can already be regarded as Russians, as he explains on the first page:

I am their first child, born on May 17, 1764 in the town of Porečje, Smolensk Oblast, where the regiment in which my father served was then located. Therefore, I am the first in the Pišćević family who can call himself a Russian.<sup>40</sup>

The analysis of the two big migrations with all the layers of the hybrid nature of cultural transfer has shown both visible and invisible networks between cultures, religions, and politics between the East and the West that crossed in the Balkans in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The case study of several migrations illustrates different types of material cultural transfer of sacral and profane object transmitting both elements *kultureme* and/or *struktureme*. The example of cultural transfer from the East and to the East, as well as the indirect cultural transfer from the West via the Russian Empire to the Balkans, as was the case with Russian schools in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci; or from the West via the Balkans to

генераль [Элфенрайх] непрестано свои слова, чтобы оны не были тамо хорошо приняты, въ томъ наблюдаетца полытика, но со временемъ всюю то исчезнетъ и обратитца иначе, а внукамъ и правнукамъ ихъ не будетъ известно настоящего происшдствия и тмъ потеряютъ волность своего природнаго названья, чего здес никто ва веки нарушитъ и ту волность и преимущества касающіеся по привелегіямъ до націи вашей превратитъ иначе не можетъ, а въ прочемъ о вашемъ апшите можете делать по своей воле какъ вамъ угодно.”

- 40 Aleksandar Pishchevich, *Žizn' A. S. Pishchevicha, im' samim opisannaya 1764-1805. V' treh' chastyah' s' predisloviem' primechanijam Nila Popova* (Moscow, 1885), 8. “Я былъ первое ихъ дитя родившееся 1764-го года мая 31-го дня въ городѣ Поречье, Смоленской губерніи, гдѣ тогда полкъ въ которомъ отецъ мой служилъ былъ расположенъ. И такъ я естъ первый изъ семейства Пишчевичей, который можетъ назваться уже Россіяниномъ.”



*A page from Meletius Smotrytsky's Grammatika v polzu i upotreblenie otrokov serbskih (Grammar for the use of Serbian Youth), published in Rimnik in Wallachia in 1755. This Church Slavonic grammar was first printed in 1619.*

the Russian Empire in the case of Simon Todorsky, aptly illustrate the mutual nature of cultural transfer and the massive changes caused by its implementation that occurred in Serbian society in the early modern period.

\*

The last section of this article focuses on cultural translation, which is, according to several theoreticians, closely related to cultural transfer studies. Cultural translation could be seen as one of the mechanisms suitable for the cultural transfer of abstract content and ideas. The case study of Zaharija Orfelin's *Eternal calendar* illustrates how cultural translation

could be linked to the cultural changes caused by the material type of previously shown cultural transfer.

The *Bibliography of Serbian Literature of the 18th century* by G. Mihailović shows that approximately 75% of the corpus of eighteenth-century Serbian literature draws on foreign sources. The term *literature* does not imply only literary works but the printed production in all varieties of the official languages that were in use during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Srpskocerkvenoslovenski, Ruskoslovenski, Slavenosrpski). Even the most influential representatives of the Serbian Enlightenment created their own works under the influence of foreign sources. That was not just a specificity of Serbian literature but the dominant feature of eighteenth-century literature in general since “The Enlightenment was the first attempt of Europe’s Republic of Letters to conduct a cosmopolitan conversation without a ‘universal language’”<sup>41</sup> and “toward the end of the century, national cultures were consciously being constructed, enriched and even challenged to originality by means of translations.”<sup>42</sup>

In the framework of 18<sup>th</sup>-century poetics, the original text did not represent an inviolable authority. Therefore, the translations and adaptation often involved drastic changes to the original text. The Enlightenment not only allowed stylistic deviations from the original, but the process of translation often included various types of adaptations, redactions, supplementations, and omissions or even a reworking of the original text to better adapt it to the new readership. The methodology of translation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century could be briefly characterized as free translation, i.e., as domestication or adaptation of a foreign text to one’s own culture, where the key moment was the translator’s act of recognizing one’s own culture in another’s.<sup>43</sup> Regarding the nature of translation and adaptation of the original text as a kind of cultural translation, P. Burke<sup>44</sup> concluded that the freedom of translators at the time was “astonishingly unlimited”, even to the extent that the original manuscript was perceived as an “interactive medium” in which each translator could intervene. In that period, they were not only translators but even “co-authors”.

For the cultural transfer studies, the significant potential of cultural translation emanates from the fact that “translation is an interpretation

41 Fania Oz Salzberger, “Translation”, in *Encyclopedia of The Enlightenment*, Vol. IV (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 181.

42 Ibid.

43 Lawrence Venuti (ed.), *Rethinking Translation, Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 5.

44 Peter Burke, “Cultures of translation in early modern Europe”, in P. Burke, R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, 33-34.

that arose from the understanding and interest of recipient culture.”<sup>45</sup> In this context, negative transfer processes, such as omissions made on purpose, play an important role in the final interpretation. Since in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the original text did not represent an inviolable authority as today, the poetics of the Enlightenment puts an emphasis “on the transfer of ideas”<sup>46</sup> and not on linguistic and stylistic credibility. “The fact that transfer always entails transformation”, which is “rarely more evident than in the field of the Enlightened business”,<sup>47</sup> led cultural historians to look for what was “lost in translation” because that is “the most effective way to identify differences in cultures”.<sup>48</sup>

Adaptations of original texts were widespread in Serbian literature not just in the 18<sup>th</sup> but also throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. “The authors were motivated by the desire that literary content read by the most developed European nations should become an integral part of Serbian culture and, even more, not only as translations of foreign texts but as literary works that thematically belong to the domestic Serbian environment.”<sup>49</sup> In the oeuvres of the most important representatives of the Serbian Enlightenment, such as Dimitrije Dositej Obradović, Jovan Rajić, Zaharija Orfelin and Atanasije Stojković, that was quite often the case. If we analyze their translations, we can see that there was a whole set of mechanisms and transformations that they used to transform the original text in order to adjust it to the context of Serbian culture. Through the application of those mechanisms, the original text usually gained a partly or completely new meaning.

P. Burke<sup>50</sup> suggests that two key methodological questions should be raised at the beginning of an analysis of cultural translation. The first question refers to the content and language of the original and of the translation – what was translated and where it was published. The second question refers to the methodology – how it was translated. The answer to the first question communicates important cultural information: it reveals what the recipient culture recognized as interesting enough to become a

---

45 Matthias Mieddell, “Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis”, in *Comparative*, Hf. 1 (2000), 1-38, 13.

46 Stefanie Stockhorst, “Introduction. Cultural transfer through translation: a current perspective in Enlightenment studies”, in Stefanie Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation* (Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2010), 7-26.

47 Ibid, 7.

48 Peter Burke, “Introduction”, in Peter Burke, R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), op. cit., 38.

49 Miodrag Sibinović, *Original i prevod. Uvod u istoriju i teoriju prevodjenja* (Belgrade: Privredna štampa, 1979), 37.

50 Peter Burke, “Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures”, in M. North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, 69-77.

matter of cultural transfer. The question of who is translating focuses on the uniqueness of each translation that was marked in literature as “the translators turn”, implying that the “translator is the main content of the translation”, as D. Bachmann-Medic<sup>51</sup> shows in her studies on translation as a method of representing foreign cultures.

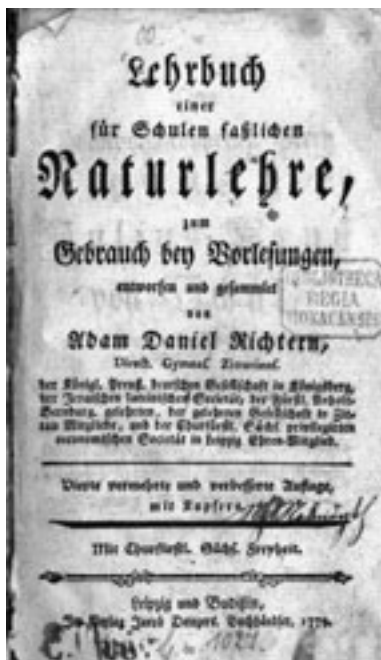
The case study of Z. Orfelin’s *Eternal calendar* could be used in this context as an illustrative example. In his extensive study of *Zacharija Orfelin’s Life and Work* (1923), Tihomir Ostojić claimed that Adam Daniel Richter’s textbook for natural sciences, *Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre*, was the source for the central part of the *Eternal Calendar*. The method of Orfelin’s translation could be discussed in detail, but due to spatial limitations, on this occasion, only several details that reflect the role of cultural translation as a possible mechanism of cultural transfer will be analyzed.

The *Eternal Calendar* was printed in 1783, in Vienna, at the printing house of Joseph von Kurzbeck on ca. 370 pages. Compared with other Serbian periodicals of that genre, it was the first publication that included articles and chapters on profane topics and not only on religious subjects or chronological representation of a saint’s life, as was previously the case. Compiled in the form of an encyclopedia, the *Eternal Calendar* consists of chapters dedicated to natural sciences, agriculture, meteorology, lunar phases, and basic weather cycles relevant for land cultivation, flora and fauna, geography, earthquakes, history and national history, history of the Christian church, health, etc. Charts of the annual cycles of celestial bodies, especially of the Sun and Moon, used to calculate the date of Easter, were also shown. Since Orfelin included the translation of Richter’s *Physics* in his *Calendar*, it is also considered the first modern book on astronomy in Serbian literature. The relevance of his work for the context of this research originates from the fact that its concept and content perfectly reflect the cultural transition triggered by different types of cultural transfer described in the first part of this article. Its significance will be briefly sketched out by analyzing: 1) the structure and composition; 2) the cover illustration; 3) the form of the translation; and 4) addressing the issue of superstitions as one of the key topics of the Enlightenment.

The structure and composition of the *Eternal Calendar* reveal that Orfelin consciously took a scientific point of view within the theological framework. He composed his work so that physics was preceded by a calendar and chronological yearly representation of the lives of saints and followed by a (national) chronicle and the history of the Old and New Testaments,

51 Doris Bachmann-Medick, “Einleitung: Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen”, in D. Bachmann-Medick (ed.), *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997), 1-18.





*Title page of Adam Daniel Richter's textbook for natural sciences: Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre, published in Leipzig and Budissin, 1779.*



*Title page of Večni kalendar (Eternal Calendar) by Žaharija Orfelin, published in Vienna in 1783.*

including the history of the Christian church. The assumption is that, with this approach, he wanted to win his audience that was not used to reading scientific literature, and to “break every scruple of the natural sciences”<sup>52</sup> through a well-known and already accepted religious approach. The method of his (cultural) translation mirrors his original intention.

This positioning of Physics in the *Eternal Calendar* between faith, on the one hand, and superstition, on the other, reflects the nature of Orfe-  
lin's poetics, which could be classified as popular Enlightenment. Bearing  
in mind the degree of basic education and how (un)enlightened his audi-  
ence might be, he consciously sought appropriate methods to reach his  
readership and to make a significant impact on them. Therefore, this act  
of cultural translation, placing physics within the popular periodicals in  
the calendar genre, should be understood in the context of his educational  
intentions and as a specific kind of his mission of the Enlightenment since  
this type of publication was intended for the widest audience but at the  
same time determined by the religious framework. He rephrased the title

52 Tihomir Ostojić, *Žaharija Orfelin – život i rad mu* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1923), 187.



*Illustration of the creation of the world in Ž. Orfelin's Eternal Calendar, published in Vienna in 1783.*

and slightly changed the composition of Richter's Physics to approach basically illiterate readers and offer them a piece of science covered with some religious elements so that they could easily swallow it wrapped in a "spiritual sandwich".

The author's awareness of the level of education and possible ignorance of his audience is reflected in his choice of the cover illustration, which he personally drew and carved in his workshop. The cover illustration is another distinctively important element in relation to the original. The *Creation of the World* shows the Creator levitating above a heavenly landscape, in which Eve offers Adam a freshly picked apple; on the right, he is illuminated by the light of the Sun, and on the left, by the Moon and twinkling stars. Levitating over the newly sinned human race, he is crowned with a halo rimmed with symbols of the zodiac signs. At first glance, even an illiterate man could immediately understand what the

publication was about. The author consciously flirted with astrology not just on the title cover but also in the translation of Richter's Physics. In the chapter where Richter briefly explains the annual path of the sun in the sky through the constellations, popularly known as zodiac signs, Orfelin additionally illustrates it with graphic symbols and engraves the zodiac. In order to make the matter clearer to the audience, he even presents it in a table.

The scientific content, both in the original and the translation, is presented mainly in a dialogic form, with questions and answers about physics. The "Q&A" form was typically used in the scholastic educational system for teaching the catechism to the lower classes. Richter based his textbook on Physics on this method, and Orfelin followed him.

As an answer to the question of "What is heaven?", Richter offered a definition that slightly differs in Orfelin's translation. God as an agent is present in both Richter's<sup>53</sup> and Orphelin's<sup>54</sup> definition. Based on the catechetical background, the theological concept of heaven is presented as a space filled with celestial bodies created by God in a perfect order. However, in the German original, this description is very briefly explained in the "Preface" because of the author's intention to focus on natural sciences and not on theology since he believes that the knowledge of God can only be learned from the *book of nature*.

Gewiß, außer der heil. Schrift ist kein Buch, aus welchem junge Gemüther gründlicher lernen könnte: Es ist ein Gott! als aus dem Buche der Natur, auf welches uns selbst der Geist Gottes weiset. Denn aus dem Daseyn der Welt erkennt man, daß ein Schöpfer ist, daß er ein allmächtiges, allweises und allgütiges Wesen sey, und der Atheisten und Freigeister würden weniger werden, wenn sich nur ein größerer Eifer finden wollte, in dem Buche der Natur nach dem Schöpfer, nach seinen Eigenschaften und Vollkommenheiten zu forschen.<sup>55</sup>

In Orfelin's *Calendar*, there is a slightly different description. Bearing in mind who his readership was, he considered it necessary to significantly supplement the original text. Firstly, he did not translate the title of the

---

53 "Was ist der Himmel? Diesen für uns unermesslichen Raum, in welchem sich die unzählich grossen und runden Weltkörper, die Gott in der schönsten Ordnung zusammen gestellt hat, befinden und bewegen, nennen wir den Himmel" in Adam Daniel Richter, *Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre zum Gebrauch Bey Vorlesung enentworfen und gesammelt von A. D. R.*, vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig und Budißin, 1779), 25.

54 "Сіе нами неизмъримое мѣсто, въ коемъ безчисленная великая и круглая тѣла, которыѣ Бгъ въ наилучшемъ порядкѣ поставилъ, находятся, нарицаемъ небо", in Zaharija Orfelin, *Večni Kalendar* (Vienna, 1783), 120.

55 Adam Daniel Richter, op. cit. [2].

original as “natural science” and replaced it, using the word “creation” from the biblical discourse – *About the creation of the world* (*О созданіи міра*). Orfelin opens his preface to the translation of *Physics* in the same tone, with the sentence: “God created the world and brought all of creation into existence from nothing.”<sup>56</sup> Orfelin’s introduction to Richter’s *physics* actually represents a paraphrase of several chapters from the *Book of Genesis*, which does not exist in the German original. The translator decided to adjust the original text according to the concept of his periodical publication, where he, in the first part, chronologically presented the calendar marked with the names of the saints.

The last illustrative example of Orfelin’s cultural translation that mirrors the differences and similarities between the source and recipient culture shows the author’s attitude towards superstitions as one of the key issues of the Enlightenment. Like many other representatives of the popular Enlightenment, he also addressed the problem of superstition in the context of 1) religion and 2) common sense. Translating the German textbook, he tried to find the right balance for his audience, and one chapter dedicated to the most popular cosmic phenomena in the 18<sup>th</sup> century – comets, represents a unique example of cultural translation. In it, he refers to some events that his audience witnessed and refreshes their memory by retelling them in vivid local legends. As an illustration of scientific explanations, he consciously searched for examples that were well-known to his readership. For instance, he reminded his readers of certain celestial phenomena and one comet, which could not be found in the original, but only observed by the Serbian people in the sky above the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. Through those additions and adaptations, he explained the phenomena described by natural science as illustratively as possible in order to dissuade the readership from superstition.

The most illustrative example of cultural translation, which also reflects Orfelin’s attitude toward the level of education and the spread of the Enlightenment among the Serbian people, can be found in a sentence in the same chapter on comets that differs from the original. In response to the question: “What effect do comets have?” Richter<sup>57</sup> concludes that the meaning of comets and the influence of other planets on human actions can be seen in “our enlightened time” as astrological dreams or

56 Zaharija Orfelin, op. cit., 106. “Бгъ создалъ міръ, и вся еже въ міръ изъ ничево.”

57 Adam Daniel Richter, op. cit., 72. “[...] die Bedeutung der Cometen, und der anderen Planeten Einfluß in die menschlichen Handlungen und dergleichen, werden bey unsern aufgeklärten Zeiten, unter astrologischen Träume und Weibermärchen gezählet, und niemand hält sie mehr vor Schrecklicher, die etwas Böses bedeuten.”



Section on comets in Richter's *Lehrbuch* (Leipzig and Budissin, 1779).



Section on comets in Orfelin's *Eternal Calendar* (Vienna, 1783).

fairly tales, and no one considers them bad omens anymore. Orfelin freely paraphrases this passage, removing the phrase *in our enlightened time* from the original. However, just like the German author, he points out that uneducated people spread superstitions, and the common people believe them.<sup>58</sup>

It is very well known how much controversy among prominent philosophers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the phrase “the enlightened time” caused (in einem aufgeklärten Zeitalter/einem Zeitalter der Aufklärung),<sup>59</sup> and this polemic was happening almost at the same time when Orfelin published his *Eternal calendar*. As this analysis has shown, even a small intervention in the cultural translation of the original, such as the omission of just one word, could be an indicator of significant distinctions between two cultures. This example of cultural translation from the end of the

58 Захарија Орфелин, op. cit., 149. “дабы Кометы и другіе планеты и зодіи имѣли нько втеченіе въ человеческое рожденіе, житіе, нравы и дѣла, есть баснословіе звѣздочетцевъ и простаго народа.”

59 About the Serbian reception of this polemic between I. Kant, M. Mendelssohn, J. A. Eberhard see more in Dragana Grbić, *VORENTSCHEIDUNGEN, Halle-Leipzig, Wendepunkt im Leben von Dositej Obradović*, (Halle-Wittenberg, Belgrade: Seminar für Slavistik MLU, IZEA, IKUM, 2012), 151-236.

18<sup>th</sup> century reflects all advantages and disadvantages of cultural transfers that marked the change of Serbian cultural models from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## Bibliography

- Atanasije Daskal Srbin, [Velika seoba 1690.], *Književnost*, Vol. 5 (1990).
- Bachmann-Medick, Doris (ed.), *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997).
- Eadem, “Übersetzung in der Weltgesellschaft. Impulse eines ‘translational turn’”, in: Andreas Gipper, Susanne Klengel (eds.), *Kultur, Übersetzung, Lebenswelten* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), 141–160.
- Burke, Peter and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, European Scientific Foundation (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Burke, Peter, “Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures”, in: Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch – Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
- Ćorović, Vladimir, *Istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Lirika, 1999).
- Deretić, Jovan, *Kulturna istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Filološki fakultet, and Kragujevac: Nova svetlost, 2001).
- Idem, *Istorija srpske književnosti* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2002).
- Djordjević, Tihomir, “Srpske kolonije u Budimu i okolini”, *Književnost*, Vol. 89, No. 5 (1990), 875–877.
- Espagne, Michel, and Michael Werner, “Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C. N. R. S.”, in *Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, No. 13 (1985), 502–510.
- Espagne, Michel, *Les transferts culturels: franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999).
- Idem, “‘Kulturtransfer’ – Europäische Geschichte gegen den Strich nationaler Mythen”, in: Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2003).
- Gavrilović, Vladan, “Velika seoba Srba kao migracioni talas u vreme Velikog Bečkog rata”, *Istraživanja*, Vol. 24 (2013).
- Grbić, Dragana, *Alegorije učenog pustinoljubitelja* (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2009).
- Dragana Grbich, “Kul’turno-istoricheskij kontekst serbskoj recepcii perevoda Simeona Todorskogo *Chtiri knigi o istinnom’ Hristijanstve*, Galle 1735” in: Svetlana Mengel’ (et. al.), *Alternativnye puti fomirovaniya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka v konce XVII – pervoy trety XVIII veka. Vklad inostrannykh uchenykh i perevodchikov* (Moscow: Izdatel’skiy dom YASK, 2021), 288–299.
- Eadem (Dragana Grbić), *Prekretanja, Hale-Lajpcig, prekretnica u životu Dositeja Obradovića/Vorentscheidungen, Halle-Leipzig, Wendepunkt im Leben von Dositej Obradović*, bilingual edition (Halle, Belgrade: Seminar für Slavistik der Martin-Luther-Universität

- Halle-Wittenberg, Interdisziplinäres Zentrum für die Erforschung der europäischen Aufklärung, Institut za književnosti i umetnost, 2012).
- Eadem (Dragana Grbić), "The Reception of The Middle Ages in Serbian Enlightenment Literature", in: Lidija Merenik, Vladimir Simić and Igor Borozan (eds.), *Imagining the Past and The Reception of Middle Ages in Serbian Art of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik and Institute for Byzantine Studies, 2016), 59–67.
- Eadem (Dragana Grbić), "The Great Migration and Individual Travels – Precursors of Serbian Modernity?" in: J. DeLucia, J. Shields (eds.), *Migrations and Modernities: the state of being stateless, 1700–1850* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 150–169.
- Kostić, Mita, "Prve pojave francuske kulture u srpskom društvu. Kulturno-istorijska raskrsnica Srba u XVIII veku", in: Mita Kostić, *Iz istorije Srba u Ugarskoj i Austriji XVIII i XIX veka: odabrane studije*, Vlastimir Djokić (ed.) (Zagreb: SKD Prosvjeta, 2013).
- Medaković, Dejan, *Die Lage des serbischen Volkes in Österreich im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bruxelles: L' Université libre de Bruxelles, 1988).
- Mengel', Svetlana (et. al.), *Alternativnye puti formirovaniya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka v konce XVII – pervoy trety XVIII veka. Vklad inostrannykh uchenykh i perevodchikov* (Moscow: Izdatel'skiy dom YASK, 2021), 273–281.
- Eadem (Svetlana Mengel), "Übersetzungen hallescher Pietisten: Simon Todorskiy, 1729–1735", in S. Mengel (ed.), *Myslyashchyu svobod'no imen' m' i nravom'. Žu Ehren von Dietrich Freydank* (Münster, 2000), 167–188.
- Middell, Matthias, "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis", in *Comparative*, Hf. 1 (2000), 1–38.
- Idem, "Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransferforschung. Vom bilateralen Beispiel zu Beiträgen für eine globale Geschichte", in *Eurostudia – Transatlantische Zeitschrift für Europaforschung*, Vol. 4, No 2 (Dec. 2008): Europäische Komparatistik und darüber hinaus.
- Mladenović, Aleksandar, "Tipovi književnog jezika kod Srba u drugoj polovini 18. i početkom 19. veka". *Referati za 7. međunarodni kongres slavista u Varšavi* (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1973).
- Idem, *Slavenosrpski jezik* (Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada, 1989).
- North, Michael (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch – Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
- Orfelin, Zaharija, *Večni Kalendar* (Vienna, 1783).
- Ostojić, Tihomir, *Zaharija Orfelin – život i rad mu* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1923).
- Pavić, Milorad, *Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba XVII-XVIII* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1970).
- Pishchevich, Aleksandar, *Žhizn' A. S. Pishchevicha, im" sammim opisannaya 1764–1805. V" treh chastyah" s" predisloviem" i primechaniyam Nila Popova* (Moscow, 1885).
- Pishchevich, Simeon, *Izvestiye o pohozhdenii Simeona Stepanova sina Pishchevicha. Chteniya v" imperatorskom" obshchestve istorii i drevnostei Rossii pri Moskovskom" Universitete*, Oct.-Dec. 1881, book 4 (Moscow, 1882).
- Rajić, Jovan, *Istorija katihizma pravoslavnih Srbalja u cesarskim državama* (Pančevo: Štamparija braće Jovanović, 1884).

- Ravaničanin, Stefan, [Velika seoba 1690.], *Književnost*, Vol. 5 (1990).
- Richter, Adam Daniel, *Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre zum Gebrauch Bey Vorlesung entworfen und gesammelt von A. D. R.*, vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig und Budißin, 1779).
- Rudjakov, Pavel: „*V sluzhbu i vechnoe poddanstvo*“: *serbskije poseleniya Novaya Serbiya i Slavyanoserbiya na ukrainskih zemlyah (1751-1764)*, (Kyiv: Artek, 2001).
- Rüpke, Jörg, “Religion”, in: Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2020–09–08. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ruepkej-2020-de> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–2020062408 [2022–09–15].
- Salzberger Oz, Fania, “Translation”, in: *Encyclopedia of The Enlightenment*, Vol. IV (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 181–188.
- Schmale, Wolfgang, *Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransfer: europageschichtliche Perspektiven für die Landesgeschichte, eine Einführung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sächsischen Landesgeschichte* (Bochum: Winkler, 1998).
- Idem, “Europa wissenschaftlich konstruieren: Theoretische Ansätze zur kulturellen Integration Europas in der Neuzeit”, in: W. Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 157–171.
- Idem, “Struktureme und Kultureme: Einige theoretische Grundlagen für die Erforschung frühneuzeitlichen Kulturtransfers”, in: W. Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Studien Verlag, 2003).
- Idem, “Europäisierungen”, in: Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), ed. by Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2010–12–03. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010b-de> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–20101011139 [2022–09–15]
- Idem, “Cultural Transfer”, in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012–12–05. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–2012120501 [2022–05–15].
- Idem, “Kulturaustausch und Kulturelle Transfers in der Frühen Neuzeit”, in: Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).
- Sibinović, Miodrag, *Original i prevod. Uvod u istoriju i teoriju prevodjenja* (Belgrade: Privredna štampa, 1979).
- Stockhorst, Stefanie (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation* (Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2010).
- Venuti, Lawrence (ed.), *Rethinking Translation, Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992).