Rade S. Šarović[1]

University of Montenegro,
Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić,
Study Program of Sociology
Nikšić (Montenegro)

SOCIETY OF MONTENEGRO IN WEBER'S IDEAL-TYPICAL DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL AUTHORITY

Abstract: For centuries, the history of Montenegro, as well as its social order, have been the subject of interest of many historians, sociologists, lawyers, political scientists, anthropologists, and economists, both locally and internationally. Consensus, which is rarely found in the majority of these authors' texts, may be summarised in several different manners of governing Montenegrin society. In their opinion, the manner of governing Montenegro ranged from the framework of theocracy of Bishops Danilo, Sava, and Vasilije, through to theocratic republicanism and autocracy of Bishops Petar I and Petar II, enlightened absolutism of Prince Danilo, and the constitutional parliamentary monarchy of Prince Nikola, only to end with the totalitarian regime of Josip Broz Tito (especially in the first post-WWII years). Weber, being one of the most prominent figures in social science, systematised and defined forms of social authority based on legitimacy given to it by its subjects. Thus, he divided these forms of social authority into charismatic, traditional, and bureaucratic types. Using Weber's systematisation, in this paper we have a distinction between three major periods of Montenegrin history and tried to explain each of them in sociological terms and thus provide a new outlook on our history.

Keywords: Weber, authority, Montenegro, trust, bureaucratic, charismatic, patrimonial.

[1] sarovicrade@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Regardless of what social and historical point in time we may speak of or what society we may belong to, authority is one of the most significant elements of activities jointly undertaken by people. Weber defines authority as legitimate and socially accepted use of power which one person or a group of persons has/have over another person or a group of persons, while the main means of distinguishing authority from the general concept of power is legitimacy. This means that authority depends on subjects accepting that those who are in higher positions have the right to issue orders or instructions to them and also to impose their will, although at times power may be exercised with the use of force and violence. Weber denotes power as the chance to impose one's will within a social relationship despite opposition, regardless of the integrity of that chance", and this level of chance is nothing but an invitation for power to exercise itself in reality as chance, and that it requires thought and the need for opposition (Weber, 2014: 22-23).

One of the crucial issues of Weber's theory of power is a matter of the manner and form of social legitimation of authority that is divided into three ideal types. The three types of authority, i.e., three bases for legitimacy of the power to command, are: rational authority of bureaucracy, traditional and patriarchal authority, and charismatic authority.

Weber examines motivation of those who chose to subject themselves to authority, concluding that there are three motives, each of which corresponds to one specific type of authority. As regards *legal - bureaucratic authority*, Weber thinks that people subject themselves to authority because they try to use the situation at hand in their best interests. For this reason, he is inclined to say that this type of authority is the most reasonable. Voluntary compliance or obedience "may also arise from custom, i.e., from numbly accustoming to one specific form of action", which is when we have in mind the *traditional (patriarchal) authority*. The third type of authority is *charismatic authority*, which is built on the basis of the charisma of an individual or the position this individual holds.

Weber's works have become very important reading in present times, not only among academics at universities, but they are also being frequently "revived" by political and financial elites in their public speeches. For years now, in Central Turkey there has been mention of the so-called Islamic Calvinism (this is, in economic terms, a very successful region that adopted Weber's concept of Protestant work ethics), while Max Weber's works are nowadays being more frequently read in the world's underdeveloped countries.[2] We have therefore tried to incorporate our "contemporary" Weber and his theory in Montenegrin society's historic developments and thus explain the manner of exercising authority in this region.

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[2] Edith Hanke –interview for the Deutsche Welle web portal, https://www.dw.com/sr/maks-veber-izvozni-hit-za-21-vek/a-17581010, accessed on 15th July 2022.

CHARISMATIC TYPE OF AUTHORITY
IN MONTENEGRO (1684-1851)

As Weber notes, charismatic rule, in its purest form always manifests itself as a product of unusual external (especially political or economic, or internal, intimate (especially religious) conditions, or a combination of the two, or both of them put together. In such relations, people are under the impression that it is only the ruler who is imparted with God's gift of mercy, the person in possession of supernatural abilities, the leader who is on a divinely originating mission – only he can save them. The bearer of charisma takes upon himself the task for which he is predestined and based on his mission, he demands that others subject themselves to him and follow him. When leaders are recognised and accepted in such conditions, masses are prepared to follow them blindly and therein lies the main reason and feature of authoritarian charismatic authority (Weber, 2014: 227). In Weber's view, charisma in this case has qualitative limitations from within and is hence directed at a local, ethnic, religious group of people, or a group limited in any other manner, and its boundaries become limited and match those of the relative group.

At the very end of the 17th century, during the Morean War[3] in addition to the liberation war, in Montenegro ground was broken for the engendering and development of the charismatic system of authority, and this not only of one individual but an entire dynasty. During this period, the Metropolitanate of Cetinje stood for an ideological driving force of the Christian struggle against the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, this was the only factor that could provide a certain form of organisation and order within the clashing Montenegrin clans. The title of Metropolitan, Metropolitan Danilo[4] being the first one to bear it (progenitor of the Petrović Njegoš dynasty) in part formed a charismatic basis for his rule and the basis on which history of the longest-ruling dynasty in

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[3] The war period between Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire is the period that changed the entire picture of Europe of the time, as well as relations within the Old Continent. The atmosphere of a united struggle and unification of Christian countries contributed to universal euphoria that the power from Bosphorus (or "the sick man of Europe", as some were inclined to call the Ottoman Empire) could be banished from this region. After a significant victory over the Ottoman Empire, the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed in 1699, which ended hostilities between great powers. The first major victory of Christian states over the Ottoman Empire gave rise to a euphoric atmosphere and the spirit of freedom, the breath of which could also be felt in Montenegro, a small country at the foot of Mount Lovćen. Financial support for the Montenegrin "resistance movement" in its fight against the Turks was provided by the Venetian Republic, which assisted financially the Metropolitanate of Cetinje, as well as generals and authorities. In this manner, the position of the Metropolitanate was stabilised and strengthened both locally and internationally. (Andrijašević and Rastoder, 2006: 104-107).

[4] Selecting the Metropolitan of Montenegro was no easy feat in those times, nor is it now, so the process could not be completed without certain controversy. The first Metropolitan was Savatije Sava Kaluđerović but his term on the Metropolitan's throne in Cetinje was short-lived and ended after mere three years. In 1697, he was succeeded by young Danilo Šćepćević who was elected in the Montenegrin People's Assembly as the new ecclesiastical and secular ruler of Montenegro (Stanojević and Vasić, 206: 249).

the modern era Balkans was later built. Thanks to his Metropolitan sceptre, the political idea of unity of Montenegro, the mythical image of him having launched the "Inquisition of the Turkified". Metropolitan Danilo strived to maintain peace internally and used his personal charisma to exercise authority in the territory of what then was Montenegro.

Charismatic structure, which the Petrović dynasty later built on using this basis, did not have the subjects in today's meaning of the word. It did not know any form or a set of rules for appointing or releasing from duty persons outside the Petrović family, nor was there any monetary compensation for the ruler, or specific required qualifications in terms of education of the bearer of charisma. The Metropolitan, as the bearer of charisma, took upon himself the task and mission to which "in the nature of things" he was predestined, and he therefore expected and demanded, that others be subjected to him and that both in war and in peace he has their unchallengeable following. In this manner, what was built in Montenegro was a type of the one who commanded, i.e., the political and ecclesiastical leader, as well as a type of the one who followed orders, i.e., the subject-disciple. Obedience was owed only by virtue of authority of the leader because he was the one who was predestined to rule according to divine and secular laws. Their charisma was not shaped according to some predefined or specifically created rules. Instead, it was built on belief in the idea of free Montenegro and the absolute or relative sanctity of authority of specific persons or their family, all of whom strived to accomplish this goal.

For said reasons, the Metropolitan was in part perceived as an exceptional person who was endowed (thanks to religious beliefs) with superhuman, extremely special abilities and powers, which were not attainable to everyone. Assuming said elements and formalising charismatic authority were connected with the very act of ordination and combining the secular and ecclesiastical power within Montenegrin people. This is certainly one of the key reasons why the title of Metropolitan was so important to the Petrović dynasty and why they decided that it should become and remain the privilege of this ruling family[5]. A myth was built that their dynasty was God-given and that its members are exceptional individuals who as a result of this were seen by masses as both natural and historical great leaders.

Still, their charismatic authority did not rely solely on the exceptional gift of "God's grace", on the heroism of one ruler, or the legacy of one family. This form of relationship, in keeping with Weber's teaching, survived based on individuals voluntarily subjecting themselves to charismatic authority, because they freely recognised this charisma and in doing so, they legitimised it. In Montenegrin society, this recognition was based on strong psychological mechanisms that derived from enthusiasm, despair, or hope. This segment can especially be connected with partial or complete slavery that existed in Montenegrin society, but also with the fatalistic view of the world and one's own fate.

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[5] Although it is uncommon in the Orthodox Church cannon for this title to be declared hereditary, especially within one family, charismatic successors of Danilo Petrović were his close relatives, Metropolitans Sava, Vasilije, Petar I, and Petar II Petrović Njegoš.

In such a social and historical context, the Metropolitans used the strength of their authority and the Gospel to reconcile clashing clans, to punish offenders and provide financial aid to the population so as to resolve certain existential issues. It is exactly in such activities on their part that motivation also lies for voluntary subordination, and the grounds are provided for legitimacy of charismatic power of the Petrović family. Accordingly, it can be connected with Weber's theory. With his charismatic aura, the Metropolitan partly succeeded in introducing some new and stringent restrictions that defied customs of the time (e.g., the "blood feud"), but in many cases they had to be imposed with the use of force[6]. The first Montenegrin legal code, as was the case with charisma, was based on irrational segments, oath, faith in God, God's judgement, ruler's curse, since the charismatic ruler knows no legal norms or assumptions, nor does he recognise a formal judicial system. As Weber concludes, "the ruler's objective right to judge, derives from a personal impression, divine mercy and heroic strength and means denouncing connection with any external order in favour of singular glorification of a true prophetic and heroic inclination" (Weber, 2014: 220).

As is proven by historical sources, the figure of the charismatic leader in Montenegro relied on the faith in heroes, on revelation, on emotional conviction in spiritual, religious, ethical, artistic, and scientific accomplishments of the ruler, his heroism, asceticism, or participation in wars. In this manner, charismatic power of the Metropolitans from the Petrović Njegoš dynasty was conditional upon a certain personal dualism. Their figures combine and reveal character traits of determined army generals, Christian monks, ascetics, historiographers, literary writers, original legislators and not infrequently character

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[6] A typical example of this is the first Montenegrin legal code, *Stega*, with which Sava's successor Petar I tried to unite the clashing clans and partially abolish the blood feud among them. *Stega* is the first written code in the territory of (old) Montenegro and the Hills. It was written in 1796 and represents the manner of legally formalising joint struggle of the populations of Montenegro and the Hills against the Turks. This code envisages solely moral sanction, which means that it mainly appealed to conscience and honour of the clans that were the signatories of this document. Article 1 of the Code emphasises the importance of the ruler of this time as well as the charisma he bears. Supplications are made to God, who is to ensure that the populations of Montenegro and the Hills do not betray each other, while supplications to the Creator are conveyed through the Metropolitan. Article 2 points out the Montenegrins' obligation to come to rescue to any clan in the Hills, if they were to come under the attack from the Turks. Article 3 threatens anyone daring betrayal to be cursed by the people. Article 4 notes that the descendants of anyone who would dare to betray would remain dishonoured. Article 5 introduces the obligation to swear to uphold this Code. In Article 6, which is the last article, the Metropolitanate is obligated to safekeep the original *Stega* document (which additionally strengthens the Metropolitanate's influence among the people). Being familiar with Montenegro of the time and skilfully ruling it, Petar I remained remembered as one of the most popular rulers in its history. This popularity was based on his military and spiritual charisma. He therefore earned the epithet of a saint/miracle-worker, whose relics have been kept to date in the Monastery of Cetinje. (See more on: https://archive.org/details/Stega, accessed on 18th July 2022)

traits of greedy bureaucrats whose personal gain outweighs the wellbeing of Montenegro. Contradictions in the above-mentioned spheres, from a psychological point of view, occur simultaneously and on the same foundation. This is especially the case with liberation wars, initial political and social organisation of society and subjective assessment of artistic values that serve the purposes of particular time in which they were created (for example, *The Epistles of Petar I* or *The Mountain Wreath* by Petar II Petrović Njegoš, both of which were written for the purpose of integration of the Montenegrin people). In this manner, it is ensured that differences are eliminated among the poet, historiographer, ruler or Bishop, and manner in which these character traits were perceived and acquired intimately by the subordinates or the followers in Montenegro.

This dualism is very important for the Metropolitans belonging to the Petrović dynasty because it later allowed for two manners of defining their personalities and their accomplishments. As Weber interprets this, "rationalization of this type occurs when masses of followers acquire only external, technical results, which for their interests have practical significance, or they adapt to them, whereas conceptual content of their creators is of no relevance to them" (Weber, 2014: 22). (The lack of respect for the religious dogmas and low levels of practicing religious rites as well as the not-so-strong faith of the Montenegrin people of the time, in part confirm this statement by Weber's.) Nevertheless, we must not forget that in the conquered Montenegro, this latter, "irrelevant" artistic-religious-Christian segment was far from unimportant and it constituted the basis for their charismatic authority. The Ottoman power, which imposed a different culture, religion, language, faith, customs, stood for the enemy to which in this case resistance could be put up by the charismatic spiritual ruler, who is an accomplished writer and can perform sacraments but is also a capable general and strategist. As we can see, in this case, it is hardly a matter of relevant or irrelevant factors and a distinction can hardly be made because where one ends, the other begins.

In sociological terms, irrespective of complicated social and historical circumstances, charismatic authority, and charismatic rule of the Petrović family did not entail an amorphous state lacking any structure. Instead, it represented a social structure with institutions and a range of services and material assets that were adapted to the mission of the bearer of charisma and to the people gathered around him. This is an unavoidable issue in our analysis because any form of existence of authority, even charisma, is exposed to the circumstances of day-to-day life and forces that guide this life (primarily economic interests of the people). On the one hand, the Montenegrin ruler of the time does not see monetary economy and taxes collected in money as an element of acquiring material riches, nor does he need any in his life. The Metropolitan of Montenegro, as a charismatic leader, Bishop, and ruler in the majority of cases[7], lived his life together with

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[7] There were certainly exceptions to this. A blatant example was Petar II Petrović Njegoš who (in addition to brilliant literary works bequeathed to our people) with his personal will and testament left to his successor an amount three times larger than the entire Montenegrin budget. (Andrijašević and Šćekić, 2018: 187).

his people, in this world, not away from it. Acquiring material wealth and any form of tax system for the majority of Metropolitans played a secondary role, whereas religious values that integrated people into one community took precedence. Throughout history, there have been cases of governance that was built on the mentioned postulates. In this case, charisma persevered on the basis of a conscious refusal to own money and monetary income as a source of wellbeing, while priority was taken by faith and otherworldly life. A good example of this can specifically be found in Bishops Vasilije and Petar I Petrović Njegoš in Montenegro, or Francis of Assisi and other similar, though rare, ecclesiastical and secular rulers.

On the other hand, although Metropolitans did not possess personal wealth, the rule of charismatic rulers of the Petrović dynasty was marked by their close associates and the Church in Montenegro becoming richer. At the time of these Metropolitans' rule, and later during the rule of King Nikola, the Metropolitanate was and remained the richest institution of the time, with the largest land ownership in the country (see more in: Blagojević 1988: 102-116; Bulajić 1959: 247). Furthermore, the dynasty's personal assistants, among whom at the same time there was a kind of specific charismatic "aristocracy" that represented an inner circle of supporters. This circle was created based on the principle of discipleship and loyalty to the ruler. This group included people who provided formally voluntary, unregulated by law, sporadic, material services for satisfying the rulers' needs. Obligations towards the subjects subordinated by the charismatic rulers were fulfilled when necessary and to the extent possible for the ruler. In this manner, entourage and disciples were given material assets for supporting them and in this manner, they gained their social status in the form of salary or any other form of compensation or reward, title, or rank[8].

At the end of this brief analysis, we must explain the exact moment when charismatic authority and its power were created. As has already been seen, subordination to a charismatic leader was based on volatile psychological emotions of enthusiasm or despair. However, timewise, this was not endless. It often happened that if a charismatic figure's leadership did not result in any gain for the subordinates, charismatic authority began declining as a consequence, only to vanishing eventually. "Authority of a charismatic leader would collapse the moment he lost his charismatic character or when he partially or completely distanced himself from his predecessor. In such cases, the ruler is abandoned by his following because nothing, but pure charisma knows no other legitimacy other than that arising from personal authority which is confirmed over and over" (Weber, 2014: 219). A good example of this situation is the rule of Bishop Sava (1735-1781), for whom personal privileges and, accordingly, distancing himself from the idea

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[8] One of the typical examples of gaining health at the expense of a charismatic ruler was Pero Tomov Petrović, Petar II Petrović Njegoš's brother, the last Montenegrin ruler and Bishop. As Chairman of the Montenegrin Senate, Pero Tomov Petrović monopolised entire Montenegrin trade. During the rule of his brother, he was considered the richest and the most powerful Montenegrin of the time. (The study that is indispensable regarding the life of Petar II Petrović Njegoš was written by Milovan Đilas and it is a *sine qua non* in studies of this type) (Đilas, 2013).

of free Montenegro (which meant conflicts with the Turks) diminished to a great extent his charismatic authority among the people, compared to that of his predecessor Bishop Danilo. Bishop Sava did not have a warrior charisma, nor did he have the political vision or ambition of Bishop Danilo, so Archimandrite Vasilije taking power and continuous political struggle between the two rulers significantly affected the charismatic halo of the Petrović dynasty, which gradually diminished and ultimately in part vanished. After Metropolitan Vasilije's sudden death and Bishop Sava's inability to impose himself again as authority that was in charge of politics within his spiritual and political jurisdiction, conditions were met for the rule of the Petrović dynasty to be temporarily interrupted and for a figure such as the assumed emperor Stephen the Humble to appear[9]. This pragmatic stranger used this discontinuity of the charismatic power in Montenegro and at one point in Montenegrin history, he succeeded in interrupting the rule of the Petrović dynasty. In this context, Weber's conclusion is important and practically visible, i.e., that charismatic authority is in its essence specifically volatile and hence can be applied only in certain, specific historical circumstances, upon which it depends[10].

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY (PATRIMONIALISM) OF THE PETROVIĆ DYNASTY (1851-1918)

Once Petar II Petrović Njegoš was enthroned as the ruler of Montenegro, some processes were initiated. This implied the strengthening of the existing bodies of state authorities and the establishment of others as well. With the introduction of the Court of Law of Montenegro and the Hills, i.e., judicial and police authorities, state coat of arms and symbols, this ruler gradually started building the first social order in Montenegro. The mentioned period is characterised by the establishment of *nahias* (a local type of administrative division, usually consisting of a number of villages) and is marked by

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[9] The first and the basic problem that charismatic authority is faced with, if it wants to transform itself to a permanent institution, is specifically the issue of the leader's successor. The leader's successor is not selected for his personal qualities or competences, nor is there a public invitation for him to be selected. The charismatic leader selects his successor on the basis of his personal assessment of his successor's charisma, which the successor should possess at any given time. The Metropolitan's sceptre of the Petrović dynasty was hereditary. However, charisma which some of the bishops had was not hereditary. This was the reason for Stephen the Humble emerging in the first place and for his brief rule (1767 - 1773). At one historical point, he managed to interrupt the previously continuous rule of the Petrović dynasty, and also to distance himself from the Church order and the Church's policies of the time. The period of his rule was marked by him falsely declaring himself to be the deposed Russian Emperor Peter III Romanoff. This period had all the features of the charismatic manner of ruling a people. His charisma was built neither on the Metropolitan's sceptre nor on his personal or family aura, but on respect and love which the Montenegrin people had for Russia at the time (Stanojević and Vasić, 2006: 373-381).

[10] This paper is only an introduction to some future, more extensive analysis of the Montenegrin "game of thrones", while the analysis of the relationship of power and authority between the Petrović dynasty and the Radonjić family remains uncompleted.

the signing of the agreement with Austria on the demarcation of frontiers between the two countries. In this manner, Montenegro's state independence was first recognised, though indirectly. Nevertheless, the period of his rule was not marked by some major endeavours, be it military or political ones, and so the previously established (mainly military) charisma began to dissipate.

However, Njegoš's legacy of the new social order constituted a solid foundation on which a new form of social order was later built, as well as a new form of state policies in Montenegro. The strengthening of state apparatus and the promotion of this new manner of governance was additionally insisted upon by his successor Prince Danilo Petrović Njegoš and was later further solidified by King Nikola. In 1852, Prince Danilo[11] separated the secular and church (spiritual) authorities. Thus, for the first time in its recent history Montenegro got a secular ruler - Prince and the new state order - Principality. Unlike his predecessors, who thrived on the charismatic manner of government, which was based

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[11] Unlike his predecessors, Danilo was a ruler who was educated abroad, spoke several European languages and, to say the least, he would feel uncomfortable wearing the monk robes, which was the heritage left by his predecessors. He believed, like most European rulers, that the dualism of governance was an anachronism that had to be done away with. According to the writing of some historians, in accordance with the described form of legitimacy of authority that was imparted upon him, Danilo's politics was aggressive and artful both with his local and international enemies. Thanks to this, Montenegro succeeded in becoming a secular state rather than the theocratic state it used to be. He waged two wars against the Ottoman Empire with the aim of expanding the territories of Montenegro, only for the frontier between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire to be defined after a lengthy conflict. In terms of the situation within the country, he carried out a reform of Montenegro and partially ended clans' autonomy. He introduced a modern manner of governance in which the country's leader was the Prince, whereas the central institution of secular authority was the Senate. It initially consisted of 12 Senators, and later there were 16 of them. He also conducted a reform of the tax system, and organised a census of the population in 1854. He made a serious turn in foreign policy, and also opened the first diplomatic missions; he introduced a form of customs at the border, etc. The local authorities (administrative power, executive power, and military power) were organised in 50 Captaincies, whose territories matched the frontier of the Principality. Danilo's rule will certainly be remembered for the compiling of *Danilo's Code*, which enabled the Prince to continue reforming the country. The Code was first printed in Novi Sad and then in France, Italy, and Poland. This Code comprised 95 articles, with its most significant provisions referring to constitutional and other legal matters, the position of man and citizen, the Prince's position as the supreme ruler, responsibilities and position of the courts, citizens' duties in terms of defending their motherland, etc. In addition to this Code being passed, during the short-lived rule of Prince Danilo, many other steps were taken both locally and internationally so as to regulate the functioning of Montenegro. These changes prompted social and economic flows that could ensure the country joining the group of modern civil societies. As regards the national and political spheres, as was the case with his predecessors, Prince Danilo aimed for the liberation from the Ottoman Empire, and not only the liberation of Montenegro but all other enslaved South Slav peoples as well. We can conclude that his entire rule and the enacted Code (as a manifesto of his rule) in a way completed the dismantling of the charismatic-patriarchal way of living. Independence of the clans was abolished, state authorities strengthened, to which there was certainly fierce resistance, and there were also additional local problems that needed dealing with. (See more in: Andrijašević and Šćekić, 2018: 115-143; Pavićević, 1990)

on the title of the Metropolitan and personal, military authority, Danilo Petrović built his influence among his subjects in other ways, thus introducing in a grand way a new form of government, in Weberian terms, *traditional or patrimonial authority*.

In its essence, this form of legitimacy of Danilo's authority was not based on an obligation to serve some vague goal, nor on the submission to certain abstract norms. Instead, just the opposite, it was based strictly on personal respect for Prince Danilo's personality and laws that he passed. As part of traditional authority (patrimonialism), Prince Danilo created a kind of internal foothold in the fact that his subordinates for the first time could unavoidably uphold certain written norms. The norms, which in Danilo's Code were created in support of his patriarchal rule, in addition to legal framework additionally relying on the traditions of the Petrović dynasty and belief in the inviolability of what always existed as such. The Petrović dynasty, which had already given four Metropolitans, rendered Prince Danilo legitimacy to become a patrimonial leader based on Njegoš's last will and testament and prior history that had left this legacy to Danilo. As Weber notes, "in patrimonial authority, personally submitting to the ruler guarantees as being legitimate those rules that the ruler established, and the very fact of his sovereign authority and its boundaries arising from the norms, which are not based on laws but on the norms which (he) and tradition made sacred" (Weber, 2014: 90).

In Max Weber's bureaucracy model of authority, he mentions norms that were created rationally. They invoke the sense of abstract legality and are based on technical training, whereas the patriarchal authority model relies on traditions, on the belief in inviolability of what had always existed as such, as well as the belief in the authority of the one who rules. In consciousness of the Montenegrins of the time, apart from the normative-category apparatus, still remained instilled the idea that Prince Danilo was a legitimate successor in the Holy House of Petrović and that he was hence their both secular and ecclesiastical ruler. On the other hand, since traditions or some contending powers did not limit his power, he exacted it without any limitations, at his own discretion, often without any rational rules of state administration.

As is the case with all other examples of patrimonialism in terms of serving the country, in Danilo's Principality there was an absence of bureaucratic distinction between the "private" and the "official" spheres. Political governance in Montenegro was at the time considered a purely personal matter of the ruler, while his possession and exercise of political power were considered an integral part of his personal assets, which he may utilise by charging levies and ancillary income. The issue of how he exacts his authority in the mentioned possessions is solely a matter of his discretion. So, he is not limited by holy traditions. Instead, he is urged by them, while he personally has no need to uphold the norms that he himself had passed. It is therefore presumed that the ruler had the privilege to, almost always, decide at his own discretion on separating the "duties and responsibilities" of his officials. The reason for this lies in the fact that patrimonialism, as a political creation, does not recognise the notion of competence, or the concept of serious state bodies as they are seen today, whereas with the strengthening of appropriation

they became secondary and under the absolute discretion of the ruler. The separation of formal from private matters, state from private property and the sovereign authority of officials was exacted only to an extent and arbitrarily, but the absolute power of Prince Danilo nonetheless remained at the highest possible level.

Still, if we were to speak of (minor) re-distribution of power, we must note that there was a small number of loyal local landowners who asked the patrimonial ruler not to take away the privileges they had earned. The same applied to their own patrimonial authority over their subjects. At the same time, they insisted that the ruler should be a direct guarantor of this. So, the first thing they demanded was that the ruler's administrative officials should not be involved in any manner in their running of their own *feudal* lands, i.e., they demanded immunity, for which the Prince in turn requested their unlimited loyalty to the Court of the House of Petrović. It was only after such a "compromise" was reached that the Prince in part met their requests and provided a limited autonomy of authority in the form of Captaincies throughout Montenegro.

Despite what is described above, an important reason due to which Prince Danilo's rule is categorised with patrimonial legitimacy, and we characterise it as such, is the Prince's army or his personal "police" that served him, in many cases contrary to the views held by their own politically subjected fellow clan members. Prince Danilo's personal army was called the *Guards*[12], whose role was to ensure public order and to execute the Prince's decisions without ever questioning them. The *Guards'* equipment and supplies were provided from the Prince's stock and income and, accordingly, the *Guards* represented a form of private security of the Prince and his figure as such. The more authorities and state apparatus depended on patrimonial discretion of the ruler, the more unconditionally he held the army under his thumb. In this case, without the ruler and his decision, the army was not capable of any action and its entire existence depended on the ruler and his non-military bureaucratic apparatus.

The analysis of the body of historical documents shows absolutism that is predominant during the rule of Prince Danilo, and later during the rule of Nikola Petrović. The Prince's aspirations were elevated to the level of legislation, thereby (rather than making an attempt at liberalising) imposing additional limitations to the rights and freedoms of the then population of Montenegro. Taking oath to the Prince by members of other state authorities (the Senate, the Guards and the Captains) and appointment based on the principles of nepotism is a feature that is also attributed to Weber's patrimonial system of governance and ruling. However, apart from all this, thanks to his authoritarian

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[12] There were between 400 and 1,000 Guards at the time. They were divided in battalions and had an established particular order and rules in the form of army officers' uniforms and coats of arms. With the help of the *Guards*, Prince Danilo fiercely fought the clans' separatism and their refusal to pay taxes to Montenegro. He mercilessly quashed the rebellions of the Bjelopavlić and the Piper clans. Ravaging of the Kuči clan still remains unforgotten. Prince Danilo's brother Mirko was the commander of this exercise in which the Prince's opponents were punished severely. (Andrijašević and Rastoder, 2006: 197)

rule, Prince Danilo still liberalised some segments of Montenegrin society. He partly eliminated feuds among the clans as well as the blood feud. He banned some harmful and pointless traditions and put the authority of state administration at a very high level. Historians say that Prince Danilo was an iron-willed ruler with a strong character. He was fearless in accomplishing the proclaimed ideals and state idea. In certain aspects, he was controversial and "cocooned" by his inner circle of state officials. He abolished many long-standing and uncivilised customs, such as decapitation of Turkish enemies and displaying their heads above the Monastery of Cetinje, bringing in live slaves, abducting girls, etc. At the same time, according to some chroniclers, he put his life on the line and eventually lost it, due to certain obscure activities he conducted with his entourage.[13] Anyhow, Prince Danilo is a very important historical figure in Montenegro, and we believe that some objective and more thorough analyses in the future will shed real light on his personality and everything he did and thus solve the enigma which has remained unsolved to date.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

Although Weber mainly associates patrimonial authority with Ancient Greek society, the Chinese Empire and only in rare cases with some modern Western European societies, our research has shown that patrimonial authority in this region was "applicable and practically enforceable" through to 1918, when Montenegro was no longer on the territorial map of Europe. This statement can easily be proven if we bear in mind the longest-standing ruler from the House of Petrović Njegoš, Prince Nikola, who was later to become King Nikola. The period of King Nikola's rule was marked by various events (essentially, most of them being fateful for Montenegro's historic journey) – Montenegro's gaining recognition at the Berlin Congress in 1878, the promotion of state authorities, development of education and cultural institutions, construction of roads, building of roads, declaration of Montenegrin kingdom in 1910 and eventually Montenegro's loss of its standing and frontiers.

At the beginning of any analysis of this historical period, the fact must be pointed out that Nikola, in keeping with the social and historical context, worked towards cultural development of the country, built and opened schools, built roads, established new towns, passed useful laws, introduced order in state administration by establishing

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[13] For example, the writer, journalist, and reporter Budo Simonović presents in his book *Zeko mali* (*The Green-Eyed Shorty* - nicknamed after the colour of his eyes and stature) more details about the abominable occurrence at the Ostrog Monastery. Based on this, the author draws conclusion that the incident that took place at the Monastery crypt was the reason why Todor Kadić assassinated Prince Danilo in Kotor (Simonović, 2012: 53-87). On the other hand, the historian Živko Andrijašević believes that Prince Danilo's death was in good part the result of his political decisions, his fearlessness as a warrior, territorial expansions, and international promotion of Montenegro, whereas the other part of the reason for his death was Kadić's personal motivation that prompted him to assassinated the Prince of Montenegro in 1860 (Andrijašević and Šćekić, 2018: 213-220).

ministries, as well as encouraged state and trade progress and overall entrepreneurship. This general economic and social progress was contributed to by prominent scientists and figures from the world of culture from Serbia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina who came to Montenegro upon the invitation of Prince Nikola and created the modern state apparatus. The legacy of patrimonialism, which was characteristic of Nikola's rule on the one hand, and the establishment of *The Girls' Institute*, purchase of a typography machine and opening of a printing house (in which the first Montenegrin newspaper, *The Montenegrin Man*, was printed), as well as visits by renowned intellectuals such as Milan Kostić, Valtazar Bogišić, Laza Kostić, Simo Matavulj, etc., on the other hand, ensured the creation of a new class in Montenegrin society. This class consisted of family members, the closest associates of the Royal Court as well as members of the professional military-political group, all of whom participated actively in major changes in the cultural scene of Montenegro (Pavićević, 2004: 135-142). These influences from abroad inevitably led to the establishment of a new system of upbringing, with all of its consequences and idiosyncrasies: development of certain artistic and cultural goods, in the fields of literature, music, theatre, sculpture even, which Nikola quite frequently used as a means of glorifying himself, a means of developing and preserving the nimbus of his family. This is how a very complex type of upbringing was formed around the ruling family. This resulted in a sort of emancipation and stood in stark contrast to the commoners, the majority of population of Montenegro of the time[14]. As Weber notes, "wherever the structure of power is organised in a prebendal manner, upbringing usually acquires the character of intellectualist-literary education, and according to the form of organisation, in its essence it becomes similar to the bureaucratic ideal of imposing expert knowledge" (Weber, 2014: 190). What additionally contributed to the result of this process is Nikola's "knack" for poetry, which, just like it was the case with his ancestors, made him a popular poet among the people, with a large number of his literary works (with varying literary value) standing witness to how cultural work was used to additionally raise national awareness and build national cohesion. A typical example of this is perhaps his most popular work, *The Empress of the Balkans*.

Nonetheless, Montenegro was lagging behind the modern civilisation developments of the time. Prince Nikola did not find it necessary to seize the opportunity and liberate the unlimited patrimonial authority, which he inherited from Prince Danilo. Instead, with the first Montenegrin Constitution he left himself the enormous, traditional power in the country. This was yet another reason why his rule had no indication of bureaucratic authority because instead it relied more on the traditional type of legitimacy. In accordance with the Constitution, similar to the times in which his predecessors ruled, Prince had the right to present draft laws and pass the laws, to appoint ministers, issue various decrees, appoint a portion of the People's Assembly Members, while the rest

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[14] A good example corroborating this claim is that Princess Xenia, the first woman in the Balkans to drive an automobile, was also a photographer, philanthropist and, as pointed out by certain historians, also a very important figure in the Royal Court of Montenegro, so much so that King Nikola himself called her "the Great".

of them were elected in election. During his rule, the People's Assembly was allowed to discuss the laws and propose budgets, whereas all other decisions rested with this patrimonial ruler[15].

Still, this is where we need to point out the fact that the characteristic patrimonialism and maintaining of the military monarchy of Nikola Petrović emerged not only as a consequence of personal character traits of this ruler but also due to political circumstances of the time. What we have in mind here is in particular the territorial expansion and the need to permanently protect the frontiers, economic change and an ever-stronger streamlining of economy, partial professional specialisation and heterogenization, as well as partial distinction between military and civil subjects. Due to the above-described historical and economic circumstances, just like his predecessor Prince Danilo, Nikola was a patrimonial ruler who appropriated financially and socially privileged classes for his own benefit. He did this by keeping the leading positions in the army exclusively for them, as well as the partially developed military administration. These positions stood for the particular profession and title (*Ban*, *Glavaš* or Duke), which entailed an outlook for social and personal promotion to the level of what was later to become bureaucratic clerks. In this manner, it is presumed that they were introduced into a semi-professional military career and were given suitable privileges at the level of their Captaincies or frontiers of clan lands, which were still in place in Montenegro. The position of a patrimonial official arose from particular person's purely personal relationship of submission to the ruler, whereas his position vis-à-vis the subjects represented just the surface of this relationship. Even in situations when a political official was not a personally dependent person at the Royal Court (which was the case with the Dukes of Drobnjak, Banjani, or Uskok), the ruler required unconditional official obedience. Loyalty of a patrimonial official to his service was not an impersonal loyalty to things he uses, i.e., tasks which have rules that limit the level and content of this loyalty. Instead, this subjects' loyalty is not based strictly on a personal relationship to the ruler and constitutes an integral part of his, on principle, universal obligation to respect and be loyal. It is for this reason that Nikola's officials were provided material means at the ruler's dinner table and from the ruler's treasury, as was the case with any other member of his big family. They were shown extreme respect and the court ensured that they were invited to all events celebrating

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[15] With the distribution of positions and streamlining of processes, especially with an increase in the number of written documents and establishment of a regulated hierarchy, procedures to be followed for official purposes, Montenegro's patrimonial state apparatus of the time can be in part attributed certain bureaucratic traits. However, in terms of its sociological essence, a truly patrimonial service is all the more different from the bureaucratic one in this aspect, with regards to a pure form of one or the other type of service. For the above-mentioned reason, both authority and the institutions of authority built by Nikola Petrović cannot essentially be categorised as the bureaucratic type of legitimacy. For example, according to some journalists and the transcripts of King Nikola's letters to his subjects, the "Court under the pear tree", or the "threshing floor", is the place where the King, solely at his own discretion, mediated between quarrelling subjects or punished his subjects, and in this manner participated in resolving certain disputes in Montenegrin society, whereas Montenegrin institutions of the time were only formal in their character.

important occasions. However, this was the case only up to a point. Nikola's skill as a ruler was best reflected internally with all appointments and dismissals of his subjects and the ever-present tension among the officials. They were kept on their toes in this manner, never knowing who and at which point would come in the Prince's favour, only to fall out of it and be exiled at any very next moment.

Montenegro's social history is a resource that still remains to be researched. Accordingly, due to the length of Nikola Petrović's rule, his patrimonial state may be and must be discussed extensively. He was an interesting historical figure, who after the year 1910 as a monarch, and later declaration of a territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Montenegro, additionally organised its non-dominion power over the extra-patrimonial territories and people residing there - his political subjects in the north of Montenegro, sometimes with the use of brutal force against his subjects, the objective of all these exercises being to expand the frontiers of his Kingdom. Overall, as regards governance, Nikola did exactly the same as in governing his home. He was a great father of a big family, as he liked to call himself. The origins of such a private structure lie in the authority of *pater familias* in his own family community and he later applied it to ruling the entire country. We can therefore claim that unlike Prince Danilo, Nikola's distancing from the charismatic authority of his predecessors was only partial.

For this period of our history and the rule of Nikola Petrović, it can be said that he initiated a form of traditional legitimacy for which we say that is the purest type of patriarchal authority. King Nikola's traditional authority in part relied on his personal charisma, and in part on an established normative apparatus, and also in part on the legitimacy of sanctity of age-old, existing from time immemorial, eternal orders of power and tradition. Using this matrix, the Petrović family, as was the case in the times of the Metropolitans Danilo, Sava, Vasilije, Petar I, and Petar II, still remained Nikola's basic unit in the structure of authority and the source of all important decisions in Montenegrin society. His governance was based on the "faith in sanctity of a forever existing order and superior power" as well as on him being predestined, as an heir to the dynasty, to decide about the future of Montenegro.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION (BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITY IN MONTENEGRO)

After World War Two, Montenegro regained the legal status of a state it had lost before, and it officially became one of the six equal republics in the socialist Yugoslav federation. Therefore, after a decades-long wait, it finally initiated the process of creating the *bureaucratic* type of authority. Legislative authorities were put in place, in accordance with rules and regulations which, according to Weber, everyone should uphold, which should apply to everyone invariably, both to those who issue orders, those who implement them and those who carry them out. Unlike the described charismatic and patrimonial legitimacy, in this type of authority, obedience is not owed to a person who,

at his/her own discretion, takes the right to make demands. Instead, this occurs based on an established rule, which is the only one that can adequately define to whom and to what extent one should subject oneself. Contrary to the charismatic and patrimonial ruler, the "bureaucrat" is, at the time of issuing orders, subjected only to one rule - a law or an official regulation, to which the bureaucrat is also subjected. The main features of this rational authority should in ideal-typical terms be a continuous performance of official duties, governed by rules; within a clearly defined scope of competence (responsibilities); on hierarchy principles that are based on the relationship between controlling and supervising authorities; with clerks who have formal and specialised education. In the described system of governance, every bearer of power in relation to issuing orders is legitimized by the system of rational rules, and his/her power is legitimate for as long it is in accordance with the rules of the bureaucratic order (Weber, 2014: 37-87).

Nevertheless, unlike the system Weber had in mind when he spoke in ideal-typical terms of the bureaucratic authority (despite many shortcomings[16]), the situation in our country was completely different. Yugoslav institutions that were supposed to form the basis for the bureaucratic model of authority could never provide ideal-typical stability and efficiency as those present in developed democratic countries, nor were they able to keep up with the economic "success" of those countries. Here, almost every ten years there was some sort of constitutional reform (revolution), which would improve ideological support for the functioning of communist system, thereby questioning the legitimacy of institutions every decade. The one stable constant in our case were Party cells and informal relations whereas the bureaucratic-institutional system was changeable under the pressure of the Party. In the eyes of the people of those times, this was imposed as a foreign outside factor. As noted by Sekulić and Šporer, bureaucratic instances of governing authorities as well as institutions within them, were installed from "higher above" by the prince's Communist Party leaders and the functioning of such institutions was secondary compared to the Party's pressures and needs" (Sekulić and Šporer, 2010: 76). In such a situation, it was not possible to speak of the Weber's model of governance, nor was it possible to define it as being bureaucratic in our country. All subsequent research of this subject indicates that authority was organised in a partitocratic manner and that this is the only way in which it can be defined.

After the violent dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1991), Montenegro and Serbia jointly built a new state union - the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. When it was first created, this country was under UN sanctions (1992-1996) and, accordingly, it was completely isolated from the rest of the world in terms of trade. Later, it was a side in an unequal army conflict with NATO, which additionally

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[16] In his paper *Contemporaneity of Modern Sociology*, Rade Kalanj notes multiple shortcomings of the bureaucratic type of authority, of which the two most significant ones are as follow: "Since depersonalisation underlies it, it is suitable for the disappearance of certain dignitaries' responsibility. Since the observance of standard procedures underlies it, it prevents innovation" (Kalanj, 2005: 196).

contributed to the deterioration of economy and production. These events diminished to an even greater extent the legitimacy and strength of bureaucratic authority and its institutions, which led to their loss of the minimum independence they used to have during socialism. As a result of the above-mentioned events, in the past three decades, we have seen a complete separation of citizens from the state, of members from organisations, of producers from production, an additional intensifying factor of this being bureaucratisation of the world. "As a result of the advancement of this process, the concept of alienation acquired today's true meaning in the second half of the 20th century, so that alienation became the natural outcome of a political elite that leads from an ordinary man that is being led" (Jacoby, 1985: 244). The process of complete alienation of the Montenegrin political administration (elite) from citizens culminated in 2020, when the first democratic ousting took place in Montenegro. This marked a beginning of democratic processes, which today go hand in hand with immense turbulence of free democratic systems.

The mentioned alienation in Montenegrin society has inevitably led to a drop in trust in the political system and to increased trust in traditional institutions, which have existed in our country for centuries: the army, the educational system and the Orthodox Church. As can be seen in this paper, churches, schools, and monasteries produced the first charismatic leaders. They were the first classrooms and irreplaceable cultural and civilizational originating points for Montenegrin people and its culture. Continuity and stability (irrespective of pressures of the socialist state order) of these institutions in Montenegrin society contributed to them still earning a significantly higher level of trust than other institutions in the country. All that has been mentioned indicates that Montenegrin history may also be observed as a cyclical movement and that the past is nothing but a mirror reflection of our history. Whether the history of Montenegro repeats itself as a heroic reincarnation, farce or tragedy – it still remains to be seen in the period to come. This paper, which is dedicated to Professor Tasić, is a modest contribution to the research into social history of Montenegro.

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