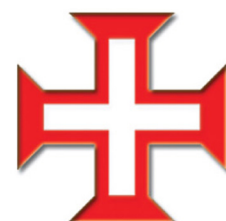


VITEŠKA KULTURA CHIVALROUS CULTURE

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VITEŠKA KULTURA CHIVALROUS CULTURE



Ordo Supremus Militaris Templi Hierosolymitani - Grand Priory Serbia
Red Vitezova Hrama Jerusalimskog - Veliki Priorat Srbija

Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomine Tuo da gloriam ...

Ne nama, o Gospode, ne nama, već slavu daj imenu Tvojem ...

Ordo Supremus Militaris Templi Hierosolymitani (OSMTH)



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ORDER OF CHRIST AND THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

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Grand Priory of Serbia

Abstract — Following the abolition of the Order of Templars, Portuguese king D. Dinis's envoys helped persuade Pope John XXII to re-establish the Order in Portugal in 1319 with the Papal bull under the new name Order of Christ, which continued nurturing Templar ideals and values. The Order played a vital role in solidification of Portugal statehood and exile of »Islam« from the Pyrenees, and with the danger over, dedicated its efforts, particularly with the support of Prince Henry the Navigator, to discoveries of new, previously unexplored worlds. Not only discoveries of new territories, but also new developments in science culture and knowledge of the human linked to them, which marked the tipping point from the medieval understanding into a modern, renaissance perception of a man and humanity in general. Order of Christ and with it, Templars were the carriers of not only spiritual progress, but also progress in technology, science, culture and made a significant contribution to the birth of the global mentality and modern perception of the world.

Keywords — Templars, Order of Christ, Age of discovery

I. O MITO É O NADA QUE É TUDO./ MYTH – NOTHING, EVERYTHING. (PESSOA, 1998: 100)

Templar Order, established in Jerusalem in 1118, in the time of crusades, was established with the purpose to protect pilgrims to the Holy land from the attacks of so-called heretics. In 1127, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux adopted the monastic rule of the Templar order. Templars were required to wear white coats, and be bound to sanctity, purity and obedience (to Pope only) and required to fight against the enemy of the Christian faith until death. Soon, however, Templars also started to play an important economic and diplomatic role in the Middle East as well as Europe. They developed the first organised banking system of loans and their collection leading them to strengthen their financial and political role on the international level. Their contact with the Arab world provided them with new knowledge in the field of warfare techniques, including in navigation, and knowledge of Gnosticism and esotericism.

Gualdim Pais, who was appointed Grandmaster in Portugal in 1157 was a great army leader and the commander of armies that re-conquered the cities of Santarém and Lisbon in the times of the first king of Portugal Afonso Henriques (1109-1185). In return, the king awarded the Templars by giving them the town of Tomar that gained more significance later, in the times of the

Order of Christ, along with the land between the towns of Santarém and Tomar, including the fortified castle of Almourol, which to this day reigns in the middle of Portugal, symbolically in the middle between the country's north and southern part.

After the Muslims conquered the holy city in 1291, Templars settled down in Europe and found themselves with strong and mighty opponents such as king of France Philip IV and Pope Clement V who orchestrated the prosecution and abolishment of the Templars. Besides being deeply indebted with the Templars, King Philip IV also wanted to come into possession of their mythic treasure that went on to disappear mysteriously. Another legend that added to the mystification and hatred of (European rulers) against Templars was, as narrated by Portuguese historian Miguel Real [1], linked to the Holy Grail whose guardians were the Templars.

II. TEMPLARS' HEIRS

Let us begin with the words of Papus (1865-1916), a martinist known as one of the greatest intellectuals of occultism and esotericism:

In Portugal Templars were not destroyed, but rather requested to change their name into *Ordem de Cristo*. They adopted the white cross representing atonement for their sins. *Ordem de Cristo* signifies a natural transition from the Templar Order without any significant cuts. [2]

Bernard Marillier (1957-2013), Italian historian, author of a book about Templars, writes:

»With the second bulla, *Ad providam Christi Vicarii*, of 2 May, the Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem (commonly known as the Knights Hospitaller; *Fraternitas Hospitalaria*) the property of Templars is transferred, except in Spain and in Portugal, where it is available to Vatican and must be used for fight against the Moors, establishment of new orders, such as Order of Christ, the true heir of the Templars.« [3]

Order of Templars was powerful in the financial and material sense, whereas its mystic, occult aspect should also be highlighted, being largely linked to the Templars' contacts with the Middle Eastern sects at the times of the Order's stay in these lands. Due to its sudden abolition, there are speculations that it was in fact certain Templars themselves that caused the Order's end, particularly those close to the initiation circles of the Order

[4], who had other intentions apart from the obvious ones. The Pope made the decision for their property to be transferred to the Knights Hospitaller (now the Sovereign Military order of Malta), which the then king of Portugal D. Dinis refused to accept. In the majority of other countries, the crown seized the Templars' property, whereas Portuguese king D. Dinis decided to use it for general national benefit and to strengthen his country. Rulers of other countries used the Templars' property for themselves and misused the Order because of their own previous debts with the order, which they refused to pay, and consequently prosecuted the order.

With the Papal bulla of 1319, the Order of Templars in Portugal was reborn and renewed into the Order of Christ.

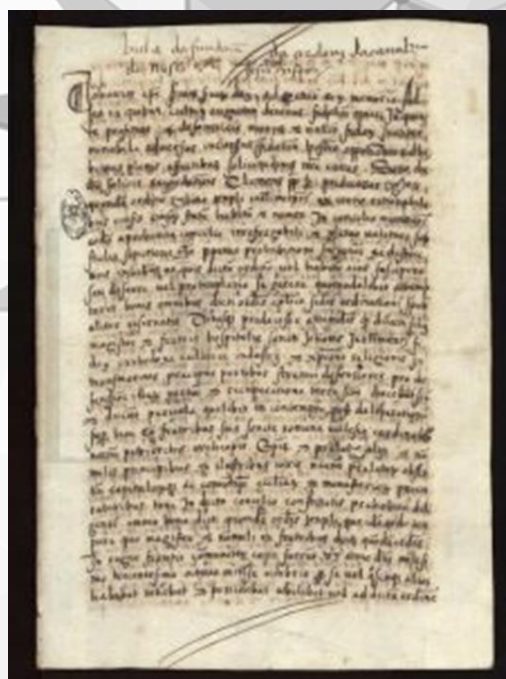


Fig. 1. Drawer 7, Bundle 8, no. 1.

Transcription of "Ad ea ex quibus cultus" bulla by Pope John XII, which established the Order of our Lord Jesus Christ, 14 March 1319, Avinhão.

Not to be misled by the new name, the Order continued to pursue its former ideals. The Templars' original cross was slightly modified in the Order's new symbol, while the wish and strong will to achieve something extraordinary not only for their country, but for the world at large was ever growing with the order and their ally, the king.

An additional cross was painted inside the Templar cross in white colour, symbolising purification and innocence of the Templars.

Members of the Order of Christ were all previous members of the mighty order of Templars and did not accept new member knights. In terms of our current global situation, it should be accentuated that Order of Templars had always accepted immigrants and the new order of Christ continued this practice and thus preserving the established and mighty ideals

of original Templars. At the time, Portugal was practically the only shelter for thousands of fleeing Templars. Having first settled in the south of Portugal in what is now the fortress in Castro Marim by the Spanish border, the core of the former new Order moved to the heart of Portugal, to the town of Tomar, where the magnificent architectural pearl of Convent of Christ, protected under the UNESCO heritage that bears witness to the exceptional history of the Templars, can still be admired today.



Fig. 2. Order of Christ and the Monastery in Tomar, volume 234.

The book of scriptures of the Order of Christ (1560-1568)

In Hoc Signo Vinctes.

It was in Tomar that the knights of the order of Christ were planning new projects that reached ecumenical proportions. Templars dreamed of an Empire, a land that would allow them to rise against the fate, the evil fate that struck them elsewhere. Portugal was a safe haven, a land they helped to build and where they, hand in hand with the intelligent, knowledgeable, educated and clever king, on the one hand chased »Islam« out of Europe and were conceiving very ambitious plans for those times, plans perhaps only they saw as realistic.

New name, new cross and the new message arising from the addition of the white Latin cross with the red Templars' cross, signalled that the catastrophe linked to their abolition and the violence they suffered because of the greedy and unjust king of France and his supporters and the cowardice of the Pope who subdued to the king, had morphed into a new hope. After suffering its martyrdom, the new Order, the Order of Christ, thus symbolically rose like a Phoenix, innocent, cleared of any charges, ready for new projects founded on old ideals.

In legal terms, the property of Templars was entirely transferred to the Order of knights Hospitaller, whereas what

was actually happening in practice in other countries was different, as Michel Lamy described in his book about Templars, describing orders on the Iberian Peninsula:

Templars were absolved in Portugal and king D. Dinis sent an envoy to Pope John XXII., successor of Clement V., to negotiate the rebirth of the Order of Templars. He was heard and the Order was re-established, i.e., Templars were able to join the new Order, Order of knights of the Christ that was established for them exclusively. All their property was returned and from then on, they operated on the same monastic order as the Calatrava Order. They continued wearing white cloaks with a red cross. However, a thinner white cross was drawn into the cross on the Templars' coat of arms, which signified the order's rebirth in purity. Former of the Order's dignitaries preserved their positions in the new Order. The first grandmaster of the re-established Order Gil Martins (at the time master of the Order of Avis), was appointed on 15 March 1319. They continued fighting against Muslims and conquered territories in Africa. They soon conquered Portuguese seas and ventured even further. It should not be forgotten that Prince Henry the Navigator started discoveries under their flag, which would probably not have been possible without the broad knowledge of maritime affairs, navigation techniques and astronomy, which knights had acquired in the East and passed to their younger brothers. [5]

Henry the Navigator's school »Escola de Sagres« was a school of maritime studies and astronomy, and much more than that, a small court in its own right and a centre where intellectuals of the era met, where noblemen learnt geography, astronomy, cartography, maritime affairs, natural sciences which were broadening the horizons. It was where brave noblemen became brave educated noblemen. Despite the fact that discoveries of the new world or new worlds were a giant business project, they also contributed to development in other areas, not only, to put it that way, the thickening of the royal purse.

Starting with Ceuta and Morocco, the defeat of their expedition to Tangier in 1436 lead to correction course into alternative routes, explorations of African coast and search for Christians who allegedly lived beyond the Muslim world.

What started as a typically medieval campaign, a struggle against the Muslim world, slowly, from the coast of Africa towards the Atlantic, morphed into something brand new, something announcing the arrival of a new era on the global level.

In 1450s, the Pope granted exclusive access to new lands to Portugal. In 1460, with the death of Henry the Navigator, his nephew Ferdinand succeeded the leadership of the Order of Christ and his successors.

Kings of Portugal were the protectors and patrons of missionary activities and activities of the Catholic Church in the newly discovered and conquered territories and perpetual bailiffs of the Order of Christ.

In Spain, King James II of Aragon made a similar venture by establishing the Order of Montesa. Some of the Templars

however did not wait until its establishment, and in the meantime joined the orders of Calatrava, Alcántara and Santiago de Espada.

In Germany, Templars were predominantly united in the Teutonic Order. In Italy, Templars became secularised and joined the Fede Santa fraternities, whose members later apparently included Dante Alighieri, who was allegedly connected to the Templars (Saint Bernard Clairvaux is mentioned in the Divine comedy).

The Order of Christ and Order Montesa remain the most notable Orders, as significant entities that accepted Templars and their property, as well as considerable number of immigrants passing the Pyrenees. These men included dignitaries who must have known the majority of secrets of the Templars. Some of these secrets must be concealed in the mysterious architecture of the castle of Tomar in Portugal. It is however most impressive that these orders were reigning over the seas and that their emblem adorned the ships which sailed to conquer the new world. Could it be that the journey to America is part of the heritage of Templars?

III. ORDER OF CHRIST AND DISCOVERIES OF THE WORLD

As power of Templars in the Order of the Christ was growing in Portugal, they gained opportunities to develop their own projects. The fact that the situation in the country and the peninsula became stable undoubtedly cleared their path. Templars themselves, one of the reasons being that they had sufficient funding to build first caravels, the age that was in fact commence the age of discoveries. In the drive for the new, for ventures no one had attempted before, Templars took Portugal and with it Europe, beyond, to other seas and continents, to discover the new world. They took their ideals, represented by the Templar cross that graced the sails of caravels, to other parts of the world and it is safe to say that at the time »Portugal undoubtedly became the Order of Templars themselves, now under the wing of Knights of Christ.« [6] As a military order however, they also had military goals, while it should not be forgotten that Templars also had cultural goals, something king of Portugal Dinis strongly encouraged. Franclim mentions the anecdote on how Templars fought the enemy in daytime and played chess with them in the evenings. It should not be overlooked that their bailiff, Infante prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) surrounded himself with wise men, intellectuals and good navigators, predominantly from Genoa, Venice and Mallorca. Henry the Navigator introduced a series of changes in the ranks of Order of Christ. Templars and their bailiff, infant Henry the Navigator were very progressive and open for their time. This was most likely due to the experiences of the Holy land when they established a colourful pallet of relations with different peoples and nations. Their openness represented a freedom - freedom of spirit, which drove them forward and made them oblivious to physical obstacles. Openness of spirit also lead them into a treasury of knowledge, which inside the

Order certainly must have been of great vastness. It was not without reason that they were called Militia of Christ. Portuguese historians specialising in the mythic aspects of Portuguese history defend the claim that Templars of the Order of Christ were a spiritual continuity between the mythic and religious goals of purification in redemption of the world connected with the occult and esoteric goals of the Order's members. [7]

It was supposed to be through Templars and through the vision of king Afonso Henriques in the Battle of Ourique (1139) that a sacred territory would be established, a country, a nation whose destiny would be to establish the messiah mission in Europe, a Portugal as a territory, nation, people, country chosen by God, or a messiah state. [8]

Certain Portuguese intellectuals, among which Manuel J. Gandra (1953, Lisbon) particularly stands out due to boldness of his statements, have claimed that Portugal has a mythic nature and that its story is similar to the story of Christ (and Order of the Christ alike) in the New testament in phases: Annunciation, Incarnation, Expiation and Redemption/Salvation. Simultaneously a common thread could be linked between Jerusalem – Rome – Lisbon. Lisbon is a (town) symbol [9] of the new paradisiacal empire born from Portugal and the Portuguese, who travel, explore (active role of the Order of Christ!) and discover this new paradisiacal empire. According to the Portuguese intellectuals and historians sharing this conviction, Order of Christ, direct heir of the Order of Templars, took on the mythic destiny and took Portuguese navigators around the world where they were able to spread the new values of the Empire of the Holy Spirit. The idea of this empire is strongly linked to king D. Dinis' wife, queen Elizabeth of Portugal, also known as the Saint Elizabeth of Portugal who allegedly brought the cult to Portugal from her native kingdom of Aragon and spread it around Portugal and its islands (Azores and Madeira), whereas during the age of discoveries, worshiping of the holy spirit also spread across Brazil through the Order of Christ, known as the spiritual leader of the overseas campaigns. The defeat of Portuguese king Sebastian in Alcácer Quibir, Morocco, and subsequent loss of independence (1580-1640) and Spanish rule represent the phase of Portugal's expiation, whereas redemption has not yet occurred. It is the mythic character of the missing king Sebastian whose body was never recovered that represents the salvation. Portugal is Christ and Christ is Portugal. (Saramago, 2019: 341).

IV. SIGNIFICANCE OF PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES

First, the main endeavour of Templars was to morally improve humanity.

»L'Eglise est la maison du Christ, le Temple celle du Saint-Esprit«. (Michaud, 1828: 872). «

In late 15th and early 16th century, Portugal was the country that disclosed to the world how a man is a multitude of people, a number of races, colours, of multiple creeds and customs and

thus reached beyond the unitary vision of the Middle Ages and spread and deepened the renaissance understanding of a man. In the given historic period, the country, based on practically-empirical experience, proved what Central European intellectuals were expressing in their visions in the field of physics, mathematics and astronomy (Real, 2011: 77). It was since that Portugal and with it Order of Christ showed Europe that the world is much bigger and more varied, that there is human life on other continents, that there are no monsters dwelling in the oceans [10] (Camões, 1988: 213-221), that hell is not in the tropics and that new seas are a lot like their seas. To reiterate, Portugal and Templars presented to the world that entire Earth is of same substance/material and that there are rational explanations for any new physical and geographic phenomena and for the exotic, thus shaking the world that was now forced to set new foundations for previous dogmas and knowledge.

Age of discoveries with Portugal at the helm undoubtedly influenced 17th century European scientific revolution and the 18th century political revolution, since they were based on the very Portuguese scientific discoveries. Portugal positioned the intercontinental and cosmopolitan culture of multiplicity of human models against the Ancient Greek and Roman culture that focused on the then popular rational and technical man. Portugal positioned into the forefront the universal man who mirrors multiple, varied people with one thing in common, that they are a man.

In 1580, Portugal lost its independence for 60 years and Spanish king Phillip II, heir to the throne of Portugal, became the grandmaster of the Order of Christ, similar as the Spanish monarchs who succeeded him. With restitution of Portuguese independence in 1640, the new king of Portugal John IV re-established the Order of Christ with an original innovation: new knights became secular/profane brothers of the Order. They lived outside the monastery with their families and had special rules for their secular lives. Their biggest task was to fight in the Portuguese Restoration War [12], the war against Spanish rule.

Order of the Christ was abolished with the abolition of male religious orders of 1834, while Queen Maria II. nevertheless decided to preserve the Order of Christ as a Honorific order. The Order's current grandmaster is namely the current President of the Republic of Portugal.

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acclamation as King John IV restored the Portuguese monarchy and ended sixty years of rule by the Spanish Habsburgs. From 1641 to 1668 the two nations were at war, with Spain seeking to isolate Portugal militarily and diplomatically and Portugal hoping to find the resources to maintain its independence through political alliances and colonial income.

THE NAME OF PAVLE ISAKOVIČ

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Abstract — In the light of the precise awareness that the writer “did not choose the name of the apostle Paul (t/n: Serbian: Pavle) by chance“, because “the word ‘apostle’ has a hidden, ‘coded’ meaning“, and because “in his pursuit of moral purity Pavel Isaković really resembles of an apostle“, the accent on meaning that was set on characterization property of the main character shields that the parallel between Pavle Isaković and the apostle Paul stem from the narration of a monk, and that in this narration the parallel was determined by both sacral dimension of apostle’s words and acts and secular dimensions of the time in which those words are repeated.

Keywords — Crnjanski, Pavle, Apostle, Migrations, Serbs

While in some poetic decisions, like the decision on the title of the novel, the writer pointed to the radical newness of the storytelling consciousness, when deciding about the names of the characters of the *Second Book of Migrations* Crnjanski was led by the classical poetic understanding, so he stated that the character’s “name... is very important”, because “the name has a symbolism to it” [1]. If there is a symbolic relation between the character’s name and his appearance in the novel, then it is bidirectional: from the name to the character and from the character to the name. So, in which relation are multilayered existence of the character and symbolic structure of his name? In the *Second Book of Migrations* the name of Pavle Isaković is twice brought to attention, lightened from various perspectives and speech situations, it derives properties of something that belongs in the focus of storytelling reflection. In the first instance Isaković himself takes his name as an evidence: “Pavle would answer to him, arrogantly, that he was born on Bakić’s land, that his mother gave him the name of Pavle Bakić – Paulus Bachitius, as Đurđe has the habit of saying – and that he does not have intention of failing this name, or forgetting his mother’s milk.” (242) [2]

In the depth of meaning of Pavle’s voice, that pronounces his own name, there are two more temporally distant but parallel and different pronunciations: the voice of Isaković’s mother and the voice of his brother Đurđe. That inner layers in every mention of Pavle’s name remain intact. Because, when strange voice, like the voice of his Catholic travel companion, pronounces character’s name, it once again appears in some temporal distance and as a part of some bonding chain: “In that moment Gabrić took his hand and

stroked it. Captain should be comforted, that schismatics do not know the prayers! Even when it is simple babbling, the prayer is never in vain. As Saint apostle Paul, his namesake, assures us: the spirit of God in our prayers even then, in such prayers, prays for us in silent sobs!” (407) Mentioning of the persons whose existence assumes *predetermined* meaning – Pavle Bakić, apostle Paul – is in profound coincidence with existential impediment in front of which Isaković found himself, because the names appear as undeniable evidence, since there is the content that they irrevocably bring.

V. PRESCRIBED NAME

Pavle’s reference to the historical background of his name is carried by hidden insecurity: Bakić, being historical figure from the end of XV and beginning of XVI century [3], in character’s mind represents great hero and the last Serbian Despot, but he is, in the same time, an emotional burden for Isaković, who was born on Bakić’s land, and that being the reason for his *mother* to give him such name. If Pavle strives, with his “courage during the charge”, to keep alive – for himself as well as for others – the cult of valor being the legacy of Bakić’s name, then the meaning of *the last* which dwells in the name of Serbian Despot radiates darkness from Isaković’s name. Is the fatalism of the character’s deeds necessarily ingrown with his strange fascination with *the last* Serbian Despot, does this fascination belong to the experience of chaos that breaks the nation and inspires the need for rooting? However, the very Bakić’s name opposes to rooting, because the last Serbian Despot is not the preview of the end, it is the end itself. The breaking point of Pavle Isaković originates between necessity to be rooted again with the nation and his individual *predetermination* for the end and termination. In the sentences where he refers to his name, Pavle assumes participation in historical action, because – as someone loyal to Bakić and marked by his name – he tries to create and fulfill history. And by doing so, however, he oversteps his powers in the world, although he does not stop the work of his mind, so he has delusions about being poisoned as they poisoned Atanasije Rašković (205), which is in disproportion to the role he plays in the events, but is in proportion to his self-understanding [4].

Being loyal to the last Serbian Despot means – for Pavle Isaković – to make it last: how to do this when Despot is

someone who is *the last*? Isaković's attachment to Bakić's name appears as nuanced attachment to himself: if Pavle was born there, then he is there even when he is not. But, how to be there when you are not? Through Bakić, because he – as the last lord of that land – is always there, so the Bakić's presence is the presence of birth, root, origin and – "mother's milk". Isaković's attachment to the beginning (birth) is reflected in his devotion to the end (Bakić). While staying loyal to "mother's milk" truly means staying loyal to the place where you authentically exist, the step towards "Rosija" is a step towards a place where one exists again: "Sure, sure, he made it up, he said, that in him lives Bakić's soul and that he will take it with him to Rosija." (242) The beginning, where one was, is brought to the end as a space where, in the mind of Pavle Isaković, one must be: if the beginning and the end of his wandering in the world must overlap, then it is because he must establish his previous identity. The character, thus, is *surrendered* to the sameness formed by beginning and end of his destiny. The semantic field of the distant root of his name begins to glow, which in ancient Hebrew is *Shaul*, which is the passive form of the root of the verb *shaal*. The verb enables two explanations: asked for (from God) as in "a child asked for" [5] and given, taken, borrowed (from God) meaning that he was given to the reign of God. [6] Since this is common name, it should be interpreted in the scope of hints of the second explanation, i.e. as a mark of someone who was given to God. [7]

So, already, in his name it was determined that he does not belong to himself, because he was *given* (to someone) and *taken* (from someone). His existence is *prescribed*: Isaković does not possess the freedom of his own action, but his action is free merely on the horizon of his devotion. Thus, he walks along prescribed road, because staying loyal to his "mother's milk" as something that is authentic in him, something that is source and origin, prescribes his quest for the authentic where he finds his termination and end. The road towards something becomes the road away from something: "But, he came to Kiev, same as his countrymen, to join Russian army, to be true to their names there, and to, with this army, return to Servia. They do not wander the world, for their sake, but to call the Russians! In order to return with this army, not with Austrian army, to Turkish border. He would like to, one again, see, before his life ends, Cer, the hill, at which foot he was born. [8]

To return to his origin." (771) The entire motion gets the property of return, which truly exists because it leads to departure, it confirms it in itself, same as exists the road in which meaning the return dwells (524). At the moment when Mikailo Vani, using example of political plans of Vladika Vasilije, in depicting Vasilije's intention to bring Russians – as empire, as political action – to Montenegro (363), *materializes* to Pavle his inner purpose, then it has the power of revelation, because in the field of political action appears some *predetermination* which brings Isaković, as the being of his time and his nation, in unison with his invisible purpose. The departure to migration does not have the meaning of origin in the moment of initiation, but it infuses this meaning with the

hour of return: the return transforms the departure in outcome. This word, by simultaneously marking both the beginning and the end, here has two meanings which create *prescribed* sense. If their names are to be brought back with them, and, only as the part of Russian armies, arrive to their origin, then the basic fear of Pavle Isaković is that the motion may be suspended (306, 519), because it is the only thing that guarantees loyalty to Bakić's name.

The very arrival to Russia is seen as return, so "Kiev... appealed very much" to Pavle, but not because he met there something that attracted him with its beauty or strength, but because it appears to him as something "familiar", despite the clear awareness that it is "unfamiliar". Kiev is "familiar" not because it resembles something seen before but because it looks like "some mirage" (605): arrival at Kiev marks return to mirage, which nature is determined by something that is familiar, same as the nature of the unfamiliar resides in that it "seems familiar", so immersing in mirage means to return to the beginning. Isaković's internalization of historic paradigm (Bakić) reveals profound layer of character's predetermination, which is found in important matches with the nation's properties, especially with the topos of chosen people, but Pavle is in the same time situated within the figure of metaphysical hero. Because, Pavle becomes the bearer of transcendent world, so as the sign of already distant, but still unsuspended connection with transcendence he carries inside him nostalgia for a native land existing in this world which corresponds to the ideal, blurry if it is used positively, unambiguous in what it accepts. [9] In this *predetermination* Pavle Isaković is possible as metaphysical hero.

VI. APOSTOLIC NAME

In the light of the precise awareness that the writer "did not choose the name of the apostle Paul (t/n: Serbian: Pavle) by chance", because "the word 'apostle' has a hidden, 'coded' meaning", and because "in his pursuit of moral purity Pavel Isaković really resembles of an apostle" [10], the accent on meaning that was set on characterization property of the main character shields that the parallel between Pavle Isaković and the apostle Paul stem from the narration of a monk, and that in this narration the parallel was determined by both sacral dimension of apostle's words and acts and secular dimensions of the time in which those words are repeated. Because, in the speech of a monk there is something that undermines its sacredness: friar Gabrič says to Pavle that – according to the teachings of apostle Paul – even as "simple babbling" prayer represents the "Spirit of God" which "in our prayers, even then, even in such prayers, prays for us with silent sobs" (407). However, friar puts in the apostle's message meaning which is in its opposition, since apostle asked "may you not become bored in prayer; and be alert in it with gratitude". [11] The sense of the apostle's request is that believer in prayer must not become "idle, so as to leave out the very practice of prayer, or redeems his mind, or reverts his thoughts from it", since the

prayer has the effect of the antidote for soul laziness with which apostle Paul “wants to get even with here”. [12] In Gabrič’s narration, apart from usual words on necessity of prayer, appears unexpected tolerance – maybe as the sign of the age of enlightenment in which the conversation takes place – to laziness of Isaković’s soul, which the apostle in his epistle wants to remove. Even if Gabrič mentioned apostle in order to protect Isaković from unsolicited judgment of another friar, in his words there is a lot of space for his own sense of time in opposition to gospel sense of time, which predicts multiple causality of creating parallel between Pavle Isaković and apostle Paul.

Prevailing property of this parallel remains, however, attached to sacral aspect of apostle, which constructs the idea of his *shepherd-hood*, grown from the necessity and unconditionality of his teaching: apostle Paul is not only “the great light” but also “*teacher* of the entire ecumene”, [13] which is present in Gabrič’s reminder of which “Saint apostle Paul, his namesake, assures” us. The man that leads in *sacral* way does not do that by force, coercion, deceit or terror, but with his mind, feeling and reason as effects of metaphysics that speaks through him. It seems that this property exists in Pavle Isaković, so Kumrija “was, unusually, loyal to Pavle, who in that family was some kind of shepherd, who leads the flock”. But, note that “this shepherd left the clang of spurs, and not the chime of bells” (223) predicts that there is storytelling *distance* in relation to ethic background of Isaković’s leadership. Because, all Pavle’s evidence on necessity of migration are much more the fruits of character’s existential ability, which is depicted by *predetermination* of his name, rather than objective reasons compelling to migration. This brings Pavle in dangerous position of a man who instrumentalizes his brothers.

That is why his leadership becomes problematic, since it is derived only from the free will of his brothers to follow him: when they become jeopardized by such decision, scared by Garuslijev’s threats, they give up migration (176-177), which means that they do not have the original existential divide in relation to the world, while Pavle does not give up. So, they go to migration driven by reasons for which – humiliated and insulted – they could stay where they live. Their submersion in migration in narrative was also predicted by Pavle’s sense of remorse (391), and Petar’s accusations against Pavle (416), and by storyteller’s confirmations of such accusations (433). His shepherd-hood is, thus, freed from reasons for others, separated from reason and barren in loneliness, so Pavle “had voice, that echoes, as the voice of shepherd, the voice that is often heard, in Serbian families, even when they are no long the families of shepherds”. (670) Same as his leadership is not lasting, although it is innate, so his authority, based on the dilapidated foundations of their free will, is not made of such material to withstand accumulated dissatisfaction due to life hardships in Russia (686). Through the parallel with apostle Paul, Isaković’s leadership – to great extent – is desacralized, since it is shown as the illusion of apostleship: the character still considers him an apostle, while for others he is not any more. At the moment

when he tries to bind the world with himself, to impress his mark on it, he becomes liberated from metaphysical background and thus in narrative translated into comic, and even ironic and grotesque perspective.

While in the parallel with the apostle one metaphysical foundation of character’s image is being dissolved – its *predetermination* as being chosen and being a leader – by simultaneous brining to action biblical symbolism of his name, the other metaphysical foundation of this image is being supported: character’s commitment to the outcome. This is enabled by biblical sentence: “Saul, who was also called Paul.” [14] The symbolism of this sentence come from assumed twist of meaning where it is stated that “Saul shook the church, and Paul ceased the persecution”. [15] The meanings of the Hellenic word *παύλα*, which is in the foundation of biblical symbolism, point out the parallel between character’s name and the outcome of his journey: peace, rest, sleep; cessation, end liberation. [16] In relation that is formed between the manner of Pavle’s being, determined by constant un-rest, and character’s name, as something that gives his motion an aspect of special existence, storytelling suggestion is formed about how from the other side of the world – regardless if it is marked as the beginning or the end – there is the *void* itself in which character enters and which is represented in the *Second Book of Migrations* as peace and cessation. There Isaković’s stumbling in the world is liberated from *predetermination* and his identity is formed. If, however, Pavle’s restlessness in the world is predetermined with this void, then *predetermination* is not only devoid of purpose but it is also cynical, because character possesses no quality of being special, being chosen, being the leader, since the outcome of any movement and any life rhythm is – the same. Pavle Isaković, as opposed to the biblical dimension of his own name, but not independently from it, becomes being-for-death: with this lane of his path he remains metaphysical character.

When he enters different relations with other characters, Pavle Isaković discovers flipside of his own metaphysical position, because his ethical, national, psychological, customary requests, shown in unconditional and absolute manner, appear at the backdrop of a fanatic figure. Instead of grounding himself in the strength of mind and example, the metaphysics of his leadership, regardless if it is truly or illusionary radical, appears as a fruit of some passion, mood or resentment. This path gives birth to the decomposition of the metaphysical foundations of the character of Pavle Isaković. In his monologues in special voice echo thoughts directed to absent Đurđe Isaković, because Pavle “yelled at Đurđe, although there was no one in the room, and his nephew was, so, far away”. Those thoughts are angry answers – “count, fat boy, count” – to presumed Đurđe’s words, because those words are internalized parts of Pavle’s mind: “oh my Đurđe, how long we’ll carry on like this”, because “we listened to Emperor’s order, submissive, to Engelshoven and Serbelloni”, so we “also implored... reverent Prince in Venice”, same as we “wined and dined... Pasha in Belgrade”, so that everything would end at

the moment when “Russians tell me that, from now on, we are to listen, and pay attention, what we do”.

Cries full of warning and anger are again directed to the same imagined listener: “do you hear this, fat boy”, “do you” (461-462.) Dread brought by comprehension of the fact that there is no way out and dependence of nation historic position is directed to Đurđe’s existential reconciliation with the world. This dread as if carried by waves of Pavle’s utter lack of reconciliation in relation to misfortune of his own countrymen. Although it is character’s attitude, it is in the first place his affect, because despite the confrontation with poverty of his countrymen, poverty which trace will remain imprinted in Pavle’s eyes, “even Isaković’s, sympathy, for those countrymen, did not last long. Same as with everyone, rich, people, and widowers, that feeling in him was deep, but it was passing. It never turned into the real, remaining, fire of empathy, to his fellow sufferers, but he was undecided, as branches of, old, willows, are easily rocked, by wind.” That is why Pavle “rode, with his head bowed, for a few hours, behind his countrymen, to return afterwards” (521). Because he wishes to comply with the ideal of empathy, Pavle is compelled to do something, but what he does not only lasts “few hours” but it is used as the foundation for *ethos* that is not lived, but it is just something that character *talks* about. The story about the accident, thus, is the escape from worldly presence of the very accident.

Certain mismatch between Pavle’s thoughts about nation and his actions in front of the live image of misery that struck his countrymen, especially those who follow – even unaware – his path that leads to Russia, reveals how for Isaković nation’s accident is a subject of his thoughts, while the character himself is somewhat shielded from the effects of consequences brought by this accident. If this shield is his basic position, then it is not really personal choice but necessary deed. In the situation when there is no choice, Isaković does not challenge the necessity, which would be consistent deed of an apostle, but he – even if done unwillingly and with internal resistance – complies with such necessity. This gives us insight that mind and being of Pavle Isaković have internal sense for Pavle Isaković only, so the experience of nation’s accident is only the result of this sense’s action. So, character’s destruction of Đurđe’s existential complacency suddenly indicates that something important remains in this complacency, something that undermines the very foundation of Pavle’s metaphysics, because in it he finds hints of lunacy. Đurđe’s rational indication to Pavle’s widowhood as the nucleus of misfortune, even more, signalizes that lunacy appears as the result of displaced system of desire, sexuality and power, as the expression of monomaniacal mind that is narrowing [17]. So – in this horizon of character’s image – radicality of Pavle Isaković would only be radicality of his narrowing mind.

Pavle’s conflicts with the world appear in storytelling as disturbances of his perception: same as his conflict with Božić (399), so conflicts in Russia are set by wrong expectations. If Đurađ Isaković is the most pragmatic and the most opportunistic of all Isakovičs, what in the context of storytelling means the circumstance that he is simultaneously the second mind of Pavle’s existence, the one that comprehends him in non-apostolic way? This mind inevitably also touches his name: “... - Paulus Bachitius, as Đurđe has the habit of saying - ...” Pavle internalizes such mind both as parallel to him and in opposition to him: textual sings of his presence, dashes by which it is marked in the text, separate it inside Pavle’s words, where bidirectionality of a single mind is imprinted. The name written in Latin language depicts pulsation of *predetermination* and death in Pavle’s monomaniacal speech, but it in the same time also introduces the second perspective in this speech, which puts in action undermining meanings within the name itself: apart as being marked as the Roman family name Paulus, this name also means *little, small*. [18]

If Bakić is great hero and if his name is what – in the mind of Pavle Isaković – inspires migration to Russia, what monomaniacal dimension of Pavle’s mind has to say about Bakić, the mind that does not notice how corrosive is Đurđe’s interference? As in conscious dimension of Isaković’s character transfer of Bakić’s meanings to Isaković took place, so now inversely, but along same path, suppressed Isaković’s meanings are transferred to Bakić: mind that by unconditional repetition of word “yes, yes” confirmed character’s determination to transfer Bakić’s soul is suddenly disputed in its original impetus, because in the second perspective of the same mind Bakić becomes insignificant and small hero. In Đurđe’s words Bakić’s greatness is not consistently presumed, in those words accents of sense are differently positioned than in Pavle’s speech, so his greatness, same as Tekelija’s (609), even in storytelling is not that greatness.

If Isaković’s intention, instead of creating metaphysical echo, starts to show small movement on ridiculous base, then Pavle is not metaphysical but small (insignificant) hero. He is indirectly marked as such in the moment when to the Kostjurin’s question whether he speaks Russian, he “with some strange irritation, answered, arrogantly: ‘I only speak Serbian!’” Why did he answer in such a way? Because – as storyteller explains – “there was a story going in Isaković family that Joan Tekelija once said so.” The meaning of Pavle’s answer will be nuanced by storyteller’s point, which as if was the fruit of Đurđe’s perspective: “And respected Mister Isaković – gone nuts – and imagined, not only that he carries in him Bakić’s soul, and unborn son of Vuk, but also tongue, arrogant, which Tekelija used to, even in front of emperors, babble.” (641) The very Pavle’s “irritation” carried the qualification “strange”, which means that it was unprovoked and that, together with “arrogant” answer to the question that is not offensive or humiliating, realizes double effect: although Pavle tends to confirm metaphysical character that oversteps boundaries of

VII. THE NAME OF SMALL HERO

the world in himself, in narration he does not seem exalted in such act, but remains unnoticed, his even not inappropriate, not even insignificant. While he repeats Tekelija's words, by which he tends to establish and by such act realizes his uniqueness, he falls in existential trap, composed of the knowledge that his act reminds of something, but not what it initiates: he repeats Tekelija's words, but does not repeat Tekelija's act. Because, he is not Tekelija, so mere impersonation situates invoked metaphysics somewhere out of Isaković, in some void which does not have existential content.

The great significance also has circumstance that Pavle's repetition of Tekelija's words is brought in storytelling parallel with character's earlier reference to Bakić's soul and that such reference, suddenly and subsequently, from the heart of the very situation, granted character qualification that he "went nuts". Regardless whether birth hour of storyteller's awareness that Pavle "went nuts" passed or it is created now, awareness itself includes internalization of Bakić's soul and impersonation of Tekelija's words. When Pavle speaks of Bakić's soul inside him, then in narration there are different and unspoken possibilities for his act, but when storyteller accents character's lunacy as the foundation of his act, then metaphysical hero is indirectly set as background for small (insignificant) hero. Since, "strange irritation" and "arrogant" answer exist in Pavle's mind leaned against perception on metaphysical hero, which are hero's tense expectations that are dissolving into *nothingness* at the moment when – untouched by Pavle's words – Kostjurin laughed (641). The entirety of the storytelling scene is determined by its tones opposed in meaning. Because, Isaković's radicality remains possible: same as the meeting of the beginning and the end provides radicality of given existence, so *nothingness* of narrowed mind corresponds to radical and monomaniacal structure of the small hero. So, the narrational multiplication of different perspectives exist in Pavle Isaković.

It leads to narrational transformations, so the moment when metaphysical hero recognizes himself as the small hero is simultaneously the moment when he from the leading shepherd with primary property of *teacher* becomes "...pedagogue. Damn pedagogue!" (548) Not only that this ironic pronunciation of Pavle's apostolic property is delegated to Višnjevski, who is not only character's antipode but also his enemy, but also such ironic and destructive point is narratively objectized and separated from its creator (614). It is simultaneous with crumbling of political dimension of Pavle's metaphysical motive, crumbling that takes place in Višnjevski's words that "Russian road, however, does not lead to Serbia – pardon me Isaković – but to Constantinople, to Bosphorus" (525). So, if their road, however, does not lead to Serbia, then absence of return changes the meaning of departure, because the metaphysical request for origin vanishes. Its disappearance makes metaphysical hero dissimilar to himself, while small (insignificant) hero at that moment poses only caricatural request for recognition: instead of *teacher* there is "damn pedagogue" in action, but the need for him to be damned

does not come from his frightening malice but from unremovable boredom of grotesque request which he keeps repeating.

Presence of the small hero in Pavle's name is located in the inner disharmony with the knowledge that he is the highest hero in *Second Book of Migrations* (177). Activation of this hidden tension between Pavle's name and his image takes place in the perspective of dominant awareness of Đurđe Isaković which states that "there... where the company is pleasant, there is our empire" (605), because "everywhere is pleasant, where the company is pleasant. Where our companions are, there is good. Wherever it may be. In any empire." (534). What is the connection between Pavle's invisible property and Đurđe's expressed belief? "Ancient people believed goods only live on hills. When a man is on the hill, it seems that he is closer to sky; he feels exalted, free; highlanders, more than anyone else, love their homeland. Nowhere else a proverb 'The motherland is where is good' is mentioned so frequently, as in the vast plains of north Germany." [19]

The difference between Pavle and Đurđe appears as the difference between the mountain and the plain, height – from where Pavle's "road to Rosija lead... upwards" (583) – and lowlands, authentic existence and the world. As a small hero, Pavle is downgraded to Đurđe's measure, because homeland is cancelled in the one for who "foreign land is more difficult than for people living in the plain". [20] When Đurđe's oblivion of homeland (725), which is oblivion of origin and "mother's milk", recognizes in smallness of Pavle's life, in spite of his remembrance and talk, then the specific narrational emptying of metaphysical content of Pavle's character takes place. Can we then evaluate that in *The Second Book of Migrations* happened upheaval which Lukač describes: that hero's soul is so maniacally closed that inside it does not possess any possibility of dispute, that from there he rushes in inappropriate actions and adventures, that his exaltation becomes madness, because the purest heroism became grotesque, same as the strongest faith became madness, at the moment when roads towards character's transcendent homeland became blocked? [21]

In Pavle Isaković there is effective storytelling potential that leads in such direction, same as in *The Second Book of Migrations* there is effective storytelling perspective which empowers such meanings of character's image, but in narration there is continuous process of sedimentation of both character's properties and narrational perspectives, which means that there is intensive effect of the meanings that disprove character's smallness. So, the authentic fruit of this process is specific, kaleidoscopic, multilayered of the subject of storytelling, as well as the very storytelling, so there is no upheaval in Pavle Isaković as irreversible storytelling act, because this upheaval keeps playing out and revoking.

VIII. ĐURĐE ISAKOVIĆ

The names in Russia are mysterious and unknown: numerous – regardless whether they describe people or places, battles or castles – Russian names spread some fear that takes over Đurđe Isaković and transfers to every meaning of Russia. At the moment when Pavle “added, that Volkov told him that, maybe, he will be able to see empress, in Rosija, who makes Moscow more beautiful this year by her presence, and lives in the castle named Golovin”, this knowledge will not – as Pavle hoped – beautify Đurđe’s expectation and inspire his impatience, but it will put in action his fear, so he will “sadly” ask: “Where they find those names?” (415) Strange and intransferable individuality of Russian names, like the name of the castle Golovin, appear as the substitute for entire Russia and as a measure of its mysteriousness that creates fear. Such fear is not banal: Đurđe Isaković does not predict that they do not belong to Russia only because they are immigrants but he predicts that they are foreign in relation to inner sense which Russia carries. This is externalized by Russian names in his mind: if he is outside of internal sense which Russia – in his mind – must have, where is he? Can one belong to space and not belong to its sense, does that lack of belonging leads to being outcast in that space?

That Đurđe’s worry is not unreasonable was discovered in the knowledge how “the worst...time had Vlaškalin’s bitch, Moča (t/n: Serbian colloquial term for wet.)”. They “called her so, as endearment, in Titel, because she would roam all day around boats, and would return, at night, all wet. In Kiev her name meant: urine. Kids would run after her – calling out her name – with sticks. All local strays would chase her, in suburbs, which was called Podolija, though poor animal was, from the long trip, all messy, dirty, weak.” (571) While Russian names to Isakovičs in Austria seemed strange, in Russia immerses something unknown from the imaginary familiarity of the names they brought from Austria. That is the origin of fear of Đurđe Isaković: if in their names they carry belonging to Austrian world, where would they go with those names in Russian world? So, once again, they exist in some opposition to the world. Roaming and wetness of Vlaškalin’s bitch exist in “pleasantness” of her space, because only bitch Moča becomes protected by that name in Titel. In Kiev, however, she is denounced by the very name, because the new world inscribes it threatening meaning in her existence. The individuality of the name – as the most personal part of identity – reveals that the old determination of name constructs incomprehensibility of its meaning in the new world. Ontological lack of foundation of nation’s identity knocks at the foundation of proper names. When Moča from wetness becomes urine, then it is the sign that by own identity and name one’s existential rhythm cannot tap into the sense of Russia, because the name is the shortest path from awareness of separation between new world and old – transferred – meaning.

Being the most worried in the presence of unfamiliarity of Russian names, Đurđe Isaković was the first to understand that only by identifying with the new world one can acquire new identity, so not only he began to add to his name Zeremski”

(622) but he also became “Georgije Isaković Zeremski” (664). This is not deprived of deeper experiential base, because in Đurđe’s willingness “to be as Russians are” (720) echoes advice of Višnjevski that all of them should “turn as soon as possible, in Russians” (525), which means that in that procedure one accommodates very precise situational expectation. The change of the most special sign in the identity reveals that new sense of special is paved in the intention to cancel it. Name of Đurđe Isaković is changed in order for the character to escape Moča’s faith. The name provokes, because the faith provokes: the faith is, however, encompassing, while in the name only Đurđe exists, so the change of name reveals that what was left of faith has gone from character’s gaze.

The ultimate paradox is that all of this also happened in Austria, that in the old world as well some mysterious disallowance gleamed in nation’s names, when “general who was named Puvala, started to eat letters of his name, and to write it: Puhalo”. (661) If inevitable change of name includes both old and new world, why go there where the name is a suspect same as here? That is far reaching question which, by fear in the presence of Russian names, suggests Đurđe Isaković. He scolds Pavle for rushing into migration despite knowing that “we, Isakovičs, were nowhere happy”, so it is not to expect that they will become so in Russia, since every possible choice does not include them staying what they are: “we have the choice, or to become papists, or Muscovites” (200). So, Đurđe, disputes Pavle’s intention both from metaphysical perspective, because he evaluates migration as disloyalty to origin, and in horizon of political idea, since they will cease to belong to nation.

That thought will drill Pavle’s soul at the end of the novel, since he will repeat thought about how Isakovičs “were never happy”, because “they always...moved” (786). What Đurđe was always against and what is named as lunacy innate to Isaković family (310, 604) also in Pavle’s words becomes everlasting sign of their misfortune (557, 716). So, Đurđe, have always known same as Pavle, only he represented existentially complacent response to challenges that came from *predetermination* of Isakovičs to misfortune: he wanted to accept the world and diminish misfortune (543) when he could not avoid it. Pavle, however, always wanted to remove misfortune, not seeing it as misfortune but as the error of the world, so even the awareness of his own error (740) could not weaken his existential request that the world should change. Đurđe’s predictions about reach of migration (433) are being fulfilled, since he knows the world, which, in the same time, both determines and limits him: when he is confronted with what is outside the world, such as is the decision of Đinda Zeković to commit suicide, Đurđe is totally wrong in his estimates, same as he seems comical – in the shine of his name – when Ana starts to act strangely (621).

So, adjustment of his name came, as Đurđe’s existential response to fear he felt even before coming to Russia, to fear that grew from the dark shadow of the name of Russian castle. When renouncing his name saved Đurđe from Moča’s faith, then his fear become unreasonable, so it vanished, since such

faith could only be invoked by invisible background of character's name. So, there is no, Đurađ Isaković who can speak through Zeremski, because those mouth – not knowing about their name – do not know that speech any more. Only when he freed from his name, he irreversibly starts belonging to the world, he stopped provoking and rising suspicion: character's irreversible step from special to what belongs to everyone is not so great, because what belongs to everyone starts at the place where one leaves his own name.

IX. NAMES

Pavle is not able to change his name which encompasses large storytelling span between metaphysical and small hero. If he represents numerous possibilities of such span, if that is revealed even in his mind, as a part of character's self-awareness, then the collision with the world is a pattern, because it comes from character's inner stratification: Isaković's intention, in this case, is in the same time both metaphysical and void, instead to only *appear* as such. This is predetermined by his name, which meaning breaks depending on the etymon that sets in motion relevant storytelling record on Pavle Isaković. Between metaphysical *predetermination* (Shaul) and insignificant smallness (Paulus) in the storytelling of *Second Book of Migrations* there is also ambiguous possibility of (παύλα) apostolic unworthiness and being towards death.

All those moments come, however, from temporal depth of character's name, the mark occurrence by distant and divergent symbolic effects, because they appear as parts of narrational paradigmatic axis, while the actual forms of names in *Second Book of Migrations*, which express time of occurrence, where there is also Pavel (175), and Pavle (274), and Paul (299), which is not any character's uniqueness, because there is also Đurađ (175), and Đurđe (176), and Jurat (664), and Georgije (664) in his brother, same as there are both Trifun (175) and Trofim (705) in the man who "in Kiev searches for his children", act as indicators of temporal and symbolic leveling of character, because they belong to the syntagmatic narrational axis. They, however, in the same time also universalize all content that character's name, through him and his mind and his goal, mediates in the unceasing movement from the name to character and from character to the name in the novel of Crnjanski.

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THE MEDITERRANEAN AND A DREAM ABOUT CITY

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Abstract — Since Mediterranean was predestined for sailing and communication between different worlds, the first large cities were found along coasts of its seas. In the history of the urban and the city, same as, regarding many things in the history of the world we know, all started at the very Mediterranean, in Ancient Greece, that „tradition of all traditions“. While ancient Greeks lived in their cities in harmony with nature, surrounded by „smiles, sun and sea“, on the northern shores of the Adriatic one Modern Age city was founded. It became synonym for opulence and richness of Mediterranean sensual experience. Venice and the cities in the Mediterranean cannot be imagined without one typical Mediterranean organic social event, such as the carnival.

Keywords — Mediterranean, Athens, Venice, City, Communication, Urban, Polis, „civitas solis“, Carnival

The city and urban were always one of the substantial properties of Mediterranean identity. Mediterranean man sees the world around him from the perspective of city and urban, which is in itself the consequence of constant reliance on communication, as unreplaceable view of the world, but also the basic existential prerequisite of Mediterranean way of life. All this is clearly sensed even in the hidden little coastal towns, as well as in the largest Mediterranean megalopolises. Mediterranean cities, reflected in the shine of a great star that is always turned to them, seem to represent numerous and grandiose trials of a men to realize ideal of the city and polis of Sun, there on the coasts of warm Mediterranean seas.

For this metaphor the most meritable is Dominican Tommaso Campanella, one of the most significant philosophers of Humanism and Renaissance, who under the influence of Plato's Republic and Utopia by Thomas More wrote and in 1602 published Civitas Solis (City of Sun). Sun and love are the ultimate in the hierarchy of Campanella's ideal city of sun, which for the basic goal has culture and human happiness.

According to renown Greek urbanist Constantinos Doxiadis, an expert in the field of ekistics, which is considered multidisciplinary science about human settlements, about 10 000 years men has dwelled in villages, only to in the last 8 000 years, crate and develop new forms of settlements – towns and cities.

Advantage of village for a long time has been in the stability and balance, however, on the other hand in the village they were

often guarded to strictly to enable any kind of growth and development.

Before becoming the center of communication, the city first was control center that broke selfish self-centeredness and dreamy narcissism of village culture, thinks Lewis Mumford in his famous study The City in History (Naprijed Zagreb, 1988.)

In many attempts to answer what actually the city is, maybe it would be the best to define it as very densely populated, walled and limited space. And in that walled space the city was established, bringing its most important phenomenon of urban, fascinatingly changing the world we know and we live in.

Urban transformation was followed by, or maybe even preceded by some sort of collective unconscious exaltation to spirituality. Soon, the city became main factor of man transformation, enabling him to fully express his personality. Cities brought expansion of human energy and increase of what we could call, not only for this occasion, human “I”.

From the present perspective, it could be said that foundation of cities was a process of gathering equal to nuclear reaction. Because it fried and produced almost inexplicable explosion of human energy. The city already transformed man so much, that without exaggeration one can say that transformation of modern man really was an act of the city.

Even if we consider all negative aspects and today familiar contraindications of urban development, in time the city created one life form which with its reasonable properties will overgrow those starting goals that created it. Or as Aristotle said: People gather in the city to live; they stay there to live the good life.

The important prerequisite for the development of cities was advancement of sailing. All started with floating bunches of reeds, only to come along way to rowing boats and sailing boats, and to modern ships which even today cannot be replace by the most advanced road vehicles. The first cities were founded along rivers, along those bodies of water that man of that time could somehow conquer. However, only after mastering skills to build vessels and sailing, the real development of cities begins along the coasts of Mediterranean.

Today we can easily reconstruct the prototype of the city, the concept it was founded on and later developed around, was ritual religious complex consisting of the palace, temple and sanctuary. Then there came the substantial need for dialogue, origination near temple, simply growing on its own, and it was



Grand Priory of Serbia

important for foundation and development of the cities in the Mediterranean. Dialogue is one of the most important expression of urban life. In the same time, it also enabled man that first step out of tribal conformism, where there was not possible to discover awareness of oneself, or any development of one personality.

However, dialogue was not the part of the original function of the city; because its prerequisite was that starting import of rich human difference in closed urban amphitheater. Only then dialogue was created and transformed in what one could call the drama of the city.

From the time of Ancient Greece there is well known thought, that where differences are appreciated and where opposition is endured, fight can really be transformed in dialectics. Only by creating such cultural and democratic ambient and atmosphere city has in organized way developed his economics and become place that really suppresses physical and inspires spiritual war.

As a result of so organized social and economically appealing urban ambient, as well as Mediterranean communication, the first large cities, prototypes of modern megalopolises, those giant "melting pots", with their powerful centripetal force that attracts all, were founded in Mediterranean.

With Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople, that had several hundred thousand of inhabitants, outside of Mediterranean only Beijing could compare.

The first megalopolis in history was Babylon, which was the first city BC that reached million inhabitants, while Rome was the first that had more than a million. During AD period number of million inhabitants, apart from some Chinese cities (Hangchao and Beijing) and maybe Aztec Mexico, in the period VI-IX century it was first reached by Constantinople, while the first city in Western Europe that surpassed million inhabitants was London, but in 1800 year. (According to: Konstantinos Doksijadis, Čovek i grad, Nolit Beograd, 1982, str.246.)

The most important novelty and value of urban culture was the fact that this culture developed specialized work. For the first time in the city specialized work became daily and exclusive occupation. As a result, specialized worker ("extended arm" or "eye") was perfected and became in his field of work so efficient, as he could never be without such specialization. However, by this, one could maybe say, as if he lost joyful richness of his own existence. This sacrifice, however, Lewis Mumford, author of the study "The City in History", more than vividly called "chronic miscarriage of civilization". Because, as he states, its universality in time made it the "second nature" of city man. And then it happened that the bliss of versified and completely humanized life freed from professional limitations was monopolized by ruling classes.

Since Mediterranean was predestined for sailing and communication between different worlds, it was completely natural that first large cities were founded along coasts of Mediterranean seas. In urban history of the world, Mediterranean cities reasonably take large place. Strength and

power of those Mediterranean cities was mostly based on unreplaceable role of maritime trade and monopoly in distribution of different overseas luxuries. As those old Mediterranean cities were constantly target for robberies and devastations, in time the cities were surrounded by powerful walls, that today serve as proof of passed times of ancient history with their ancient quality and suggestive beauty. However, those powerful physical walls of Mediterranean cities also have important symbolic mark. Because, entry in those cities, through their large city gates, once represented significant temptation though meeting with various, often unbelievable images and unexpected changes. Something that today, in modern movies and books infused with science fiction, could only be compared with so called "time gates".

In the history of the urban and the city, same as, regarding many things in the history of the world we know, all started at the very Mediterranean, in Ancient Greece, that "tradition of all traditions". And of all places at the main Athens square, where people happened and events occurred which have significant influence on history of modern human civilization.

For history of city, as we see it today, the most important probably were the first gatherings near temple, which then determined and strengthened existence of main city square. And then separation of this most dynamic city center, agora from the temple happened. This separation of meeting point for daily laymen needs from revered temple, devoted to sacrifice and prayer to gods, in Greece happened faster than in Mesopotamia.

The center and central place that city was founded around, most probably was created in the time of early social communities, when they reached awareness on need that some works they should do together, in order to achieve and keep social balance which was often disturbed by violence, robbery, personal conflicts, and which was mostly initiated by desire for revenge. That is why there was the need for place, where even after greatest conflicts they would reach reconciliation and at least for a while peace. It would often happen near some spring, or a tree, which would for this reason soon become a kind of sacred place. There, for various causes, while there were no cities yet, in villages they held dances and various games.

Later, in the city, in time that place transformed into agora, that become more than original ancient Greek urban creation, since it encompassed and included several so important urban functions. It was in the same time main city square and religious center of the city, place where the most significant city and religious buildings were located at, that served for political and religious life of polis. At agora they prayed and celebrated, while sacrifices were offered to gods. Judgments were passed there, they traded and decided about most significant matters and concerns for daily life of the city, but also about its future.

Same as many other manifestations of early Greek polis, agora is also described in Iliad, as a part of the first complete description of daily life of Greek city which Homer summarized in the description of gold and silver images on the legendary Achilles' shield. There also agora is a place where

citizens meet, in this case to decide that murderer paid sufficient blood compensation to the relatives of murdered. "Seated on the smooth stones in the middle of sacred circle" old men made decisions.

Some philosophers described Ancient Greece as huge Mediterranean land made of sun and talk. The most important talks there happened in the central city places near markets, which were usually near temples and most important administrative buildings, all together forming main city square. Ancient Greek word "agorazein" also has literal meaning to go to the square to hear the news. It includes talking, purchase, trade and meeting friends. But this word means leaving home to go to the square without certain and established ideas and reasons, in order to be "idle" till lunch. "Agorazein" has its participle "agorazonta, that describes the way of walk of a person who is going to the square, for these reasons. This participle very much represents Mediterranean man who has his arms at the lower part of his back and mostly walks slowly outside of defined straight paths, and it seems like he is hesitating. In the end he slowly blends in crowd of Mediterranean square, disappearing at one moment in that wavering images of gestures, looks, noise that make familiar image of Mediterranean world, whether back in Ancient Greece, or today somewhere on Italian, Dalmatian or coasts of Boka Kotorska, on this side of Adriatic.

Observed from today's perspective, real significance of Greek city enabled the fact, as claimed by Lewis Mumford, that it was not too small, but not too large, not too rich, and not overly poor. Famous Ancient Greek cities contrary to beliefs of demographic statisticians, confirm that the importance of a city is not measured by the number of its inhabitants, but by its achievements in art, culture and political thought. Ancient Greek city in this way kept human personality, which could have easily been suffocated by its collective products. The value of Hellenic urban experience is in the fact, that all that was realized by including in the same time all urban institutions, which could unite people in thought and in action. No city ever, regardless of its size, had and gathered so many creative individuals as did Athens, and only in the course of one century. There man's fear of the unknown, but also curiosity for knowledge, together gave birth to religion, science and philosophy. Athens of the V century BC, was a miracle that happened on the little more than two square kilometers, a miracle that will not repeat itself for millennia to come.

It was, however, not a very long period where "paths of gods, nature and men met". In that generation of people of Athens who firstly managed to deflect Persian invasion, an idea of complete autonomy of man was realized, imposing itself to the entire society of that time, giving in the same time unforgettable mark to all its forms.

From current perspective maybe the most important historical achievement in ancient Athens, as an explanation of all its successes, was discovery of golden mean between public and private life. So, almost every person in Athens, when it was his turn, at least once participated and performed public

affairs, whether as the member of ecclesia or council, or as the supervisor overseeing implementation of enacted decisions.

From today's perspective Greek poleis, those cities – homelands, city states, in the beginning were nothing more than one and only autonomous city municipality with land and inhabitants that surround it. Agora turned it into polis, it was its most important vital organ, since at agora laws and constitution were defined, with constant public debate on all matters of political life of a polis.

According to Jacob Burckhardt, "polis is one higher product of nature; it originated so that life could be possible, but it still exists to sustain regulated, happy, fruitful life, lived, as much as possible, in compliance with virtue". (Jacob Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* 1, Cramer Verlag, pg.78)

Life of the citizens of Athens mostly took place at the square, where city assembly presided from morning till dark. Citizen of Athens in those days did not come only for voting, but he paid special attention to work of the assembly. Since in Athens state interest was inseparable from private, constant presence and participation in work of assembly, was condition that its citizens could vote conscientiously. When Homer in *Odyssey* wants to depict barbarism of giant one-eyed cyclops, not only does he mention that they do not plow or sow, but he especially adds that they do not have laws or national assembly.

In his paper "Culture of ancient Boeotia" (n/t: Serbian: "Kultura stare Beotije"), our favorite Hellenist Miloš Đurić sees the significance of ancient Greek polis as follows:

"That small Greek town-state did not make man into automatic being, because it did not submit it to any superhuman almighty power, such as Hindus and Persians or large social organization, like Assyrians and Persians, or large industry and trade, such as Phoenicians and Carthaginians. Since he is not a subject of god, or king, or satrap, or priest, he is only the subject of freedom and glory of his city, every citizen of this state freely celebrated his gods, chose his offices, and in public assemblies decided on the most important state affairs. Institutions within it were not the goal, but a tool, and that is why natural balance of abilities was sustainable there. Such state could be a cradle of harmonious integral individuals that never again appeared later in human history. A man there could simultaneously sing drama, imagine refined philosophical thoughts, and enact laws, and govern fleet, and discover laws of mechanics, and even run the state, and to fight in the army as the private, and compete in the Olympics - in one word: to develop in himself numerous capacities, and that they do not hinder each other. All of this was happening because Greek state was small in space, and that small space was condensing both people and things, and economy and spirit. Condensing in space is the cause for condensing in time; state and its citizens in the small space live at strange speed and endless intensity. What marks life of such state in time, is quick, elemental rise, splendid flourishing, and early ageing: that was the faith of Helens." (Miloš N. Đurić, *Kulturna istorija i rani filozofski spisi*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva Beograd, 1997, str. 9) The role of polis even today looks magnificent, because ever part of the city lived in

the personality of the citizen. And participation in cultural life also was, apart from office in the council or court, integral part of Athens' citizen activities. Every spring there was competition of drama writers, so every year used to bring twelve new tragedies, as well as sixteen new comedies. For their performance hundreds of choir singers and dancers were hired. It is estimated that in "golden" age of ancient Athens at least two thousand comedies and tragedies were written and showed, while six thousand new music pieces were composed and performed.

In these artistic events almost all Athens' citizens participated, and it is estimated that every year two thousand Athens people had to memorize words and practice music, various dance steps of singers and drama choirs. Even the larger part of the audience did not represent just awed viewers, but they could be considered critics and expert judges.

Citizen of Athens in fifth century BC was not limited by some narrow own interests or his position, but he participated in various events that lead him from temple to Pnyx, from agora to theatre, from sports hall to port in Piraeus, where all maritime and merchant matters were immediately resolved. Such life of citizens of Athens was not based only on careful observation of the world around them, or only on advice of philosophers who were contemplating and discussed the same world. Citizens of Athens could not imagine their life without real action and concrete events and happenings, where they obviously showed very strong emotions.

As the number of inhabitants of the city grew, and along with it, complexity of economic and political life, so in the same time weaknesses and limitations of democracy as the exclusive system of rule surfaced. Pure democracy required that people gather in intimate circle, face to face, in small numbers. Apart from this, it certainly required traditional restraint and polite procedure. The Plato himself stressed advantage of this closeness, because in his "Laws" he pointed that "for Republic there is nothing better than that its citizens know each other". (Ibid. 136)

It is interesting that foreign merchants in Greek economy of fifth century BC had a role that was similar to role of Jews in Christian economy of Middle Ages. On this occasion, things almost do not differ. In short, in rhetorical limits of known modern ideal of so-called political correctness, in both cases things were very clear: both groups were needed, but not really welcomed.

However, what today attracts us the most to the image of Athens of fifth century BC, it was something deeper organic, maybe something closest to the essence of human existence. From today's perspective, the highest achievement of such experience was not any new type of city, but new type of man. Although for the Athens itself one can freely say that it was a city far from ideal, but besides this, in history it remains forever remembered for the fact that it created ideal citizen.

In the period a little longer than the life of a generation – approximately between 480 and 430 BC – polis for the first time received form for which it differs from older villages and

cities. It was an ideal form not only in stone, but in flash and blood. For only several generations of citizens new urban order arose, ideal city, which so visibly surpassed its archaic outlines, its life monotony and established self-content. Greeks gave new component to city which in previous cultures was almost unknown and which till today remains dangerous for very authoritarian regime and absolutism of government. This component is free citizen. Like Sophocles lonely heroes, free citizen was his own king: he acted on his own and tried to with own intelligence and by his hands "stop walk of faith".

Citizen was gatherer of all goods of the city. That Greek citizen was lacking both luxury and comfort, but his life was rich in various experience and events, because he managed to circumvent many elements of daily life and "golden" chains of civilization, which can lead to "dullness", as some of ancient Greek philosophers claimed.

Like never before, or after, life of people in cities was so lively, diverse and rich, as in that period. Work and leisure, theory and practice, private and public life, all that was, as it is said today, in some sort of constant and rhythmic interaction. In such life of Athens' citizen both art and gymnastics, music and talk, thinking and politics, love and adventure, and even war, only expanded and enriched all aspects of existence and made their city so exquisite and unique. So, city which embodiment were Socrates and Sophocles, in reality has never been complete realized again. That is why claim that Athens of Solon and Themistocles was greater school than any community of imagined in the world of Plato's ideas.

The city was the agent which formed and transformed people of that time, and not only within some school or academy, but in almost every industry, public office, at every meeting point and in every meeting.

It was live and diverse Athens world, which felt and easily carried on itself what could be called beauty without exaggeration and wisdom without sophistry. It formed and gave birth to spirits which had deeply ingrained conciseness and wish for freedom. Such self-formation of the entire man, that paideia, as it was called by Werner Jeger, in contrast to pedagogy in the narrowest sense, will never again, in any later community, did not rise to such heights.

For the period, when in Athens "Muses were at home", it would be sufficient to remember a group of philosophers such as: Anaxagoras, Gorgias, Protagoras, Parmenides, Zeno, Melissus, Democritus, Archelaus, Socrates, Plato, Hippias, Prodicus, Isocrates and Antiphon. There are also playwrights Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and comic poet Aristophanes. It is Athens of doctor Hippocrates and artists such as: Myron, Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, Iktinos, Hippodamus, Callicrates, Alacamenes, Kresilas, and, Polykeitos. Significant citizens of Athens were also historians Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon as well as famous orators Hypereides, Thrasymachus and Lysias, but also politicians Themistocles, Miltiades, Kimon, Pericles, Aristides and Alcibiades.

Significance of Athens of fifth century BC in history of human civilization is best described as one picturesque

sentence of Bertrand Russell: "In that period it was possible, as in no other, to be simultaneously intelligent and happy."

Ancient Greeks made city god at the measure of what Socrates pointed out in "Phaedo" saying that stars, stones and trees cannot teach him anything. Because what he seeks, can be learned only from the behavior of "people in city". Adored idea of polis in the most glorious period of ancient Greek history, it was based on the belief that processes of reason may impose measure and order to every human activity.

Greek idea of wholeness and kalokagathia embodied in great people of Athens in the time of Persian war, and right after, was never again able to create city in the likes of such image. Because, from fourth century on, it seemed that buildings were supposed to replace great people.

It is interesting that there are less direct testimonies about how people lived in ancient cities, except Athens and Rome, than one may expect, even in works of literature which plot is linked to the urban ambient. That is why speech on Antakya of rhetor Libanius, written in 360 BC, is more than valuable testimony. Libanius, like Aristotle, social role of the city puts above economic and all other roles. He states that Antakya of his era has 25 kilometers of streets with colonnades, with private and public buildings were mixed same as they are today in the most important world cities. How significant this was, is depicted by the following lines:

"While you walk along them, you find array of private houses with public buildings planted in spaces between; temple here, bathhouse there, at such distance that they are close to every district, and in any case the entrance is in colonnades. What does all this mean and what is the sense of this long description? It seems to me that the most pleasant, and the most useful side of city life this socialness, that human traffic, and that is – by Zeus – at the most present in the city. It is good to talk and even better to listen, and the best is to give advice, empathize with adventures of your friends, share their joy and sadness and in return receive their empathy – you and countless other blessings are achieved when a man meets his friends. People in other cities, who do not have colonnades in front of their houses, are separated by bad weather; although they live in the same city, they are actually separated as if they live in different cities.... While people in the cities lose their intimacy the more the farther they live from each other, here, it is on the contrary, friendship flourishes in constant human traffic and develops to the same extent that it diminishes there." (In: Luis Mamford, Grad u historiji, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1988, 214-15)

In urban history of the world Antakya stays remembered for one exclusive modernity. So, witnessing, Libanius brags that citizens of Antakya have "overthrown tyranny of sleep; here light of sun of followed by light of lamps, overpowering shine of Egypt; here the night differs from the day only by the kind of light. Trade is also done by night; some practice their craft, and others sing and have fun". (Ibid. 215)

And while ancient Greeks, living in harmony with nature, surrounded by "smiles, sun and sea", even in the period BC searched for human measure of things, on the northern coasts

of Adriatic sea another modern age city was founded which became synonym for plentifulness and richness of sensual experience.

Thanks to Venice, that Mediterranean city of cities, the concept of happiness even nowadays is associated with Mediterranean region, and the old glory of the Mediterranean is still equaled to the golden age of Serenissima. The Venice of old times has always been a dream, but often very real and not so out of reach existential goal of both Mediterranean people, and the ones who were not.

Up till the foundation of Venice, at the old European continent freedom, culture and wealth, have never reached such heights, so simultaneously and together. It all started in XIV century, when Venice turned its merchant and material triumph into political, so since that time it is considered the Queen of Adriatic sea. Since then until 1797, Venice really was city of golden threads, metropole of golden coins and sequins, African gold and Central European silver, but also queen of pepper, spices, medicinal preparations, silk and cotton. Although Napoleon troupes, at the end of XVIII century put an end to such glory and splendor of Venice, its influence did not stop. And that glory and splendor turned Venice into one of the most important Mediterranean and European metropolises of culture and tourism, same as it is perceived by the world today. Because Venice is today one of the rare cities in the world that still offers to its visitors, in spite all passing, inevitable and final, unbelievable and mesmerizing "illusion of frozen time". For a long time, in Middle Ages, Serbs and Venice were two distant worlds. Just to after initial merchant ties, in the time of Nemanjići through Kotor, and in the time of Despotate through Dubrovnik, especially after development of printing in Venice, started more intensive cultural Serbian – Venetian ties. So, in this large cosmopolitan and cultural center, started early printing of Serbian liturgic books.

Economic and cultural ties with Venice and cities along Italic coasts of Mediterranean, thus became the most important western impulses in the culture and history of Serbian people. Especially in those times, when it spent several centuries in the shadow of Hagarenes.

In Serbian literary and cultural tradition, viewed from Italic coasts, special significance had Napoli and Trieste, as well as Rome. But historical triumph of Venice made that it had great influence on Serbian history for centuries, and so on culture, art and literature. The most important part of what man's hands made in Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska, is the fruit of this meeting of Slavic tradition with impulses of state organization and one urban totality which for centuries was represented by Venice. Ideal of Venice, as the city of cities, which by its wealth and development undeniably determines and dictates standards of urban and establishes new, even esthetic values, remained to live after its downfall. Such its influence, not only on the coasts of Adriatic Sea, both in way of life, architecture, art, literature and culture has extended to our days. That is why Venice is important for Serbian culture and literature, without ceasing to be inspirational literature motive in Serbian literature.

Social function of ancient Greek agora, as open space, remained in Latin cities as well, in forms known as: plaza, piazza, grand-place. Those are changed, but certainly, direct descendants of agora, because right there in that open Mediterranean space, surrounded by restaurants, cafés, and bars, spontaneous meetings face to face occur, meetings in passing, conversations and flirt. There spontaneity is kept and preserved, even when it becomes a habit.

At the Mediterranean, same as in other places, that talk in city squares did not serve only to classical trade, or, as in modern times, for acquiring tourists and guests; in daily relaxing talks in all already mentioned places, in numerous cafés, trattorias, pizzerias, taverns.

Here also speakers won believers, people who shared their political followers or opponents, brothers by docker's and other, even labor and social hardships. That is why, same as along the world, in the Mediterranean talented speakers served democracy and freedom, but also demagoguery and tyranny.

Long and rich history and tradition of urban Mediterranean simply flowed down to the squares, as the most important pulse of life of its cities.

Substantial importance of Mediterranean square, from its foundation till present day is in communication, that basic property of Mediterranean culture and Mediterranean life in general. In present times that so important role of large Mediterranean square in daily life of coastal cities, got real music monument by the famous Italian singer-songwriter Lucio Dalla in very popular song *Piazza grande*, where following verses specially resonate: "I've never had a real family/because my home is *Piazza grande*." Not only by these verses, but also by music that magically connects widths of Mediterranean sea and wealth of all those carnival colors of Mediterranean city life, Lucio Dalla reminds us of that seductive leisure of Mediterranean cities, where not only on Saturdays and Sundays in the open sun of wide city square, in the gardens of many restaurants and cafés, people drink magical "café espresso" with conversations "without north and direction". To those so widely known images of Mediterranean city also belong those mornings, same as the time right after summer siesta, near docks and ports, where local boat makers work on various barcas, boats and ships, which are about to be again, or maybe for the first time, be launched in the sea. Siesta also belongs to the characteristic Mediterranean city images, that time somewhere from 12:30, or after 1 PM, especially in summer, when all living beings are napping and sleeping, lightheaded from strong burning noon sun and sea scent that could not be stopped even by powerful walls of ancient cities.

And then after 4:30 PM, blissful peace of afternoon summer siesta is exchanged by liveliness of city squares. The preparation for always promising summer night begins, which will pass in long and wavering games of light and shadows on city facades. And when sun vanishes, there beyond sea horizon, Mediterranean city will at one moment, almost unnoticeably, change into the night attire and all its secrets that will be offered until the early hours of the morning.

Both Serbian culture, and its literature infused with Mediterranean themes, same as history of Mediterranean, show that one of the most important civilization experience of man on Earth, is his encounter with the city. Encounter with the city that became sublimation and result of all those Mediterranean sailings and communications, which changed man so much and speeded world history, economic development and its life. This is an encounter with enchanting, but in the same time with leviathan spirit of the city and its daily life. With all the things that city brought to the world and civilization. In the end that is encounter with the city of cities, the one that we today call megalopolis and which for the first time appeared in Mediterranean. As the one that came closest to the ideal of the city as the polis of Sun.

In Boka Kotorska, same as in the entire Mediterranean, and the settlements with less than thousand people, have spirit of large cities, because for them the central town square is enough with the small wharf, from which one can sail to any of possible Earthly worlds. And that "merger of "differences" is the consequence of such urban talkativity of Mediterranean cities and coastal towns, almost without exception.

As noted by Simo Matavulj, author of *Rozopek*, that in Serbian literature the most Mediterranean city of all, in Boka marriages with foreign women or marriages regardless of different religion of young spouses were not rare. So, in the tale "Events in Village" (n/t: Serbian "Događaji u Seocu"), it is stated that Village has "ninety-five women...All married, they are not local, or maritime brides: four are Greek, three Italian, two Russian and one English." (S. Matavulj, *Pripovetke II*, Sabrana dela, Zavod za udžbenike, 253-254)

The Village has only some twenty houses, but there are more foreign people than in many large cities, deep inland. That can be confirmed by a single regular walk of the main character of this Matavulj's tale. The man in question is very renowned maritime captain who commanded on English, and even Russian ships, but who was always returning to his Village: "Dignified Admiral walks and greets madams at the windows, and when he arrives at his house, which is the largest in the Old Village, divided and with two gates, he stops in front of the one, above which high above, peak two women, tilts his head and loudly says:

"Zdravstvujte, Nadežda Feodorovna! Zdravstvujte, Oljga Nikitina!

Zdravstvujte, Mafej Lukič! – replayed both women in unison, and they come down in front of the house, where they shake hands with Pilot, who bows deeply." (Ibid)

In Serbian epic poetry, city is represented by familiar images which in time turned into stereotypes that easily came to being on dichotomic relation between urban and rural. The city is at first the synonym for abundance, luxury, gentry, but also for different kind of deceits, for unbelievable human cunningness, and even various forces that are not of this world, even fatal perils.

The famous, now so familiar Mediterranean images reveal and point out that progressive openness of Mediterranean city

always to this place and current moment. However, they, on the other hand, also show looming leviathan spirit of that same city which swallows all warmth of earlier local histories and identities that blend into it.

So, then what is so substantial, to be so magical for literature, but what is greater and more important for the very life in the identity of a Mediterranean city?

Discovery of this secret, is obviously in one organic social event for Mediterranean cities, known as carnival. Even in smaller towns and places in the Mediterranean, where there are no carnivals, at that sea and in that air, it is as if one still can sense spirit of that Mediterranean carnival view of life and the world. So, that is the reason for usual pointing out of that so important urban property of Mediterranean culture. And that property not only gives to Mediterranean and its cities that so unique and apart Mediterranean interestingness, but also accentuated urban identity.

For this reason, any conversation about literature and art which originates at the Mediterranean coasts, inevitably assumes one special characteristics of urban identity of Mediterranean culture, which is for a long time now and popularly being called carnival. And really cities in the Mediterranean can hardly be imagined without a typical, and for them so organic social event, which is carnival.

Carnival freedom made great influence on collective identity of coastal towns and gave probably the most important mark to that so original physiognomy of Mediterranean city and that joyful hedonistic optimism, which it carries.

Carnivals and Mediterranean carnival view on life and on pages of Serbian prose brought laughter, the native carnival laughter, which for centuries forms this well-known image on Mediterranean cities. That is a laughter coming from human nature and life joy as its essential characteristic. As a possible way, also immanent to man, in his attempts not only to overcome ever present passing of things, but also to understand it in this way and, with unexpected wisdom to, in the end accept it.

Development of cities in history was very much enabled by trade, industrial production, mechanization, accumulation of capital and organization of life without urban areas could not function. However, all that would not be enough, since as it is said "hungry mouth cannot live off of air only". That is why it is considered that flourishing and development of cities was connected to development of agriculture in the villages. So, all attempts of separating prosperity of the city of simultaneous improvement of agriculture and development of village, remained some kind of city illusion, which is present in our times as well. But, what development of the city brought to the history of entire civilization in that unstopping process of humanization was especially captured by a German proverb which says that "city air has a taste of freedom". In Mediterranean cities that freedom for a long time wore its carnival name. And that intensive relation between village and the city, not only in the Mediterranean, remained literary motive which does not stop to be spring of literature, that seem

to never dries. Even today when it seems that city won and that in unthinkable way it is left without its rural alternative.

In old time "Florentine House Chronicle" the relation between city merchant families and inhabitants of nearby villages was mutually suspicious, often hostile, but in some way constant and direct. This is in the best way testified by those terrace vineyards and fields around this well-known city of art and culture. But also, all those fruit and vegetables arriving in that city, and the things that are constantly driven from the city in nearby villages.

Florence, no matter how big it was, was never separated from its villages. Typical medieval city, apart from large Italian cities, in its center, in the organized gardens, flower gardens and parks, showed all that which developed agriculture have and offer. So, in those cities, same as in ancient Mesopotamia, some of the food was grown inside city walls, probably to prevent famine during great sieges. So, agriculture, hunting wild birds and fishing were the part of daily life in the city. Back in XIV century in England law required all city estates to participate in summer harvest at the nearby village fields. The custom of participation of citizens in picking of hop in Kent, in time remained the only memory to the old legal obligation of citizens of English cities. Not only for the reason, that quick development of certain cities into megalopolises, unfortunately, turned out to be bad for many green areas, not only in metropolises.

Same as other literatures, Serbian prose infused with Mediterranean its narrative potential found, and in the same time drew, from that imaginative dichotomy where patriarchal moral and tradition of our people oppose to dynamic and picturesque tempo everyday life of Mediterranean city. Encounter with Mediterranean city, to patriarchal highlander, at first brought fear of new and different, in which easily all traditional and old may disappear.

That is why on the pages of Serbian Mediterranean prose especially significant are the images representing acting, faking, various illusionistic and carnival scenes at frenetic city squares. Those images, through subversive carnival laughter in relation to its social reality, Mediterranean man clearly showed desire, power and ability to in such way rise above passing and temporary life.

Universality of laughter director at everything and everyone, so mocking, negating, confirming, burrowing, and in one moment it starts to be healing and to transform all participants in the carnival.

However, what brought carnivals, as recognizable property of Mediterranean cities, general national popularity, and what in special way happened in the period of Renaissance was rehabilitation of carnal and corporal. Material and corporal principle in Rabelais' images, made Mikhail Bakhtin, such picturesque national culture of laughter, mark with one special esthetic concept of reality, which he defined as grotesque realism. According to Bakhtin, basic property of grotesque realism is diminishing, or more precisely said translation of high spiritual, ideal and abstract to material and corporal plan,

to the unbreakable relation between earth and body. So, the most important moment in performance of medieval comedian, happened when he leads and lowers every ceremony and ritual from high pathetic heights, down there in the places of material and corporal lowness.

In all memories and images of Mediterranean carnival life, as its trademark, constantly hovers and echoes that national carnival laughter. Reminding us to that important, if not the significant source of laughter and comic in general, that deep and indestructible joy that is carried by human nature.

Humor, comical, making even moderate jokes, of course are not immanent only to maritime, Mediterranean ambient. But, there, in the cities along the sea, as nowhere else, they are as if really "at home".

Various scenes, anecdotes and stories infused with authentic humor as a part of carnival, and even more that carnival view of life, are known along Mediterranean in cities and along all its coasts.

Centuries passed, but life in the Mediterranean had certain principles, which as if were unchangeable. At least when it comes to comic and humor. That manifestations of freedom immanent only to man.

For those 8 000 years, when the first city settlements were established till today, glory and all advantages of cities, in the same time were followed by familiar "rural" uneasiness towards city. Even in cities critic of all urban that separated man from nature was established long ago and deeply rooted. And according to that critic, city of the main root of different evils, and the reason for greatest challenges of modern urban civilization. That mass urbanization disrupted even so limited resources of life on Earth one can easily get remarkable examples and state disturbing reasons.

Does this include only size of the city, its form, society that lives in it, city economy and manner how they work? Or, in the first place, man who created all is to blame? However, one must admit, that dimensions of megalopolis and larger cities, for which city is criticized, and even called "root of evil" in the attempt of sustainable development of modern world, they carry many advantages that in smaller cities cannot be realized.

Problems brought by foundation and development of cities and general urbanization gave birth to different movements for salvation of mankind and nature. Concern is so great that future of civilization and the world is constantly subjected to various theories of the dusk of civilization. Even the one of so-called heat death of the world, which states that this world started by maximum matter and minimum spirit, and that it will end with minimum matter and maximum spirit.

Human settlements, same as all in this world, were created at the measurement of man and in limitations of historical development of what we can cold mankind. And that measure

of all things is really a man, was claimed in fifth century BC was by Pre-Socratic philosopher and sophist Protagoras. That famous thought, encompassing and determining new importance of relation between man and mankind, in modern times was remarkably re-actualized by John Dewey (1859-1952), famous American philosopher, pedagogue and politically engaged reformist. He saw the relation of man and mankind in this way: "Mankind is not, as it was previously believed, the final goal for which the world is created. Mankind is insignificant and weak thing, maybe only and episode in the vast space of the Universe. However, man, man is the center of all interest and measure of values." (In: Konstantinos Doksijadis, *Čovek i grad*, Nolit Beograd, 1982., 30) Cities in the Mediterranean such as Athens, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople and Venice are not only the most significant part of world urban history, which development and achievements are one of the stellar moments in the history of mankind. Development of life and civilizations in the cities in Mediterranean and its colorful urban impulses significantly sped up general flow of world history. In the largest Mediterranean cities, s in the other ones, people and events made acts, epochs and history. Forever enchanted by his native ambient as Mediterranean man can only be, Paul Valery, formulated that in this way:

"What is as magnificent as the fact that, during several centuries, among those people that live at the coasts of this sea, the most precious and purest intellectual discoveries were born: because here science was freed from empirical and practical, art broke away from tis symbolic roots, literature clearly distinguished and clearly divided into different fields, and finally here philosophy tried all possible ways in viewing the world and itself.

Never and nowhere, in such narrow space and for a short period of time, was possible to talk about such turbulence of spirit and such production of wealth."

(Valeri, 2010:66)

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THE TEMPLAR COMMANDERY OF VILLERS-LE-TEMPLE

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Abstract — Few Walloon villages can boast of ever being borrowed from the Templars. Villers-le-Temple, located between Hoei and Liège, is one of them. Situated on the Roman road between Tongeren and Aarlen, this rustic village probably owes its origin and name to a Roman villa that would have stood there. [1] Unfortunately, there are no more sources available from this period, the first mention of Villers as a village is listed on a sales certificate from 1124, in which Albertus de Villers and his brother Theodooricus would have sold a plot of land to the Abbey of Flône. Shortly after his return from the Holy Land, Gérard de Villers (commander of the Houses of the Temple in Brabant and Hesbaye), knight of the Temple Order, exchanged on November 16, 1260, 3 plots of land, which were located in Geer, with the Abbey of Flône. [2] Together with a sum of 300 Liège Franks, it would confirm the exchange of property whereby the abbey would consecrate its estates of Villers and Clémodeau, including the right of patronage to the parish church of St Peter, to the Temple Order. [3]

Keywords — Include at least 5 keywords or phrases

X. ORIGIN AND SITUATION

On the grounds in Villers-en-Condroz, the Temple Order would, on the initiative of Gerard de Villers, begin the construction of a commandery that would become the center of the Order of the Templars in Haspengouw. The commandery would consist of a reinforced house with 4 towers, a chapel, farm buildings and stables, surrounded by a wall that forms a fence of the almost 28 bunders of land. From this foundation, the village of Villers-en-Condroz would be given its current name: Villers-le-Temple.

Of the actual commandery founded by Gérard de Villers, there is unfortunately not much left to be found. Only the fence walls, a few agricultural buildings, a tower (there were originally four, 1 is still authentic, a 2nde rebuilt in modern stone, of a 3rde is only the foundation to be seen and of the 4the is still missing every trace.), as well as some underground structures.

The Temple House, also known as Villers-le-Temple Castle, has been destroyed and replaced by buildings currently occupied by private individuals.



Fig. 2. The remaining tower.

The remaining tower can be seen about a hundred meters from the village church. Nearby, on the perimeter wall, a plate is affixed, quite recently, which has been struck with the cross of the temple.



Fig. 2. Perimeter wall plate.

XI. DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMANDERY

On the High Court there was Villers Castle, consisted of a large building flanked by four large towers, two of stone and two of brick, all covered with slate, and within a small square courtyard, where there are three towers in cul-de-sacs, built since by several Commanders. (The original fortified castle probably occupied the same site as the one that was rebuilt between the 16th and 17th centuries).

In the enclosure, near the body of the residence, is a chapel, under the invocation of John the Baptist. Still depicted on a canvas painting and well painted in oil, above the tabernacle, that chapel is built of beautiful stones and bricks, and well covered with slates, with its bell tower top covered with the same, two medium-sized bells. It is said that the archives of the commandery where rested in a turret of this castle. In the high courtyard there was the dungeon which was shaped like a large rectangular tower.



Fig. 3. Agricultural outbuildings.

In the Lower Court In the backyard there were agricultural outbuildings with farm buildings and the farmer's house. These buildings are still present.



Fig. 4. Entrance to the lower court.

The entire commandery was surrounded by walls enclosing a fence of 28 bunders. [4]



Fig. 5. Underground entrance 1.

Although one can experience the splendor of the Templar Order above ground, the real beauty of Villers-le-Temple is found in its underground structures. Two separate stairs lead to an area that appeals to the imagination. When you go down the stairs, you don't have the faintest idea of the size that was most likely part of the cellar of the castle of Villers-Le-Ville.



Fig. 6. Underground cave.



Fig. 7. Underground cave 2.

As with many other temple buildings, Villers-le-Ville also had its own water supply, a well that was and still exists under the castle, within its vaults.



Fig. 8. sealed wall, to a nearby room...?

According to the state created in 1313, the house of Villers owned 94 bunders of arable land, which give 6 seeders of spelled each annually; about 30 bunders of undeveloped land; 36 meadow bunders not far from the house and 8 others made them in Oxhe (Oxhe's Fond, Val d'Oxhe, near Huy - Note of Charles Saint-André) about 250 three-piece wooden bunders, each bringing back about 20 tournament bottoms every ten years, but on which two rangers must be kept continuously; 28

bunders of land in Nandrin, of which 10 muds [5] of oats were returned every year. In addition, the house had two mills that brought in 30 muds of rye per year, more or less.



Fig. 9. Underground water supply.

XII. VILLERS-LE-TEMPLE COMMAND

Since the foundation of the commandery until the lifting of the Order at papal Bul "ad providum Dei", from 2 May 1312, the command of the Commandery of Villers-le-Temple would be carried by 4 preceptors of the Temple.

The first command would be conducted by Gérard de Villers, Master of the Temple, until his death on February 28, 1273.

After Gérard's death, the importance of the commandery as the capital of the bailiwick of Hesbaye would not disappear, better yet it was further developed into the headquarters of the Order [6] in Liège.

Commanders of the Temple of Villers-le-Ville: 1260- 1273: Gérard de Villers [7]

Unfortunately, no sources exist about when Gerard decided to join the Order. As son of the Lord of Villers Bastien, he was a nobleman. However, it is suspected that he opted for the temple order after the death of his wife Margaretha around 1245. [8]

On his return in 1257 he donated all his possessions to the temple [9] and shortly afterwards became commander of Brabant and would follow in his older brothers Walter [10] footsteps as the Commander of Hesbaye. [11] Founded the commandery of Villers-le-Temple in 1260 and would also found other commanderies such as those of Haneffe and Bierset. He seemed to be an influential man within the Temple Order, as is evident from his presence at the General Chapter of March 1262. [12] He died on February 28, 1274.

His tombstone, which was in the Chapel of the Commandery, was sealed in the church of Villers-le-Temple. This record is one of the few period performances of a knight in the Order of the Temple. Granite templar crosses adorn the southern wall of the church.

The blue stone tomb, which once took place in the Chapel of the Commandery, in the floor in front of the altar, now stands

in the church of Villers. He is depicted in natural size, under a trilobed arch in the shape of an awning, and dressed in the robe of his Order. His bearded head is covered with an iron helmet called a "cervelière". With his right hand he leans on his sword, and from the left he holds a rosary on his belt. On his cloak, opposite the heart, is applied the red cross, insignia of the Templars, whose presence here has the effect of chasing the demon represented by a serpent.



Fig. 10. Burial stone of Gerard de Villers.

Around the stone reads the following inscription:

"Chi: gist:freres:gerars: ki: ceste: maison funda: aarts: por: s
arme: si: trepassa: nl: lan: del incarnatie: nostre: signor: Jhesus:
Christus: mil: cc: en LXXIII: en LXXIII: en LXXIII: de: de:
derien: ior: uit:

HERE RESTS BROTHER GERARD DE VILLERS, WHO
FOUNDED THIS HOUSE. PRAY FOR HIS SOUL. HE DIED
ON THE LAST DAY OF FEBRUARY OF THE YEAR OF
THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST
MCCLXXIII.

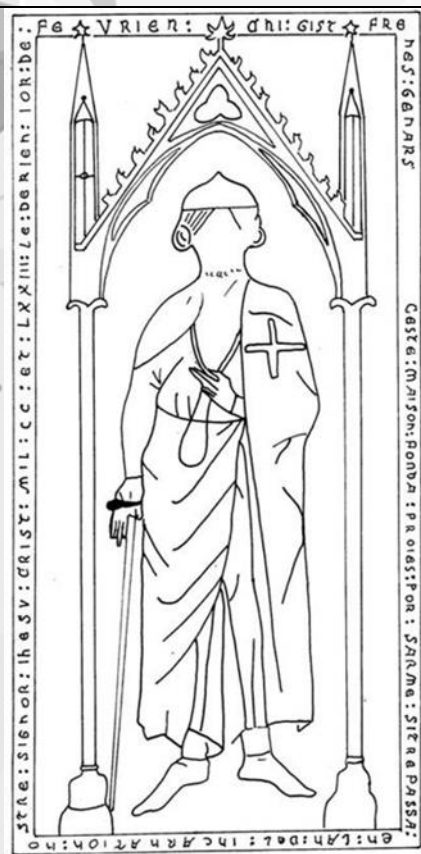


Fig. 11. Burial stone Gerard de Villers.



Fig. 12. Burial stone of Renier de Villers.

1274 - 1291: Renier de Villers [13]

Seems also a templar of merit for the Order. Mentioned in documents of 1275 and 1289 [14] mentioned as master of the house of Hesbaye. In 1292 he was mentioned as the commander of a house of the order in Germany. [15]

1291 – until about 1300: Godefroid [16]

Around 1300 - 1307: Guillaume [17]

XIII. THE COMMANDERY AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ORDER

On May 2, 1312, through the papal bul "ad providum Dei", (by Pope Clement V), the Order of the Temple was abolished and the knights templar's property was transferred to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (which would change its name to 1530 as the Order of Malta).

From 1313, the house of Villers-le-Tempel would be listed as commandery of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem within the bailiwick of Avalterre. At that time the mills Larmoulin and Neumoulin were already in command.

Commanders of the Order of St-John of Jerusalem

1312 - 1317: William

1322: Arnaud van Wezemael

Around 1380: Peter, known as "the Templar of Huy"

1363: Gilles de Huy

1386, 1393, 1402 and 1404: Amiel de Parfondieu

1406: Jean de Parfondieu

1428 - 1435: Alexandre de Brunshorn or Brisemonde

1435 - 1440: Jacques de Parfondieu

1453 - 1456: Jean Suetmen de Diest

1504 - 1509: Guillaume de Ruydt

1509 - 1520: Jean de Hestrus

1520 - 1522: Christophe de Quatrelivres

1522 - 1524: Cornil of Homburg

1524 - 1545: Antoine de Veres

Commanders of the Order of Malta

1545 - 1555: Jacques d'Aspremont de Nanteuil

1555: François de Lorraine

1559: Christophe de Grenay

1566 – 1573: Michel de Seure

1573 - 1586: Nicolas de Pontarlier

1586 - 1587: Francis de Byron

1587 - 1610: Claude Natalis de Conrandin

1610 - 1614: Charles de Gaillarbois

1614 - 1628: Charles Picart de Sévigny

1628 - 1645: Charles de La Fontaine

1645 - 1654: Thierry de Beaufort

1654 - 1659: Nicolas de Paris-Boissy

1659 - 1666: Antoine Lefort de Bonnefosse

1666 - 1684: François Signoret de la Borde

1684 - 1692: Balthazard de Crevant d'Humières

1692 - 1698: F. de Chambly Monthnault

1698 - 1708: Hardouin Bruslart

1708 - 1711: Alexandre Chambon d'Arbouville

1711: Acting Hardouin Bruslart

1712 - 1717: Alexandre Chambon d'Arbouville

1717 - 1737: Henri Perrot de Saint-Dié

1737 - 1756: Bernard d'Avesnes de Bocage

1756 - 1787: Jacques Laure le Tonnelier de Breteuil

1787 - 1792: Eustace of Vauclin or Vauquelin

In the 15th century, Chantraine in Brabant was the capital of the bailiwick of Avaltera of the Grand Priory of the Netherlands for the Order of St-John, a very important commandery in the Order of St. John. In 1466, the bailiwick was, for reasons of interest, divided into two: Chantraine and Villers-le-Temple, this division was ineffective until 1503. [18]

The commanders control all the houses of the Order in the Diocese of Cork, they are French and are elected by the Grand Priory of France. Most of them would not live in Villers-le-Temple and therefore did appoint an administrator.

A summary from 1695 description of the commandery states that: "... the chapel is still in the high courtyard joining the house, which is perched on rock, without a well or even a drop of water for the convenience of the so-called. house that one is going to look for in a fountain nearby ...»

Until the end of the Ancient Régime, all the commanders came from large families of the French nobility; they do not reside in Villers, but delegate their power to subordinates.

The most famous of them is Jacques Laure le Tonnelier de Breteuil (1723-1785) is general of the galleys of the Order of Malta, baili, is commander of the commanderies of Villers-le-Temple from 1756 to 1785, Vaillampont, Pièton ..., ambassador of the Order to the Holy See and then to Paris.

The Belgian and Liège territories were annexed by the French Republic in October 1795. On 17 June 1796, the existing Orders were abolished and their assets were sold as national goods from 1797 onwards to save the Republic's coffers.

The Commandery of Villers-le-Temple and its outbuildings became FR on April 16, 1798 for 1941000. Sold in various individual plots.

Currently, the entire estate is still divided into several private properties.



Fig. 13. Sketch of the Commandery of Villers-le-Ville.

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- [45] Roman Causeway no. 2, 4540 Flône-Amay, Belgium - Note of Karel Saint-André.
- [46] A bunder (Latin: bonnarium; French: bonnier) or bonder is an old unit of land area, which was often slightly larger than one hectare (ha).
- [47] A mud (also mudde) is an old measure of volume. The word comes from the Latin modius.
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