**Aleksandar Pavlović**

# From Traditional to Transitional Texts: Montenegrin Oral Tradition and Vuk Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*

Supervisors: Dr David Norris, Dr Vladimir Zorić

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the influence of literate culture on the corpus of Montenegrin oral epic songs published in Vuk Karadžić's edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme* from 1823 to 1833. The *Introduction* places the research in the scholarly context of the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition, later analyses of transitional texts that contain both oral traditional and literary characteristics, and recent interest in the entire process of transcription, edition and publication of songs belonging to the oral tradition. This is followed by an outline of facts relevant to the social and political history of Montenegro, its epic tradition and earliest textual representation. The first chapter discusses in detail the concepts of oral traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts and offers a synthetic theoretical framework for the analysis of transitional South Slavonic oral songs, based on their phraseology, style, outlook and contextual evidences about their documentation and singers. In the second chapter, this is followed by a textual analysis of five genuine oral traditional Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's collection and a discussion of their style, themes and overall perspective. In the third chapter, two songs about contemporary Montenegrin battles from the collection are analysed and identified as proper transitional texts; they contain a number of literary elements and were influenced by the Montenegrin ruler Bishop Petar I, but also retain to some extent the characteristics of traditional oral songs. The final chapter identifies nontraditional elements in the four songs that Karadžić wrote down from a literate Montenegrin singer Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac. It is argued that these songs combine a traditional style and outlook with elements distinct from local oral tradition, which the singer had adopted during his education and under the influence of Bishop Petar. The main conclusion of the thesis is that the earliest publication of Montenegrin oral tradition already contained a number of features of literary origin; two out of eleven songs are proper transitional texts, and four others display the influence of literate culture. These texts and features did not originate in the local oral tradition; rather, they were introduced by a literate singer close to the political leadership and then incorporated in the collection of oral traditional songs during the process of its literary documentation and representation. By revealing the complex socio-political framework giving rise to the early-nineteenth century collections of South Slavonic oral songs, this thesis makes a contribution to current research in the textualisation of the oral tradition, and provides a consistent model for the analysis of transitional texts in oral studies.

*Acknowledgements*

## Introduction

This study analyses Serbian oral epic songs published in the first half of the nineteenth century. By oral epic song, I understand the product of a special poetic technique of oral composition in performance, as described by the American scholars Milman Parry and Albert Lord:

> Oral epic song is narrative poetry composed in a manner evolved over many generations by singers of tales who did not know how to write; it consists of the building of metrical lines and half lines by means of formulas and formulaic expressions and of the building of songs by the use of themes.[1]

Sources from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century, such as notes by foreign travellers, occasional instances of folk songs published in the works of writers from Dubrovnik and the Adriatic Coast, and several seventeenth and eighteenth-century manuscript collections of this poetry, confirm that over the centuries a strong oral tradition existed among the South Slavs. Nonetheless, before the nineteenth century, published sources offered only casual and fragmented instances of this oral tradition.

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[1] Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* 2nd edn (Cambridge, Mass / London: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 4.

The earliest published collections of South Slavonic oral songs appeared in the early nineteenth century, when Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1878-1864) set out to write them down systematically and published his first collections of Serbian folk songs. Born in the Serbian countryside, Karadžić came to Vienna in 1813 after the collapse of the uprising against the Turks, and played a major role in the modernization of Serbian literature and culture. He reformed the language and orthography by promoting the vernacular instead of the Slavonic-Serbian language used at the time, collected the folklore of Serbian peasants and herders and is considered to be at once the first Serbian folklorist, ethnographer and literary critic. [2] Throughout his life, Karadžić meticulously collected Serbian oral epic and lyric songs, and published three editions with ten volumes altogether between 1814 and 1862. In addition, through his acquaintance with leading scholars of the time, such as Jacob Grimm, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe or Leopold Ranke, and his many publications, Karadžić publicized Serbian folk poetry and Serbian culture in Europe. Two of his younger friends and associates, the prominent Serbian poet Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, and Petar Petrović Njegoš II, Montenegrin ruler and writer, soon followed Karadžić's founding work and published their editions of epic songs, mostly collected on the territory of present-day Montenegro. Milutinović printed his *Pjevanija Crnogorska i Hercegovačka* in 1833 and 1837, and Njegoš edited *Ogledalo srbsko* in 1846. During the second half of the nineteenth century, comprehensive collections of oral traditional poetry of other South Slavonic nations, such as Jukić-Martić's *Narodne pjesme bosanske i hercegovačke*, Kosta Hörmann's *Narodne pjesme Muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini*, and the first four volumes of *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*, were published.[3]

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[2] Jovan Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2004), pp. 553-82. For a more comprehensive account of Karadžić's role, see: *O Vuku Karadžiću: studije i eseji*, Beograd: Prosveta, 1968.

[3] *Narodne pjesme bosanske i hercegovačke*, ed. by Ivan Frano Jukić and Grga Martić, Osijek: [n.a.]: 1858; Kosta Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 2 vols, 1888-1889; *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 4 vols, 1896-1899. For a fuller list of the nineteenth century collections see: Đuro Šurmin, *Povijest književnosti hrvatske i srpske* (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada knjižare Lav. Hartmana [Kugli i Deutsch], 1898), pp. 23-24.

Simultaneously, the publication of Karadžić's first collections marked the transfer of epic songs from an oral traditional society into the emerging field of Serbian literature. For long, this process of documentation and textualization of oral tradition generally did not attract systematic scholarly attention. As John Miles Foley emphasizes, 'until relatively recently investigators have tended to overlook just *how* an oral epic reached textual form, preferring to deal with it as a readymade object that could be analyzed with available tools.'[4]

Recent scholarship, however, pointed out that the published collections are not a simple reflection of oral tradition and focused on its textual representation, that is, to the entire process of its transcription, edition and publication. Parry and Lord already prepared the basis for such analysis by indicating that oral poetry contains some distinctive features like formulaic language and composition in performance, and that therefore oral patterns of composition, distribution and performance essentially differ from those we find in written literature. The traditional singer composes during performance using traditional formulas and themes, which makes every oral performance unique and distinctive. To capture this fluid, dynamic and unstable oral song in a textual form thus means its radical transformation into a fixed text, which is something altogether alien to oral culture.[5] Following their arguments, contemporary scholars like Foley and Lauri Honko describe the process of documentation and textualization of oral tradition as an 'intersemiotic translation', or evolution from performance to text,[6] arguing that a more attentive approach to the textualization and representation of the oral tradition is needed.

Recent interest in the documentation of the oral tradition, has led to a fuller understanding of the process of collection and textualization of the epic. In several publications, scholars have shown increasing interest in the role of collectors and editors in the literary

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[4] John Miles Foley, 'The Textualization of South Slavic Oral Epic and its Implications for Oral-Derived Epic', in *Textualization of Oral Epic*, ed. by Lauri Honko (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), p. 71.

[5] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 4-5.

[6] See: Lauri Honko, *Textualization of Oral Epic*, p. 49. Also: Foley, 'Analogues: Modern Oral Epics', in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, ed. by John Miles Foley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 208.

fixation and canonization of the oral tradition, and addressed issues that concerned the political and ideological aspects of their work.[7] Lauri Honko summarizes the expansion of this perspective to the process of the textualization of the epic as follows:

> The concept of oral text has experienced a revolutionary development in recent years… The modest transcript has undergone acute source-criticism: its textual origin and linguistic accuracy, its methods of documentation, transcription, translation, editing and publication have been subjected to scrutiny, not forgetting the singers 'voice' (always in danger of suppression), the collectors purposive role in the making of the text and the editor's impact on its final form.[8]

In another recent publication, Foley concludes that 'the process that we too easily reduce to a simple song-to-book trajectory actually begins with fieldworkers' predispositions and selections, continues with the idiosyncratic conditions of the performances they attend and engender along with the editorial decisions they make.'[9] Foley also takes into consideration the role that Karadžić as collector and editor played in the representation of the Serbian oral tradition. Centring the analysis on three basic questions – what gets recorded, what gets published and what gets received, Foley argues how conditions of recording and collector's predispositions influenced the representation of the oral tradition in the published collections.[10]

This research focuses on the influence of literate culture on the earliest representation of oral epic from Montenegro. Collected at the time of rule of Bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš I (1782-1830), Montenegrin songs were first included in Karadžić's third and fourth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* published in 1823 and 1833 respectively. Together with other songs that he collected, Karadžić published them as oral folk epic songs, composed by and collected from

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[7] *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*: *the Poetics of Community*, ed. by Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus and Susanne Wofford, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999; Foley, 'The Textualization of South Slavic Oral Epic and its Implications for Oral-Derived Epic', in *Textualization of Oral Epic*, pp. 71-88; Foley, *Analogues: Modern Oral Epics*, pp. 196-213; *Oral Art Forms and Their Passage Into Writing*, ed. by Else Mundal and Jonas Wellendorf, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press / University of Copenhagen, 2008.

[8] Honko, *Textualization of Oral Epic*, p. 3.

[9] Foley, *Analogues: Modern Oral Epics*, p. 209.

[10] Foley, *The Textualization of South Slavic Oral Epic*, pp. 71-87; John Miles Foley, *Analogues: Modern Oral Epics*, p. 209. See also: John Miles Foley, 'Textualization as Mediation', in *Voice, Text, Hypertext: Emerging Practices in Textual Studies*, ed. by Raimonda Modiano, Leroy Searle, and Peter Shillingsburg (Washington: University of Washington Press / Chesham: Combined Academic, 2003), pp. 101-20.

common people and traditional singers. In his later edition of Montenegrin songs in 1862, however, Karadžić expressed his belief that the two songs about the 1796 battles against Mehmet Pasha from Skadar were not originally traditional oral songs, but composed by the Bishop himself: 'Ja za cijelo mislim da je ove obadvije pjesme o boju Crnogoraca s Mahmut pašom načinio Crnogorski vladika Petar I. (sadašnji Sveti Petar), pa su poslije ušle u narod i idući od usta do usta koliko se moglo dogonjene prema narodnijem pjesmama'.[11] During the second half of the twentieth century, a number of scholars argued that Bishop Petar composed and promoted epic songs about this event himself, but expressed different views about the oral traditional character of the two songs from Karadžić's collection.[12] Radosav Medenica, for example, claimed that these songs were 'prave narodne pesme, potpuno samostalne iako bliske varijante predmeta koji opevaju Vladičine obrade... u njima se sreta svega nekoliko spontanih slikova, kakvi se u epici i inače često sretaju'.[13] Nikola Banašević and Ljubomir Zuković, however, questioned their genuine oral traditional character.[14] Banašević described all documented versions of the song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' as 'pesnički proizvodi vladike Petra', and indicated that the one published by Karadžić appears as more traditional: 'ipak se vidi da je Vukova, kako je on sam osetio, prošla kroz narod i "dogonjena prema narodnijem pjesmama".'[15] In addition, he also indicated that in the second song about the 1796 battles from Karadžić's collection 'ima pojedinosti koje odaju "učenijeg" sastavljača', such as a

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[11] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, VII, Prosveta: Beograd, 1986, p. 66.
[12] See: Nikola Banašević, 'Pesme o najstarijoj crnogorskoj istoriji u " Pjevaniji" Sime Milutinovića', in *Zbornik radova*, X (Beograd: Institut za proučavanje književnosti, 1951), pp. 275-99; Trifun Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*, Cetinje: Narodna knjiga, 1951; Ljubomir Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, Beograd: Rad, 1988; Radosav Medenica, *Naša narodna epika i njeni tvorci*, Cetinje: Obod, 1975.
[13] Radosav Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, p. 110.
[14] Ljubomir Zuković, 'Pogovor', in *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 457-71; Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, pp. 275-299.
[15] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 282.

statement of date and unusual expressions.[16] Zuković accepted this attribution and described the two songs as 'epske pesme po ugledu na narodne'.[17]

The fact that Karadžić wrote down the song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and five other Montenegrin songs in the collection from the literate and educated singer Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac, attracted far less attention in previous scholarship. Zuković was the only one to analyse his songs in detail. As he argued, Milutinović's repertoire mostly comprised local oral songs that the singer performed in a traditional manner, with the exception of 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and certain verses of nontraditional origin from his song called 'Piperi i Tahir-paša'. Therefore, he raised the claim that the singer 'nije bitnije menjao ni siže ni pesnički izraz',[18] and concluded that:

> U Đurinim pesmama još uvek preovlađuju odlike izvornog načina pevanja i mišljenja kolektiva, ali se oseća i uticaj prosvetiteljskog rada mitropolita Petra I koji je tom pesništvu nastojao da dâ nov duh i jednu savremeniju nacionalnu i oslobodilačku orijentaciju.[19]

To sum up, previous scholars noticed certain characteristics unusual for traditional oral songs in these texts, but described them in rather ambiguous terms and did not offer a detailed and precise analysis of their traditional and literary features. Karadžić himself seemed uncertain how to describe the two songs about the 1796 battles. On the one hand, he acknowledged that they somehow differ from traditional oral songs and expressed his belief that they were originally composed by the Bishop. On the other hand, he also claimed that they were adapted by oral tradition to some extent and alike other oral songs in the collection. Medenica complied with other scholars that the Bishop composed the songs about this event, but claimed that the two songs from Karadžić's collection are genuine oral songs and that the influence of the Bishop's songs and literary style on them is insignificant. Banašević and Zuković, in

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[16] Ibid., *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 283.
[17] Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 465.
[18] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 121.
[19] Ibid., p. 143.

distinction, emphasized their literary origin and the Bishop's impact on the singer Đuro Milutinović, but used ambiguous terms such as 'pesnički proizvodi vladike Petra' and 'epske pesme po ugledu na narodne', without providing a precise distinction between their oral and literary characteristics or firm evidence of their literary origin.

This research will explore in detail the influence of literacy, educated culture and Bishop Petar in particular on the corpus of Montenegrin songs published in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*. As indicated, previous scholarship identified certain nontraditonal features in these songs, but a more detailed textual analysis supplemented with an elaborate discussion of their generic features on the overall level is still required. Questions that will be elaborated further in this study are: Can these songs of either literary origin or collected from a literate singer be considered as genuine oral songs? How exactly do they differ from traditional oral songs in the collection? Do they belong to a different category from traditional oral songs or do they deserve a distinctive generic label? Finally, how did they reach published collections and come to represent local oral tradition?

To determine this, I shall adopt the concept of transitional texts, which show characteristics of both oral traditional singing and literary influence. It will be argued that the earliest publication of the Montenegrin oral tradition already contained a significant number of literary elements, and that two out of eleven songs are proper transitional texts and four others show nontraditional characteristics. These texts and features did not originate in the local oral tradition, but were introduced by literate singers close to the political leadership and invested in the collections during the process of its literary documentation and representation.

<u>Thesis Outline</u>

The analysis undertaken in this study will show that the Montenegrin songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* fall into three general categories. The earliest collected songs and the songs that were written down from tribal singers are proper traditional folk songs and could be considered as genuine or unambiguously oral songs. In distinction, the two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha display a strong literary influence and thus belong to the category of transitional texts. The songs that Karadžić collected from Đuro Milutinović will prove to be particularly difficult to classify, since they pertain to all three categories. While 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' will be described as a transitional text, his song 'Dijoba Selimovića' will prove to be an oral traditional song without nontraditional features or literary influence. Finally, the four remaining songs written down from Đuro Milutinović form a separate group. Collected from a professional *guslar*, they show few literary elements in regard to their style and phraseology, but also display characteristics untypical for the local oral tradition and adopt an outlook incompatible with the oral traditional perspective.

In the first chapter, I will introduce the concepts of oral tradition and oral song as developed in the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition in performance. Supplemented by Lord's and Foley's later analyses of transitional and nontraditional texts, this framework will enable us to distinguish the characteristics of Montenegrin songs in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*.

In the second chapter, this will be followed by a textual analysis of five traditional oral songs and the establishment of their overall perspective. I will indicate that genuine oral traditional songs foster a local viewpoint and often promote tribal antagonism and particularism. This tribal perspective is then identified in the two earliest documented songs,

Đuro Milutinović's 'Dijoba Selimovića' and the two songs about the contemporary battle of Morača published by Karadžić.

The two songs attributed to Bishop Petar will be analysed in the third chapter. It will be demonstrated that, despite their similarities with traditional oral epic, both songs show nontraditional features such as a statement of date, unusual phraseology, frequent rhyming and thorough knowledge of the international relations atypical for traditional songs. In addition, I will show that Karadžić wrote down these songs directly from oral performances of singers from Montenegro, and that his songs display more characteristics of oral traditional songs than their versions published by Sima Milutinović and Njegoš. Namely, features such as a series of consecutive rhymed couplets, violation of metrical laws or verses indicating perceptions of an individual, literate poet with knowledge of grammar and the literary tradition, are found only in the versions from *Pjevanija* and *Ogledalo srbsko*. I shall therefore argue that the two songs were originally nontraditional, written literary texts, partially adapted in a traditional manner in the performances of Karadžić's singers. As a distinct mixture of literary and traditional oral characteristics, the two songs from Karadžić's collection will be described as transitional texts. Finally, it will be indicated that contextual evidence complies with textual analysis, suggesting that these songs were originally composed by Bishop Petar or some of his associates, and that at the time they were not adopted by the local oral tradition but collected by Karadžić from singers close to Cetinje and the Bishop.

The final chapter follows the intersection of these traditional and nontraditional characteristics in the four songs written down from Đuro Milutinović. I shall demonstrate that Milutinović's songs offer a distinctive mixture of different features; while some of these elements were inherited by the singer from his local oral tradition, others were adopted by him during his education and under Bishop Petar's influence. This impact of literacy and education is manifested through certain features distinct from the local oral tradition, such as the overall

perspective in these songs and the phraseology that the singer uses. It will be argued that most of the songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović therefore present a distinct form of oral texts with elements and views of literary origin.

In the concluding part of the thesis, I will summarize previous arguments about transitional texts and nontraditional characteristics in the earliest textualization of the Montenegrin oral tradition and the impact of literacy, educated authors and singers close to the political leadership in the process of the literary documentation and representation of local oral tradition. It will be argued that this study provides a more precise differentiation between traditional and transitional South Slavonic texts and contributes to the discussion of transitional texts in oral studies by offering a consistent model for their analysis, based on textual analysis supplemented with the genetic criterion. It will be suggested further that this research also contributes to the current research in the textualisation of oral tradition by examining this complex socio-political framework giving rise to the early-nineteenth century collections of South Slavonic oral songs. It calls for a proper consideration of the personal contribution of particular singers, collectors and editors, their mutual relations and their dependence on the contemporary political constellation and leadership. This study thus shows the need for the cultural and historical contextualization of the process of documentation and representation of the oral tradition, and enables a fuller understanding of the South Slavonic oral tradition in general.

Herder, the Brothers Grimm and the Concepts of Folk and Folk Song

The establishment of folklore studies in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries prepared the ground for the emergence and acceptance of Serbian epic

poetry in the literary sphere.[20] In the first, formative period of European folklore studies, several seminal collections of oral folk poetry, such as James Macpherson's *Fragments of an Ancient Poetry* (1760) and Johann Gottfried Herder's *Volkslieder* (1778-79), were published. Of particular importance for South Slavonic oral poetry was the influence of Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, published in Venice in 1774. The book contained the South Slavonic oral song 'Hasanaginica', and was soon translated into English and German. Goethe made his own version of the poem, 'Klaggesang von der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga', and Herder included it in the first volume of his *Volkslieder* (1778). New publications, such as Herder's enlarged edition from 1808 and the works of the brothers Grimm (*Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812-14), *Deutsche Sagen* (1816-18), *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835), soon followed. While the earliest publications turned scholarly attention towards 'folksongs', a term coined by Herder, or the so-called 'natural poetry' (a phrase widely used at the time by the brothers Grimm, Swedish poet-historian Erik Gustav Geijer and French scholar Claude Fauriel to name but three[21]), the next generation of predominantly German scholars advanced the idea that popular poetry was characterized by distinctive local 'national' qualities and features.[22]

Despite the apparent diversity of Romantic approaches to the concepts of folk and folk song, some general parallels between the views of Johann Herder and Jacob Grimm as the two most influential scholars of the time can be drawn. Herder elaborated his view of the folksong in the essay entitled *Über die Wirkung der Dichtkunst auf die Sitten der Völker* from 1778. According to him, folk culture offered a way to escape Enlightenment's overemphasis on reason, planning and universalism in cultural expression and could purify and refresh culture from the artificiality of contemporary art. Herder formulated this view as an imperative claim:

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[20] See: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, esp. Chapter I, 'The Discovery of the People' (London: Temple Smith, 1978), pp. 3-22.

[21] Ibid., p. 5.

[22] Vilmos Voigt, 'Primus Inter Pares: Why Was Vuk Karadžić the Most Influential Folklore Scholar in South-Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Uses of Tradition: A Comparative Enquiry into the Nature, Uses and Functions of Oral Poetry in the Balkans, the Baltic, and Africa*, ed. by Michael Branch and Celia Hawkesworth (London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies / Helsinki: Finish Literature Society, 1994), pp. 179-93.

'Unless our literature is founded on our *Volk*, we [writers] shall write eternally for closet sages and disgusting critics out of whose mouths and stomachs we shall get back what we have given.' [23] Herder suggested further that true poetry stems from a particular way of life characteristic of rural and primitive people, and in his later work juxtaposed the *Volk*, associated with the rural, simple people, to the urban and educated. He thus contrasted the 'Kultur des Volkes' ('culture of the people') with the 'Kultur der Gelehrten' ('learned culture'), and specified that the folk 'are not the mob in the streets, who never sing or compose but shriek or mutilate'. [24] Consequently, Herder associated folksongs with the distinctively national characteristics of the people they spring from, and maintained that popular poetry was the most precise and lofty expression of a people's 'character'. In 1777, he explicated and elaborated this idea of folklore as the soul of a nation in his essay *Von der Ähnlichkeit der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst*:

> Folksongs, fables, and legends [...] are in certain respects the result of a nation's beliefs, feelings, perceptions, and strengths. [...] All uncivilized people sing and work; their songs are the archives of the folk, the treasury of its science and religion, of its theogony and cosmogony, of the deeds of the forefathers and the events of its own history, an echo of its heart, the mirror of its domestic life in joy and in sorrow, from the cradle to the grave… a small collection of such songs, taken from the lips of each people in their own language, is - when inclusive, well stated, and accompanied with music – exactly what would give us better idea of the nations mentioned in the idle chatter of travellers.[25]

The glorification of the folk, its identification with the rural and uneducated and the identification of folk songs with the soul of the nation are even more evident in the works of the Brothers Grimm. Following Herder, they made a fundamental distinction between *Naturpoesie* as natural, spontaneous poetry made by simple, uneducated people, and *Kunstpoesie* as

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[23] Quoted in Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), p. 9.
[24] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 22.
[25] Quoted in Giuseppe Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981), p. 176.

artificial, individual, 'contemplated' poetry produced by the educated. According to Jacob Grimm, poetry is all the more poetic when it is spontaneous and natural, and these are the essential characteristics of folk poetry.[26] Following this distinction, the Grimms insisted that folk poetry is anonymous, impersonal, and collective.[27] In an essay on the *Nibelungenlied*, for example, Jacob Grimm pointed out that the author of the poem is unknown, 'as is usual with all national poems and must be the case, because they belong to the whole people'.[28] Accordingly, Jacob Grimm described popular poetry as 'poetry of nature' (*Naturpoesie*) and, although not denying the poetic quality of the new poetry, emphasized the essential difference between the former as spontaneous, and the latter as 'eine Zubereitung', i.e. something that is prepared, manufactured, assembled.[29]

In the writings of the Brothers Grimm both the concepts of the folk and folk song became more restricted and exclusive. Jacob Grimm, for example, recommended to his correspondents and associates to collect songs in remote regions uncorrupted by urban civilization and education, and claimed: 'On the high mountains and in the small villages, where there are neither paths or roads, and where the false Enlightenment has had no access and was unable to do its work, there still lies hidden in darkness a treasure: the customs of our forefathers, their sagas and their faith.'[30] According to him, the creativity and imagination characteristic of folk poetry spring and originate from these deepest and most conservative parts of the peasantry.[31] For the Grimms, therefore, the notion of folk as a creator was collective and limited to a particular background and particular class, which is the rural population living in remote areas detached from the influence of literature and civilization.

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[26] See: Miljan Mojašević, *Jakob Grim i srpska narodna književnost* (Beograd: SANU, 1983), p. 137.
[27] Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 220.
[28] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 4.
[29] Ibid., p. 4.
[30] Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm & Their Critics: Folktales and the Quest for Meaning* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), p. 66.
[31] Mojašević, *Jakob Grim*, p. 415.

The theoretical ideas and collections of Herder and the Brothers Grimm strongly influenced similar poetic efforts of other European nations and, especially in Eastern and Northern Europe, inspired a series of national collections of folk songs. To mention only some of the most famous, a collection of Russian *byliny* or ballads was published in 1804, the Arnim-Brentano collection of German songs between 1806 to 1808; in 1814, the first collections of Swedish and Serbian ballads were published, and Elias Lönnrot's first edition of the Finish national epic *Kalevala* appeared in 1835.[32]

From Folk Songs to National Songs

Several reasons particularly contributed to such a strong role and impact of Herder's and Grimms's ideas and publications on the cultures and nations from Eastern and Northern Europe. Firstly, As Cocchiara argues, Eastern and Northern Europeans had a relatively modest literary tradition in comparison to the French, English or Italians for example. Without strong roots in written literature, these nations thus turned to oral literature as 'a rich intellectual, moral, and social fortune, both the document of their traditions and the monument of their language.'[33] Secondly, this was certainly related to their particular political constellation. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, most Slavonic and Eastern European nations still lived under the domination of great Empires. Their emerging national movements were closely linked with the aspirations for cultural and political emancipation, or even full independence and the establishment of their own national state. Finally, it is perhaps instructive in this respect to remind that terms such as *national* and *popular* also had different connotations in various European languages. Gramsci, for example, notes that while in France the term *national* had a meaning in which the term *popular* was 'politically prepared for because it was linked to the

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[32] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 18. Also: Ruth Michaelis-Jena, 'Oral Tradition and the Brothers Grimm', in *Folklore*, 82.4 (1971), pp. 271-74.
[33] Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 258.

concept of sovereignty', in Italy it had a very narrow ideological meaning, which never coincided with that of *popular*; and that, on the other hand, the relationship between these two terms was completely different in Russian and other Slavonic languages in general, in which *national* and *popular* were synonyms.[34] In other words, Slavonic folklore and folk songs were additionally associated with the notion of the nation by the terminology itself.

In such circumstances, folk epic was more than likely to attain a privileged position in society. Namely, epic songs typically focus on national heroes, battles against invaders and the glorious deeds of the ancestors, and thus often serve as a confirmation of a glorious national past and as a source of identity representations; as Foley reminds us, 'for national identity, epic is a foundational genre'.[35] According to Beissinger, Tylus and Wooford, this peculiar and complex connection of epic to national and local cultures or, as they call it, 'political explosiveness' or 'political potency' of epic, is most evident 'in the intense reimagining of epic undertaken by most emerging European nations as a means of coming to self-knowledge as a nation'.[36] Michael Branch and Vilmos Voight also view this exceptional early nineteenth-century interest in epic poetry in Eastern Europe as a part of the process of national formation and self-affirmation. As they emphasize, oral poetry often served as 'a convenient substitute for written history' for Eastern European nations, and the only proper form for this subject to be expressed was through the national epic. Voight describes this as 'the constant urge to establish or re-establish an heroic past from and in form of heroic songs as part of the cultural tradition and identity'.[37] Branch conveniently labels this practice 'the invention of national epic' and 'the patriotic imperative to produce an epic', and follows the birth of several mystifications published as 'ancient' epic poems 'discovered' in the first half of the nineteenth century.[38]

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[34] Ibid., p. 257.

[35] Foley, 'Epic as Genre', in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. by Robert Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 185.

[36] Beissinger etr all, *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, p.3.

[37] Voigt, *Primus Inter Pares*, p. 183.

[38] See: Michael Branch, 'The Invention of a National Epic', in *The Uses of Tradition*, pp. 195-211.

The aforementioned scholars also consider the Serbian epic songs published by Karadžić as especially relevant and illustrative examples of the importance and exceptional role of epic poetry in these processes.[39] Karadžić's early collections appeared at the peak of scholarly interest in folk poetry and almost instantly gained international repute and unanimous recognition by leading scholars of the time as great achievements of 'natural poetry'. The collections offered a number of folk songs uncorrupted by literacy and scholarly influence, 'koje je serdce u prostoti i u nevinosti bezhodužno po prirodi spjevavalo', as Karadžić wrote in his first short collection from 1814.[40] In his lengthy review of Karadžić's edition of *Srpske narodne pjesme* in 1823, Jacob Grimm similarly emphasized that these songs were collected directly 'aus dem warmen Munde des Volkes', and wrote that these are the most important and valuable epic songs for the understanding of heroic poetry since the Homeric epic.[41] Slovene scholar Bartholomeus (Jernej) Kopitar claimed that no European nation could match the Serbs in the quality of their folk poetry; Goethe praised Serbian lyric poetry, and Jacob Grimm compared it to *The Song of Songs*. Therese Albertine Luise von Jacob, a member of the same Leipzig literary circle and one of the first translators of Serbian songs, later described the publication of collections of Serbian folk songs as 'one of the most significant literary events of modern times'.[42]

Finally, Karadžić's works also inspired other collectors and influenced their work, such as Lönnrot *Kalevala* or Václav Hanka's fabrication of the allegedly Czech national poems. Hanka, who already in 1814 had translated several lines about the characteristics of epic poetry from Karadžić's first *Introduction*, published in 1817 *Prostonárodní srbská muza do Čech převedená*, his translations of several epic fragments from Karadžić's 1815 *Pjesnarica*. Inspired

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[39] See: Branch, *The Invention of a National Epic*; Voigt, *Primus Inter Pares*; Foley, *Epic as Genre*, pp. 171-86; Margaret Beissinger, 'Epic, Genre, and Nationalism: The Development of Nineteenth-Century Balkan Literature', in *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, pp. 69-86.

[40] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, I (Beograd: Prosveta, 1965), p. 42.

[41] See the reprint of Grimm's review in Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme I*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, IV (Beograd: Prosveta, 1975), p. 554.

[42] See: Nada Milošević-Đorđević, 'The Oral Tradition', in *The History of Serbian Culture*, p. 148.

by Serbian folk epics, later that year Hanka published his famous *Rukopis královédvorský*, adding another epic mystification called *Libušin soud* some years later.[43] Another example is the Finnish *Kalevala*, compiled from original folk fragments and separate songs by Elias Lönnrot in 1835 and 1849. According to Felix J. Oinas, Lönnrot's interpolations were carried out so thoroughly that it is practically impossible to distinguish the true folk songs from his interventions.[44] As Branch argues, Serbian songs translated into Swedish by Runeberg in 1828 were 'among the most important models reaching Finland', and 'particularly the arrangement of Karadžić's poems' influnced Runebergs and Lönnrots work for several decades.[45]

As indicated, the process of systematic collecting epic songs among the Serbs, as with other Balkan and European nations, emerged at the time of national revival, and the scholars typically emphasize that it is closely related to 'the rise of nationalism, aspirations for liberation, and the formation of national or revival literatures'.[46] In Serbia proper, the most important events in the political sphere were the uprisings against the Turks (from 1804 to 1815) and the subsequent formation of an independent state. The parallel process of liberation from the Turks and the gradual unification of various clans and tribes under the ruling Petrović family lasted in Montenegro from the second half of the eighteenth century until the official recognition of the state in 1878. Finally, among the Serbs from the Habsburg Empire, this process of national emancipation manifested itself more in the cultural than in the political sphere. With the publication of the first collections of folk songs in 1814 and 1815, Karadžić and his followers simultaneously started a long battle for the acceptance of vernacular language and oral culture as the basis for the future Serbian culture and as a paradigm for the evolving Serbian literature.

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[43] See: Vladan Nedić, 'O prvoj i drugoj Vukovoj Pjesnarici', in Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, p. 379. Also: Milada Černa, 'Vukovo delo u češkoj književnosti', in *Vukov zbornik* (Beograd: SANU, 1964), pp. 341-53.
[44] See: Felix J. Oinas, *Heroic Epic and Saga: An Introduction to the World's Great Folk Epics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 290.
[45] Branch, *The Invention of a National Epic*, p. 201.
[46] Beissinger et all, *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, p. 69. For other East European and Scandinavian examples, see: Branch, *The Invention of a National Epic*.

Under the twofold influence of Romantic ideas and national emancipation, early collectors promoted the view of Serbian epic poetry as the collective expression of national values and goals. Already in his earliest publications, Karadžić emphasized the importance of folk songs in general and epic songs in particular. Thus, his *Objavljenije o narodnim pjesmama Serbskim* from June 1815 Karadžić begins with a typically Romantic claim, discussed previously in the context of Herder and the Brothers Grimm, about folk songs as the personification of a national character and the highest expression of a national spirit: 'Između sviju narodnosti (Nationalität), koje narod budi koji između sebe sojužavaju i ot drugoga razlikuju, u pervom redu uzimaju mesto narodne pjesne: jerbo one soderžavaju u sebi narodni jezik, karakter i običaje'.[47]

Serbian oral epic songs in particular attracted a special attention of the early collectors in the first half of the nineteenth century. Focusing on the heroic deeds of the ancestors and the battles against the invaders, epic songs are especially suitable as a source of identity representation and the confirmation of a distinctive cultural tradition. As indicated, they attracted particular attention of the early nineteenth century European Romantics as a source of national pride, self-affirmation and the confirmation of glorious national past. Accordingly, already in his first publication, a short collection from 1814 which contained folk and artistic lyric songs and several epic songs, Karadžić emphasized the historical content of the latter: 'meni se čini, da su ovakve pesme sodržale, i sad u narodu prostom soderžavaju, negdašnje bitije Serbsko, i ime'.[48] Similarly, upon his arrival at Cetinje in 1827, Sima Milutinović wrote with fascination about the local oral tradition: 'Ovdje je original muškosti i slava srpska'.[49] Finally, in his collection from 1846, Njegoš accordingly emphasized: 'Za crnogorske pjesme može se reći da se u njima sadržava istorija ovoga naroda koji nikakve žertve nije poštedio

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[47] Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, p. 361.
[48] Ibid., p. 44.
[49] Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, *Prepiska III (1826-1828)*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, XXII (Beograd: Prosveta, 1989), p. 858.

samo da sačuva svoju slobodu'.[50] In accordance with these views, Karadžić and Njegoš offered chronologically ordered cycles of epic songs in their collections, and centred on crucial Serbian and Montenegrin historical events and characters, such as medieval heroes, major battles against the Turks, or the Serbian Uprising (1804-1813). The oral tradition documented by these collectors thus corresponded to their ideas about the Serbian folk epic as a narrative that contained the national past and preserved a living memory of the former national heroes and glory. This notion of the folk epic as the expression of popular and collective views of national history was codified and canonized by Karadžić's and Njegoš's followers during the second half of the nineteenth century.[51]


### The Basis of Montenegrin History and Society


As indicated above, this study will examine the corpus of Montenegrin oral epic songs in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*. After a brief outline of the social and political history of the region, I will introduce some preliminary remarks about the local oral tradition, its documentation and representation in the collections from the first half of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the people of the highlands – a territory that stretches across the present day continental part of Montenegro, South-West Serbia and Herzegovina – still had fragmented social organization, and lived separated into various clans and tribes. Scholars emphasize that the breakdown of feudal ties during the collapse of the Serbian medieval state in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries motivated the establishment of an initial alliance of extended families into common economic and political

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[50] Petar II Petrović Njegoš, *Ogledalo srbsko* (Beograd: Prosveta / Cetinje: Obod, 1977), p. 10.
[51] See, for instance, Jovan Skerlić's classical study *Omladina i njena književnost: Izučavanja o nacionalnom i književnom romatizmu kod Srba*, esp. Ch. XII 'Kult prošlosti' and Ch. XIX 'Uticaj narodne poezije' (Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1906), pp. 191-201, 309-26.

associations.[52] After their conquest of Montenegro during the fifteenth century, the Ottomans accepted and codified this social formation of blood-related clans of shepherds, united in tribes on a collectively owned and shared territory.[53]
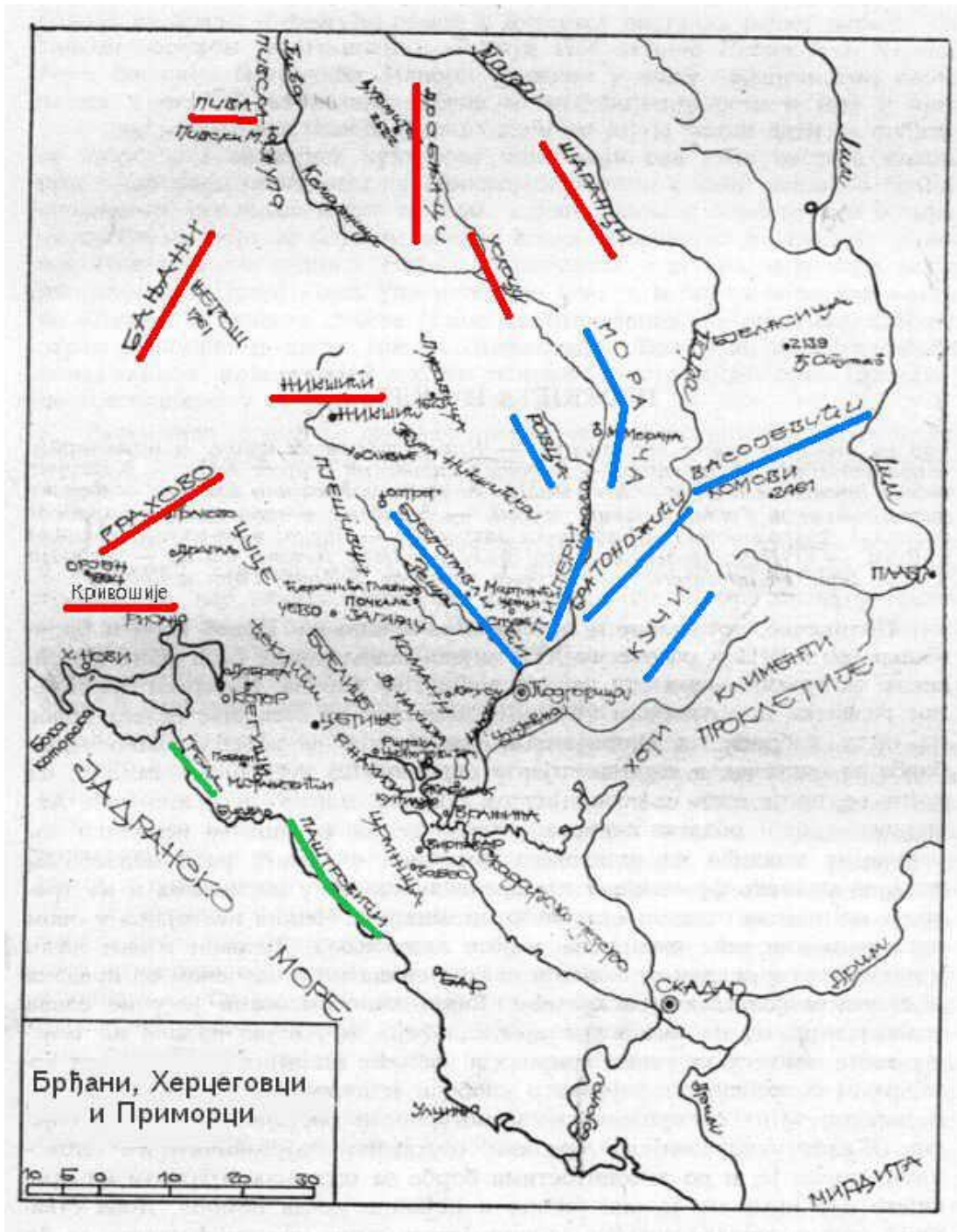
Members of the Petrović family, from the clan of Njeguši at Cetinje, initiated a process of gradual unification of the clans and tribes. They transformed the original clan structure into a unified state form and successfully fought against both local Turks and armies sent by viziers and pashas from Skadar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Petrović family held the hereditary position of bishop; his jurisdiction covered a large territory, which enabled them to gradually establish political leadership. In addition, their tribe occupied the region of Katuni, the largest district in Old Montenegro.[54] This area was closest to the Adriatic Coast and thus economically more independent from the Turks and protected from their permanent influence by the shield of so-called Brđani tribes in the east and the Herzegovinian tribes in the north (see pictures 1 and 2).[55]

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[52] See: Branislav Đurđev, *Postanak i razvoj brdskih, crnogorskih i hercegovačkih plemena*, CANU: Titograd, 1984. Also: Sima Ćirković, *Istorija Crne Gore, knjiga II* (Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore: Titograd, 1970), pp. 349-70.

[53] Branislav Đurđev, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1953.

[54] In this study, the term 'Montenegrin songs' is used as a common denominator for all the songs from the area. The ethnonym 'Montenegrins', however, according to its semantic range in the songs and its usual usage throughout this period, applies to the members of the tribes from Old Montenegro.

[55] See: Đoko Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*, Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1981. A convenient survey of Montenegrin history in English is offered in Elisabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro*. London: Hurst & Company, 2007, esp. pp. 103-80.

Picture 1 – The tribes of Brda (blue), Herzegovina (red) and the Coast (green)

СТАРА ЦРНА ГОРА И ЊЕНА ПЛЕМЕНА

I Катунска нахија
1. Племе Цетиње
2. Племе Његуши
3. Племе Ћеклићи
4. Племе Бјелице
5. Племе Цуце
6. Племе Озринићи
7. Племе Пјешивци
8. Племе Загарач
9. Племе Комани

II Љешанска нахија
III Ријечка нахија
10. Племе Косјери
11. Племе Добрско село
12. Племе Цеклин
13. Племе Љуботен
14. Племе Грађани

IV Црмничка нахија
15. Племе Подгор
16. Племе Дупило
17. Племе Брчељ
18. Племе Сотонићи
19. Племе Глухи До
20. Племе Лимљани
21. Племе Бољевићи

Picture 2 – The tribes of Old Montenegro

The role of Bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš I, who ruled from 1782 to 1830, has been recognized by historians as decisive in this process.[56] Although he was formally not a political

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[56] See: Gligor Stanojević, *Crna Gora pred stvaranje države*, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1962. Also: Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*.

but a religious leader, his determination and efficacy in organizing resistance gradually earned him the position of the undisputed moral authority and the most influential political figure in Montenegro. He transformed Montenegro from an initial loose alliance of the four small districts ('nahije'), situated around the Cetinje monastery as the religious centre in the late eighteenth century, to a large coalition of tribes, and made efforts to introduce elements of a centralized government. At the general assembly with the tribal leaders of 1798, Petar I laid the foundations for written law in Montenegro, and went on to enlarge it, to proclaim the first court in 1803, and form his own personal guard ('gvardija') of 25 soldiers ('perjanika') as a precursor to the police.[57] Historians take the victories of the allied Montenegrin and tribal forces against the Turks as the decisive moments for unification.[58] The tribes of Piperi and Bjelopavlići united with Montenegro in 1796, after two battles against Mehmet Pasha from Skadar. The Moračani and Rovci joined the alliance in 1820, following the victory in the battle of Morača. At the same time, the influence of Cetinje on the largest tribes of Vasojevići, Kuči and Drobnjaci constantly grew over the decades.

Bishop Petar's successors were the famous writer and collector of folk poetry Bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš II (1830-1851), Bishop (and later Prince) Danilo (1852-1860) and Prince (later King) Nikola (1860-1918). They strengthened their influence on the other tribes and consolidated the state, which was formally recognized in 1878, and were especially effective in centralizing the government and concentrating power in their hands. They did not hesitate to use force, sometimes launching severe reprisals against disobedient individuals, clans and even whole tribes.[59] However, it would be an oversimplification to associate the process of unification only with the dates of the establishment of the Law, the Court and the formal unification of the tribes with Old Montenegro. To create and maintain the state, the Petrovićs

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[57] See: Dušan Vuksan, *Petar I Petrović Njegoš i njegovo doba*, Cetinje: Narodna knjiga, 1951. Also: Branko Pavićević, *Petar I Petrović Njegoš*, Podgorica: Pergamena, 1997.
[58] Jagoš Jovanović, *Istorija Crne Gore* (Podgorica: CID, 2001), p. 155; Gligor Stanojević, *Crna Gora pred stvaranje države* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1962), pp. 256-69.
[59] See: Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*. Also: Jovanović, *Istorija Crne Gore*.

had to overcome not only the neighbouring Turks (predominantly consisting of the Islamized local population), who claimed supremacy over the Brđani, the Herzegovinian tribes, and occasionally over old Montenegro too, but also internal tribal antagonism and particularism. The prolonged absence of a central government had cemented tribal association as the most desirable mode for the protection of collective interests. Although a certain recognition of their common Serbian origin and history could hardly be denied, the tribes also nourished their distinctive local traditions and acted independently from or against other tribes.[60] Besides disputes over wealth and pastures as common causes of conflicts among the tribes, their ambiguous relations with the Turks contributed to this tribal antagonism. While local Turkish pashas and beys had little influence over the tribes around Cetinje, they claimed authority over the territory inhabited by the Herzegovinian tribes and demanded a regular tribute from its inhabitants as if they were feudal lords.[61] Furthermore, the Montenegrins barely distinguished the local Christians from the Muslims during their attacks on the Herzegovinian territory under Turkish control. Meanwhile, the Christian tribes that recognized Turkish supremacy participated in campaigns led by the Turks against the Montenegrins and rebellious tribes.

The persistence of local traditions, clan and tribal particularities and mutual conflicts posed a constant threat to the emerging centripetal forces, and often shattered the fragile peace. The unwritten law of blood revenge played a special role in tribal separatism. This archaic custom demanded that any killed member(s) of a clan or tribe be revenged by the killing of at least as many people of the enemy clan or tribe. This often led to a progression of killings on both sides, creating an atmosphere of general insecurity and generating brutal and long-lasting

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[60] For a detailed list of the major internal conflicts, see: Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*, pp. 23-34.

[61] Officially, all the land in the Ottoman Empire belonged to the sultan, and neither estates nor titles were to be inherited. Practically, however, wealthy and distinguished Muslim families in the Balkans, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, often kept their privileges for generations and behaved as feudal lords. See: Radovan Samardžić, 'Osnove uređenja Turske', in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, ed. by Radovan Samardžić et all (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 2000), IIIa, p. 43 et passim.

tribal wars and hostilities.[62] Despite the constant efforts by the Petrovićs to eradicate blood revenge, to end old conflicts and antagonisms and to establish a lasting peace and unity, clan and tribal wars and occasional cooperation with the Turks continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

<u>Tribalism vs Nationalism in the Montenegrin Oral Epic Tradition</u>

Approaching the question of the Montenegrin epic tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century, we can broadly distinguish two groups of songs according to their subject. The first group describes what we might call small-scale conflicts like personal duels, cattle raiding and revenge for the death of brother, relative or friend. Their usual subject is 'četovanje', the most popular form of warfare in the highlands. It consisted of actions launched by small groups of warriors. They would attack Turks, tradesmen, or members of other tribes and clans, as well as rustle sheep and cattle. Even though the Turks are common enemies in these songs, tribal or territorial identification often surpasses religious and national solidarity.

The second group describes large-scale conflicts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between the Turkish armies led by viziers and pashas from Skadar, Bosnia and Herzegovina against coalitions of Montenegrin tribes. These battles involved large numbers of men in regular military formations and had greater and more enduring consequences for the political status of the region. Unlike the predominantly short chronicle songs about local incidents, these songs sometimes contain more elaborate views about the contemporary historical and political context or international relations and power-structure in the region.

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[62] About the blood revenge, see: Christopher Bohem, *Blood Revenge: the Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

They foster tribal unity and cohesion under the Petrovićs' leadership, suggesting that all Christian tribes should fight united against the Turks as their common enemies.

The collections of Karadžić, Sima Milutinović and Njegoš compiled in the first half of the nineteenth century can give us an approximate idea about the popularity of these songs about recent events in Montenegrin oral tradition. As the most comprehensive collection of Montenegrin oral songs from the first half of the nineteenth century, Sima Milutinović's second *Pjevanija* is the best source for such approximation. Out of some 170 songs that he collected throughout Montenegro in the late 1820s, some two fifths described relatively recent Montenegrin events, while others celebrated older heroes and subjects more widely popular in Serbian and South Slavonic oral tradition. Minor conflicts like *četovanje*, cattle raiding, blood revenge and personal duels figure as a more prominent subject of Montenegrin songs in the works of three collectors. Approximately forty out of these seventy songs about recent events from *Pjevanija*, two thirds out of some forty Montenegrin songs published by Karadžić,[63] and just over a half of fifty Montenegrin songs published in Njegoš's *Ogledalo Srbsko* belong to this group, whereas others focus on the major eighteenth and early-nineteenth century conflicts with the Turks.

This duality in the Montenegrin epic can also be observed in the scholarly approach to it. In accordance with their ideas about national emancipation, early collectors put an emphasis on the unified efforts of the Montenegrins in the struggle for national liberation. As mentioned, Njegoš described the Montenegrin songs in his collection as the testimony of national struggle,[64] and Karadžić classified them in his editions as the songs 'o vojevanju za slobodu' and 'o crnogorskim bojevima s Turcima'. In other words, both labels emphasized the elements of the struggle for national liberation from the Turks in the Montenegrin songs. Such

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[63] I am taking into calculation here both Montenegrin songs published in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme* and in his 1862 fourth book of *Srpske narodne pjesme*, since it was also mostly compiled before 1850. I am not considering, however, eighteen songs from Karadžić's fifth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* (1865), since they descibe the events in Montenegro after 1850 and were published after Karadžić's death.

[64] See: Njegoš, *Ogledalo srbsko*, p. 10.

classification is commonly adopted by the later scholars, who usually describe them as 'pesme o crnogorskim bojevima s Turcima', 'pjesme o vojevanju Crnogoraca za slobodu', or 'ciklus oslobođenja Crne Gore'.[65]

Certain Karadžić's remarks, however, question the coherence of such a conceptualization. For example, in his book *Montenegro und die Montenegriner*,[66] originally published in German in 1837, after his first stay in Montenegro, Karadžić says that the most common and popular form of warfare in Montenegro is 'četovanje', and describes it as attacks launched by small groups of warriors that plunder across the adjoining territory under Turkish control. However, as Karadžić explains:

> Ovaj se susjedski rat istina ne vodi radi kakva osvajanja s jedne ili s druge strane, već gotovo jedino radi ubijanja i pljačkanja… i u velikoj je časti kao junačko djelo. Obično u četu idu 10 do 20 ljudi, i gledaju da koga od neprijatelja ubiju ili da što otmu i ukradu.[67]

Summarizing the overall picture of the Montenegrin epic tradition in the same book, he indicated: 'Ponajviše srpsko-crnogorskijeh narodnijeh pjesama pjevaju o ovakvom četovanju'.[68] In other words, according to this view the majority of Montenegrin songs glorified isolated local conflicts that had no significant consequences for the political constellation in the region. Moreover, in his later edition of Montenegrin songs, Karadžić made several comments suggesting that the Turks were not the only target of Montenegrin *četovanje* and that mutual hostility among Christian tribes was quite common.[69]

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[65] See: Radovan Zogović, *Usputno o nezaobilaznom* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1983), p. 223. These labels are also adopted by: Radovan Samardžić, Treća knjiga *Srpskih narodnih pjesama* Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića', in Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme III* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1988), p. 504; Vido Latković, *Epska narodna poezija Crne Gore* (Titograd: Grafički zavod, 1964), p. 7; Pavle Popović, *Pregled srpske* književnosti, Sabrana dela Pavla Popovića, (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1999), I, p. 66.

[66] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Montenegro und die Montenegriner. Ein Beitrag zur Kettnis der europaïschen Türkei und des Serbischen Volkes*. Stuttgart / Tübingen: J. G. Cott'scha, 1837. All quotations from this book are taken from: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, translated from German by Ljubomir Stojanović, Beograd: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1922.

[67] Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, p. 59.

[68] Ibid., p. 60.

[69] See, for instance, Karadžić's comment in *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 30.

Several later scholars express similar views. Nikola Banašević suggests that 'dobar deo pesama crnogorskog ciklusa opeva baš te sitne čarke, sudare malih četa s Turcima, udaranje na kule, torove i slično, štaviše i međusobne, plemenske borbe samih Crnogoraca.'[70] In addition, Ljubomir Zuković and Svetozar Matić assert that

> pevači iz Crne Gore, uglavnom, nisu negovali nekakvu zajedničku crnogorsku epsku tradiciju, niti, pak, svest o zajedničkoj prošlosti i sudbini. Ta je tradicija bila, pre svega, plemenska. Hrabrost pojedinca ili plemena gotovo jednako se slavila bez obzira na to da li je ispoljena protiv Turaka ili protiv susednog plemena, pa čak i bratstva.[71]

Jovan Deretić in his *Istorija srpske književnosti* conveniently summarizes the distinctive characteristics of Montenegrin epic as follows:

> Crnogorske pesme najviše govore o mesnim, plemenskim ili pograničnim sukobima s Turcima, o turskim pljačkaškim pohodima u crnogorska brda radi naplate harača, o otmicama i odbrani stada, o hajdukovanju i četovanju, o međuplemenskim zađevicama i sukobima, o krvnim osvetama… Lokalne po događajima i ličnostima o kojima su pevale, crnogorske pesme retko su prelazile plemenske granice (svako pleme imalo je svoju plemensku tradiciju i svoju plemensku epiku).[72]

Finally, with regard to the Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's collections, scholars mainly follow Karadžić's classification and emphasize anti-Turkish sentiment and national emancipatory goals as their dominant features. Radovan Samardžić, for example, recognizes in Karadžić's third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* a distinctive group of Montenegrin songs about newer events. While Karadžić himself later indicated that some of them depict tribal conflict among the Christians,[73] Samardžić, however, describes them as 'pet pesama o novijim bojevima Crnogoraca, Brđana i Hercegovaca protiv Turaka'.[74] In addition, even

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[70] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 297.
[71] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 148 et passim; Svetozar Matić, *Naš narodi ep i naš stih* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1964), pp. 95-125.
[72] Jovan Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2003), p. 388.
[73] See note 69.
[74] Radovan Samaradžić, *Treća knjiga 'Srpskih narodnih pjesama'*, p. 504.

though Zuković previously indicated that Montenegrin epic songs typically display local identification and tribal conflicts, he still claims that Karadžić's label 'pesme o vojevanju za slobodu' applies 'bezmalo… na celokupnu našu narodnu epiku, a pesmama o događajima novijih vremena odgovara sasvim'.[75] Subsequent analysis will show that such generalization is inadequate, since neither the struggle for liberation nor the anti-Turkish perspective could be taken as the most common characteristics of the Montenegrin songs published in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*. In addition, the analysis will show that the songs that do promote wider tribal unity and joined efforts in the struggle against the Turks in the collection contain nontraditional features that indicate the influence of literate culture and Bishop Petar on its singers and content.

### Montenegrin Oral Tradition and Vuk Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*

Karadžić's edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme* represented Montenegrin oral epic tradition in an indirect and mediated way, especially when compared to the later collections published by Sima Milutinović and Njegoš in the first half of the nineteenth century. The absence of Karadžić's cooperation with the Montenegrin political elite and the circumstances in which he collected the songs in this period, along with his early poetics of Serbian folk songs in general, all contribute to the comparatively modest number of Montenegrin songs in his early collections. Karadžić's knowledge of Montenegro was very modest during his earliest years as a collector. Being remote and hostile, in the early nineteenth century Montenegro largely remained *terra incognita* to the rest of Europe; even in the region itself, official contacts with the Montenegrins were relatively rare. For example, the leading Serbian poet of the time, Lukijan Mušicki, explained that he had not included Bishop Petar I in his

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[75] See: Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 452.

famous 1818 ode to the great contemporary Serbs because he knew nothing of him at the time.[76] Similarly, in 1818, Karadžić explains to some critics from Cetinje, who complained about the absence of his *Rječnik* in Montenegro, that the only reason for this was that he simply knew no one from the area. In addition, various geographic mistakes that Karadžić made in this *Rječnik*, such as the explanation that Cetinje is a river and a district, clearly show the paucity of both his personal and the general knowledge of Montenegro at the time.

The lack of contact with Montenegro and Karadžić's early views of Serbian folk poetry resulted in the absence of the epic songs with distinguishable Montenegrin heroes and events in the two earliest of Karadžić's collections, published in 1814 and 1815. In his first *Pjesnarica*, Karadžić published mostly the songs that he remembered from his childhood in Western Serbia,[77] and in the second those written down in Srem in 1815,[78] i.e. from a territory distant from Montenegro. In addition, during his early years as a collector, Karadžić gave primacy to songs about medieval heroes and battles. Accordingly, he focused on the documentation of such songs, neglecting those that celebrated more recent local events and heroes. For instance, in his later *Introduction* to the 1833 edition, Karadžić relates that his favourite singer Tešan Podrugović knew 'još najmanje sto junački pesama, [...] osobito od kojekaki primorski i Bosanski i Ercegovački ajduka i četobaša'.[79] Similarly, he collected three songs about the medieval heroes from Starac Milija and only one about the local characters, but later acknowledged that Milija knew 'još mlogo onaki pjesama' about such more recent characters and conflicts.[80] Consequently, Karadžić left out of his first collections several Montenegrin songs that he had collected as early as in 1815.

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[76] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, pp. 11-12.
[77] See: Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*. p. 42-43.
[78] See Karadžić's 'Introduction' to the Fourth volume of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 393-411.
[79] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 394.
[80] Ibid., p. 397.

Only several years after the publication of these collections, Montenegro attracted more Karadžić's attention. Responding to complaints from the Montenegrins, he said in 1818: 'Kako god što mi je onda ležao na srcu i pameti Jadar, đe sam se rodio i uzrastao… tako mi je isto ležala na srcu i pameti i Crna Gora, za koju sam još od đetinjstva moga čuo i razumio da u njoj još od Lazareva vremena jednako traje srpska vlada i carovanje'.[81]

Karadžić also tried to make contacts with Bishop Petar, and to inspire him to collect Montenegrin oral songs on his behalf. However, despite Karadžić's repeated attempts to establish cooperation with the Bishop, his efforts remained unsuccessful. It appears that the Bishop, who was already seventy-four when Karadžić initiated contact, had more immediate concerns. In a letter to Karadžić from 1828, Sima Milutinović blamed tribal anarchy and particularism for the Bishop's inability to engage in the collection of folk songs: 'Gu Mitropolitu si ti zahtjevanjem pjesanah nehotice i neznajući dosađivao, jer da Kitajem vlada nebi više brige bespokojstva i uzalud trudenija imao istij ondi i među onijema, đe je svaka puška top, svaka glava pomazana, i svakoga volja kolik' opšta, a svakij dom dvor, i svaki krš grad.'[82]

Several other evidences also indicate that Karadžić held Montenegrin epic tradition in great esteem. In 1821, he repeatedly tried to persuade Serbian Prince Miloš to collect the songs from the Montenegrin singer Ivan Jovov, who had settled in Serbia. This was another Karadžić's early effort to collect Montenegrin songs, most likely inspired by his lack of contacts from Montenegro at the time. However, having received no assistance from the Prince, this Karadžić's attempt to collect Montenegrin songs failed.[83] Writing his *Predgovor* to the second edition of the folk songs the following year, which was his first ambitious article

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[81] Karadžić, *Rječnik 1818*, p. xv.
[82] Karadžić, *Prepiska III (1826-1828)*, p. 897.
[83] Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, *Prepiska I (1811-1821)*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, XX (Beograd: Prosveta, 1988), p. 912.

on Serbian folk poetry, Karadžić described Montenegro as a part of the region with the strongest epic production:

> Junačke se pjesme danas najviše i najživlje pjevaju po Bosni i Ercegovini i po Crnoj Gori i po južnim brdovitim krajevima Srbije. Po tim mjestima i današnji dan gotovo u svakoj kući imaju po jedne gusle, a po jedne osobito na stanu kod čobana; i teško je naći čoveka da ne zna guđeti, a mloge i žene i đevojke znadu.[84]

In 1822 this could only have been a guess; Karadžić still had neither visited Montenegro, nor established a network of associates from the region. What directed him towards such a conclusion was the combination of his childhood memories with his collector's practice. His family came from Herzegovina and kept close connections with their relatives. According to Karadžić's description, some of them were *hajduks*, outlaws who would spend the winter in their home, and whose favourite winter occupation was singing oral songs.[85] In addition, he relates that both his grandfather and his uncle were good epic singers, and the songs that he wrote down from his father Stefan confirm his later statement that he lived in the family 'gdje su se pjesme junačke pjevale i kazivale (kao u sred Ercegovine)'.[86] Karadžić's high esteem of the Montenegrin epic tradition is also evident from the fact that among the first six singers that he mentions in his *Introduction* to the 1833 edition, five of them were originally from the Montenegrin area: Tešan Podrugović, Starac Milija, Starac Raško, Stojan Hajduk and Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac.[87] Such appreciation thus additionally shows Karadžić's growing knowledge of the Montenegrin opus and tradition.

Accordingly, during the 1820s Karadžić often mentioned his intention to go personally to Montenegro to collect epic songs and to study local history and customs, but did not fulfil

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[84] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 559.
[85] Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, *O jeziku i književnosti III*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, XIV (Prosveta: Beograd, 2001), p. 39.
[86] Ibid., p. 39.
[87] See: Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 393-99.

this aim until 1836.[88] As it appears, Karadžić's visit to this hostile and mountainous land required financial support and comprehensive preparations. In 1828, when Sima Milutinović wrote to Karadžić from Cetinje: 'znaj da je odavle lakše poći nekome do u Hamburg ili London negoli nekom' do na Kčevo ili u Moraču',[89] this was probably not very far from the truth. Milutinović's own example is instructive enough. Even though he was a warrior in the Serbian uprising and a Romantic type adventurer himself, it took him eight days to find his way from Kotor to Cetinje and almost cost him his life.[90] Such spontaneous expedition was not possible for Karadžić, who was lame and prone to illnesses. In addition to his attempts to establish cooperation with Bishop Petar, Karadžić also tried to secure financial support for his travel to Montenegro from the Russian Academy during the 1820s, but his attempts in this respect remained unsuccessful.[91] His first visit to Cetinje and Montenegro was finally organized with Njegoš's assistance in 1836, three years after the last volume of *Narodne srpske pjesme* had been published.

Without Bishop Petar's assistance and with no associates from the field, Karadžić could therefore rely only on singers available outside the local tradition. Lack of contacts from the region is manifested in the relatively modest number of Montenegrin songs about recent events that he wrote down and published in that period. Karadžić included a first selection of Montenegrin songs in his second edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, adding several more in the fourth and final book of this edition in 1833.

Approaching the corpus of songs relevant for my analysis, it should be made clear that there is no great divide separating the Montenegrin songs from others in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*. In his earlier collections, Karadžić had published them among various 'pjesme junačke poznije' and 'pjesme junačke raznijeh vremena'. For his third, extended edition of

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[88] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači,* pp. 14-17.
[89] Karadžić, *Prepiska III (1826-1828)*, p. 898.
[90] See: Vladan Nedić, *Sima Milutinović Sarajlija* (Prosveta: Beograd, 1959), pp. 84-85.
[91] See Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, pp. 14-18.

Serbian folk songs, he developed a more elaborate classification and republished the songs with distinguishable Montenegrin heroes and events in a separate book, among his 'pjesme junačke novijih vremena o vojevanju za slobodu'. As indicated, this later classification is widely accepted by the scholars, who established the Montenegrin songs as a separate epic cycle with recognizable local characteristics. [92] I will therefore follow usual classification and focus on the songs about relatively recent Montenegrin events that Karadžić wrote down from local singers or from singers who came from the region.

The first selection of Montenegrin songs that Karadžić published among 'pjesme junačke novije' in his third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* from 1823 are: 'Perović Batrić' (no. 19), 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' (no. 21), 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' (no. 23), 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' (no. 24) and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' (no. 25). Radovan Samardžić recognizes them as forming a separate section that comes before the songs about the Serbian Uprising, and after the cycles about the Serbian despots and earlier hajduks. Apparently, it is these several songs that Karadžić had in mind when he informed Bishop Petar that the new collection contains a few (*nekolike*) songs about the Montenegrins.[93] In addition, in his later edition from 1862, Karadžić included these five songs from this edition among 'pjesme junačke novijih vremena o vojevanju za slobodu'. According to Zuković, the song 'Dijoba Selimovića' (no. 18) from Karadžić's 1823 collection of *Narodne srpske pjesme* also belongs to the corpus of the songs 'of the newer times'.[94] As he demonstrated, Karadžić intended to republish it in his final edition from 1862, and excluded it in the last moment. [95] This shows the collector's consistent identification of it as a Montenegrin song and qualifies it for our analysis.

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[92] See: Zogović, *Usputno o nezaobilaznom*, p. 223; Samardžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme III*, p. 504; Latković, *Epska narodna poezija Crne Gore*, p. 7; Popović, *Pregled srpske književnosti*, p. 66.
[93] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Prepiska II (1822-1825)*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, XXI (Beograd: Prosveta, 1988), p. 248.
[94] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 565-66.
[95] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 131.

Karadžić's fourth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, published in 1833, also contains a group of Montenegrin songs. Among forty-seven songs 'raznijeh vremena', there are six distinguishable songs that form the Montenegrin section of the collection: 'Tri sužnja' (no. 39), 'Paša Podgorica i Đuro čoban-paša' (no. 40), 'Šehović Osman' (no. 41), 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' (no. 42), 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' (no. 46) and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' (no. 47). By analogy with the previous collection, Karadžić placed them according to chronological order after the songs about the earlier hajduks like Mali Radojica, Mijat Harambaša and Vide Daničić, and before the songs from the Serbian Uprising, finishing with the two songs about the battle of Morača from 1820 as the most recent event. The song 'Paša Podgorica i Đuro čoban-paša' is not taken into consideration for two reasons. As Karadžić reports, he wrote it down in 1830 from 'slepca Gaje Balaća, rodom iz Rvatske',[96] and in the later edition from 1846 he relocated it in the third book of *Srpske narodne pjesme* among 'pjesme junačke srednjijeh vremena'. Its singer, therefore, had no direct contacts with the Montenegrin area, and its subject, according to Karadžić's later and more elaborate classification, belongs to a different context.

The fact that these eleven songs were all collected during the same period and at the time of Bishop Petar's rule justifies their analysis *en bloc*. Two of them Karadžić wrote down in the Srem region in 1815 – 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' from Tešan Podrugović, and 'Šehović Osman' from his father Stefan Karadžić. Karadžić collected the majority of the songs during his visits to Serbia between 1820 and 1822 – six from Đuro Milutinović ('Dijoba Selimovića', 'Perović Batrić', 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', 'Tri sužnja' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković'), two songs about the battle of Morača from Filip Bošković Bjelopavlić and Milovan Mušikin Piper, and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' from an unnamed Montenegrin.

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[96] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 399.

While all Montenegrin songs published by Karadžić in this edition existed in oral form, some might have been of either literary origin or later influenced by literate singers. Karadžić personally wrote down all the songs from oral performances of traditional singers or common people – two of them in Srem in 1815, and the others between 1820 and 1822 in Kragujevac and, possibly, in Belgrade. Two of these songs celebrated Montenegrin victory in the battles against Mehmet Pasha in 1796. Karadžić collected them from different oral singers, but later suggested Bishop Petar as their original author.[97] As indicated, this gave rise to the dispute over the actual degree of traditionality of these two songs, which will be the subject of a detailed investigation in the third chapter. In addition, even though Zuković and Banašević both noticed that the singer Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac was influenced by Bishop Petar, they did not question genuinely folk character of all the other Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's collection of *Narodne srpske pjesme*. After examining the features of Đuro Milutinović's songs, in chapter four I will identify nontraditonal elements that show the influence of literacy, education and Bishop Petar on the overall perspective and phraseology that this literate singer close to political leadership used in four of his songs.

<u>Monologism or Dialogism of Epic Voice</u>

The discussion outlined in the previous sections suggested that the Montenegrin oral songs contain different perspectives and offer contested views of contemporary events, and indicated that different singers and political leaders, in this case Đuro Milutinović and Bishop Petar, played an important role in formulating and promoting certain views and ideas in epic songs. These claims, however, appear to be in contradiction to some of the most influential theoretical discussions on epic and its generic features, such as those offered by Hegel,

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[97] Ibid., p. 66.

Lukács and Bakhtin. Therefore, before I introduce Parry's and Lord's concepts of oral traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts, some further remarks of a more general nature are needed.

In Hegel's view, epic represents a unified totality and a comprehensive world. Although he is ready to admit that not all epic traditions gave birth to poems of such length, unity and complexity as Homeric epics, he nevertheless requires of a genuine *Epos* or true *Epopea* to be 'essentially an organic whole'.[98] Proper epic, in Hegel's words, describes

> a definite action, which, in the full compass of its circumstances and relations must be brought with clarity to our vision as an event enriched by its further association with the organically complete world of a nation and an age. It follows from this that the collective world outlook and objective presence of a national spirit, displayed as an actual event in the form of its self-manifestation, and nothing short of this does to, constitute the content and form of the true epic poem.[99]

Hegel's definition is both conceptual and historical. On conceptual level, epic is the epitome of objective spirit, and hence deprived of subjectivity characteristic for lyric and dramatic poetic forms. Here, Hegel follows the Aristotelian line of reasoning about literary genres. Namely, already in the earliest investigation of literary techniques, Plato and Aristotle used the terms *mimesis* and *diegesis* to distinguish different modes of representation in the genre system of Ancient Greek literature. As they argued, tragedy and comedy are characterised by pure representation, in the sense that every word belongs to the characters acting on the scene. In distinction, genres that we commonly associate with lyrical poetry contain only one voice, that of the narrator. As the third distinctive narrative form, epic adopts both modes – this means that the narrator can sometimes speaks on his or her behalf, but also relate the events by the voice of the characters. The *Iliad*, for example, begins by the singer's

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[98] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, translated from the German by T.M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), II, p. 111.
[99] Ibid., p. 110.

invocation 'Sing, goddess, the anger of Peleus's son Achilleus', but soon switches to the dialog between the Apolo disguised as a priest and Agamemnon.[100] Finally, Aristotle recommends that '[t]he poet should speak as little as possible in his own person', and emphasizes Homer as an example of such a restrained narrator whose personality and subjectivity do not come to the forefront to hamper or disturb the narrative.[101]

Similarly, Hegel recognizes that 'the epic poem, if a true work of art, is the exclusive creation of *one* artist',[102] but immediately instructs that 'personal outlook of the poet must remain in a connection that enables him to identify himself wholly' with the world he objectively presents.[103] In other words, although it is a poet's personal subjectivity that gives rise to a particular epic poem, it is still inextricably bound with a collective outlook and not separated from the national body. Likewise, although for Hegel proper epic heroes are individuals that acts from the autonomy of their character, their actions are not subjected to or confronted with the objectified space of laws and norms, and thus retain the 'immediate unity of the substantial with the individuality of inclination'.[104]

From the historical point, then, the basis for epic is according to Hegel certain general World-condition, a 'midway stage' in which 'a people is aroused from its stupidity'. 'To this extent', Hegel continues, 'these memorials are nothing less than the real foundations of the national consciousnesses' that 'every great nation can claim to have'.[105] Accordingly,

the separation of the individual's personal self from the concrete national whole is only reached in the later life-experience of a people, in which the general lines laid down by men for the due regulation of their affairs are no longer inseparable from the sentiments and opinions of the nation as a whole, but already have secured an independent structure as a co-

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[100] See: *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 59.
[101] Aristotle, *Poetics*, translated by George Whalley (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), p. 131.
[102] Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*, II, p. 117.
[103] Ibid., p. 115.
[104] Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*, I, p. 185.
[105] Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*, II, p. 112.

ordinated system of jurisprudence and law, as a prosaic disposition of positive facts, as a political constitution, as a body of ethical or other precepts.[106]

This later stage, of course, belongs to a more advanced form of social existence, where public life depends on the organized system of government based on general principles, which takes over the sphere of morality and justice that in the epic world depended on the feelings and dispositions of epic heroes.[107]

Lukács adopts this vision of epic and juxtaposes the epic world as a unified totality to the fragmented universe of novelistic genre. The novel is for Lukács a bourgeois epic that corresponds to modern subjectivity, or 'the epic of an age in which the extensive totality of life is no longer directly given, in which the immanence of meaning in life has become a problem'.[108] Being focused predominantly on the novel, Lukács essentially relies on the Hegelian views of epic world as 'internally homogeneous', fixed value system whose 'theme is not a personal destiny but the destiny of a community'.[109] As such, it has 'weight in so far as it is significant to a great organic life complex — a nation or a family.'[110]

Bakhtin also describes epic world as closed, hierarchical and complete. In Bakhtin's view, the constitutive features of epic genre are a national epic past as its subject, national tradition as its source and an absolute epic distance:

By its very nature the epic world of the absolute past is inaccessible to personal experience and does not permit an individual, personal point of view or evaluation… the important thing is… its reliance on impersonal and sacrosanct tradition, on a commonly held evaluation and point of view – which excludes any possibility of another approach… tradition isolates the world of the epic from personal experience, from any new insights, from any personal

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[106] Ibid., p. 113.
[107] This more advanced form of social existence or system of government is not strictly defined in Hegel's writings. As Judith Butler reminds us, it 'is called variably the community, government, and the state by Hegel'. See: Judith Buler, *Antigone's Claim: Kinship between Life and Death* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 35.
[108] Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel*: *A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, translated from the German by Anna Bostock (London: Merlin Press, 1971), p. 56.
[109] Ibid., p. 66.
[110] Ibid., p. 67.

initiative in understanding and interpreting, from new points of view and evaluations. The epic world is an utterly finished thing, not only as an authentic event of the distant past but also on its own terms and by its own standards; it is impossible to change, to re-think, to re-evaluate anything in it.[111]

Bakhtin hence denies epic the possibility of heteroglossia or multiperspectiveness. It is the novel that is affirmative, opened, polyphonic genre, never finished and fixed. In Bakhtin's view, while novel inherently contains the plurality of different voices, battles between various 'points of view, value judgements' etc., epic is precisely the opposite – fixed, monologic, with only one voice, that of aristocracy or the ruling class. He therefore describes literary works that do contain both the plurality of voices and perspectives and epic elements as 'novelized', that is, being 'transposed to the novelistic zone of contact', or as the disintegration of epic.[112] Thus while we can recognize here the apparent Hegelian line of reasoning about epic, Bakhtin actually inverts Lukács's view in affirmation of the novel on the expense of epic.

Hegelian and Bakhtinian analyses of epic's generic features appear to be more rigid then the Aristotelian one. Aristotle goes only so far as to recommend that the poet's subjectivity should remain in the background, and emphasizes Homer as the supreme example of such an approach. This is not the same as to say that epic speaks only one voice and does not permit an individual, personal point of view or evaluation. For, if epic genre allows different characters to speak in their own words, then surely one should account for the possibility that these characters can express different, even antithetical, standpoints and outlooks.

Another problem arising from these distinctions is that they are formulated on a rather narrow epic material. As Hegel repeatedly reminds us, Homeric epic serves as the source of

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[111] See: Mikhail Mikhaĭlovich Bakhtin, 'Epic and the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 16-17.
[112] Ibid., p. 33.

all epic generic features in his conception.[113] Bakhtin is even more exclusive and, by his own admission, employs the most extremely narrow description of epic, based solely on the *Iliad*.[114] With the growth of the comparative material worldwide, the narrowness of the previous distinctions became apparent. For example, evidences from other, non-European epic traditions, challenged and relativized the previous clear-cut distinctions. Foley thus asks how to define epic by it subject with such examples like *Siri Epic*, sung in matrilineal Tulu society from Southern India, which is almost exactly the same length as the *Iliad* (15 683 lines). In *Siri Epic*, however, 'we encounter a female hero, together with a general deprecation of male figures and a virtual absence of violence, none of which the Western model of epic leads us to expect.'[115] In a similar manner, Richard Martin refers to Joyce Flueckiger's research[116] in central India to pinpoint that 'even the same long, heroic narrative, like the Dhola-Maru tradition, sung in communities a few hundred miles apart, qualifies as "epic" in one but not the other. Community self-identification, caste ambitions, and local religious cult all determine whether a people view the epic as its own defining narrative.'[117] In addition, while relatively short and loosely related Serbian epic songs fail to satisfy the aforementioned requirements of unity and length, even the length of Homeric epics can fall to be insufficient if compared with the Kirgiz Mana epic with its 200 000 verses, the Mongolian twelve volume Jangar epic or to the 600 000 verses long Tibetan version of Gesar epic, also popular among the peoples of Central Asia, Mongolia and China.[118] Contemporary scholars thus reconsidered previously set generic boundaries and advocated for a more inclusive approach to oral epic traditions. However, they did not neglect the fact that, as Martin claims, 'despite such *formal*

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[113] Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*, II, p.119.
[114] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, p. 287.
[115] Foley, *Epic as Genre*, p. 174.
[116] Joyce Flueckiger, *Gender and Genre in the Folklore of Middle India*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
[117] Richard Martin, 'Epic as Genre', in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, p. 17.
[118] See: Mina Skafte Jensen, 'Performance', in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, p. 46.

differences, many societies may share a *functionally* similar category'.[119] Nevertheless, they argue that the characteristics commonly associated with epic – length, heroism, history, nationalism – are variable and culturally specific and, as Foley says, need to be considered according to 'each tradition's values and perspectives'.[120]

Recent scholars also point out that the inherited generic distinctions are relative even when we remain within the limits of the Ancient Greek epic traditions. Peter Toohey, for example, reminds us on other forms of epic in classical antiquity such as miniature epic, didactic epic, comic epic etc., and argues that 'in classical antiquity there were a variety of elastic, ill-defined, but nonetheless recognizable subspecies or subgenres of epic'.[121] In addition, scholars like Richard Martin, Gregory Nagy and Andrew Ford indicate that our received idea of epic results primarily from the narrow understanding of Homer as the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and that these other forms of ancient Greek epics have been marginalized and excluded from the generic definition. They argue that this culturally specific notion of epic then prevailed as a generic marker for the epic in total, since both classical and Western scholars followed Aristotle's approach to epic with the *Iliad* as a standard.[122]

Meanwhile, it appears that not even the Homeric epic fulfils the generic demands set by Hegel, Lukács and Bakhtin. According to Charles Segal, for example, while Bakhtin's definition of epic genre may fit the *Iliad*, it forgets altogether the *Odyssey* that corresponds more to his description of the novelistic genre.[123] In addition, after seminal works of Morris and Scully,[124] it has become a commonplace in contemporary homerology to perceive in the *Iliad* the fundamental tension between the competitive aristocratic values and the cooperative values of the polis. Moreover, according to Peter Rose the actual perspective is even more

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[119] Martin, *Epic as Genre*, p. 9.
[120] Foley, *Epic as Genre*, p. 185.
[121] Peter Toohey, *Reading Epic: an Introduction to the Ancient Narratives* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 2.
[122] See: Gregory Nagy, 'Epic as Genre', in *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, pp. 21-32; Martin, *Epic as Genre*, pp. 9-19; Andrew Ford, 'Epic as Genre', in *A New Companion to Homer*, pp. 396-414.
[123] Charles Segal, *Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey*, (Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press, 1994).
[124] Ian Morris, 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', in *Classical Antiquity*, 5 (1986), pp. 81-138. Stephen Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City* (Ithaca: Cornel University Press, 1990).

complex, involving various residual, dominant and emerging outlooks; even the layer identified with aristocratic ideology is itself not homogenous but comprised of various diverse perspectives.[125] Following their insights, Goyet denies *in toto* the idea that Homeric epic describes a harmonious and stable world: 'if we place these texts very precisely *in their original context* we recognize that the world they describe is a world that is prey to crisis, disorder, and chaos'.[126]

### Thersites of the *Iliad*: Textual Dissonance and Epic Contradictions

A brief reference to the Thersites scene from the *Iliad* will illustrate these views and exemplify that epic allows for various perspectives and diverse political standpoints to be articulated from different social and spatial positions. In addition, the episode shows that these different perspectives can collide and contradict each other; moreover, that one of these contested perspectives can be privileged in the plot or by the narrator, and that the narrator's position can be reasonably deduced from his comments and evaluation of the characters. This discussion will also provide a framework for a similar investigation of the apparent duality of voices in the songs of Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac in chapter four, and enable us to identify the narrator's position within the narrative.

The story occurs in the second book of the *Iliad*. After his quarrel with Achilles, Agamemnon receives a false message in a dream that he will capture Troy if he attacks immediately. He gathers the troops in the early morning to bring them the news but, to test their fighting morale, advises them to board the ships and go home. His plan proves foolish, as the demoralized soldiers rush to their ships. Odysseus manages to prevent the collapse by taking Agamemnon's staff and persuading both commoners and chieftains to continue the

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[125] Peter W. Rose, 'Ideology in the Iliad: Polis, Basileus, Theoi', in *Arethusa* 30.2 (1997), pp. 151-99.
[126] Florence Goyet, 'Narrative Structure and Political Construction: The Epic at Work', in *Oral Tradition*, 23/1 (2008), pp. 15-27.

siege. Although his efforts finally stop the retreat, the troops are still in a bad mood, and a soldier by the name of Thersites openly opposes the chieftains, insults Agamemnon and opts for their immediate return to the homelands. Odysseus responds to his words by humiliating Thersites verbally, and then beats him with the staff. This brings amusement and laughter to the troops, ends their insubordination and secures a cheerful closure to the episode.

In the line of the Hegelian and Bakhtinian view of the *Iliad* and epic in general, we may say that the conflict ends with an apparent reaffirmation of aristocratic values. The brutality with which Thersites is silenced and subjected to the order seems to leave little grounds for a claim that the scene in any way questions or challenges the existing hierarchy and social structure of the Homeric world.

Several elements in the narrative indicate this privileged position of the point of view belonging to the aristocracy or the ruling class. Firstly, the Thersites scene remains an isolated incident without further parallels in the *Iliad*. As Alan Griffiths argues, Thersites's 'exemplary humiliation ensures that never again in the *Iliad* will the exclusive discourse of the nobles be so rudely interrupted'.[127] Secondly, there is an apparent difference in the way Odysseus treats nobleman and the commoners: 'Whenever he encountered some king, or man of influence, | he would stand beside him and with soft words try to restrain him: | "Excellency! It does not become you to be frightened like any | coward. Rather hold fast and check the rest of the people".'[128] In distinction, 'When he saw some man of the people who was shouting, | he would strike at him with his staff, and reprove him also: | 'Excellency! Sit still and listen to what others tell you, | to those who are better men than you, you skulker and coward".'[129] Accordingly, Odysseus dismisses Thersites as a 'vile creature', 'babbler' (*akritomuthos*) with a 'glib tongue', and threatens to strip him naked and whip him out in the

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[127] Alan Griffiths, 'Non-Aristocratic Elements in Archaic Poetry', in *The Greek World*, ed. by Anton Powell (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 86.

[128] *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), II, 188-91.

[129] Ibid., pp. 198-201.

assembly if he ever dares to speak again. In addition, Thersites is also described in clearly

negative terms as physically repulsive and verbally incompetent by the voice of the narrator:

> Now the rest had sat down, and were orderly in their places,
>
> but one man, Thersites of the endless speech, still scolded,
>
> who knew within his head many words, but disorderly;
>
> vain, and without decency, to quarrel with the princes
>
> with any word he thought might be amusing to the Argives.
>
> This was the ugliest man who came beneath Ilion. He was
>
> bandy-legged and went lame of one foot, with shoulders
>
> stooped and drawn together over his chest, and above this
>
> his skull went up to a point with the wool grown sparsely upon it.[130]

In addition, as John Marks remarks, Thersites 'alone of speaking characters in the *Iliad* is

provided with neither homeland nor patronymic, in contrast with such heroes as Achilles and

Odysseus, for whom physical beauty and distinguished ancestry are emblems of heroic

identity'.[131] In short, the narrative presentation, description and treatment of Thersites offer

clear arguments in favour of the Hegelian and Bakhtinian claim that aristocratic point of view

permeates the narrative.

But how to reconcile such a view of epic with Thersites's speech, in which he openly

accuses Agamemnon for his greed and selfishness in the following manner:

> Son of Atreus, what thing further do you want, or find fault with
>
> now? Your shelters are filled with bronze, there are plenty of the choicest
>
> women for you within your shelter, whom we Achaians
>
> give to you first of all whenever we capture some stronghold.
>
> Or is it still more gold you will be wanting, that some son
>
> of the Trojans, breakers of horses, brings as ransom out of Ilion,

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[130] Ibid., pp. 211-19.

[131] John Marks, 'The Ongoing *Neikos*: Thersites, Odysseus, and Achilles', in *American Journal of Philology* 126 (2005), p. 4.

one that I, or some other Achaian, capture and bring in?

Is it some young woman to lie with in love and keep her

all to yourself apart from the others? It is not right for

you, their leader, to lead in sorrow the sons of the Achaians.

My good fools, poor abuses, you women, not men, of Achaia,

let us go back home in our ships, and leave this man here

by himself in Troy to mull his prizes of honour

that he may find out whether or not we others are helping him.[132]

A number of recent homerologists pointed out several positive elements in Thersites's character and speech, and argued that the whole episode abounds in ambiguities without definite resolution and straightforward closure. What is more, Peter W. Rose in his analysis of the scene goes so far as to question the assumption that 'the text itself makes a decisive bid to persuade its own target audience of the superiority of one of these positions'.[133]

Firstly, although Thersites is dismissed by Odysseus as *akritomuthos*, that is, as uttering words that make no sense, his speech is generally regarded by scholars as rhetorically quite effective. For instance, Stuurman describes it as a 'polished piece of crafty rhetoric', while Donlan and Kirk recognize its 'pungent and effective style' and 'elaborate syntax and careful enjambment and subordination'.[134] Stuurman also emphasizes that even Odysseus acknowledges his oratorical skills and, somehow paradoxically, calls him 'ligus ... agorètès', 'a clear-voiced speaker in the assembly', in the same line where he dismisses him as *akritomuthos*.[135] This complies with Stuurman's reminder that 'agorètès clearly refers to speaking in the agora, not to "talking" in general', and corresponds to Donlan's remark that

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[132] *The Iliad of Homer*, II, 225-38.
[133] Rose, *Ideology in the Iliad*, p. 164.
[134] Siep Stuurman, 'The Voice of Thersites: Reflections on the Origins of the Idea of Equality', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65/2 (2004), p. 183; Walter Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal and Selected Papers* (Wauconda: Bolchazy Carducci Publishers, 1999), p. 242; G. S. Kirk, The Iliad: *A Commentary. Volume I: books I-IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 140.
[135] Stuurman, *The Voice of Thersites*, p. 183.

'[a]s he is presented in this episode, Thersites was no novice at public speaking or at expressing his discontent'.[136]

Aforementioned scholars also argue that the subjection of Thersites by intimidation and physical violence hardly invalidates his claims, and put an emphasis on the fact that Thersites is allowed a voice within the narrative. Stuurman thus claims that Thersites has a valid point in stressing Agamemnon's selfishness and unfair-dealing and the indispensable role of the common soldiers in the fighting, and even claims that what he says is 'truly remarkable, given the aristocratic ethos that generally obtains in the *Iliad*'.[137]

Thirdly, scholars also point out that the reaction of the soldiers to his speech is more complex than their laughter at the end might suggest. Postlethwaite in his linguistic analysis of the scene argues that the anger that Achaeans feel in their hearts, Thersites actually expresses in his words, and that Agamemnon is the actual object of their anger. According to his interpretation, Thersites's speech 'represents the demoralization of the ordinary soldiers after the withdrawal of Achilles and his Myrmidons and illustrates their lack of confidence in Agamemnon as commander'.[138] Furthermore, Stuurman notes that after Odysseus silenced Thersites it is still far from certain that the soldiers are willing to resume the fight, and that only after two eloquent speeches by Odysseus and Nestor the troops finally became persuaded to continue the war.[139]

Contemporary homerologists, in short, agree that aristocratic values dominate in the Homeric poems but, in distinction to Hegelian and Bakhtinian notion of Homeric epic, also argue that this is not the only perspective presented in the poems. Several scholars, like Ruth Scodel, Walter Donlan or Alan Griffiths, investigate in particular these anti-aristocratic elements in the early Greek poetry. Scodel, for example, indicates that '[t]here are clear traces

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[136] Ibid., p. 183; Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal*, p. 241.
[137] Stuurman, *The Voice of Thersites*, p. 177.
[138] N. Postlethwaite, 'Thersites in the *Iliad*', in *Greece & Rome* 35/2 (1988), p. 135.
[139] Stuurman, *The Voice of Thersites*, p. 178

of "peasant" attitudes besides the generally "aristocratic" ethos in Homeric epic itself',[140] while Donlan similarly states that 'despite their dedication to the value-system of the warrior-nobility, the Homeric epics reveal significant traces of an egalitarian tradition'.[141] Their findings also correspond to the claims raised by the scholars dealing with the ideology of the Homeric world. Ian Morris, for example, acknowledges that throughout the poems *basileis* are glorified and the demos practically ignored. But although Morris concludes that the dominant element in the Homeric model of the world seems to be 'aristocratic vantage point',[142] he also notes that 'in such complex poems, the ideological messages are not simple or direct'.[143] Correspondingly, Stuurman recognizes as 'undoubtedly true that aristocratic values dominate Homer's world', but immediately reminds us that 'the narrative does not take them for granted', and that 'by giving Thersites a voice Homer's moral imagination transcends the heroic code'.[144] What is more, Rose even argues that 'a relatively straightforward ideological commitment on the part of the poet is by no means as self-evident as is often assumed',[145] and indicates that '[i]n working through the examination of the social and political hierarchy, the poem certainly gives voice to a variety of perspectives'.[146]

Finally, it is instructive to mention briefly the interpretations that identify these contested perspectives with social tensions of the Homeric world. Rose identifies different perspectives in the poem with various social forces acting during the eight-century Greece. He refers to Raymond Williams's notion that a particular cultural construct may simultaneously contain reflections of the dominant ideology, 'residual' elements that look back to an earlier values and structure of society, and 'emerging' elements, that is, features that look forward to

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[140] Ruth Scodel, *Listening to Homer: Tradition, Narrative, and Audience* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), p. 182.
[141] Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal*, p. 241.
[142] Morris, *The Use and Abuse of Homer*, p. 124.
[143] Ibid., p. 124.
[144] Stuurman, *The Voice of Thersites*, p. 173.
[145] Rose, *Ideology in the Iliad*, p. 164.
[146] Ibid., p. 184.

or anticipate the restructuring of the social order that is only emerging below the surface of the current dominant order.[147] Applying this triad on the Thersites scene, Rose argues that

> Odysseus' glorification of monarchy represents an historically residual or nostalgic position in a period when monarchy was essentially over. To the extent that the chieftains cooperate in consolidating their control at this moment of crisis, they reflect what is actually dominant in the target audience of the poem, namely, oligarchy. Finally, the apparently futile and utterly discredited protest of Thersites might be perceived as an emergent element – a new level of self-consciousness that anticipates the later movement toward restraint of elite leadership by the previously powerless people of the demos.[148]

As suggested, Morris similarly argues that certain aspects of the poem emphasize the role of *basileis* in defending the community and embodying heroic values, while others look more critically on the disastrous consequences of their headstrong behaviour and horrors of war.[149] According to Morris, the fundamental tension in the *Iliad* is thus between the competitive aristocratic values and the cooperative values of the polis, that limit the actions of the aristos by social sanctions; '[t]he former is the view propounded by the poet; the latter is closer to the nature of the eighth-century world on which Homer drew to put his heroic society together'.[150]

The Thersites scene thus enables us to identify three narrative voices representing different, contesting standpoints. The one articulated by Odysseus expresses aristocratic point of view. The speech of Thersites, in distinction, contains the outlook antithetical to this aristocratic perspective; the third one belongs to the narrator and is expressed through comments that clearly privilege Odysseus and aristocratic perspective. Odysseus's actions are thus described as 'masterfully' conducted and his words as those of 'sincerity and goodwill', while Thersites is dismissed as 'the ugliest man', 'vain', 'without decency' etc. But even

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[147] See: Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 121-27.
[148] Rose, *Ideology in the Iliad*, p. 163.
[149] Morris, *The Use and Abuse of Homer*, p. 124
[150] Ibid., p. 126.

though the aristocratic point of view appears to be privileged, it is not the only one presented in the narrative, and the Thersites scene allows for different points of view to be articulated and coexist with a dominant one.

Finally, it should be emphasized that all the mentioned, of course, fully appreciates that epic typically, as Hegel says, displays 'the collective world-outlook'. The claim that oral tradition is collective and 'not the work of a single mind'[151] is the fundament of Parry's and Lord's oral theory, further discussed in the following chapter. Following this legacy, contemporary scholars acknowledge that oral performer embodies 'more or less collective voice',[152] while Slavica Ranković describes this mode of composition that 'occurs at a level beyond the individual' by the concept of the distributed authorship.[153] Actually, as Foley suggests, oral tradition could be investigated on three levels – individual or idiolectal, local, and national or pantraditional. In addition, recent scholars like Beissinger, Tylus and Wofford instruct us precisely that interpretation of epic 'could be directed more toward study of the tension between the local and the national or universal', and that 'literary study can and should make the political and the culturally specific more visible, rather than hiding cultural context and debate behind an idealized or essentialized mask'.[154]

In the case of South Slavonic oral tradition, comprised of many short separate epic songs, this means that a particular song will display at once individual characteristics arising from the singer's personal outlook and poetic talent, certain local or regional traits of a more general nature, and finally features such as ten-syllable metric form, common phraseology and subjects etc. pertaining to the most general supranational or pantraditional level. As the previous discussion suggested, these levels are not necessary in harmonious relation, and can

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[151] See: Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: the Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. by Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. xxxii.
[152] Beissinger et all, *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, p. 8.
[153] Slavica Ranković, 'Who Is Speaking in Traditional Texts? On the Distributed Author of the Sagas of Icelanders and Serbian Epic Poetry', in *New Literary History*, 38. 2 (2007), p. 300.
[154] John Miles Foley, *Traditional Oral Epic: The Odyssey, Beowulf, and Serbo-Croatian Return Song* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 9; Beissinger et all, *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, p. 11.

even collide and contradict each other; for instance, the singer's personal views can contradict the perspective commonly found in his or her local oral tradition, whereas local traits can differ or depart from the (supra)national oral traditional features.

A convenient illustration of these personal, regional and social differences can be found in the South Slavonic songs about Marko Kraljević. Vladan Nedić, for example, argued that hajduk Tešan Podrugović pictures Marko as a hajduk rather than a medieval knight, whereas the blind singers from Srem, who frequented nearby monasteries and churches and often performed on religious holidays and in churchyards, celebrate Marko as a protector of patriarchal family values or portray him as a more noble and Christian hero.[155] Moreover, Marko is sometimes presented as a negative hero. For instance, Starac Milija from Kolašin in his song 'Sestra Leke Kapetana' portrays Marko as a brutal, violent elementary force. Similarly, Mirjana Drndarski informs us that Marko is often a negative character in the oral tradition from Dalmatia.[156] But, while such a picture of Marko in Dalmatia, according to Drndarski, can be associated with the late nineteenth-century ethnic animosity of the local Roman Catholics towards Orthodox Christians as the bearers of Marko's cult in Dalmatia,[157] no such case can be made about Milija's songs. His implicit critique thus seems to derive from specific regional social values and demands. Namely, Karadžić's friend Dimitrije Frušić informs him about Sima Milutinović's findings in Montenegro 'da je padenije srbsk. carstva maslo Kraljevića Marka', and similar criticism of Marko for his loyalty to the Sultan can be found even in Njegoš's *Gorski vijenac*.[158] Nevertheless, one cannot exclude an explanation that relies on Milija's personal affinites. Jovan Deretić and Petar Džadžić, for example, pinpoint certain unique and distinctive features of the songs collected from this singer. What is more, Deretić notices that 'isti pesnik u jednoj pesmi [Banović Strahinja – A. P.] ljubi

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[155] See: Vladan Nedić, *Vukovi pevači* ((Beograd: Rad, 1990), pp. 31, 66, 140-46.
[156] Mirjana Drndarski, 'Deepizacija lika Marka Kraljevića u usmenoj poeziji Dalmacije', in *Raskovnik*, 87-90 (1997), pp. 129-44.
[157] Drndarski, *Deepizacija lika, Marka Kraljevića*, p. 139.
[158] See: Karadžić, *Prepiska III (1826-1828)*, p. 699.

oprašta neveru, u drugoj ('Sestra Leke kapetana') ženu za mnogo manji greh brutalno kažnjava'.[159] This all illustrates different perspectives expressed in South Slavonic oral songs and the possible tensions between personal, local and pantraditional aspects of oral tradition, showing that different singers can adopt quite a distinctive, even critical approach to their local or national oral tradition.

As a way of a summary, then, the abundance of various evidences, only briefly presented here as an illustration, speak in favour of the claims raised by contemporary oral theorists that 'Bakhtin's version of epic has never existed – indeed, as a theory it ignores what has always been present in epic's dialogic voices'.[160] I will adopt these insights in the discussion of various songs and their different versions to explore and confront various perspectives and diverse political standpoints articulated from different social and spatial positions. In addition, the discussion of tribal outlook of local oral tradition and the songs influenced by Bishop Petar, in chapters two and three respectively, will enable us to access the apparent duality of perspectives in the songs of Đuro Milutinović in chapter four, and to see how these views sometimes intersect, contradict each other and collide even within a realm of a single song.

In short, while thinkers like Hegel and Bakhtin describe epic in accordance with their overreaching theoretical constructions of literary genres, specialists in the field of oral studies emphasize the variety and complexity of different epic traditions and articulations, rejecting the idea that epic speaks only one voice and could be simply identified with the view characteristic of the dominant class or the ruling ideology. The sample of Montenegrin epics considered in this research offers one such instance that enables us to investigate these issues further and with scholarly precision.

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[159] Jovan Deretić, 'Banović Strahinja, struktura i značenje', in *Ogledi iz narodnog pesništva* (Beograd: Slovo ljubve, 1978), p. 66. Also: Aleksandar Pavlović, 'Herojski ideal i " ženska strana" u pesmama starca Milije', in *Teorije i politike roda*, ed. by Tatjana Rosić (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2009), pp. 343-55.
[160] Beissinger et all, *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, p. 7.

# Chapter 1. The Concepts of Oral Traditional, Transitional and Nontraditional Texts

This chapter establishes the concepts of oral traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts, which will form the theoretical basis of this study. In the first section, the concepts of oral traditional song and oral tradition, as described in Parry-Lord theory of oral composition, will be presented. This survey will show that the fundamental characteristic of oral song is its performative character, and that the patterns of oral composition and distribution are essentially different from those of written literature. Consequently, it will be suggested that it is impossible simply to import an entire oral tradition as such into the literary sphere, or to preserve and restore it fully in textual form. Its documentation, therefore, always involves elements of selection, representation and editing. Nonetheless, I will argue that, when accurately documented, transcribed and edited, published collections of oral songs are illustrative of a given oral tradition and enable its scholarly analysis.

In the second part of the chapter, Parry-Lord theory is supplemented by Lord's and Foley's more recent analyses of the South Slavonic oral tradition and its documentation and textual representation, in which they argue that a number of South Slavonic songs published

as oral folk songs contain various literary elements and nontraditional features. Although Lord and Foley do not offer a systematic account or classification of such songs, they nevertheless examine a variety of South Slavonic texts and identify some distinctive cases and groups. Such songs thus exhibit features like consistent rhyme, complex phraseology and lexis, and were typically documented from the literate and educated authors, who adopted a literary style and non-traditional outlook. They also contain wider historical knowledge and foster ideas and views unusual for traditional songs. Another exemplary group of such songs were, however, written down from genuine oral singers but were more influenced by collectors or already published collections. To give an example, I will contend that later nineteenth-century singers sometimes composed songs on the request of collectors, and that their songs occasionally directly reproduce a series of verses from contemporary literary epics or already published collections. In this respect, these compositions can only be perceived as imitations of an oral tradition. Finally, certain songs included in song collections have a recognizable literary origin and were composed by literate poets inspired by oral tradition.

In the next section, I distinguish several basic categories of texts in South Slavonic collections of oral songs. Texts that show no influence of literacy and printed collections, and were accurately written down or recorded from traditional oral singers, I take to be genuine examples of the South Slavonic oral tradition and will analyse them as such. In contrast, the poems composed by literate, professional poets educated outside oral traditional culture and only inspired by oral tradition later on, I will consider as essentially literary texts. It will be argued that collections of South Slavonic oral songs offer a continuum of published texts with various degrees of oral traditionality. Given our contemporary knowledge of genuinely oral traditional songs, their literary and nontraditional characteristics and their actual degree of traditionality can be determined and exemplified. Finally, I will argue that transitional South Slavonic texts are a distinctive generic form involving two principal modes of enunciation –

literary notion of fixed textuality and oral performative principle of composition in performance in traditional oral-formulaic language. They emerged in two principal ways, either by educated writers adjusting their literary technique to accommodate an oral traditional content, or by oral singers appropriating originally literary characteristics to their oral performative manner and style.

In the last part of the chapter, these findings will be applied to the works of Karadžić and his contemporaries. I will demonstrate that early collectors often disregarded their proclaimed aims of accurately collecting and editing folk songs, and usually made a significant contribution to their collections by adapting and 'correcting' traditional content. Furthermore, I will suggest that Karadžić was not exceptional in this respect but relied on comparatively rigorous scholarly methods and edited texts less obtrusively than many of his contemporaries. This indicates that Karadžić's collections in general can be taken as a source of information about the early nineteenth century oral tradition and traditional outlook and style. The chapter finishes with a preliminary discussion of Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme* and their classification into three categories according to the overall level of their oral traditionality. 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', 'Šehović Osman', 'Dijoba Selimovića' and the two songs about the battle of Morača will be classified as genuine oral traditional songs and taken as fully representative of the local oral tradition of the time. The two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha, which Karadžić later attributed to Bishop Petar, will be taken as transitional texts that display the characteristics of both literary and oral traditional manner and style. Finally, the four last songs that Karadžić collected from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac will be regarded as a separate group, namely as traditional songs with nontraditional elements.


The Concepts of Oral Traditional Song and Oral Tradition

In order to differentiate oral traditional from nontraditional texts in Karadžić's collections, I will begin by introducing the concept of oral traditional song and oral tradition as developed in Parry-Lord theory of oral composition, and then supplement these views by Lord's and Foley's later analysis of transitional texts.

Parry and Lord conducted their research in former Yugoslavia, where oral tradition still lived on among predominantly illiterate oral singers, who composed their songs using a repertoire of traditional formulas and patterns inherited from the oral tradition. South Slavonic singers, as described in Parry-Lord theory, learn to master a particular language, reservoir of formulas, phraseological units and themes, during the long process of apprenticeship. They listen to others from their youth onwards and then take their initial steps on a traditional instrument, the *gusle*. At first, they play the *gusle* informally and privately, then to their fellow shepherds, and only after long practice do they become ready to make complex performances and to address adult guests or a wider audience. What they learn are the patterns of oral tradition, a set of impersonal metrical rules and adequate phraseological expressions that they will use and transmit to later singers. In other words, they do not actually memorize songs by heart but develop procedures for recomposing them during each performance.

The process of oral composition and distribution investigated by Parry and Lord was therefore essentially different from written literature. Rather than an individual poet, the traditional singer is actually a performer, distributor and perpetuator of the tradition; and the result of his every performance is a singular instance of that tradition.[161] This means that the mode of existence of oral song is not a fixed text, but the general contours of a story (or a *theme* in Parry's and Lord's terminology, such as the wedding of Marko Kraljević) that is articulated differently during each performance. Consequently, written down or recorded oral

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[161] See Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, esp. chapter I, 'Singers: performance and training', pp. 13-29.

text is a document that fixes one singular performance of that story or theme and only represents one instance of a given oral tradition.[162]

These conclusions immediately give rise to a problem concerning the representation of an oral song tradition. How is it possible to represent it comprehensively and accurately in a fixed form, when its mode of existence, according to Parry and Lord, is dynamic and unstable? In other words, as Harry Levin observed in his foreword to *The Singer of Tales*, the Parry-Lord theory seems to suggest that 'the very concept of oral text is a contradiction in terms'. It is instructive to see how Parry and Lord themselves responded to this problem. Their approach was to try to cover a certain region as thoroughly and accurately as possible; that is, to be present on the occasions when oral songs were performed, to meet distinguished singers from that area, and to record their entire repertoire. In addition, they also tried to edit these songs correspondingly. Thus, they published songs from different areas in separate volumes and divided the volumes into sub-sections devoted to individual singers. Finally, they made no changes or amendments to the texts they recorded, and documented songs from a certain region irrespectively of their artistic quality or aesthetic value. In that way, as Parry and Lord believed, the local oral tradition would be most adequately and accurately represented.

There is hardly a doubt that Parry's and Lord's entire enterprise, as Nagy and Mitchell emphasize, may serve as a role model of scientific methodology in the humanities.[163] Overall, their collection is not only the most comprehensive and the most accurately recorded collection of South Slavonic oral songs, but also counts as the largest collection of folk poetry worldwide with approximately 12.500 individual items and several thousands of epic songs, out of which so far only a few hundred have been selected for publication by Lord and later

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[162] Ibid., p. 101.
[163] Gregory Nagy and Stephen Mitchell, 'Introduction', in Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Massachusetts / London: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. viii.

editors. [164] In comparison, during his lifetime Sima Milutinović collected less than two hundred and published 174 epic songs in his extended edition of *Pjevanija*. Njegoš edited sixty-two epic songs in *Ogledalo srbsko* and assisted Karadžić in collecting about 150 other epic songs. Finally, Karadžić himself included 120 epic songs in the entire edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, and during his life published some three hundred different epic songs.

Nonetheless, even such a meticulous collection as Parry's and Lord's is formed by its editorial approach. Namely, as Parry and Lord often emphasized, their primary goal was not to document South Slavonic oral tradition as such but to determine how an epic poem of such length and complexity as the *Iliad* could be composed and transmitted in oral form and without the use of writing. It is with that goal in mind that they started collecting relatively short Christian epics, only to realize that there are singers whose songs are thousands of verses long among the Muslims of Sandžak and Bosnia. Thus, their interest soon shifted from the shorter Christian to the longer Muslim epic, and they particularly searched for singers with a wide repertoire of songs and the ability to perform long epics, such as Avdo Međedović. Certainly, such a decision was perfectly legitimate and in accordance with their goals. However, the important thing to realize is that even such a voluminous scholarly work was only able to cover specific geographic areas and epic subjects, and set itself a particular range of problems.

To summarize, the discussion of oral tradition so far has shown that it is impossible to import it simply into the literary sphere or to preserve it in full in textual form. Its documentation, therefore, always involves elements of selection and representation, and depends on the views and aims of the collectors and editors. However, while these remarks should make us aware of the inherent problems and weaknesses of the textual representation of an oral tradition, under no circumstances should they lead to relativism or scepticism. To

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[164] Ibid., p. ix.

put it simply, there is no other way of preservation and documentation of a living oral tradition than from its textualization, or, in more recent times, the audio and video recording of single performances. Such texts and recordings, made from the late fifteenth to twentieth century, present us with decisive evidence of centuries of a South Slavonic oral tradition. Finally, as far as early nineteenth century collections in particular are concerned, these may only offer a fragmentary picture of the overall oral tradition and often lack valuable data about their contributors and singers. However, they are nevertheless the only available source for studying this particular oral tradition – its popular themes, subjects, characters or outlook. Insofar as these texts appear to be accurately collected, transcribed and edited, and come with a critical apparatus about their singers and the time and place of their documentation, they are illustrative of both a given oral tradition and of interferences with that tradition, and enable its scholarly analysis.

### Direct Copying and Word-for-word Memorization as Literary Features

One of the main criteria Lord offers for the distinction between traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts is that between composition in performance as a fundamental oral principle and the notion of the fixed text as a literary feature. As he points out, 'one of the important differences between an oral traditional singer and a nontraditional one is the fact that the traditional singer does not think in terms of fixed textuality, whereas the nontraditional singer does.'[165] This induces Lord to suggest that the notion of fixed textuality could be taken as the distinctive factor between them. Lord takes as the point when a traditional singer becomes a nontraditional poet the moment 'when he begins to think of really fixed lines, when he actually memorizes them'.[166] Lord thus proposes one criterion for

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[165] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, p. 213.
[166] Ibid., p. 213.

the differentiation between traditional and nontraditional songs – nontraditional singers develop a notion of fixed textuality and attempt to memorize the literal content of the song they repeat.

Lord's criterion might appear vague and rather metaphorical, since it is hard to see how such a moment could actually be identified. Nonetheless, let us first consider the core of his argument, which rests on composition in performance as the fundamental principle of the oral tradition. Both Parry and Lord repeatedly insist that what actually matters is not whether the song is simply recited orally or not, but whether it is composed and performed according to the principles of oral composition. In Parry's words, '[n]o graver mistake could be made than to think that the art of the singer calls only for memory ... the oral poem even in the mouth of the same singer is ever in a state of change.'[167] In other words, it is the rule of oral composition that, unless it is fossilized in textual form, a song constantly changes from one performance to another, and one singer to the next. Lord, for his part, also reminds us that 'oral . . . does not mean merely oral presentation . . . what is important is not the oral presentation but rather the composition during performance'.[168] He even goes so far as to claim that 'sacred texts which must be preserved word for word, if there be such, could not be oral in any except the most literal sense'.[169] Such a strict distinction between memorization or reproduction on the one hand, and free composition and re-creation on the other, has become a matter of dispute. Examples from Somali, Alaskan or Vedic oral traditions have been used in support of the possibility of a verbatim reproduction of oral songs. But even scholars like Ruth Finnegan, who argues against such a strict distinction between memorization and composition in performance, still admit that '[a]s soon as one looks hard at the notion of exact verbal reproduction over long periods of time, it becomes clear that there is very little

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[167] Parry, *The Making of the Homeric Verse*, p. 335
[168] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 5.
[169] Ibid., p. 280.

evidence for it'. [170] According to Ian Morris, 'Lord's model of an insistent, conservative urge for the preservation of an essential idea, but in a fluid context, is much closer to the norm'. [171]

To be sure, the principle of composition in performance does not necessarily need to be recognized as such by the oral singers themselves. As far as the South Slavonic context is concerned, singers interviewed by Parry and Lord typically claim to reproduce the songs exactly as they have heard them. Đemail Zogić, for instance, even boasted of being able to memorize the song of another singer immediately after the performance. However, Parry's and Lord's records showed that when Zogić actually performed the song he had just heard from another singer, the two versions differed considerably, and that even Zogić's own version changed to a certain extent in later performances over the years. [172] It appears that Zogić's notion of faithful reproduction does not involve the exact reproduction of every single word. Ian Morris summarizes the point as follows:

> The idea of exact reproduction that we hold, as members of a literate society, does not exist in oral cultures... certain controls over elements of plot and devices of epic distance... will apply, but neither the poet nor his hearers wish for more than this. This observation has been made by nearly all ethnographers interested in oral poetry and is one of the most securely established generalizations. [173]

Since composition in performance and free recreation of the adopted material do seem to constitute the distinctive characteristic of oral tradition, this feature can be used to determine the degree of oral traditionality of a text or song. Perhaps, as I indicated earlier, it is impossible to literally capture the moment when a singer, as Lord says, 'begins to think of really fixed lines, when he actually memorizes them'. [174] What is possible, however, is to

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[170] Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 140. Also: Ian Morris, 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', in *Classical Antiquity*, 5/1 (1986), pp. 83-85.
[171] Morris, *The Use and Abuse of Homer*, p 86.
[172] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 27-28.
[173] Morris, *The Use and Abuse of Homer*, p. 85.
[174] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, p. 213.

compare different versions and to determine if they are so similar that they contradict the rule of oral composition in performance. As far as South Slavonic material is concerned, provided that we have the original or older version at our disposal, we can quite accurately measure the degree of precision in its reproduction in versions documented later on.

### Basic Characteristics of Transitional Texts

Distinguishing between oral traditional and literary style and approach, Parry and Lord initially claimed that texts can only be either oral traditional or literary, and rejected the possibility of transitive or mixed forms. In his seminal work *The Singer of Tales*, Lord explicitly refuted the possibility of such 'transitional texts':

> It is worthy of emphasis that the question we have asked ourselves is whether there can be such a thing as a transitional *text*; not a *period* of transition between oral and written style, or between illiteracy and literacy, but a *text*, product of the creative brain of a single individual. [...] I believe that the answer must be negative, because the two techniques are, I submit, contradictory and mutually exclusive.[175]

Such a conclusion followed from Parry's and Lord's general understanding of oral tradition and their fundamental hypothesis about the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as oral-dictated texts. Emphasizing the oral-formulaic character of the Homeric epic, they imagined Homer as a traditional oral singer. As Foley later commented, 'only if Homer were himself an unlettered bard, so went the original explanation, could he have composed the epic. Since there could be no "transitional text," the only recourse for writing would be dictation to an amanuensis.'[176]

Faced with different kinds of texts from these traditional oral epic songs composed and performed by South Slavonic oral bards, in his later work Lord acknowledges the

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[175] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 129.
[176] Foley, John Miles, 'Oral Tradition and Its Implications', in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. by Barry Powel and Ian Morris (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 162.

existence of transitional texts. Continued analyses of the Medieval and Old English epic, for which no data about their origin and documentation have been preserved, showed that they typically display both oral-formulaic and literary characteristics.[177] This insight led Lord to conclude that 'there seem to be texts that can be called either transitional or belonging to the first stage of written literature'.[178] As Lord explains, his initial approach to such texts was to analyse the density of formulas as a test of their orality:

> The implication in our study of formula density at that time was that a poem which had many formulas was an oral poem and that one with few was not an oral poem. By an oral poem it was implied that it was a poem belonging to a tradition of oral verse-making—to use Parry's term—that is, to a tradition of singing and performing, and that the text before us was the product of a traditional singer dictating his song to a scribe. In retrospect, however, our thinking was too simplistic to cover the variety of situations in the medieval milieu.[179]

Although at that point Lord still maintained that formulaic character is a fundamental characteristic of orality and necessary criterion for the certification thereof, he acknowledged that it alone might not be sufficient to determine orality. In addition to the density of formulas in a transitional text, says Lord, one also has to consider their oral-traditionality and the oral-traditionality of the structures or systems to which they belong.[180] Commenting on this article, Foley makes the additional remark that 'one cannot generalize freely about the transition', and insists that it must be recognized that the nature and results of the merger depend on the life history of the individual and the role of literacy in his or her culture.[181]

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[177] See: Robert Stevick, 'The Oral-Formulaic Analyses of Old English Verse', in *Speculum* 37/3 (1962), pp. 382-89; Jackson Campbell, 'Learned Rhetoric in Old English Poetry', in *Modern Philology* 63/3 (1966), pp. 189-201; Michael Curschmann, 'Oral Poetry in Medieval English, French, and German Literature. Some Notes on Recent Research', in *Speculum* 42/1 (1967), pp. 36-52, Jackson Campbell, 'Adaptation of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature', in *Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practise of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 173-197.
[178] Albert Lord, 'Perspectives on Recent Work on the Oral Traditional Formula', in *Oral Tradition*, 1/3 (1986), pp. 479-80.
[179] Ibid., p. 479.
[180] Ibid., p. 481.
[181] John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 55.

There is an obvious advantage in discussing these issues in a South Slavonic context as compared to the Medieval European epic. As Lord writes, 'we have enough information in the South Slavic material to make that determination. There is an abundance of pure oral-traditional South Slavic verse extending over several centuries.' [182] It enables us to reconstruct a genuine oral traditional style and phraseology, and to depict a number of traditional subjects, formulas and themes. In addition, Karadžić's and other nineteenth century South Slavonic collections of folk songs usually contain data about the singers, contributors, editors and collectors. Such information are usually not comprehensive but nevertheless the collections often contain some background information about the date and place of transcription, the name of the singer and a short biography. All this allows us to examine such a text, as Foley and Lord write, in the context of a singer's biography, the role of literacy in his or her culture, and the overall oral-traditionality of structures and systems adopted in the songs.

The recognition of transitional texts inspired Lord's further analyses of the contacts between the worlds of orality and literacy in the South Slavonic context. Although Lord did not offer a systematic account or classification of such works, he examined a variety of traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts and identified some distinctive cases. After discussing some of his analyses, I will distinguish transitional texts composed by literate poets from those representing textualised performances of oral singers.

*a. Transitional Texts in South Slavonic Tradition Composed by Literate Authors*

The first group scrutinised by Lord are South Slavonic texts written by literate authors well versed in traditional style and manner. As mentioned earlier, Lord's initial rejection of transitional texts meant that they therefore could only be either oral or literary. Consequently, in *The Singer of Tales* he referred to Njegoš's collection *Ogledalo srbsko* and other works that

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[182] Lord, *Perspectives*, p. 493.

adopt traditional elements but were written by literate, educated authors, such as Andrija Kačić Miošić's *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*, as literary works: 'strikingly close though they may sometimes be to the folk epic, [they] are nevertheless definitely written works'.[183] In later articles, Lord adopts a different attitude towards such works, and suggests that Njegoš passed from a traditional singer in his early years to a literary poet.[184] Firstly, Lord takes into consideration several early songs by Njegoš published by his tutor Sima Milutinović in his second *Pjevanija* in 1833. Following the analyses of these songs by Vido Latković,[185] Lord quotes the opening verses of the songs 'Crmničani' (No. 25) and 'Mali Radojica' (No. 56) and concludes that they are entirely written in traditional epic wording, 'familiar to anyone knowing the traditional songs'.[186] These songs are thus oral traditional songs that young Njegoš, like any Montenegrin of his time, had learned during his youth in a society with a strong oral epic tradition. Several other songs in the collection, Lord suggests, were not learnt by Njegoš from other singers but composed anew in the traditional manner.[187] Lord focuses on a song called 'Nova pjesna crnogorska o vojni Rusah i Turakah početoj u 1828. godu' and indicates that it has much in common with traditional songs about recent events sung by illiterate local singers but also contains certain nontraditional elements. As he explains, in 'Nova pjesna crnogorska'

> there are elements not belonging to traditional style which reflect the cult of the gusle and the
> influence of Serbian nationalism. After a contrived evocation to the vila asking that she 'bring
> together all voices into the gusle', the song itself opens with a statement of date, 'In one
> thousand eight hundred / and half of the twenty-seventh year', an element not found in truly
> traditional epic.[188]

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[183] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 132.
[184] See: Lord, *Perspectives*. Also: Lord, 'The Transitional Text', in Alber Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, ed. by Marry Louise Lord (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 212-38.
[185] See: Vido Latković, *Petar Petrović Njegoš* (Beograd: Nolit, 1963), pp. 32-38.
[186] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, p. 234.
[187] Ibid., pp. 233-38.
[188] Ibid., p. 234.

Because of these nontraditional features, Lord argues, 'we are justified in considering the period of Njegoš's output of "new songs" written by himself and not learned from singers, as transitional between the oral style and the written'.[189] Lord then briefly follows Njegoš's literary evolution and considers his later famous works like *Luča Mikrokozma* and *Gorski vijenac*. Even though they were also predominantly written in epic decasyllable, with occasional use of formulas and other elements of traditional style, Lord concludes that they are nonetheless clearly written, literary works composed by an educated poet. Njegoš's literary work and career, therefore, offer a variety of forms, from genuine oral traditional songs and transitional texts to literary epics inspired by the oral tradition.[190]

Lord finds a similar diversity of texts with varying degrees of traditionality in Kačić's *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*. Like Njegoš, Kačić was immersed in the traditional style from his youth and, as he himself relates, travelled with gusle in his hands 'od Skadra do Zadra, od Mostara do Kotara'.[191] In the spirit of Enlightenment, Kačić composed his *Razgovor* in the style of traditional poetry in order to make them accessible to the larger public. However, even though Kačić liked these traditional epic songs, he was suspicious of their historical veracity and wrote his *Razgovor* as a unified history of the South Slavs that seems to be founded more on available chronicles, histories, documents and personal accounts than on folk epics. Scholars usually consider only two out of 157 songs from Kačić's *Razgovor*, 'Ženidba Sibinjanin Janka' and 'Dragoman Divojka', to be genuine oral traditional songs. In addition to being fully traditional with regard to their manner and style, both appear after Kačić's explicit comment that the two songs were widespread among the South Slavs, although perhaps not completely reliable as historical sources.[192] Lord goes further in examining Kačić's style and input and analyses in more detail the relation between traditional

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[189] Ibid., p. 234.
[190] Ibid., p. 225.
[191] See: Andrija Kačić Miošić, *Razgovor ugodni narodna slovinskoga* (Zagreb: Liber, 1988), p. 16.
[192] See: Miroslav Pantić, *Narodne pesme u zapisima XV-XVIII veka* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2002), pp. 195-201.

and nontraditional elements in the songs from *Razgovor*. Considering in particular the beginning of the first song, entitled 'Pisma Radovana i Mjelovana', Lord shows that its opening lines: 'Knjigu piše od Kotara kneže, | Po imenu starac Radovane, | Ter je šalje pobratimu svomu, | Mjelovanu od gorice crne', are fully traditional and have many parallels in other South Slavonic oral traditional songs. However, Lord continues, Kačić then introduces certain nontraditional elements, such as the consistent rhyming in the verses: 'U knjizi ga lipo pozdravljaše, | ter ovako starac bjesiđaše, | "Mjelovane, sva je vjeka na te! | probudi se, biće bolje za te!".'[193] Furthermore, Lord argues that in addition to end rhyme, the correspondence between the characters bears other characteristics of the literary epistolary style of the time. His conclusion is that 'the letters from Kačić No. I stem from that literary genre, not from traditional epic, although the formulas of the frame are traditional'.[194]

The analyses of Njegoš's and Kačić's works thus led Lord to change his previous claims and to conclude that 'there *are* [italics A.L.] transitional texts in South Slavic epic, probably several kinds'.[195] Some 'were written by authors who were either members themselves of the traditional community or had become immersed in the traditional poetry to the point that they could compose as a member of that community, even if they had been brought up in a very written literary milieu.'[196] Certain texts that, like the opening song from Kačić's *Razgovor*, show a tendency towards consistent rhyming couplets and have a recognizable literary origin are, as Lord says, 'rather literary than transitional'.[197] Others were written in the traditional style, which makes such a differentiation much harder: 'This is so true of Kačić that many of his poems are indistinguishable from genuine oral traditional songs. In those, he shows himself as an outsider who has become an insider, or who can

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[193] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, p. 227.
[194] Ibid., p. 229.
[195] Albert Lord, 'The Merging of Two Worlds', in *Oral Traditional Literature: Interpretation in Context*, ed. by John Miles Foley (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), p. 34.
[196] Lord, *The Merging of Two Worlds*, p. 34.
[197] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, p. 229.

compose as one.'[198] It appears that Lord here applies the term transitional text only to particular texts that successfully merge both forms, which were written by literate authors raised in the traditional oral milieu or exceptionally well versed in oral traditional style.[199] In other words, in Lord's view transitional text is more than a mere imitation of the oral tradition: it needs to be both oral traditional *and* literary, but not to the point where literary elements and nontraditional subjects and perspective quite clearly dominate over traditional ones.

To summarize, Lord's analyses help us systematize one particular group of South Slavonic texts − written or composed by literate poets immersed in the oral tradition − by differentiating three distinct cases. Only insofar as a literate poet acts purely as collector-performer and accurately reproduces oral traditional songs without his or her own editorial and artistic input can such a text be taken as oral traditional: among these are 'Ženidba Sibinjanin Janka' and 'Dragoman Divojka' from Kačić's *Razgovor*, or 'Crmničani' and 'Mali Radojica' from Milutinović's *Pjevanija*, performed by the young Njegoš. If, however, such a text is written or composed in a literary style, then it should be described as a literary text, as is the case with Njegoš's later works or some songs from Kačić's *Razgovor* of clearly literary origin. Finally, if such a text resembles oral traditional songs in both subject and style, it might be classified as a transitional text. It contains a distinctive combination of, on the one hand, subjects, themes, oral formulas and formulaic expressions that are part of the oral tradition and are commonly used by traditional singers and, on the other, literary features introduced by an educated poet. According to Lord's discussion, Njegoš's 'Nova pjesma crnogorska' and many songs from Kačić's *Razgovor* belong to this group.[200]

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[198] Ibid., p. 231.
[199] Ibid., p. 215.
[200] I am unconvinced, however, that so many of Kačić's poems are, as Lord says, 'indistinguishable from genuine oral traditional songs', and believe that their detailed analysis would be likely to reveal certain literary characteristics and thus confirm their transitional form. But, even if we assume that Lord is right on this matter, it would make no difference to their generic status. Kačić uses oral-formulaic language and style in a different

These are certainly not the only instances of transitional texts in the South Slavonic tradition. I would argue that other examples could be found in Njegoš's *Ogledalo srbsko* and other later collections as well. To give one example, Njegoš's collection is comprised of three groups of songs; nine songs about the Serbian uprising which he took from Karadžić and to which he made no changes. Several other songs appear to be original nontraditional compositions; some were composed by Bishop Petar or his associates, and others still were written by Njegoš himself. While these songs typically contain nontraditional features, such as those mentioned in the previous discussion, they also show oral traditional characteristics but are still, as Lord would say, 'rather literary than transitional'. Most texts in the collection, however, are of a different type – these are traditional local songs that Njegoš selected and edited. They are not preserved in manuscripts, and it is therefore impossible to determine the exact amount of amendments made by Njegoš himself. Nevertheless, a number of scholars have argued that his strong editorial impact on them is apparent.[201] Insofar as these texts present a combination of oral traditional features with Njegoš's own amendments made in a traditional manner, they too can be approached from the perspective of transitional texts.

### b. Transitional South Slavonic Songs Documented from Oral Singers

Another question that stems from previous discussion would be the following one: is a reverse process possible? That is, can an already fixed and published text become adopted or readopted by oral tradition? Alan Jabbour postulated such case in the context of Old English poetry, and proposed the definition of transitional text 'as a text which, though appropriated from written into memorial tradition, has not yet been subjected to the full gamut of

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medium to produce a written, and thus fixed, literary text in the manner of the folk epic, and he does so not for the purpose of composition in performance, or the free recomposition of a general theme in the manner of a traditional singer.

[201] See: Novak Kilibarda, 'Napomene i objašnjenja', in *Ogledalo srbsko*, pp. 485-90; Kilibarda, *Epska mjera istorije*, Podgorica: Univerzitet Crne Gore, 1998; Aubin, Michel, *Visions historiques et politiques dans l'oeuvre poétique de P.P. Njegoš*, Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne / Belgrade : Faculte de philologie, 1972; Petar Aleksejevič Lavrov, Petar II Petrović Njegoš i njegova književna delatnost, Cetinje: [n.p], 1963.

traditional modification and remains close to its written exemplar'.[202] The problem with this description, as Jabbour himself admits, is its speculative nature: 'We can never be sure that the memorial interpretation just presented, or any other interpretation, actually fits the facts of Old English tradition. The facts which have not been lost forever are imbedded in debatable hints, ambiguous suggestions, and fragments of evidence'.[203]

South Slavonic context provides a safer ground for such discussion, and enables us to identify transitional texts documented from singers who adopt a notion of fixed textuality but also retain to some extend the principle of composition in performance. This consideration, therefore, provides a more systematic account of a possible merger between the worlds of literacy and orality and indicates the ways in which the elements of literary culture can be introduced in an oral tradition by the singers themselves.

Lord was fully aware of the enormous influence of the popular published collections on the singers that he and Parry met during their fieldwork. In the article entitled 'The Influence of a Fixed Text',[204] he analysed several cases of contacts between the printed text and songs later recorded directly from the singers, and identified several possible results of such combination. In particular, Lord traces the impact of the popular and frequently reprinted songs that Karadžić collected from Tešan Podrugović on the songs about the same heroes and events recorded by Parry and Lord more than a century later. Lord distinguishes three categories of texts in the Parry-Lord collection. While the first are independent of the Karadžić tradition and '"pure" in their traditional orality', the second are a mixture of adopted and traditional elements: 'even when a singer who can write copies it, he makes changes, tending to express some lines in the formulas to which he is most accustomed in his own

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[202] Allan Jabbour, 'Memorial Transmission in Old English Poetry', in *The Chaucer Review* 3/3 (1969), p. 181.
[203] Ibid, p. 182.
[204] 'The Influence of a Fixed Text', in Albert Lord, *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition* (Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 170-85.

singing. Even as copyist he remains to some extent a traditional singer.'[205] Finally, texts from the third group are 'nothing more than relics of epic tradition and clear cases of direct copying or word-for-word memorization.'[206]

Avdo Međedović's 'Ženidba Smailagić Meha' offers one such example of a genuine oral traditional song produced from an already published text. Međedović was an exceptional singer; Parry and Lord described him as the most talented of all Yugoslav singers they worked with.[207] Although Međedović was an illiterate traditional singer, he sometimes used published collections to learn a new song. This is how he learned the song 'Ženidba Smailagić Meha', which was read to him by a friend, from a late nineteen-century collection of folk songs published by Friedrich S. Krauss.[208] When Međedović later performed his own version of this song, he added further elements of ornamentation, developed the characters and expanded the song from 2200 verses to over 12000 verses. Thus, although the song's source can clearly be found in a published collection, in this particular case this fact hardly lessens its oral traditional character. Međedović, as Lord says, 'did not consider text in the book as anything more than the performance of another singer'.[209] The result is the same as if one singer had heard it from another singer as a part of the living oral tradition. The difference is simply that the distribution of the song from one traditional singer to another is achieved with the aid of a different medium.

However, even oral traditional singers can sometimes behave as nontraditional ones. Matija Murko reports of an interesting example of this kind:

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[205] Lord, *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition*, p. 183.
[206] Ibid., p. 171.
[207] See: Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. xii.
[208] Fridrih Salomo Kraus, *Smailagić Meho: pjesan naših muhamedovaca*, Dubrovnik: D. Pretner, 1886.
[209] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 79.

> In early 1928 the singer T. Vučić, having been invited by me to sing the poem 'Majka Jugovića' for the Seminar for Slavic Philology in Prague, asked for the text collected by Vuk Karadžić, which he studied assiduously before appearing in public.[210]

In other words, although Tanasije Vučič was a distingiushed traditional singer who performed his songs according to the rules of oral tradition, in this particular case he behaved contrary to his usual practice. The formal character and scholarly context of his performance, as well as, it appears, his appreciation for this particular, famous song published by Karadžić a century ago, all induced him to treat it as a fixed text and to try to reproduce it in his performance as accurately as possible. In other words, the singer in this case departed from the authority of oral tradition, which is impersonal, in the name of the authority of Karadžić's version, established in literary tradition. Thus, although his performance was still oral in the literal sense, it did not actually follow the principle of composition in performance – the notion that there is an authoritative version that should be accurately reproduced is essentially an idea from a literary world.

I would, therefore, classify as transitional those texts that represent performances of the second type in Lord's discussion. They offer a mixture between fixed text and oral performance, and were documented from singers who adopt the notion of fixed textuality and exact reproduction but also continue, to some extent, to follow the principle of composition during performance. In addition to Parry's and Lord's recordings, comprehensive early twentieth-century collections, such as those of Novica Šaulić, Nikola Kašiković and Andrija Luburić for example, contain many instances of this type.[211] Typically, these texts present versions of popular songs that closely resemble Karadžić's texts but still retain performative

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[210] Matija Murko, 'The Singers and their Epic Songs', in *Oral Tradition*, 5/1 (1990), p. 124.
[211] Novica Šaulić, *Srpske narodne pjesme. Iz zbirke Novice Šaulića*, 3 vols, Beograd: Grafički institut 'Narodna misao', 1927-1929; Nikola T. Kašiković, *Srpske narodne junačke pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine*, Beograd: Arhiv SANU (Etnografska zbirka), no. 245; *Zaostavština Andrije Luburića*, Beograd: Arhiv SANU (Etnografska zbirka), no. 355; *Zbirka Andrije Luburića*, Beograd: Arhiv Srbije AL-4, AL-6, AL-7, AL-8, AL-9, AL-10.

features that provide evidence of the contemporary oral tradition of a certain region and its singers.

Previous discussion considered only singers influenced by the textualised performances of other singers, that is, previously published traditional oral songs. What would be their response if they encountered nontraditional epic songs, such as those from Kačić's *Razgovor*? According to Lord's dictum, we would expect traditional singers to introduce oral-formulaic elements to the literary text to a certain extent, for instance by avoiding series of consecutive rhymed couplets and unusual phraseology. In the following chapter, I shall argue that this is exactly how the two of Karadžić's singers performed originally nontraditional songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha. More precisely, I will suggest that these two songs from Karadžić's collection were originally literary texts composed in the manner of traditional songs by Bishop Petar or some of his associates, and that the versions published in Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija* contain a number of literary features indicating their literary origin. Karadžić's versions, in distinction, contain much more traditional elements, and show how these nontraditional features were partially adapted by oral singers. I will, therefore, classify the two songs from Milutinović's *Pjevanija* as essentially literary texts with an abundance of nontraditional elements, and Karadžić's versions as transitional texts that combine oral and literary features. In other words, they exemplify another type of transitional texts, written down from oral singers who adapted texts composed outside oral tradition in a nontraditional manner. Even though they are not originally the product of oral tradition itself, insofar as they have been in circulation and influenced by oral tradition, they should be considered part of a given oral tradition.

Such transitional texts are commonly found in the later part of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, when South Slavonic oral tradition came under the strong influence of literary culture. For example, Murko's field research on the

Herzegovinian oral tradition of the early twentieth-century showed that much of the repertoire of local oral singers comprised songs originally composed by literate authors in a traditional manner and style, such as those from Miloš Šobajić's 1879 *Osveta Kosovska*.[212] Local singers thus adapted these songs and performed them orally, and Murko rightfully considered them in describing contemporary oral tradition.

The final issue in this discussion appears to be if such nontraditional texts can ever be fully adapted by oral tradition? Even though such scenario seems hypothetically possible, I am not aware of such a case in South Slavonic context and I think that it is unlikely that an adequate example could be found among the songs about newer events. These songs were documented relatively soon after being composed and thus could not have been thoroughly reinterpreted by oral tradition over a long period. Thus, as much as the songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha from Karadžić's collection will show traditional characteristics, they still retain certain recognizably nontraditional elements in regard to their style, outlook and the role of Bishop Petar in the plot. What is more, with the increasing influence of literary culture on South Slavic oral tradition, it became even less likely for the songs about recent events to be frequently and continuously recomposed in each performance by several generations of oral singers.

As far as the songs about older heroes and events are concerned, the problem is that we lack such compelling evidence of their nontraditional origin. To be sure, in certain songs about Marko Kraljević and the Kosovo battle, such as those describing Marko's capture of Kostur or the quarrel between Miloš Obilić and Vuk Branković, one recognizes subjects described in old chronicles or monastic literary tradition. But this is still far from saying that such texts actually existed as oral songs, or that these songs originally contained strong literary features that later became fully adapted by oral tradition. In any case, available

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[212] Murko, *The Singers and their Epic Songs*, p. 124.

evidence from a more recent period shows that originally literary songs were performed in oral form and even become popular among oral singers, but still retained quite recognizable traces of their nontraditional origin.

In short, I also consider as transitional those texts from South Slavonic collections that appear to combine the notion of fixed textuality and memorization with performative features. These texts are strongly influenced by previously published collections or pseudo-traditional songs composed by literate authors, but also show oral features arising from the singer's usage of formulaic language and composition during performance. Like transitional texts of the first type, they are not simple imitations of oral songs, but are closely related to local oral tradition and fuse with it. Of course, it would be unjustified to make general claims about oral tradition based solely on such texts, but, as I think, our picture of a given oral tradition or certain period would be incomplete if we exclude them altogether from consideration.

### Other Ways of Introducing Nontraditional Elements in Oral Songs

The aforementioned cases are not the only ways that nontraditional elements can be introduced into oral songs or published collections of oral poetry. Lord's further stylistic and structural analyses show that there are other forms of merging between the oral traditional and literary sphere and enable a more precise differentiation between the actual levels of traditionality in South Slavonic oral songs. Thus, in his article 'The Merging of Two Worlds', Lord particularly analyses short *pesmarice*, cheap popular collections of folk and pseudo-folk poetry widespread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They were usually comprised of genuine folk songs from Karadžić's collections but often contained some pseudo-folk songs of uncertain provenance as well. Lord quotes an exception from one of them, entitled 'Postanak knjaza u Crnoj Gori', and points out that it contains the

nontraditional word 'filozofska' and hence adopts a different outlook from genuine oral traditional songs. In particular, it praises Njegoš's virtues and emphasizes that he was also the 'filozovska glava izabrana'. Lord indicates that this single word 'betrays the fact that it is not from an oral traditional song. "Filozofska" is strictly from the world of literacy.'[213] Lord also notices the frequent rhyming in this song but reminds us that 'occasional rhymed couplets are common enough in the traditional style.'[214] What allows him to conclude with certainty that 'the poem belongs in the world of literacy, not to the world of orality' despite its predominantly traditional style and phraseology, is actually its outlook: 'The traditional singer would have to learn the ideas and attitudes of the world of literacy in order to live in that new world. He would have to think in terms of a hero who is a "select philosophical head" of a people as well as perhaps a "good hero" (dobar junak).'[215] As it appears, apart from this single word and perhaps a certain tendency towards rhyming couplets in this song, both its style and phraseology are quite traditional. Nonetheless, it belongs in the world of literacy by its outlook – the idea of glorifying Njegoš for his philosophical greatness is foreign to the oral tradition. This example, therefore, offers one distinctive case of combining traditional and nontraditional elements; 'Postanak knjaza u Crnoj Gori' is the song collected from a singer well versed in the oral tradition but also influenced by literary style and nontraditional perspective.

Lord's discussion of 'Postanak knjaza u Crnoj Gori' conveniently illustrates both the strengths and limitations of his approach. His analysis effectively identifies a textual element (the word 'filozofska') that does not belong to oral traditional style and shows its dependence on ideas and attitudes that are of literary origin. However, his discussion remains confined to the stylistic level of analysis and is, I submit, insufficient to exclude this song from the world of orality altogether. What Lord does not take into consideration are generic criteria and

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[213] Lord, *The Merging of Two Worlds*, p. 49.
[214] Ibid., p. 49.
[215] Ibid., p. 49.

contextual evidence. In the case of 'Postanak knjaza', this means that we need to take into account issues regarding its documentation, singer, collector and editor as well. Firstly, we need to ask who the singer of this song was, and if there is anything in his life history and, perhaps, other songs collected from him, that would suggest that he was literate or significantly influenced by the world of literacy? Secondly, is it more likely that the collector of the song introduced this word? Was the collector someone whose work is generally regarded as having a high level of accuracy, or someone who frequently tempered with the texts he collected? Finally, who was its editor? Since this song was published in a cheap popular late nineteenth-century edition, was the word 'filozofska' perhaps introduced in some of these later editions rather than being used by the actual singer?

I would argue that only when stylistic and textual analysis is supplemented by generic and contextual information, the proper distinction between oral and literary, traditional and nontraditional features can be made. South Slavonic oral tradition is of particular value for such consideration. Unlike Homeric or Medieval European epic, it has been textualized relatively recently, and thus provides more information about its singers, contributors and editors.

Let us illustrate this point by examining further 'Postanak knjaza u Crnoj Gori'. Karadžić received this song from his associate Vuk Vrčević in 1861, and both its first publication and the original manuscript contain the word 'filozofska'.[216] Since this means that 'filozofska' was not introduced by Karadžić or later editors, it is therefore instructive to consider the biography of the singer of 'Postanak knjaza'. What Lord does not take into account is that this song had been collected from a distinguished Montenegrin, Savo

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[216] See: Ilija Nikolić, 'Rukopisi narodnih pesama Sava Matova Martinovića u Vukovoj rukopisnoj zaostavštini', in *Zbornik matice srpske za književnost i jezik*, 1-2/14 (1966), pp. 141-51. Also: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme: knjiga peta, u kojoj su pjesme junačke novijih vremena o vojevanju Crnogoraca* (Beč: U nakladi Ane udove V. S. Karadžića, 1865), p. 1.

Martinović.[217] Martinović was brought up in a traditional milieu, and he remained illiterate throughout his entire life. Nevertheless, by the 1860s he was no longer a traditional oral singer, for several reasons. Firstly, when Karadžić became acquainted with him, Martinović lived in Zadar, having been detached from his local oral tradition for years. Furthermore, he used to hire scribes and to dictate songs to them, and also maintained a correspondence with Karadžić and personally sent him songs. Therefore, he was involved in their documentation in a way that a traditional singer never is. Moreover, as both Zuković and Medenica indicated, Martinović's songs show the clear impact of popular South Slavonic literary epics published around the mid-nineteenth century, and occasionally repeat or paraphrase entire stanzas from a literary epic, *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*, published in 1844 by the Croatian writer Ivan Mažuranić, and Njegoš's *Gorski vijenac*.[218] In addition, Savo Martinović did not show a particular interest in performing popular oral songs and preferred to compose anew songs about the most recent Montenegrin events. When, in his later years, Karadžić became particularly interested in these songs about recent events, he personally commissioned songs on contemporary subjects directly from Martinović. A good illustration of a song composed on the initiative of the collector is Martinović's song 'Ne zna se ko je krivlji' about the 1836 battle on Grahovo. Karadžić asked his associate in 1861 to compose a song about this event, but Martinović initially refused to do it 'budući da je tu velika pogibija naših bila, koje bi nam na sramotu služilo'.[219] Another nontraditional characteristic of 'Postanak knjaza' is its length: while an average Montenegrin song in Karadžić's and Sima Milutinović's collections rarely exceeds 250 lines, it contains as many as 1854 lines. Finally, the scholars who wrote in detail about other Savo Martinović's songs also emphasize their difference from traditional oral

[217] On Savo Martinović, see: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, pp. 242-313. Also: Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, pp. 193-206.
[218] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 266, 286.
[219] Ibid., p. 280.

songs.[220] While Zuković claims that 'najveći deo Savovih pesama i nisu narodne u onom smislu u kom mi taj pojam shvatamo i upotrebljavamo',[221] Medenica described them as 'junačke pesme koje su ustvari preplitanje usmene tradicije i pisane reči'.[222] In short, although Savo Martinović was illiterate and composed and performed his songs orally, the aforementioned reasons disqualify them as genuine oral traditional songs. They show an abundance of nontraditional elements with regard to their style, length, composition, distribution and performance, and are clearly not the part of the living local oral tradition they are supposed to represent.

### Distinctive Groups of South Slavonic Texts

By supplementing previous analyses with several other examples, I will suggest a more precise differentiation of South Slavonic texts in regard to their oral traditional character. At one end of the scale, we find literary works inspired by oral tradition and written in the manner and style of traditional poetry. Some of the most notable South Slavonic works from this category from around the mid-nineteenth century are Mažuranić'c literary epic *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* or *Pesme* published by the Serbian poet Branko Radičević. Such works were, however, written by authors brought up and educated in an essentially nontraditional milieu and, as inspired as they might be by oral tradition and traditional metric and style, their literary origin and character are beyond dispute.

The works of poets like Njegoš or Kačić are more difficult to categorize. Their authors were brought up in regions with a strong epic tradition and were familiar with the technique of oral verse making from their childhood. However, they were also educated, they had libraries and were aware of the European literary tradition. Kačić thus derived a lot from the

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[220] Ibid., pp. 242-313. Also: Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, pp. 193-206.
[221] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 303.
[222] Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, p. 206.

Dalmatian and Italian Renaissance and Enlightenment literature, while Njegoš was particularly influenced by Russian and Serbian Romanticism. Some of their works, like Njegoš's *Luča Mikrokosma* and *Gorski vijenac*, or 'Pisma Radovana i Mjelovana' from Kačić's *Razgovor*, are thus strongly influenced by written literature and have a clear and recognizable literary character and origin. Others, like several songs from *Razgovor* and some of Njegoš's early songs published in Milutinović's second *Pjevanija* discussed earlier, seem to be genuinely traditional folk songs. In these cases, the poet appears to represent oral tradition accurately and without his interference. Finally, other songs from Kačić's *Razgovor*, and songs such as Njegoš's 'Nova pjesna crnogorska' from *Pjevanija*, have much in common with traditional oral songs; works such as these are, therefore, essentially transitional texts that combine an oral traditional style and outlook with literary elements.

On the other end of the scale, we could place oral songs documented directly from oral singers. Some of them, like Karadžić's favourite singer Tešan Podrugović, or Starac Milija, were illiterate, traditional singers; their songs show no influence of literature or printed collections and appear to be oral traditional in the truest sense.

More difficult to categorize are, once again, songs collected from former traditional singers who became literate at one point of their life, or maintained contact with the literary world and adopted a nontraditional outlook. Although these might seem to be rather rare and isolated cases, there are actually quite a few of Karadžić songs, not to mention other later collections, which have been collected precisely from such singers. In addition to the aforementioned Savo Martinović, who composed songs anew on the request of Karadžić, Đuko Sredanović should be mentioned in this context.[223] Sredanović was another notable Montenegrin who composed songs about recent events. In all likelihood, he became literate already as a teenager in service of Bishop Petar I in the late 1820s. Sredanović remained

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[223] On Sredanović, see: Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, pp. 183-92. Also: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, pp. 314-27.

closely connected to later Montenegrin rulers, travelled abroad with Njegoš and even learned some Italian. Familiar with traditional songs and well versed in traditional oral style, as indeed many Montenegrins of his time were, Sredanović used his songs mostly to praise contemporary Montenegrin rulers and their achievements. Scholars thus describe him as 'the most loyal interpreter of the official Montenegrin politics in oral poetry' and claim that his songs are not genuine traditional songs.[224] I would, therefore, classify as nontraditional songs such oral products composed outside a traditional milieu on the request of the collectors or intended to please a contemporary political elite. Insofar as they may have influenced a later oral tradition by way of published collections or political propaganda, they deserve scholarly attention, but their nontraditional origin is beyond dispute.

The songs collected from these educated singers, however, did not exclusively deal with contemporary events. Karadžić also collected a number of songs about older events from these singers, such as 'Smrt Alaj-bega Čengića' or 'Pogibija Vuka Mićunovića' that he received from Savo Martinović.[225] These songs appear to be more traditional with respect to their style and outlook than other Martinović's songs. They also show parallels with other versions collected throughout the region, which can be taken as evidence that songs with the same subject did circulate as a part of local oral tradition. Versions collected from educated singers can thus – depending on the collector's personal contribution – still be oral traditional or contain nontraditional elements. Such a distinction can be made, however, only when these songs are compared to traditional versions and placed in the context of a singer's personal poetic approach, as well as the impact of literacy on the oral tradition of the time in general.

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[224] Zuković, for example, describes him as follows: 'Đuko je, dakle, sadržaje svojih pesama, više nego ijedan drugi pevač iz Crne Gore od koga je Karadžić dobijao pesme, bojio raspoloženjima i idejama zvaničnog Cetinja, te se za njega može reći da je u tom trenutku bio najverniji tumač u poeziji zvanične politike. Sve ovo, uz činjenicu da je pesme spevao čovek čije su se i opšte znanje i način života razlikovali od kolektivnog, ostavlja nam vrlo malo razloga da njegove pesme smatramo pravim narodnim.' See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 327.
[225] Ibid., pp. 264-71.

Finally, among literate and educated Montenegrin singers, the opus of Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac (from whom Karadžić wrote down six out of eleven Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*) stands out as particularly relevant for this study and will be examined in detail in the following chapters. As indicated earlier, the particular difficulty in approaching his songs lies in the fact that they pertain to all three categories of texts described here so far. As the case of Toma Vučić Perišić showed, oral singers could perform some songs in a traditional manner, while treating others as authoritative versions and attempting to reproduce them accurately. The discussion will show that Đuro Milutinović's 'Dijoba Selimovića' is still an oral traditional song and will be analysed as such in the following chapter. In contrast, I will argue that his song about the battle against Mehmet Pasha has nontraditional origin and that the singer treats it to some extent as an authoritative version. As a distinctive combination of oral and written characteristics, Đuro Milutinović's song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' will thus be classified as a transitional song and analysed in chapter three. Finally, four other songs by this singer will be considered in chapter four. I shall argue that they represent traditional oral songs but also contain certain nontraditional elements. The singer adopted these songs from outside the local tradition during his education, and they can also be traced to the influence of Bishop Petar. I will therefore describe them as oral songs with nontraditional elements.

In conclusion, we should recognize that, rather than dealing with fixed categories of literary text versus oral traditional song, we are actually confronted with a continuum of published texts with varying degrees of oral traditionality: from those meticulously recorded from traditional oral singers unaffected by literacy and printed collections at one end, to poems received from literate poets inspired by oral tradition at the other. In addition, there are various forms of transition between the worlds of orality and literacy in a South Slavonic context. Some texts were composed by educated poets writing in oral traditional style, or

imitating oral traditional songs. Others were written down or recorded directly from oral performances of illiterate singers, but were influenced by the literary epic or published collections of oral poetry. Despite their oral background, such singers adopt the notion of the fixed text and aim to directly copy or accurately reproduce previously published oral songs in their performances. In contrast, certain songs that were collected from literate singers appear to have oral traditional origins but also show elements of literary style and nontraditional outlook that these singers adopted during their education. Thus, in order to avoid generalities about the oral tradition that follow from the uncritical usage of doctored texts constructed outside of that tradition, one needs to examine the overall level of formulaicity in the songs, their outlook and style, the circumstances and conditions of their textualisation or recording, as well as the life history of the singer and the role of literacy in his or her culture.

Transitional texts were described as a distinctive generic form involving two principal modes of enunciation – oral and literary. It was argued that transitional South Slavic texts emerged in two ways. In the first case, they were composed by literate authors well versed in traditional style and technique. Such transitional texts are, for example, certain songs published by poets raised in traditional milieu like Petar Petrović Njegoš and Andrija Kačić Miošić; even though these works were published by educated writers, they stem from local tradition and merge oral traditional features with literary style. Secondly, I considered as transitional those texts from South Slavic collections that appear to combine the notion of fixed textuality and memorization with performative features. Such texts were documented when singers performed orally previously published text or a nontraditional text composed in the manner of oral song. It is indicated that oral singers can respond to published songs in various ways. If they show appreciation to their 'author' and try to reproduce it accurately, we are already on the terrain of the literary world. However, insofar as they remain traditional singers, their performance will involve elements of oral singing – that is, they are likely to

appropriate some of the literary features such as statement of date, parallel rhymed verses or unusual phraseology to an oral formulaic style and outlook or to improvise certain elements instead of copying them directly. If the result of their performance shows such an appropriation of literary features in oral traditional manner and style, it is best described as a transitional text. Found throughout South Slavic tradition, they became more prominent with the increasing influence of literacy and published collections from the second half of the nineteenth century, and testify to a prolonged and productive interchange between oral and written tradition.

'Taken From the Lips of the People': Editorial Procedures of Early Collectors

In the following section, the findings of Parry, Lord and Foley about oral traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts will be compared with the editorial procedures of Karadžić and his contemporaries. More precisely, I will examine the standards of accuracy of the early collectors in their involvement with folk cultures and oral traditions and investigate their procedures of collecting, documenting and editing oral songs. The survey will demonstrate that the early collectors of folk poetry usually largely contributed to the songs they published. In addition, after examining Karadžić's editorial procedure, I will suggest that he edited Montenegrin songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme* quite accurately by the contemporaneous standards and that the Montenegrin songs from his collection can therefore safely be taken for an investigation of the oral tradition of the time.

As far as certain theoretical claims and methodological demands of the early collectors are concerned, they create an appearance of a meticulously conducted enterprise whose goal was to document accurately the popular traditions. The leading scholars of the time, like Johann Herder and Jacob Grimm, for example, used similar formulations to express their

demands for fidelity to the original folkloristic text. Thus, already in some of his earliest writings, Herder claimed that the songs should be 'taken from the lips of each people in their own language'.[226] Similarly, in a circular letter that Jacob Grimm sent in 1815 to various scholars to inspire them to collect folklore, his advice was to write down the songs as accurately as possible, without any corrections or amendments, in the dialect used by the singers, and not to underestimate the fragments and variants because they all contribute to a fuller picture of folk tradition. Grimm also demanded the collection of data about the singers and collectors, as well as of the place, region and date of documentation.[227] A year earlier Karadžić already printed his first collection with the programmatic claim that he would publish only folk oral songs 'koje je serdce u prostoti i nevinosti bezhudožno po prirodi spjevavalo', and not the literary ones 'koje je duh voobraženija, čitanjem knjiga obogaćen, po pravilima Pjesnotvorstva izmišljavao'.[228] Accordingly, Grimm instantly welcomed Karadžić's approach, and later praised him precisely for collecting the songs directly 'aus dem warmen Munde des Volkes'.[229]

However, later scholars demonstrated that the actual works of the early collectors did not stand to such high standards; actually, according to Petar Burke, 'the work of the pioneer editors of popular poetry was little short of scandalous'.[230] The editorial principles of the early collectors were questioned for the first time during the so-called 'Ossian debate' in the late eighteenth century. Namely, soon after Macpherson's publication of the Scottish epic, several influential scholars, like David Hume and Dr Samuel Johnson, expressed their doubts in the very existence of Ossian and the Gaelic sources of Macpherson's publications. After a long period of controversy, the Highland Society of Scotland set up a committee in 1797 to

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[226] See: Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 177.
[227] See Živomir Mladenović, *Traganja za Vukom* (Beograd: Rad, 1987), p. 123. For a more detailed account see: Mojašević, 'Grimovo bečko cirkularno pismo', in *Jakob Grim i srpska narodna književnost*, pp. 13-39.
[228] Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, p. 37.
[229] See the reprint of Grimm's review in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme I*, p. 554 et passim.
[230] Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 17.

investigate the authenticity of the poems. The committee reported its belief that Macpherson 'was in use of to supply chasms, and to give connection, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language'.[231] In other words, parts of Macpherson were authentically traditional, but the whole was not.

Recent scholars, however, have partially rehabilitated Macpherson.[232] They showed that, as Burke says, there is hardly a fundamental difference between Macpherson, who is commonly considered a 'forger', and Percy, Scott, the Grimms, Lönnrot and others usually considered as 'editors'.[233] For example, Macpherson openly described his editorial procedure in the note to his second collection from 1862: 'By means of my friends, I collected since all the broken fragments of Temora, that I formerly wanted; and the story of the poem, which was accurately preserved by many, enabled me to reduce it into that order in which it now appears. The title of Epic was imposed on the poem by myself.'[234] In other words, what he believed to be doing was a perfectly legitimate restoration of an ancient epic from its available fragments and remnants. The work of specialists showed that Macpherson used more original Gaelic sources in *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* and *Fingal* from 1860 and 1861 respectively, than for his 1862 epic poem *Temora*, all of which appeared together in 1865 as the complete *Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*.[235] According to Thomson, some twelve passages from *Fingal* show Macpherson's dependence on Gaelic sources and rely on at least nine ballads and other oral sources, while a single traditional ballad was used in only one passage of *Temora*.

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[231] Ibid., p. 17.

[232] Ibid., p. 17 et passim. For a more detailed account on the 'Ossian debate', see: James Porter, '"Bring Me the Head of James Macpherson": The Execution of Ossian and the Wellsprings of Folkloristic Discourse', in *The Journal of American Folklore*, 114, 454 (2001), p. 406 et passim. Also: Howard Gaskill, 'Ossian, Herder, and the Idea of Folk Song', in *Literature of the Sturm und Drang*, ed, by David Hill (Rochester, New York / Woodbridge: Camden House, 2003), pp. 95-116.

[233] See Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 17.

[234] Quoted in Gaskill, *Ossian, Herder, and the Idea of Folk Song*, p. 111.

[235] Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 135. See also: Porter, *The Execution of Ossian*, p. 406.

Nevertheless, even in cases when Macpherson did rely on the existing sources, they appear thoroughly reworked in the published version. Thomson offers a comparison between the beginning of *Fingal* and the translated version of the Gaelic ballad 'Duan a' Ghairibh' that Macpherson was familiar with:

Cochullin sat by Tura's wall… As he sat there the 'scout of ocean' came, Moran the son of Fithil,

'Rise', said the youth, 'Cuchullin, rise; I see the ships of Swaran. Cuchullin, many are the foe: many the heroes of the dark-rolling sea.'

'Moran!' replied the blue-eyed chief, 'thou ever tremblest, son of Fithil: Thy fears have much increased the foe. Perhaps it is the king of the lonely hills coming to aid me on green Ulin's plains.'

(*Fingal)*

Arise, Hound of Tara, I see an untold number of ships, the undulating seas full of the ships of the strangers.

A liar are thou, excellent doorkeeper, a liar are thou today and at every time; that is but the great fleet of Moy, coming to bring the help to us.

(*Duan a' Ghairibh)* [236]

In general, Thomson's conclusion is that Macpherson never literally translates the original material 'except in isolated phrases', but that he at times 'follows the sequence of his ballad source with some considerable fidelity'.[237]

Thomas Percy applied similar editorial procedure for which, to use Albert Friedman's witty phrase, 'scholarship has consigned him to the special hell reserved for bad editors'.[238] He commonly 'improved' his ballads, as he confessed, 'by a few slight corrections and

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[236] See: Derick Thomson, *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* (Edinburgh / London: Oliver & Boyd, 1952), pp. 16-17.
[237] Ibid., p. 42.
[238] Albert Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961), p. 205

additions'.[239] Percy's introductions give us the general idea of what he considered as 'slight corrections'. In the preface to the first volume of his anthology, as Cocchiara says, Percy relates that he 'understood as his obligation as editor to correct the texts that, in his opinion, were marred, and in his collection there are many texts preceded by the notation "given some correction"'.[240] In addition, in the advertisement to the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, he observed that 'these volumes are now restored to the public with such corrections and improvements as have occurred since the former impression and the text in particular hath been emended in many passages by recurring to the old copies.'[241] Such claims, as well as the later comparison of his ballads with the original texts, show that his corrections were not always 'slight'. As Burke says, 'In the case of 'Edom o' Gordon' a letter of Percy survives criticizing the ending of the ballad (in which the wronged husband commits suicide) and suggesting the omission of that stanza and the addition of a line suggesting that the husband went mad.[242] Other scholars confirm this claim about Percy's significant editorial input. William St Clair's thus claims that 'Percy made drastic changes to the received printed versions on which he mainly drew',[243] while Van Merlo similarly concludes that all Percy's sources 'were subject to extensive collation and synthesis, alterations of spelling and punctuation, and, in varying degrees, Percy's own "improvements" and "sophistications"'.[244] Albert Friedman notes that least altered were the songs that Percy published from printed originals, and considers his changes as minor and concerned with 'straightening syntax and supplanting archaic words and phrases'.[245] However, Friedman continues, nine ballads from *Reliques* were subjected to more extensive editing. The most extreme example is 'The

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[239] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 17.
[240] Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 146.
[241] Ibid., p. 146.
[242] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 43.
[243] Wiliam St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 345.
[244] Wim Van Mierlo, *Textual Scholarship and the Material Book*, ed. by Wim Van Mierlo (Variants: Journal of the European Society for Textual Scholarship 6, 2007), p. 126.
[245] Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, p. 206.

Child of Elle'; while the original ballad contained only thirty-nine lines, in Percy's edition it amounted to two hundred lines.[246]

The Finish national epic *Kalevala* is another meticulously studied publication that serves as a convenient parallel to the aforementioned collections. Elias Lönnrot constructed it out of the songs he collected, and added passages of his own. He justified himself like this:

> Finally, when no rune-singer could any longer compare with me in his knowledge of songs, I assumed that I had the same right which, in my opinion, most of the other singers freely reserved to themselves, namely the right to arrange the songs according as they seemed to fit best.[247]

In other words, Lönnrot considered it a legitimate act for an editor well versed in the traditional style to make amendments and additions. Thus, although his personal contribution was statistically small (about three percent), it had a profound effect on *Kalevala*'s final form. As Felix J. Oinas remarks, the structure of the *Kalevala* is entirely Lönnrot's creation:

> The Kalevala reflects Lonnrot's ideas of the epic, his worldview, and his taste. Working with a definite artistic goal in mind, he chose from the vast material he had at his disposal the portions suitable for the epic and discarded those that were contradictory or violated the style. If it was necessary for the epic as a whole, he developed some seemingly insignificant details into important components of the work.[248]

The result is, thus, according to Foley, 'effectively an invented epic. Or at least a composite form for which no separate, bona fide evidence survives'.[249] Honko makes a similar conclusion: 'the patches may be identical with oral poems, but the patchwork as a whole is Lönnrot's vision of a long epic'.[250]

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[246] Ibid., p. 208.
[247] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 18.
[248] Oinas, *Heroic Epic and Saga*, p. 290.
[249] Foley, *Epic as Genre*, p. 179.
[250] Lauri Honko, *Textualising the Siri epic* (Helsinki: Folklore Fellows' communications, 264, 118, 1998), p. 176.

Johann Herder also applied similar editorial procedures, such as using material of an uncertain provenance or freely adapting the original material for publication. From the theoretical standpoint, such behaviour was actually in accordance with his basic ideas and views on folk poetry. Namely, although he believed that native folklore reflected the soul of the nation, that it was ancient in nature, and that its origins laid deeply embedded in epic tradition[251], his actual understanding of the folk and 'folksong' was rather inclusive. For example, in Herder's view, Homer, Dante and Shakespeare were also to some extent popular poets, because they were creators of a poetry that corresponded to the spirit of the people to which they belonged.[252] Thus, he included in his collection of folksongs certain passages from Dante, Shakespeare or Goethe that corresponded to his notion of popular poetry and were illustrative of its characteristics and qualities. Consequently, as Gerhard Sauder remarks, Herder did not develop a 'scientific' method for collecting folk songs. He simply looked for them in the works of great poets and writers, asked his friends and colleagues for their contributions, and used some of his own writing as well.[253] Furthermore, since in his views it was perfectly legitimate to combine folk poetry and the modern poetry, he considered as valid to create folk ballads of his own. Finally, he never had a first-hand account of oral tradition nor did he write down the songs directly from oral singers and, as Kamenetsky says, generally thought little about loyalty to the tradition.[254]

The Brothers Grimm, on the other hand, introduced editorial standards of a more rigorous nature. Even though they shared Herder's belief in folklore as the ancient artistic form that represents the soul of the nation, they formulated different theoretical views and developed a more scrupulous methodology. For example, they protested against modern poets

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[251] See: Christa Kamenetsky, 'The German Folklore Revival in the Eighteenth Century: Herder's Theory of *Naturpoesie*', in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 6, 4 (1973), pp. 836-47.
[252] Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 175.
[253] Gerhard Sauder, 'Herder's Poetic Works, His Translations, and His Views on Poetry', in *A companion to the works of Johann Gottfried Herder*, ed. by Hans Adler, Wulf Koepke (Rochester, New York / Woodbridge: Camden House, 2009), p. 323.
[254] Kamenetsky, *The German Folklore Revival*, p. 62. et passim.

who imitated folk poetry in their works. In this respect, the Grimms differed in their attitude not only from Herder, but also from Goethe and their friends August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, all of whom had defended the idea of using folk ballads as an inspiration for new poetry.[255] Consequently, Jacob Grimm emphasized that all material should be taken down accurately, 'without embellishment or addition, from the mouth of the teller, and whenever possible in his own words'.[256] The Brothers Grimm also recommended to their contributors to document original dialects used by the singer or storyteller, to write down several variants of the same tale because they may contain valuable details, and to pay special attention to oral tradition in small towns and villages, especially remote ones.

However, as contemporary scholars demonstrated, the Brothers Grimm did not uphold these high methodological principles of accuracy of the folkloristic text in their editorial practise. As Stephen Lampard emphasizes, 'their own description of the procedure and the way it actually evolved in their revisions of the earlier versions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* constitute two contradictory aesthetic approaches.'[257] In other words, even the Grimms interfered quite severely in the texts they published. For example, although in the introduction to *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* they claimed: 'We have given the substance of these tales just as we have received it', they immediately added: 'Understandably, however, the way of telling the details is chiefly due to us… one needs to pay great attention to distinguishing the simplest, purest, and the most complete version of a tale from a false version. Wherever we have found that the variations in different versions complement one another, we have given them as one story.'[258] The Grimms, in other words, implied that even if a story does tend to change, its basis is immutable, and the significance of the variants

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[255] Ibid., p. 63.

[256] Jena, *Oral Tradition and the Brothers Grimm*, p. 265.

[257] Fabian Lampart, 'The Turn to History and the Volk: Brentano, Arnim, and the Grimm Brothers', in *The Literature of German Romanticism*, VIII, ed. by Dennis F. Mahoney (Rochester, New York / Woodbridge, Suffolk: Camden House, 2004), p. 183.

[258] See: Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 228.

consists in the fact that each conserves some essential elements. Therefore, they came up with the concept of elaboration, which in their view was merely a textual restoration. Its aim was to reconstruct a common, impersonal basis in the folktale, which they regarded as the tale's 'essence'.[259] For Cocchiara, however, such procedure was much more than simple 'telling of details'. As he observes, not only was the narrator's personality, which makes a tale popular, lost to the Grimms, but they also missed the very character of the variants, each of which is always an original creation.[260] In addition, the Grimms made other changes in the texts, and some of these interventions were quite drastic. For example, as Burke says, they typically bowdlerized the stories that would shock contemporary readers, inserted traditional formulas like 'once upon a time' (*Es war einmal*) and 'they lived happily ever after' (*sie lebten glücklich bis an ihr Ende*) or concealed the French origin of some of their main stories.[261]

Undoubtedly, their method was highly successful. In Lampard's words, 'they managed to create a coherent narrative mode in which fairy tales originating from different traditions could be told to a contemporary public',[262] and their collections reached an unprecedented success among their contemporaries and influenced subsequent collections. However, although the Brothers Grimm were convinced that by applying such procedures they had discovered folk language, contemporary scholars emphasize that 'what they had actually discovered was their *own* language.'[263] On the other hand, their editorial impact should not be overemphasized. In the context of their time, the Grimms undeniably had a major role in elevating scientific standards, they instructed their associates to accurately document oral tradition, and showed genuine concern for the authenticity of folk tradition.

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[259] Ibid., p. 228.
[260] Ibid., p. 228.
[261] See: Burke, *Popular Culture*, p, 19. Also: Michael Perraudin, *Literature, the Volk and the Revolution in Mid-Nineteenth Century Germany* (Oxford / New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), p. 8. For a more comprehensive survey of the Grimms's methodology and editorial procedure, see: Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm*, pp. 151-177.
[262] Lampard, *The Turn to History*, p. 186.
[263] Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, p. 229.

To sum up, if the standards of Parry and Lord are consistently applied to the early collections of folk literature, they would all appear to be inaccurate and deficient. Nevertheless, although the early collectors made a significant editorial impact, they did use original sources and documented existing oral traditions, and their texts sometimes remain the only available source of information about them. Finally, as recent scholars often remind us, it is precisely through these collections that oral folk poetry gained its popularity, wide acclaim and acceptance as a legitimate subject of scholarly interest, all of which eventually led to higher editorial and scholarly standards and a more systematic account into oral traditional technique and style.[264] An adequate approach to oral tradition, therefore, requires a meticulous examination of these collections and a differentiation between genuine oral traditional characteristics and songs that actually represent given oral tradition from the nontraditional ones or texts significantly altered by the collectors and editors.

### Karadžić's Editorial Methods and Procedures

As a collector and editor, Karadžić was not exceptional among his contemporaries, and often amended the texts he published. In general, it could be said that he began publishing folk songs with the less rigid Herderian principles in mind, but soon adopted the more scientific and rigorous approach of Jacob Grimm. Hence, the songs from his first 1814 *Pjesnarica* were not collected 'from the lips of the people', i.e. directly from oral singers. As Karadžić reported in the *Introduction*, he published the songs as he remembered them from his childhood. [265] He also praised the songs from Kačić's *Razgovor ugodni narodna*

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[264] See, for example, the appreciation for Macpherson's and Percy's role in promoting popular poetry and oral tradition in *Thomson*, Gaelic Sources, pp. 81-82; Gaskill, *Ossian Revisited*, p. 5; Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, p. 209.

[265] See Karadžić's 'Introduction' to the Fourth volume of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, in *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 393-411.

*slovinskoga* as 'baš onakove iste, kakove naši Serblji kod vatre sedeći uz gusle pevaju'.[266] Furthermore, in his first collection Karadžić expressed his hope that others will continue to publish folk songs, and considered as an ultimate goal the formation of a great-unified poem by a literate and educated author. This national poet, 'kojega je Bog darom Pesnotvorstva obdario', Karadžić explained, will collect 'sva ona sobranja i pretresti; a neke pesne i sam po vkusu i po načinu roda svoga sočiniti, i tako od sviju oni mali sobranja jedno veliko cijelo učiniti.'[267] Thus, according to Karadžić's early views, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* belonged to the category of a genuine folk poetry. Moreover, it was apparently legitimate to publish folk songs from one's memory instead of writing them down directly from oral singers, as well as to unite originally separate folk songs into one great epic poem written by a professional poet, as Macpherson and Lönnrot did with Scottish and Finish oral tradition.

However, only several months after the publication of the first *Pjesnarica*, Karadžić's views on folk poetry changed significantly. In the spring of 1815, Karadžić made a trip to Srem, where he became familiar with the oral songs of the local singers and Serbian refugees residing there from 1813 after the collapse of the uprising against the Turks. This historic meeting between Karadžić and some of his greatest singers gave him first-hand insight into the living epic tradition and strengthened his appreciation of the folk epic. Simultaneously, his cooperation with distinguished scholars like Kopitar and Grimm additionally influenced his ideas about oral poetry and of an adequate method of its documentation and publication. Karadžić thus soon changed his original views and developed an approach, a certain ethics of collector's work one might say, which dictated that the proper collector should restrain himself as much as possible from making interventions in the texts of the songs he collected. Thus already in 1815, Karadžić in his correspondence expresses his belief that 'narodne

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[266] Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, p. 38.
[267] Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, p. 43.

pjesme, bez sumnje, valja pečatati onako kao što narod govori i pjeva'.[268] Like Jacob Grimm, Karadžić therefore advised his associates to document accurately the songs from the traditional singers, and to make no corrections or changes themselves. For example, in a letter sent to Prince Miloš in 1821, Karadžić emphasizes: 'Oni, koji uspišu ne treba ništa da popravljaju, nego da napišu upravo onako, kao što se pjeva.'[269] Indeed, as later publication of Karadžić's manuscripts revealed, he printed comparatively more songs from his associates who followed these principles, than from those who appeared to have had a more interventionist editorial approach.[270] Consequently, he became more experienced in the manner and style of oral singing and could more easily distinguish genuine folk songs from their imitations and various renditions. Hence, only a few years after his acclaim of Kačić's songs, he expressed his suspicion in their genuine folk character, and later publicly proclaimed that, with a few exceptions, they were in fact not at all traditional but artificial.[271] Consequently, Karadžić never adopted the idea of unifying the songs into one great poem, and printed his publications as collections of short separate epic songs. In comparison to Macpherson, Lönnrot and other collectors who compiled and rewrote original material in order to 'reconstruct' the original great epic poem on the model of the *Iliad*, he therefore preserved the original form of relatively short separate epic songs characteristic of the South Slavonic oral tradition.

Nevertheless, Karadžić's collections overall undoubtedly show his strong editorial impact. To illustrate this point, I will briefly discuss his procedures of selecting and arranging the material, his typical editorial interventions, as well as the usage of printed sources and occasional exceptions from his usual editorial practice.

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[268] Karadžić, *Prepiska I (1811-1821)*, pp. 150-52.
[269] Karadžić, *Prepiska I (1811-1821)*, p. 913.
[270] See: Živomir Mladenović, *Rukopisi narodnih pesama Vukove zbirke i njihovo izdavanje* (Beograd: SANU, 1973), pp. xiii-xiv.
[271] Karadžić raised this claim for the first time in his *Objavljenije* from 1821, see: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *O srpskoj narodnoj poeziji*, ed. by Borivoje Marinković (Beograd: Prosveta, 1964), p. 67.

As far as the selection of the material is concerned, it has long been established that Karadžić's collections are anthologies rather than collections.[272] Karadžić's manuscripts, for example, show that he published only a small percentage of all the songs that he had in his possession or that were available to him. Karadžić himself was ready to admit that his publications do not aim at representing the whole of Serbian oral tradition, but only its best achievements. Responding in 1833 to a comment about his exclusiveness in publishing the songs, he explained his views: 'ja mislim, da bi ludost bila ne izbirati, kad se može; niti bi, po mom mišljenju, naše narodne pesme dobile ovu čest i slavu, da sam ji ja štampao s reda, bez ikaka izbora'.[273]

Karadžić's particular interest in the songs that celebrated the heroes from the times of the Medieval Serbian Empire and the Kosovo battle forms another important aspect of his editorial approach. For instance, already in his earliest, 1814 songbook, he stressed the particular importance of these songs that 'preserve former Serbian being and name' ('soderžavaju negdašnje bitije Serbsko, i ime'). [274] Such an attitude had significant implications on his editorial practice, since in the first decades Karadžić focused mainly on documenting these songs and heroes at the cost of other popular subjects. For example, more than half out of approximately twenty-four songs that he collected from Tešan Podrugović are about medieval heroes and subjects, and Marko Kraljević alone appears as a hero in nine of these songs.[275] However, these older subjects and heroes were far less prominent if placed in the context of Podrugović's entire repertoire. Namely, as Karadžić reported, Podrugović knew 'još najmanje sto junački pesama, sve ovaki, kao što su ove, koje sam od njega prepisao, a osobito od kojekaki primorski i Bosanski i Ercegovacki ajduka i četobasa… 15 pesama od

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[272] See: Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2003), p. 558.
[273] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 388.
[274] Karadžić, *Pjesnarica 1814, 1815*, p. 44.
[275] See the analysis of Podrugović's contribution in Nedić, *Vukovi pevači*, p. 31 et passim.

samoga Mijata arambaše'.[276] In accordance with his editorial preferences, however, Karadžić collected and published all Podrugović's songs about Marko Kraljević, but not a single one about Mijat. The case of Starac Milija is equally telling. For years, Karadžić persistently tried to arrange a meeting with this singer, because he had heard that Milija knew exceptionally well two songs about medieval Serbian aristocracy, 'Ženidba Maksima Crnojevića' and 'Banović Strahinja'. Again, it shows his special interest in the songs about the subjects and heroes from the times of the Serbian Empire. In total, Karadžić managed to write down three songs about older heroes from this singer, and only one about a more recent local character, but left a testimony that Milija knew many more songs about these newer events. [277] In both cases, therefore, the bulk of the singer's repertoire comprised songs about relatively recent local characters and events. Karadžić, however, documented and published only those describing the exploits of older heroes, thus giving the songs about 'former Serbian being and name' a more prominent position in his early collections that they appear to have had in the early nineteenth-century Serbian oral tradition.

Apart from giving privilege to the songs with older subjects, Karadžić also arranged the songs in his collection in chronological order. Thus, although he did not unify oral songs into one great poem like Macpherson and Lönnrot did, this arrangement still had certain implications on the representation of oral tradition. Such an approach puts an emphasis on unity and coherence of oral tradition, and implies the existence of a certain historical framework that connects represented events from the oldest to the most recent ones. It is certainly a common thing for an editor to arrange such a vast material according to a certain pattern. In the mid-eighteenth century, Kačić already offered such a model in his *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*, and claimed that folk epic songs represent popular history in epic verse: 'ono što drugi narodi uzdrže u knjigam, oni uzdrže u pameti pivajući… pisme svoji

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[276] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 394.
[277] Ibid., p. 397.

kralja, bana, vitezova i vrsnih junaka'.[278] Njegoš also followed chronological order in his *Ogledalo srbsko*, and similarly claimed: 'Za crnogorske pjesme može se reći da se u njima sadržava istorija ovoga naroda'.[279] Finally, later anthologists of South Slavonic epic songs, like Tvrtko Čubelić or Vojislav Đurić, continued to use this pattern.[280] Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that such an arrangement of songs, which follows historical references that they contain, is an editorial and scholarly intervention, not something inherent to oral tradition as such. As previously indicated, Parry and Lord, for instance, followed a different principle in editing the songs from their collection. They grouped them according to their singers, and published the songs from different areas in separate volumes. In other words, the identity of the singer and the region where the songs were collected featured for them as a more important organizational principle and common element than the heroes and events they described.

In addition, although Karadžić declared that the songs he published were collected directly from the singers as part of the living oral tradition, he did occasionally use previous written sources. Thus in his first collection he published *Hasanaginica* not, as he claims, from his childhood memory, but from Fortis's book, and continued to reprint it regularly in the later editions. The same applies to several other songs for which Karadžić claimed to be part of the living oral tradition, but which in fact were taken from printed sources.[281] The song 'Jakšići kušaju ljube' from his 1845 second volume of *Srpske narodne pjesme*, for example, Karadžić had found in Matija Reljković's book *Satir ili divlji čovik*, published in Slavonia in 1779. Although Karadžić claimed that he has also heard it from a singer from Užice, it is, as scholars pointed out, hard to believe that almost the exact version could exist orally in a

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[278] Kačić, *Razgovor ugodni narodna slovinskoga*, p. 29.
[279] Njegoš, *Ogledalo srbsko*, p. 10.
[280] See: Tvrtko Čubelić, *Epske narodne pjesme*, Zagreb: [s.n.], 1970; Vojislav Đurić, *Antologija narodnih epskih pesama*, Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1958.
[281] See: Vladan Nedić, 'Pogovor', in Karadžić, *Pesmarica 1814, 1815*, p. 373. Also: Matić, *Naš narodni ep i naš stih: ogledi i studije*. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1964, pp. 7-55.

different geographic area nearly half a century later.[282] Apparently, the reference to the unknown singer should be seen as Karadžić's justification for including the song among oral folk songs, rather than as a claim that its content was actually written down from a live oral performance. In any case, the comparison of the two songs shows that Karadžić mostly made minor changes of the dialect, such as transcribing the original 'brajene' as 'brajane', 'virne' as 'vjerne' or 'dojde' as 'dođe'. Svetozar Matić and Miodrag Maticki also suggested that several of Karadžić's Kosovo songs and songs about older subjects from Montenegro were not collected directly from oral singers, but taken from earlier manuscript collections.[283] However, without reliable evidence of these manuscripts, this presumption remains a matter of dispute, and in any case hardly questions the overall impression that Karadžić only rarely and exceptionally used previous manuscripts and publications in compiling his collections.

Finally, although Karadžić demanded from his associates to write down the songs accurately, he did not always respect these high methodological demands and principles himself, and quite often made certain changes and corrections or substituted certain phrases in the texts he published. The difficulty with identifying these changes, however, lies in the fact that Karadžić did not keep the manuscripts of the songs he published. As Živomir Mladenović indicated, this might be the consequence of his intention to lessen his voluminous archive, but also to conceal the actual amount of editorial changes he made.[284] Karadžić's manuscripts thus consisted mostly of those songs that he received from his associates after 1832 and which remained unpublished during his lifetime. Nevertheless, his archive still contains some writings made in the earliest period of his work, which enables us to create a provisional image of his overall editorial procedure. Živomir Mladenović's comprehensive analysis of Karadžić's manuscripts showed that three basic types of changes in the texts that Karadžić

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[282] See: Matija Murko, *Tragom srpskohrvatske narodne epike* (JAZU: Zagreb, 1951), I, p. 401. Also: Matić, *Naš narodni ep i naš stih*, p. 33.

[283] See: Matić, *Naš narodni ep i naš stih*, esp. p. 35 et passim; Miodrag Maticki, *Istorija kao predanje* (Beograd: Rad, 1989), pp. 38-44.

[284] Mladenović, *Traganja za Vukom*, p. 131, 140.

had published could be identified.[285] The songs that Karadžić personally wrote down from his best singers such as Filip Višnjić, he edited practically without any changes apart from punctuation and minor corrections. The preserved part of the manuscript of the song 'Knez Ivan Knežević', collected from Filip Višnjić in 1815, for example, shows only two slight changes from the published texts – the verse 'Pred bijelu pred Brodačku crkvu' Karadžić published as 'Pred Brodačku pred bijelu crkvu', and changed 'Ni Ivanu kogodi zavali' into 'Ni Ivanu kogodi zafali'. In addition, in his early collections Karadžić occasionally made certain changes by transcribing the songs originally sung in ekavian dialect into jekavian form.[286] In the songs that Karadžić himself had written down from less accomplished singers, Mladenović specifies, he made more interventions, often changing the word order, substituting phrases or inserting certain verses.[287] Finally, in the songs that Karadžić received from his associates, Mladenović argues, he felt free to make many more interventions:

> Kako je Vuk lako žrtvovao čak i lepe stihove kada nisu doprinosili celini, vidi se po tome što je u rukopisu pesme *Ograšić serdar i Rade Krajinić* posle stiha *Eda Bog da hairli nam bio* (227) precrtao četiri stiha koji su izraz pevačeva raspoloženja… Sasvim drukčije je postupio u pesmi *Ženidba Petra Rišnjanina*, od koje je sačuvan samo redigovani prepis, gde je posle stiha Pod njime se đogat pomamio (20) izbacio dva stiha *Nosi glavu prema gospodaru, / Pjenu baca preko gospodara*, a dodao osam novih…[288]

Nonetheless, even Svetozar Matić as one of the few scholars to scrutinize Karadžić's editing, agrees that the vast majority of Karadžić's texts are reliable and meticulously documented.[289]

Finally, since Karadžić collected oral songs for more than half a century, some further remarks about his later editorial approach are necessary. From the early 1830s, Karadžić relied more on his associates and contributors, and rarely wrote down the songs directly from

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[285] See: Živomir Mladenović, 'Vuk kao redaktor narodnih pesama', in *Traganja za Vukom*, pp. 138-88.
[286] See the detailed discussion of these issues in Matić, *Naš narodni ep i naš stih*, pp. 21-34.
[287] Mladenović, *Traganja za Vukom*, p. 159-60.
[288] Ibid., p. 167.
[289] Svetozar Matić, *Novi ogled o našem narodnom epu* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1972), p. 11.

oral singers. In addition, as already indicated, he sometimes commissioned the songs about the newest events directly from his associates such as Savo Martinović and Đuko Sredanović. Their songs were, therefore, not collected as part of a living local oral tradition, but composed directly upon the request of the collector himself.

In conclusion, it has been argued that, as a rule, the publications of the first collections contained serious editorial impact made by their editors. In addition, I indicated that even Jacob Grimm and Karadžić, who propagated the strictest methodological demands and adopted the highest scientific standards of the time, did not always follow these in their own collector's work and editing practice. Consequently, their collections were neither entirely comprised of the songs and tales that had been written down directly from oral singers or storytellers, nor published with absolute accuracy. Nonetheless, Karadžić's editorial method and procedure, especially when placed in the context of his time, should not be too severely judged. In general, Karadžić did collect many oral songs himself, persistently searched for the best singers, and quite successfully avoided obviously literary epic songs and poems that some of his contemporaries considered as oral songs and published as the purest folk poetry. Foley's conclusion that 'his editing was light in comparison with the usual practice of the time'[290] thus appears to be well justified. I will assume, therefore, that generally the songs from Karadžić's collection can be utilised for an investigation of the traditional outlook and the style characteristic of oral tradition of the time.


The Classification of Montenegrin Songs in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*


In the previous discussion, it was established that Karadžić compiled his collections with songs from various sources; some of them he had personally collected from Montenegrin

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[290] Foley, *Analogues: Modern Oral Epic*, p. 208.

oral singers, others he received from his associates from Montenegro, and some were even composed by literate Montenegrins and sometimes commissioned directly by Karadžić himself. In addition, it has been suggested that while the songs that Karadžić had personally collected he published either accurately or by substituting phrases and, at the most, adding a verse or two, he made more changes in publishing the songs received from his associates. Finally, I indicated that during his long career, Karadžić did not always follow the same standards and principles. All mentioned suggests that not all Montenegrin songs published in his collections are equally representative of the actual local oral tradition.

By addressing the three basic issues, the following section offers some further remarks on Montenegrin songs in Karadžić's collection of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, the level of his accuracy in their publication and their oral traditionality. Firstly, I will indicate that all Montenegrin songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* were written down by Karadžić himself, and that he collected them directly from oral singers. Secondly, after examining the only preserved Karadžić's manuscript of a Montenegrin song from this period, I will demonstrate that the published version mostly corresponds with the existing manuscript. In accordance with the previous discussion of his general editorial approach to the songs he personally wrote down, I will therefore assume that he edited Montenegrin songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme* with a generally high level of accuracy. In addition, even though all Montenegrin songs from the collection existed in oral form, they are not of equal level of oral traditionality; a preliminary distinction will therefore be made between genuinely oral traditional songs on the one hand and, on the other, transitional texts and texts with nontraditional elements.

Karadžić's writings confirm that he had personally collected Montenegrin songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme* and that they all existed in oral form. Moreover, his introductions to the published collection and his correspondence offer substantial data about the singers of these songs and the time and place of their documentation. This applies in particular to his

*Introduction* to the fourth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* from 1833, where Karadžić gave information on the singers for practically all the songs that he had published by that time. As he relates in this *Introduction*, the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' he wrote down from Tešan Podrugović in Srem in 1815, and 'Šehović Osman' from his father Stefan Karadžić in Karlovac the same year.[291] These two songs are, therefore, the earliest collected Montenegrin songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme*. Karadžić also specifies that the two songs about the battle of Morača, 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima', he wrote down 'Od dvojice Crnogoraca (Filipa Boškovića Bjelopavlića iz Martinića, i Milovana Mušikina iz Pipera iz Crnaca), koji su 1822. godine u jesen bili došli u Kragujevac.'[292]

The majority of Montenegrin songs Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac: 'Dijoba Selimovića', 'Perović Batrić', 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', 'Tri sužnja', 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' and 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom'. Although Karadžić did not specify in the *Introduction* when and where he had collected them, several pieces of evidence confirm that this occurred during his longer stays in Serbia between 1820 or 1822. Firstly, four of these songs: 'Dijoba Selimovića', 'Perović Batrić', 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' and 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', Karadžić had published already in his third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* from 1823. Since Karadžić's last stay in Serbia was in the autumn of 1822, this date could be taken as the *terminus ante quem* of their documentation. In addition, the song 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' is mentioned in a note in a Karadžić's manuscript alongside with the two Montenegrin songs about the battle of Morača collected in late 1822, which indicates that Karadžić had already had it in his possession by that time.[293] Finally, in his 1833 *Introduction* Karadžić explains that he collected the song 'Tri sužnja' sometimes after his stay in Kragujevac in 1820, that is, either in 1821 or 1822.[294] This all indicates that

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[291] Karadžić, *Narodne srpske pjesme IV*, p. 404.
[292] Ibid., p. 401.
[293] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 136.
[294] Karadžić, *Narodne srpske pjesme IV*, p. 399.

by late 1822 Karadžić already had in his possession all six Milutinović's songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*.

It is possible to suggest the date of their collecting with more precision. Namely, in his letter to Kopitar, Karadžić reported that he had collected '6-7 lijepi junački pjesama' during his stay in Kragujevac in the autumn of 1822.[295] Several weeks later, Karadžić in another letter mentioned the songs that he had documented in Kragujevac.[296] The information provided in the letter complies with Karadžić's account from the 1833 *Introduction* that during these months he collected the two songs about the battle of Morača, four songs from Starac Milija and two songs from Anđelko Vuković from Kosovo. It is, therefore, highly improbable that he wrote down any of Đuro Milutinović's songs on this occasion. Moreover, as Karadžić reported and Milutinović's biographers confirm, in these years the singer lived in Belgrade,[297] which indicates that Karadžić could have collected the songs from him only during his visits to Belgrade. It thus leaves us with 1821 as the likely year of the textualization of Milutinović's songs. Karadžić's biography seems to confirm such a presumption. As his biographer Ljubomir Stojanović asserts, during this period Karadžić quite often travelled through Belgrade, but the only time that he spent several weeks there was between January and April of 1821.[298] It is, therefore, most plausible to assume that Karadžić collected the songs from Milutinović in Belgrade in the early 1821.

'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' is the only Montenegrin song published in *Narodne srpske pjesme* without the name of the singer supplied. Karadžić published it in 1823, and in the 1833 *Introduction* he said only that he had collected it in Kragujevac 'od jednog Crnogorca'.[299] Although Karadžić omits the name of the singer and the year of the

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[295] Karadžić, *Prepiska II (1822-1825)*, p. 117.
[296] Ibid., p. 123.
[297] See: Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 399. Also: Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić, 'Đura Milutinović (1770-1844)', in *Istorijski časopis, organ Istorijskog instituta SANU*, III (Beograd, 1952), p. 150.
[298] Ljubomir Stojanović, *Život i rad Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića* (Beograd: Štamparija 'Makarije', 1924), p. 189.
[299] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 406.

documentation, the fact that he had collected it in Kragujevac enables us to identify the date of its documentation quite precisely. Namely, before 1823 when the song was published, Karadžić resided in Kragujevac only on two occasions – between July 1820 and April 1821, and between August and October 1822. The song, thus, was collected at some point during these two stays. To sum up, the available data indicate that all eleven Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme* Karadžić had written down personally by the late 1822.

Another issue of our concern is the actual level of his accuracy in editing Montenegrin songs in this collection. As was previously established, while Karadžić published the songs that he personally had collected either accurately or by making comparatively minor corrections, he made significant changes when publishing the songs received from his associates. Since Karadžić collected the Montenegrin songs himself, it is therefore logical to asume that he published them with high accuracy and that the texts from *Narodne srpske pjesme* can thus be taken as textual representations of the actual performances of oral singers. However, it was also mentioned that Karadžić usually did not keep the manuscripts of the songs published, which makes such a conclusion harder to assert. It also applies to this collection, since there are no preserved manuscripts of the Montenegrin songs that Karadžić published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*. However, one surviving manuscript of the Montenegrin song that Karadžić had collected during these years enables us to confirm the presumption about his editorial accuracy with more certainty. Namely, in his magazine *Danica* in 1829, Karadžić published the song about the death of the Turkish hero named Kariman. The manuscript of this song, entitled 'Uskok Kariman', is preserved in Karadžić's archive. As Ljubomir Zuković argued, since Karadžić rarely travelled to Serbia between 1822 and 1829 and collected hardly any songs during these years, this song had most probably been collected by 1822, along with other Montenegrin songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme*.[300] Zuković also

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[300] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 136.

analysed its style and phraseology, showed similarities with Đuro Milutinović's songs and suggested further that Karadžić had collected 'Uskok Kariman' from him as well. While the scarcity of evidence perhaps prevents us to assert fully Zuković's attribution, the most relevant conclusion for this discussion is that the song clearly belongs to the group of Montenegrin songs that Karadžić personally wrote down by or sometime after 1822. As such, it is taken as a manuscript that is illustrative for his editorial procedure of the time.

Živomir Mladenović compared the manuscript of 'Uskok Kariman' and extracted the differences between it and the published version. All the lines where Karadžić made certain changes are listed bellow:

| Manuscript version | Published version[301] |
|---|---|
| Još besjede uskok Karimanu (5) | Tad' besjede uskok-Karimanu |
| Ako bi ti Bog i sreća dala (39) | Ako tebe Bog i sreća dade |
| Bolje ću ti dvore ograditi (43) | B'jele ću ti dvore ograditi |
| Pod Krstovu prebijelu kulu (62) | Baš pod kulu Kresojević Krsta |
| Bježi k meni Čevu na Krajinu (41) | Bježi k mene Čevu na Krajinu |
| Od koga se vojevoda plaši (51) | Od koga se plaši vojevoda |
| Božju njojzi pomoć nazivaše (65) | Božju pomoć njojzi nazivaše |
| B'jele im je dvore ogradio (93) | Bijele im dvore ogradio |
| Te s Turčina skinuo oružje (88) | Te s Turčina skinuo oružje |
| | I rusu mu odsjekao glavu |
| Daće tebi šćercu ili seju (14) | Svak će dati za tebe đevojku |
| Ko ne dade, silom otimaše (60) | Ko ne dade onom otimaše |

To summarize, out of eighty-four verses in the manuscript, Karadžić published seventy-three without any changes, and made editorial interventions in eleven verses. Most of the changes are minor stylistic interventions, and apply to the word order or to certain words and phrases. There is only one significant editorial contribution, the line 'i rusu mu odsjekao

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[301] See: Mladenović, *Traganja za Vukom*, pp. 159-60.

glavu', which Karadžić inserted, as Mladenović claims, to correct the obvious lapse made by the singer.[302] Hence, it could be said that Karadžić published the song quite accurately and without significantly influencing its lexis and meaning. Since this conclusion complies with the editorial procedure that Karadžić applied to the songs he personally collected in general, I will therefore assume that the Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme* do not contain significant editorial contribution and can be taken as fairly adequate representations of the early nineteenth-century songs sung by Karadžić's singers.

Concluding remarks

This chapter offered the discussion of Parry-Lord concepts of oral tradition and oral traditional song, supplemented by Lord's later analyses of South Slavonic transitional texts, and the editorial methods of Karadžić and his contemporaries. The survey indicated that the fundamental characteristic of oral song is its performative character, and that the patterns of oral composition and distribution are essentially different from those of written literature. Consequently, it was suggested that the documentation of oral tradition always involves elements of selection, representation and editing, but that accurately documented, transcribed and edited collections of oral songs are illustrative of a given oral tradition and enable its scholarly analysis.

Further examination showed that the early collectors usually made significant contribution to their collections by changing and unifying the traditional content, but that Karadžić had comparatively rigorous scholarly methods and generally edited texts less obtrusively than many of his contemporaries. It was also indicated that all Montenegrin songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* were written down by Karadžić himself, and that he collected

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[302] Ibid., p. 160.

them directly from oral singers. After examining Karadžić's manuscript of a Montenegrin song and his editorial principles from this period, I suggested that it is plausible to assume that he edited the Montenegrin songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme* with a generally high level of accuracy. I therefore assumed that Karadžić's collections can be utilised as material for an investigation of the early nineteenth century oral tradition and traditional outlook and style.

In addition, Lord's and Foley's more recent analyses focused on the songs that contain both oral traditional and nontraditional or literary elements. Although Lord and Foley did not offer a systematic account or a classification of such songs, they nevertheless examined a variety of South Slavonic texts and identified some distinctive cases and groups. Lord thus recognized certain South Slavonic texts as transitional, but offered no precise definition of the term and applied it to quite a limited number of songs with a more or less balanced ratio between oral traditional and literary features. I supplemented these analyses and argued that the collections of South Slavonic oral songs offer a continuum of published texts with various degree of oral traditionality, and distinguished several basic categories. The texts that show no influence of literacy or previously published collections, and were accurately written down or recorded from traditional oral singers, I have taken to be genuinely oral traditional and consider as fully illustrative for the analysis of a particular oral tradition. In distinction, the poems composed by literate, professional poets raised outside oral traditional culture and later inspired by oral tradition, I considered as essentially literary texts. Finally, I described transitional South Slavonic texts as a distinctive combination of literary and oral traditional elements. As I argued, such texts emerged in two principal ways, either by educated writers adjusting their literary technique to accommodate an oral traditional content, or by oral singers appropriating originally literary characteristics to their oral performative manner and style. As I submitted, if we supplemented textual analysis of these songs with information on their singers, contributors and the conditions of documentation, transitional character and

nontraditional features in Karadžić's collections can be relatively precisely determined and exemplified.

The following chapters will adopt the classification of Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's collection *Narodne srpske pjesme* into three categories. According to the overall level of their oral traditionality, the songs will be divided into genuine oral traditional songs, songs with nontraditional elements and transitional songs. In the next chapter, the songs 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', 'Šehović Osman', 'Dijoba Selimovića' and the two songs about the battle of Morača will be analysed. After examining their style, outlook and available data about their singers, it will be indicated that these five songs are genuine oral traditional songs that are fully illustrative of the local oral tradition of the time. In addition, I will indicate that these songs typically display features like tribal antagonism and particularism, ambiguous relations among the local Christians and their occasional affiliation between neighbouring Muslims, and suggest further that these were all common characteristics of Montenegrin oral tradition.

In chapter three, the songs 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' will be examined. Following Karadžić's later remarks and subsequent scholarly arguments about Bishop Petar as their author, I shall assess this attribution and indicate that the songs Karadžić published show the characteristics of both fixed, literary texts and oral traditional songs. I will argue further that the two songs show other nontraditional characteristics such as a broader perspective of tribal unity and cooperation under Bishop Petar's leadership, or a thorough knowledge of the international relations. Therefore, I will suggest that the songs were initially Bishop Petar's literary compositions and that Đuro Milutinović partially adapted them in his oral performance by introducing more oral traditional elements. Hence, these two songs from Karadžić's collection will be classified as

transitional texts that display the characteristics of both literary and oral traditional manner and style.

In the last chapter, the remaining four songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac will be analysed. They will be regarded as a separate group of songs that contain both traditional and nontraditional elements. Namely, on the one hand, these songs were written down during oral performances and thus undoubtedly existed in oral form; they contain oral traditional characteristics and describe subjects commonly found in other Montenegrin songs collected at the time, which suggests that they circulated as part of local oral tradition. On the other hand, as I will argue, the majority of these songs nonetheless contain more or less nontraditional elements, introduced by Đuro Milutinović as an educated singer influenced by the ideas and poetic works of Bishop Petar I.

**Chapter 2. Genuine Oral Traditional Songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme***

In previous discussion, Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme* were divided into genuine oral traditional songs, transitional texts and oral songs with nontraditional elements. Furthermore, I indicated that Montenegrin songs about relatively recent events display recognizable regional characteristics such as local perspective, tribal antagonism and particularism or ambiguous ethnic relations between local Christians and Muslims, and often glorify isolated local conflicts that had no significant consequences for the political constellation in the region. This chapter will assert oral traditional character of five Montenegrin songs from the collection by exemplifying their formulaic language, traditional rhyming, phraseology and outlook, as well as contextual evidence of their documentation and singers.

The two earliest documented songs, 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman', will be taken as the starting point of analysis. It will be argued that both songs qualify as oral traditional songs, since they display traditional phraseology and outlook and were written down from illiterate, traditional singers. In addition, I will suggest that the two songs display the antagonism between the Herzegovinian and Old Montenegrin tribes as a common characteristic of the local oral tradition arising from the particular social history of the region. This is followed by the analysis of 'Dijoba Selimovića' as another oral traditional song in the collection with ambiguous relations among the local Christians and Muslims. It is argued that, even though it has been written down from a literate singer Đuro Milutinović, it shows the same traditional features found in the two aforementioned songs, such as oral-formulaic character, traditional phraseology, local perspective and ambiguous ethnic relations between local Christians and Muslims. In accordance with my previous discussion of South Slavonic tradition, I will argue that the singer in this case did not alter the traditional plot and performed the song as any traditional singer would, and that this song is therefore fully representative of local oral tradition of the time.

In the second part of the chapter, the songs 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' published in 1833 in Karadžić's fourth volume of *Narodne srpske pjesme* will be taken into consideration. I will pinpoint their genuine oral traditional characteristics and perspective by analysing their style and outlook and examining available data about their singers. It will be suggested that tribal perspective and local-patriotism are the dominant views expressed in the two songs. Further, I shall compare the two songs with 'Boj na Morači', which is another song about the same event documented in the first half of the nineteenth century and published by Karadžić. The comparison will exemplify the differences in outlook and style between the two oral traditional songs and 'Boj na Morači', composed under the influence of Cetinje as the political centre of the emerging Montenegrin state. More

precisely, the analysis will enable us to contrast a local tribal view of this event expressed in the two traditional songs, to 'Boj na Morači' that promotes a wider tribal association under the political leadership of Bishop Petar and national solidarity among the local Christians in their struggle against the Turks.


The 'Beautiful Turk' and the 'Wretched Montenegrin': Ambiguous Ethnic Relations
In the Two Earliest Songs


In this section the traditional characteristics of 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman' will be examined. The analysis will follow the aforementioned Lord's and Foley's instructions that oral tradition operates on three levels – individual or idiolectal, local or regional, and national or pantraditional, and that in determining traditionality one needs to consider various factors such as the density of formulas and the oral-traditionality of the structures or systems to which they belong, life history of the individual singer and the role of literacy in his or her culture. I will therefore take into consideration all these aspects to show that these two songs display genuine oral traditional characteristics. Firstly, brief references to the biographies of the singers will indicate that they were traditional, illiterate singers who performed oral songs with subjects typical for South Slavonic oral tradition. Secondly, it will be argued that the hostility between the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian tribes displayed in the songs is a typical characteristic of local oral tradition. In support of this claim I will refer to the social history of the region, and offer evidence of conflicts between the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian tribes, documented in the earliest eighteen-century Montenegrin histories, in Bishop Petar's correspondence and Karadžić's accounts of the Montenegrin society and its oral tradition. Finally, I shall discuss the style and phraseology used in the songs to indicate that they contain abundance of traditional formulas and phrases, commonly found in other

South Slavonic oral songs, as well as individual features arising from the singer's personal outlook and poetic talent. This will all provide evidence that 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman' are genuine oral traditional songs, and enable us to identify their individual, local or regional, as well as general or pantraditional oral features.

### a. 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica'

According to Karadžić's *Introduction* to the 1833 edition,[303] 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman' are the two earliest collected Montenegrin songs in *Narodne srpske pjesme*. While he wrote down all other Montenegrin songs from this collection in Belgrade and Kragujevac during 1821 and 1822, these two he had collected already in 1815 in the Srem region from Serbian refugees, who fled across the Danube in 1813 after the collapse of the First Serbian Uprising against the Turks.

Karadžić documented 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' from his favourite singer Tešan Podrugović. Podrugović was born in the village Kazanci near the Herzegovinian town of Gacko; he had no formal education and lived as a *hajduk* prior to joining the Serbian Uprising in 1807.[304] Karadžić relates that Podrugović used to recite the songs rather than sing them to the accompaniment of a *gusle*, and praises him as an exceptional, accomplished singer with a repertoire of at least 120 songs: 'Nikoga ja do danas nisam našao da onako pesme zna kao što je on znao. Njegova je svaka pesma bila dobra, jer je on (osobito kako nije pevao, nego samo *kazivao*) pesme razumevao i osećao, i mislio je šta govori'.[305] Nevertheless, Podrugović was not a professional singer nor did he earn anything from his singing. When Karadžić met him in early 1815, Podrugović lived in extreme poverty. Karadžić then started giving him small handouts for his keep and writing down his songs. The beginning of another

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[303] See: Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 393-412.
[304] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme I*, p. 567.
[305] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 394-95.

uprising against the Turks in Serbia proper in the spring of 1815, made an end to their cooperation. As Karadžić lively describes:

> No kad se onda ispred Vaskrsenija u Srbiji podigne buna na Turke, i njemu kao da uđe sto šiljaka pod kožu. Jedva ga kojekako zadržim oko Vaskrsenija, te prepišem nekolike od onih pesama koje mi je putem idući iz Karlovaca na kolima kazivao, [...] te odande pređe u Srbiju, da se nanovo bije s Turcima.[306]

In other words, although Podrugović had great talent and knew many songs, he was not a professional singer and apparently preferred fighting to singing.

As it appears, Podrugović did not compose songs about contemporary events and exclusively relied on songs about older heroes that he learned as part of oral tradition. Several pieces of evidence speak in favour of such a hypothesis. Firstly, none of the songs that Karadžić attributed to Podrugović deals with contemporary heroes and events – they are all either about medieval heroes or about seventeenth and eighteenth century hajduks. This complies with Karadžić's words from 1833 Introduction that Podrugović knew mostly the songs about 'kojekaki primorski i Bosanski i Ercegovački ajduka i četobaša'.[307] Another argument that supports such a view is that most of his songs have versions in other collections, and some of them are found in Bogišić's collection and the Erlangen manuscript.[308] Since these two collections are comprised of South Slavonic oral epics from the seventeenth and eighteenth century that remained unpublished until 1878 and 1932 respectively, there was no possibility for these songs to influence oral tradition in their published form. This shows, therefore, that some of Podrugović's songs circulated for centuries as part of South Slavonic oral tradition.

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[306] Ibid., p. 394.
[307] Ibid., p. 394.
[308] For a full list of Podrugović's songs, see: Nedić, *Vukovi pevači*, pp. 21-33. About their versions in other collections, see: Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme II*, pp. 541-615, *Srpske narodne pjesme III*, pp. 544-77, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 519-61.

Karadžić wrote down the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' from Podrugović in 1815 and published it in his fourth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* in 1833.[309] It describes the conflict between the Montenegrins and Vuk Koprivica who is, just as the singer himself, from the Herzegovinian tribe of Banjani. The song begins with a summit of young Montenegrins, a Montenegrin priest ('pope Crnogorče'[310]) and the Montenegrin duke 'u Cetinji usred gore Crne'. To the hero who captures or kills Vuk Koprivica from Banjani, the priest offers a rich reward. However, none of the heroes dares to accept the challenge. A woman from Montenegro promises to bring Vuk to him. She sends a letter to Vuk, asking him, in the form of an obliging religious oath, to come to Montenegro to be the godfather to her son:

'O moj kume, Koprivica Vuče!

Kumim tebe Bogom istinijem

I našijem svetijem Jovanom,

Hodi mene slavnoj gori Crnoj,

Da mi krstiš u bešici sina.'

Vuk hesitates since he knows that the priest wants to avenge the death of his brothers, whom Vuk has killed. Vuk's mother advises him to take his nine brothers with him for protection, but he rejects her suggestion and responds that he would rather die himself than risk their lives:

'Moja mati, jadna razgovora!

Da pogine devet braćinaca,

Da ostane devet udovica,

Da zakuka devet kukavica

Na našemu dvoru bijelome,

Lakše mene preboljet' jednoga.'

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[309] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 30-35.
[310] While the appropriate grammatical form of this phrase should be in nominative ('pop Crnogorac'), the singer here uses the vocative, which is typically applied in South Slavonic *deseterac* instead of nominative to fill in the missing syllable.

During the ceremony in the church, Koprivica is hit twice by bullets, supposedly from children who are playing with guns outside the church, as the priest explains; but none of the bullets penetrates deep enough to harm him (the singer says that God and Saint John protected him). Finally, after the third unsuccessful shot, Koprivica gives gifts for the child, kills the priest and thirty more Montenegrins outside the church, and on his return survives an ambush and kills several more Montenegrins.

The emblematic feature of this song is the contrast between the heroism of Vuk Koprivica and the negative presentation of the characters from Montenegro. To underline their difference, the singer makes use of a number of traditional themes or typical scenes. In Parry's terminology, a 'theme' or a typical scene is a recurrent sequence that is narrated 'with many of the same details and many of the same words' in a given oral tradition.[311] Thus, at the beginning of the song, the cowardice of the summoned Montenegrins is exemplified through the theme of challenge, commonly found in the South Slavonic epics in general and documented in the collections published by Karadžić, Sima Milutinović, Kosta Hörmann, Parry-Lord, Matica Hrvatska and others. The sequence usually comprises several elements – the speaker identifies a certain hero, then mentions his deeds or misdeeds, and finally invites or challenges the present heroes to capture or kill him; the last element often serves as a public test of their bravery. All these elements are present in 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', and the singer expresses them in a form of traditional formulaic expressions such as the verse 'Dal' je majka rodila junaka', which can be found in many other South Slavonic epic songs. Such an invitation may perform a twofold function: it can either distinguish a particular hero, or present a general critique of all the summoned characters. The example for the first function is taken from the song 'Smrt Mijata' from Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija*: 'Ko čujaše čut se ne čujaše, | ko gledaše oči obraćaše [...] | Ma se dobar junak nagonjaše'.

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[311] Parry, *The Making of the Homeric Verse*, pp. 404-07.

Podrugović himself uses the formula in a corresponding way in the songs 'Senjanin Tadija' ('Al' ne gleda Kotarac Jovane, | Veće skoči na noge lagane') or 'Vide Daničić' ('Ne poniče Daničiću Vide, | Već poskoči na noge lagane'). In other words, the invitation counterposes a particular hero who bravely responds to the challenge to all others that avert their eyes, and thus serves to emphasize his distinctive heroism. Sometimes, however, as is the case in 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', nobody dares to take the challenge. The scene thus turns into a general critique of the summoned heroes and serves to expose them all as cowards. In this sense, for example, we find the same theme in Starac Milija's song 'Banović Strahinja' with exactly the same verses 'Svi junaci nikom ponikoše | I u crnu zemlju pogledaše'. This should suffice as support for the claim that in the beginning of the song the Montenegrins depicted at the scene are collectively portrayed as cowards.

Another element of the negative presentation of the Montenegrins in the song is their disrespect for the sacred and sacrosanct customs and codes of behaviour. Again, several elements are systematically used in order to emphasize their violation of traditional norms. Firstly, the invitation by the Montenegrin woman for Koprivica to come to Montenegro to become the godfather (*kum*) to her child implies an activation of a special relation between him and the Montenegrins. Formally, the role of the godfather is to hold a child during baptism and to name the child, but in traditional South Slavonic society it had a special significance.[312] This role established kinship between the two parties – the godson's family members perceive the godfather's family as relatives and neither they nor their descendants marry each other.[313] In addition, the invitation of Vuk Koprivica invoking the name of God and Saint John activates another traditional institution – that of hospitality. There is an

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[312] According to Serbian ethnologist Veselin Čajkanović, it is pre-Christian in origin, and to name a child means that the godfather is responsible to recognize the ancestor embodied in it. Čajkanović also indicates that the name for the Milky Way in Serbian is 'Kumova slama', ie the godfather's straw, and concludes that the godfather thus occupies a privileged role between the world of ancestors and the world of the living. See: 'Božanski kum'. In: Veselin Čajkanović, *O vrhovnom bogu u staroj srpskoj religiji* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1994), pp. 50-56.
[313] Ibid., p. 54.

abundance of evidence about the almost sacred respect for the guest among the highlanders of the Central Balkans. Marko Miljanov's *Primjeri čojstva i junaštva*, for example, offers many episodes about the hosts who were killed while steadfastly protecting their guests even from the host's fellow tribesmen or authorities, and Valtazar Bogišić systematically investigated this highland hospitality as a traditional legal institution among the Herzegovinian, Montenegrin and Albanian tribes.[314] In other words, the Montenegrins violate the codified and sacred duty of the hosts to protect their guest. That is why the initial invitation by the Montenegrin priest reads 'Da otide u Banjane ravne' – the revenge is fully appropriate, honourable and heroic only if performed on the enemy's ground. In contrast, if performed through deceit and deception and conducted on the territory where an adversary is protected by the sacred norms, it is shameful and disgraceful. In other words, the way that Vuk Koprivica is enticed to Montenegro by deceit and treated by his hosts are additional elements that present the Montenegrin characters in a negative light. Finally, another prominent negative element in their presentation is that they shoot at Vuk Koprivica while he stands in a church and participates in a religious ceremony.

In distinction to the Montenegrin characters, Vuk Koprivica from the Banjani tribe is portrayed as a great hero, and his reactions and actions are clearly contrasted to the ones of the Montenegrins. The letter from the Montenegrin woman poses a challenge similar to the one that the Montenegrin heroes were faced with at the beginning. On the one hand, Vuk is aware that if he goes to Montenegro the priest will most likely kill him: 'Oće mene pope pogubiti'. On the other hand, however, he is faced with a mandatory religious oath and an invitation to perform the role of godfather, which is at the same time an honour and an obligation. Its importance and formal nature show that the refusal would count as a severe transgression of traditional norms and codes and as an immense offence. Faced with a

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[314] See Marko Miljanov, 'Primjeri čojstva i junaštva', in *Celokupna dela Marka Miljanova* (Beograd: Narodna prosveta, 1930), pp. 1-98. Also: Valtazar Bogišić, *Pravni običaji u Crnoj Gori, Hercegovini i Albaniji* (Titograd: Crnogorska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, 1984).

situation comparable to the challenge posed by the Montenegrin priest at the opening summit, Vuk Koprivica, however, responds appropriately and in accordance with the heroic code – he accepts the invitation and goes to Montenegro. He will, therefore, rather accept the oath and die than break the sanctified institution of the godfather. In addition, another heroic element is his refusal to bring with him his nine brothers. The number of brothers is also formulaic and functions as a frequent *topos* in South Slavonic epics. In Kosovo songs, for example, it is a sign of tragedy of the Jugović family, since the nine Jugović brothers all died together in the Kosovo Battle. Sometimes, this topos is used to ensure and strengthen a promise or a deal, and the characters swear on their nine brothers to bring the ransom or respect an oath. Here, of course, it serves to emphasize the heroism of Vuk Koprivica – he would rather face the Montenegrins alone than jeopardize the lives of his brothers. In addition, unlike the Montenegrins who shoot at him in the church, he does not disrupt the ceremony, and attacks his enemies only after delivering gifts to his godson. The song ends with another formulaic affirmation of Koprivica's heroism – ambushed by thirty enemies, he defeats them and returns victoriously to Banjani.

Moving on to the questions of the regional characteristics and an overall perspective and worldview expressed in 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', it appears that the song shows local tradition of praising domestic heroes as dominant over their rivals. As mentioned, scholars usually recognized these conflicts among the tribes and ambiguous ethnic relations among the local Christians from Herzegovina and Montenegro as common and distinctive features of the Montenegrin epic. Zuković and Matić thus claimed that Montenegrin oral tradition was above all tribal in its character, celebrating individual heroes distinguished in the battles both against the Turks and another tribe or clan.[315] Deretić similarly described

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[315] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 148 et passim; Matić, *Naš narodi ep i naš stih*, pp. 95-125.

Montenegrin epic tradition as essentially local in character, and emphasized that every tribe nourished their own songs and traditions.[316]

Social history of the region also offers evidence of the apparent hostility between the Herzegovinian and Montenegrin tribes. As indicated, from the late eighteenth century onwards, local Muslim pashas and beys had little influence over the so-called Old Montenegrin tribes situated in the hostile Cetinje region and ruled by the Bishop-Princes from the local Petrović clan. However, Muslim dignitaries still strove to keep control over the territory inhabited by the Herzegovinian tribes, demanding a regular tribute from its inhabitants in a way of feudal lords, and even mobilised them to fight against the Montenegrins. Since, however, this practical Montenegrin independence was not officially recognized until 1878, the Herzegovinian Christians found themselves caught between the disobedient Montenegrin tribes and the more Muslim-populated and controlled Bosnia and Herzegovina. Alongside the general weakening of the central government in the Ottoman Empire throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this brought anarchy and constant conflicts into the zone separating the neighbouring Montenegrin tribes such as Cuce, Bjelice, Njeguši, Pješivci, Morača and others on the one side, from the Herzegovinian tribes of Grahovljani, Pivljani, Banjani, Župljani and Drobnjaci on the other side. In actual practice, this meant that the Montenegrins barely distinguished the local Christians from the Muslims during their attacks on the Herzegovinian territory under Turkish control, while, in addition, subjected Herzegovinian tribes often participated in the campaigns against the Montenegrins.

The earliest account on Montenegrin history, *Istorija o Černoj Gori* written by the Montenegrin Bishop-Prince Vasilije in 1754 and published in Moscow, already contains the information that 'sa Turcima zajedno u rat pođoše Hercegovci, kojima Turci nikad ne

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[316] Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2003), p. 388.

dozvoljavaju da nose oružje, osim kad idu u rat protiv Crne Gore'. [317] Another contemporanious document, a short report written in Russian by Jovan Stefanov Balević for the Russian court in 1757, also mentions the antagonism between the Montenegrins and their neighbours:

> Many Montenegrins earn their living solely by arms, attacking, either Turkish, or Venetian citizens. Raiding vicinity to feed themselves, they do not consider robbery as a sin, but as a great honour. Their neighbours hate them because of that and they are always in state of war with each other.[318]

The antagonism between the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian tribes is also a common subject of Bishop Petar's correspondence. Usually written in response to a local conflict or dispute, and addressed to the local priests or tribal leaders, his letters provide a valuable account on contemporary Montenegro. For example, in a correspondence from 1804, the Herzegovinian archimandrite Arsenije Gagović complains to Petar I about the attacks of the Uskoci tribe from Morača against the poor Herzegovinian Christians from the Piva tribe. Petar I, in response, describes Uskoci as 'ljudi zli i bezbožni, [...] oni ne paze svoju braću i ne spominju turski jaram, koga su što je reći, još juče nosili i koga njihova braća i danas nose na vrat.'[319] In addition, in 1807 Bishop Petar criticizes the Bjelice tribe for their constant attacks on the Brđani and Herzegovinian tribes, and especially regrets the fact that 'Crnogorci pomagaju Turcima klati i davati Hristijane u vrijeme, kada je Bog sojedinio srpski narod, da

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[317] See: Vladika Vasilije Petrović Njegoš, *Istorija o Crnoj Gori*, http://www.rastko.rs/rastko-cg/ povijest/vladika_ vasilije-istorija_o_crnoj_gori.html, page assessed on 15.03.2011.

[318] Jovan Stefanov Balević was born sometime between 1725 and 1728 into the Bratonožići clan in the Highlands, in Pelev Brijeg. He was educated firstly in Sremski Karlovci in the Habsburg Monarchy (today's Vojvodina, Serbia) and then at the German University of Hale, where he defended in 1752 a doctorate (in Latin) in Canon Law and History of Christian Religion. After returning to Karlovci, he became a magistrate syndicus, and soon the chief of civic police. Balević then fled the Austrians for Russia, where he served as Captain, and finally became a Russian Major. In 1757 he published in Saint Petersburg in Russian the *Short and Objective Description of the Current Situation in Montenegro*. See: Jovan Stefanov Balević, *Short historic-geographical description of Montenegro*, www.rastkohttp://www.rastko.rs/rastko-cg/povijest/jsbalevic-opis_en.html, page assessed on 05.03.2011.

[319] Petar I, *Djela*, p. 30.

se od turskoga jarma oslobodi'.[320] As indicated, a similar critique of the tribal confrontations, mutual conflicts and the absence of ethnic and religious solidarity persists throughout his epistles and correspondence.[321]

Finally, Karadžić's 1837 book *Montenengro und die Montenegriner* and his later writings offer another valuable account on these local antagonisms in the first half of the nineteenth century and their influence on oral tradition. I consider Karadžić's writings a reliable source of information for two principal reasons. Firstly, by 1837 Karadžić had personally visited Montenegro and had already had years of experience in collecting Montenegrin songs and customs. Secondly, in addition to his close cooperation with Njegoš and Cetinje, Karadžić was also informed about the Herzegovinian region. As mentioned, his family came from the Herzegovinian tribe of Drobnjaci and maintained close relations with their relatives. Also, his associates from the area, in the first place Vuko Popović from Risan, maintained regular contacts with the Herzegovinian singers, all of which made Karadžić particularly well informed about the local Herzegovinian population, their perception of the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian relations and their local oral tradition.

Some hundred years after Balević's report on Montenegro, Karadžić similarly relates that '[m]nogi Crnogorci na turskoj granici žive gotovo jedino od četovanja', and that their actions are often directed against the local Christian population as well. Herzegovinians, for their part, as Karadžić specifies, 'imaju znatne povlastice jedno što zajedno s Turcima imaju da se brane od Crnogoraca, i drugo zato da ne bi imali uzroka da uskaču u Crnu Goru.'[322] Karadžić also makes a reference to this political and social ambient in the particular context of 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Korpivica'. Namely, reprinting this song in his fourth book of *Srpske*

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[320] Ibid., p. 53.
[321] See also Bishop Petar's epistles to: 'Moračanima i Uskocima' from March 1790, p. 10; 'Rovcima, Moračanima i Uskocima' from November 1795, pp. 13-14, 'Glavarima' from November 1796, p. 17, 'Brđanima' from February 1800, pp. 19-21, 'Katunjanima' from Jully 1805, pp. 34-35, 'Gornjomoračanima' from March 1806, p. 47; 'Bjelicama' from December 1807, pp. 52-53; 'Drobnjacima' from September 1809, pp. 71-72; Petar I, Djela, ed. Branislav Ostojić, Podgorica: CID 2001.
[322] Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, p. 63.

*narodne pjesme* in 1862, Karadžić again refers to this tribal antagonism to explain the fratricidal bloodbath between Vuk Koprivica and the Montenegrins to his readership:

> Neka se niko ne čudi što se ovdje Srbi jednoga zakona biju između sebe: Banjani se i sad broje u Tursku državu, a otprije su morali s Turcima udarati na Crnu goru i braniti se od Crnogoraca, kao što su i Crnogorci četujući onuda po Turskoj slabo razlikovali imanje hrišćansko od Turskoga.[323]

This remark thus shows that even in the second half of the nineteenth century and almost fifty years after the song had been collected, Karadžić found it appropriate to explain the conflict in the song in terms of the still existing tribal antagonism.

On the regional level, therefore, this earliest documented song displays the hostility between the Herzegovinian and Montenegrin tribes as a characteristic feature of the local oral tradition. While the antagonism between the heroes in this song is to some extent motivated by their personal disputes, it is also a consequence of their distinctive local and tribal identity. Namely, the singer himself identifies with and praises the hero from the local Banjani tribe and counterposes him to the Montenegrins as his foes. Accordingly, there are no claims for their religious or national solidarity or association that would, for instance, account for all the heroes as the members of the same ethnic, national or religious group. Of course, this is not to say that such an idea of a wider and common mutual origin or affiliation is necessarily foreign to the singer or to his local oral tradition. Actually, Marko Kraljević in Podrugović's songs often acts as a protector of poor Christians from Turkish aggression, and Podrugović's 'Ženidba Dušanova' describes the glory of the former Serbian empire, all of which perhaps implies or presumes a certain conception of the common Serbian nationality. Nonetheless, this song about more recent local heroes remains limited to local and tribal affiliation as the most effective operative element in the plot, and I referred to the social history of the region to explain this particular feature of the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian relations. In the last part

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[323] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 30.

of the chapter, I will identify these features in several other Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*, framing them as local and tribal view or perspective.

### b. *'Šehović Osman'*

This section briefly identifies similar characteristics such as ambiguous ethnic relations between the Herzegovinians and Montenegrins and the domination of local and tribal perspective in the song 'Šehović Osman'. The song describes the journey of Osman and his company from their native Klobuk across the Herzegovinian-Montenegrin border, and their murder by a Montenegrin company. The Montenegrins act in the name of blood revenge, since Osman previously killed the son of the company leader Živko Damjanović. Karadžić wrote it down in Srem in 1815 from his father Stefan Karadžić. His descent from the Herzegovinian tribe of Drobnjaci and close family relations with their Herzegovinian relatives effectively explain the existence of a song with a local Herzegovinian subject and characters in a different environment.[324] In addition, as Karadžić relates, his father's repertoire was limited to the songs that were popular among his family members: '[Stefan je] kao pobožan i zbiljski (ernsthaft) čovek, vrlo malo mario za pesme, samo koliko ih je, gotovo nehotice, upamtio od svoga oca Joksima i brata Toma'.[325]

'Šehović Osman' is, like 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', also characterised by ambiguous relations between the local Christians from the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian side of the border. Thus, for instance, one of the three friends that accompany Osman on his journey is a Christian: 'vlaše Ostojiću Marko'. In addition, the company makes the first stop to rest on their way from the Herzegovinian town of Klobuk to Nikšić 'kod Vukića kneza od Vilusa'. The title of 'knez' signifies a distinguished status of this local Christian character. Such examples indicate the predominance of the local and territorial identification between

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[324] See: Karadžić, *O jeziku i književnosti III*, p. 39.
[325] Ljubomir Zuković, 'Društveni status epike u Vukovo doba', in *Zbornik radova o Vuku Stefanoviću Karadžiću* (Sarajevo: Institut za jezik i književnost, 1987), p. 530.

the characters over a broader one that would follow from their religious affiliation. This all seems to be in accordance with the previous discussion of the ambiguity between the Herzegovinian and Old Montenegrin tribes as a common characteristic of the local oral tradition.

As it appears, 'Šehović Osman' displays certain elements that show an affiliation with the Muslim hero and a likely influence of Muslim epic tradition. The opening lines praise 'Mlado Ture Šehović Osmane':

> Od kako je svijet postanuo,
>
> Nije ljepši cvijet procvatio
>
> [...]
>
> Na ljepotu kao i đevojka,
>
> Na stidnoću kao i nevjesta
>
> [...]
>
> Na junaštvo k'o Bojčić Alija,
>
> Al' mu vlasi odrast ne dadoše .[326]

The comparison of the hero with a flower and a bride, and the emphasis on his handsomeness give the song a certain ballad-like opening unusual for Christian epics, but common in the poetry of the South Slavonic Muslims.[327] The last two lines also indicate the influence of a pro-Muslim perspective; not only is Osman equated with a famous hero of the Muslim epic,[328] but the Christians are referred to in the derogatory form 'vlasi' and blamed for his death.

These elements induced Karadžić to conclude that this song originated within the Muslim oral tradition. Namely, in a later edition, the aforementioned verses are followed by

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[326] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 38.

[327] See, for instance, the opening lines in 'Lejla Blaževića (Ljubuški)' and 'Junaštvo Mujina Halila a ženidba Arap-Pašić Ibre s Fatimom paše od Berkota' from Hörmann's collection ((Hörmann II, 69; III, 02), 'Udaja sestre Ljubovića' and 'Gojeni Alil pod Udžbarom' (Karadžić, III, 82; VII, 17), or 'Ženidba Šarca Mahmutage' from Esad Hadžiomerspahić's *Muslimanske narodne junačke pjesme*, Banja Luka: [n.a], no. 7. Also: Munib Maglajlić, *Muslimanska usmena balada*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1984.

[328] See: Vido Latković, 'Komentari i objašnjenja', in Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1958), p. 492.

his comment: 'Po ovome se vidi da su ovu pjesmu spjevali Srbi zakona Turskoga'.[329] My previous remarks about the distinctive social and geo-strategic status of Herzegovinian Christians, however, suggest that this is not necessarily the case. Namely, in the light of these closer and prolonged connections between the Herzegovinian Christians and Muslims, such an appreciation of a Muslim hero by a Christian singer is quite understandable. What is more, we find certain appreciation for Osman even in the version of this song collected from a Christian Petar Vuksanov from Morača around 1828 and published in his *Pjevanija*: 'Od kako je Turčin nastanuo | Nije bolji junak postanuo [...] | dvadeset i pet posjek'o je glavah | a toliko ima čelenakah.'[330] Nonetheless, while this song also opens with an appraisal of Osman's heroism, it apparently portrays him with less subtlety; the lexical difference ('Turčin' instead of 'svijet') limits his heroism and presents him as exceptional only among the Turks. In short, while Osman appears to be a well-known epic hero in the region, Stefan Karadžić's version seems to capture more pro-Muslim features in his portrayal.

This song also shows signs of a perspective more sympathetic towards the Montenegrins and their actions and hostile with regard to the Muslims/Turks. For instance, moving to the Montenegrin tent and their preparations to attack the company, the singer seems to adopt this different perspective. A recognizable break that occurs after line 130 marks the shift to this altered outlook. There is no pejorative ethnonym 'vlasi' for the Christians, and their motives are well justified – Osman is described by one of the characters as the hero 'Štono Crnu goru zatvorio, | Mlogu našu braću pogubio'.[331] In addition, the singer narrates that he had previously killed the son of a company leader Živko and specifies: 'Ode Živko sinu na osvetu'.[332] As it appears, the two perspectives are not mutually exclusive and both stem from a liminal position that Herzegovinian Christians occupied between the

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[329] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 38.
[330] Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, *Pjevanija crnogorska i hercegovačka*, (2 ed.), ed. by Dobrilo Aranitović (Nikšić: Univerzitetska riječ, 1990), p. 631.
[331] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 42.
[332] Ibid., p. 42.

Montenegrins and the Herzegovinian Muslims. Osman is thus portrayed as a positive hero in the style of the Muslim epic, whereas Živko's character seems to derive more from a Christian-oriented tradition. In both cases, the singer uses common stylistic devices of the local oral tradition, without paying particular attention to pro-Muslim or pro-Christian attitudes that they imply on a more general level.

Finally, the concluding lines suggest the singer's return to a more local and tribal outlook. The Turks are described as vastly outnumbered, and the Montenegrins are referred to as 'kauri', i.e. infidels: 'Onda Živko društvo razredio: | Na Turčina po tri kaurina, | Na Osmana samoga dvanaest'.[333] The song ends with a final confirmation of Osman's heroism – he kills two attackers before being killed himself. Osman thus fulfils the last demand of the heroic code, which is not to 'die without replacement': 'umreti bez zamjene', without killing at least one enemy, means to die in disgrace. For example, Bishop Petar mentions in a note that the Montenegrins 'nijesu o životu svojemu no o smrti mislili, da sramotno bez zamjene ne poginu'.[334] In his book *Primjeri čojstva i junaštva* Marko Miljanov also describes a situation when a hero, surrounded by his enemies, worries more about the shame of dying without replacement than about his own death: 'Jošu je sad mala smrt pri sramoti, e će mu se govorit: "Pogibe Jošo Stojanov nasred Podgorice a da ne prospe kap krvi turske!"'[335] Finally, besides the loss of two men, another element that undermines the Montenegrin deed in 'Šehović Osman' is the killing of Osman's company during their sleep. Miljanov's book also provides similar example of two heroes who refrain from killing their enemy because he was asleep, and afterwards explain to him their future intentions 'da te na pošten način zakoljemo, đe s oba oka gledaš!'[336] In short, all these elements follow the initial appreciation of Osman's heroism and portray his death in accordance with the heroic code.

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[333] Ibid., p. 42.
[334] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 127.
[335] Miljanov, *Primjeri čojstva i junaštva*, p. 66.
[336] Miljanov, *Primjeri čojstva i junaštva*, p. 23.

The comparison with 'Korjenić' offers another convenient illustration of a different perspective coming from the Christian singer from Morača, who apparently shows sympathy for the Montenegrins and is more hostile towards the Herzegovinian Turks. Thus, for example, in this song, too, Osman expresses the same fear of dying without killing an enemy: 'svome sam se srcu zarekao, | e poginut bez zamjene neću'.[337] The difference is that in this version this actually happens, since Osman here dies before he could endanger any of his assassins. In addition, 'Korjenić' leaves no scar on the Montenegrin endeavour, since it is clear that Osman and his company are fully awake and attacked during their conversation: 'U riječi kad ju govoraše, | crnogorske puške zapucaše, | a plameni noži sijevnuše'. [338] Accordingly, the singer expresses the full success of the Montenegrin company that returns without casualties, with evident sympathy towards the Montenegrins: 'i na dom se zdravo povrnuše, | svi dođoše lomnoj Gori Crnoj, | svi dođoše zdravo i veselo'.[339]

The two songs also offer very different portrait of the leading hero Osman. 'Korjenić', on the one hand, opens with the challenge and implicit denial of Osman's heroism by his wife. She questions his bravery because he avoids visiting her parents in Nikšić, which would require travelling across a territory frequently patrolled by Montenegrin *čete*. Thus, Osman practically departs for Nikšić to prove his courage but being killed on the way without any loss on the side of his foes, apparently fails to do so. In contrast, 'Šehović Osman' consistently confirms his heroic gesture throughout the song. In addition to a sensual description of the hero's handsomeness at the beginning and his killing of two attackers at the end, his heroic behaviour is further confirmed when one of the characters falls ill during their trip and suggests that he should be left by the road. Osman responds: 'Nije Osmo društva ostavljao, | Đe pucaju puške dževerdani, | Sijevaju mači grebenštaci, | I junačke polijeću

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[337] Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, p. 632.
[338] Ibid., p. 632.
[339] Ibid., p. 633.

glave'.[340] In addition, while his companions carelessly lie around the fire, Osman keeps guard until midnight and later sleeps leaning on a rock with the matchlock in his lap. The two songs thus end with opposing evaluations of the characters and their achievements. While 'Korjenić' celebrates the success of the Montenegrin action, it is evident that, despite a certain duality of perspective, the song 'Šehović Osman' favours the Muslim hero and stigmatizes Montenegrin behaviour.

To sum up, both songs that Karadžić collected in 1815 describe relatively recent local heroes and events from a particular local view and perspective. They are situated in the specific Herzegovinian milieu, and depict conflicts from the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian border. Further, both display features such as ambiguous ethnic relations between the Herzegovinans and Montenegrins and the domination of local and tribal perspective as characteristic features of the oral tradition in the region.

### c. Traditional Rhyming and Phraseology

The two songs also have oral traditional forms of rhyme and traditional phraseology. With regard to rhyming, I have already mentioned Lord's conclusion that, although South Slavonic oral epic songs are not rhymed, 'occasional rhymed couplets are common enough in the traditional style'.[341] Nevertheless, as Lord showed in his analysis of the song 'Postanak knjaza u Crnoj Gori', frequent rhyming and consecutive rhymed couplets are typical indices of an educated author, literary influence and a nontraditional origin of the song.[342] In these two songs, the number of rhymed verses is, statistically speaking, relatively modest, and comprises around fifteen percent of all the lines. More precisely, in the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' as many as 24 out of 170 verses could be said to show a certain form of

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[340] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 41.
[341] Lord, *The Merging of Two Worlds*, p. 49.
[342] Lord, *The Singer of Tales in Performance*, p. 229.

rhyming. 'Šehović Osman' has a slightly higher number of rhymed verses – approximately 33 out of 192 lines in total.

There are three basic types of rhyme in the songs. Mostly, the rhyming is incomplete and applies only to the last syllable. It is usually limited to participles and verb endings, such as: *ponikoše/pogledaše*, *učinio/pogubio*, *opazila/išetala* ('Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', 26-27, 68-69, 96-97) or *postanuo/procvatio/odrodio*, *odsjedoše/naložiše/ustakoše* ('Šehović Osman', 1-3, 71-73). Occasionally, similar phonetic parallelisms are found between the verses ending with a noun or an attribute: *braćinaca/udovica/kukavica*, *Vuče/Crnogorče*, *zlatne/Jovane* ('Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', 119-20, 80-82, 129-30), or *bijelome/Osmane*, *Turci/Crnogorci* ('Šehović Osman', 6-7, 148-49). In total, seventeen verses in the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and nineteen in 'Šehović Osman' fall into this category of the incomplete rhyme between two contiguous verses.

Another common form of rhyme is the leonine or internal rhyme. Four lines in the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' have a leonine rhyme: 'Dal je majka rodila junaka', 'Kao dojke u mlade đevojke', 'Zlo je poći, a gore ne poći', 'Bog će dati, da će dobro biti' (9, 29, 71, 122). In 'Šehović Osman', there are eight such verses: 'Evo vode, evo žive zgode', 'I konaka dobra za Turaka', 'Nije l' majka rodila junaka', 'Il' su Turci, il' su Crnogorci', 'Na Turčina po tri kaurina', 'Igra konja i tamo i amo', 'Čuvao je noći do ponoći' and 'Iziđoše noći do ponoći' (69, 70, 141, 149, 187, 67, 120, 135). All four verses from Podrugović's song, and the first five listed verses in 'Šehović Osman', have a canonical form; the word before the caesura rhymes with the final word, thus dividing the line into two fully rhymed half-verses. In addition, three verses from 'Šehović Osman' (67, 120, 135) also contain internal rhyme, but limited only to the second half-verse. Evidently, most of the verses with leonine rhyme are aphoristic expressions given in the form of short traditional proverbs. Practically all the verses from Podrugović's song and most of the verses with leonine rhyme from 'Šehović Osman'

belong to this group. In addition, all the verses are strongly formulaic in character. It is notable, for example, that both singers use the same expression 'Da l' je majka rodila junaka'. Other expressions are also common in South Slavonic oral songs in general, which shows their pan-traditional character. For instance, expressions like 'kao dojke u mlade đevojke', 'Bog će dati, da će dobro biti', 'i tamo i amo' or 'noći do ponoći' are commonly found not only in the collections from the Montenegrin area published by Karadžić and Sima Milutinović, but also in the epics of the South Slavonic Muslims and Roman Catholics collected by Kosta Hörmann and *Matica Hrvatska* in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.[343] This all confirms the formulaic character of these verses, typically used by various singers from different areas to express the same or similar idea.

The two songs contain only a few rhymed couplets. Two rhymed couplets are found in Podrugović's song: *pasom*/*glasom* and *uvojke*/*đevojke* (12-13, 28-29). Both are found at the end of larger formulaic expressions, characteristic for other South Slavonic folk epic songs as well:

Dal' je majka rodila junaka,

Dal' sekuna brata odnjijala         Svi junaci nikom ponikoše,

Bez bešike u bijelu krilu            I u crnu zemlju pogledaše

I muškijem opasala pasom         Kako raste trava na uvojke,

I junačkim dovijala glasom,        Kao dojke u mlade đevojke;

Similarly, the couplet from 'Šehović Osman': 'Od kako je postala krajina, | Nego što je ovijeh godina' (4-5), is also a part of a theme placed at the beginning of the song. Finally, two other rhymed couplets in 'Šehović Osman' are repetitions of the same formula 'Pokrij

[343] For example, the verse 'Kao dojke u mlade đevojke' is found in Hörmann, I, 27; III, 11; *Matica Hrvatska* I, 70; II, 36; III 20; IX, 07; See: Kosta Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 2 vols, Sarajevo: Preporod 1990; Kosta Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, III, ed. by Đenana Buturović, Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, 1966; Matica Hrvatska. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*, 10 vols, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1890-1940.

mene zelenom dolamom, | A po glavi srmali maramom' (31-32, 55-56), which is also relatively common in South Slavonic epic poetry.

To sum up, the above analysis of style and phraseology suggests that the two songs have an oral traditional character. Rhymed verses are relatively rare and remain subject to the strict rules of oral versemaking. Consequently, practically all the rhymed verses have a formulaic character. In addition, the formulas used in the songs often take the form of common sayings and traditional proverbs, and a number of equivalent phrases found in other South Slavonic songs confirm their pan-traditional formulaic character. Both singers, in other words, use a variety of traditional formulas, formulaic expressions, common phrases and themes to express the same or similar ideas as other singers, which also indicates the oral traditional character of their style.

In other respects, the two singers show great differences. Karadžić's opposing estimation of Podrugović as an exceptional, accomplished singer on the one hand, and his father as an almost spontaneous and disinterested singer on the other, can be confirmed. Although 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' is not among the best of Podrugović's songs, one could easily notice certain qualities of a gifted singer. I will briefly mention two such distinctive characteristics in the song. The first one illustrates his personal use of the traditional style. One of the individual phrases that Podrugović effectively introduces in the mentioned quatrain is the verse 'Kako raste trava na uvojke'. While the first, the second, and the fourth line of the quatrain are pan-traditional, this verse is found only in three songs from Karadžić's collections,[344] all collected from Podrugović. The verse therefore shows how a gifted, accomplished singer creatively uses the tradition to construct his individual, distinctive formulas and themes. The second example shows Podrugović's taste and concern for more refined psychological states and relations among his characters. Thus, although it was a

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[344] 'Vide Daničić', 'Janković Stojan i Smiljanić Ilija', and 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica'.

Montenegrin woman who organized the plan to lure Koprivica by deceit in the first place, even she is unable to remain indifferent during their encounter. In the moment when she gives her baby to this ethical hero who would rather die than reject the sanctified institution of the godfather, she is overwhelmed with emotions: 'Žao joj je Koprivice Vuka, | Proli suze niz bijelo lice'. The hero sees her reaction and immediately realizes that he is being deceived and is about to die: 'Pogleda je Koprivica Vuče, | Svome se je jadu dosjetio, | Ali mu se ino ne mogaše'. This example illustrates how a gifted singer can show concern for the emotions of his characters and achieve certain psychological depth in their portrayal.

On the other hand, Stefan Karadžić's almost 'mechanic' usage of the tradition without self-reflection can be gleaned from several inconsistencies in the song 'Šehović Osman'. For example, although the verses 40-44 describe how Osman refused to leave one of his wounded friends by the road, only ten verses later he does the very same thing that he resolutely rejected. In addition, although the singer has emphasized at the beginning that one of the members of Osman's company is a Christian ('Vlaše Ostojiću Marko'), at the end of the song he seems to have forgotten about him and repeatedly refers to all company members as the Turks: 'Pak na Turke juriš učiniše | i pobiše oko vatre Turke'.

To sum up, the two earliest documented Montenegrin songs in *Narodne Srpske Pjesme*, 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman', are collected from traditional, illiterate singers and both represent traditional oral songs. Their main stylistic features are the usage of traditional formulas and phraseology and the scarcity of rhymed couplets, as well as distinctive individual characteristics arising from the singers' personal outlook and poetic talent. Finally, with regard to their outlook and overall perspective, they show typical features of the oral tradition of the region such as the domination of local and tribal perspective, or ambiguous ethnic relations between the Herzegovinians and Montenegrins and their occasional affiliation with the local Turks.

<u>'The Famous Patriot' and 'Living Monument': the Biography of Đuro Milutinović</u>

Before focusing on 'Dijoba Selimovića', the following section opens with the discussion of the biography of Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac, who performed six out of eleven Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*. I shall pinpoint the elements such as his education, international travels and experience, the influence of Bishop Petar and his connections with Serbian political leadership, which set him apart from traditional illiterate singers like Tešan Podrugović or Stefan Karadžić. Secondly, in accordance with the previous discussion that the same oral singer can perform some songs in a traditional manner, while introducing nontraditional features or the notion of fixed text in his approach to other songs, I will here offer a brief analysis of Đuro Milutinović's song 'Dijoba Selimovića' as his single genuinely oral traditional song in the collection. I will demonstrate that it has oral-formulaic character and traditional phraseology, and displays typical features found in the two aforementioned Montenegrin songs, such as ambiguous ethnic relations between local Christians and Muslims and local perspective. Therefore, it will be argued that the singer performed 'Dijoba Selimovića' in the same way that a tradition local singer would, without introducing elements of literate culture and education.

The scarcity of available historical evidence makes it impossible to reconstruct Đuro Milutinović's life in detail, especially during the period before his removal to Serbia in 1808. Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that we posses substantially more information on him than on any other Karadžić's singer.[345]

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[345] For the most comprehensive biography of Đuro Milutinović, see: Durković, *Đura Milutinović*, pp. 141-56.
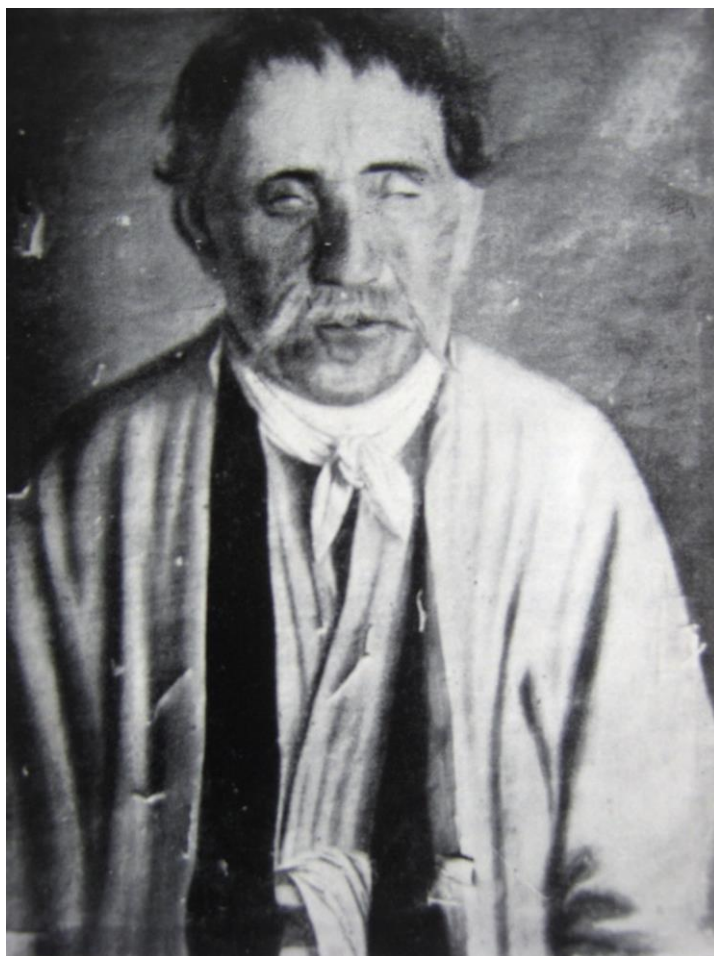
Picture 3 – Đuro Milutinović's portrait by Uroš Knežević

Đuro Milutinović was born around 1770 in Grahovo, which was a liminal zone between Montenegro and the Herzegovinian Turks at the time. Often called 'the Montenegrin', he sometimes referred to himself as 'a Herzegovinian', and signed official documents as 'Đura Milutinović, Srbin iz Crne Gore'.[346] Several documents suggest that Milutinović received some education already in his childhood.[347] Since at the time there were no schools in the modern sense in Montenegro, this would most probably mean that he was trained to become a priest in some of the near-by Orthodox monasteries. At the age of sixteen or seventeen, however, he lost his sight after suffering from smallpox, which prompted him to become a professional guslar. Judging by the fact that in *Narodne srpske pjesme* Karadžić

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[346] Ibid., p. 141.
[347] See: Durković, *Đura Milutinović*, p. 143.

published the songs collected from five other blind singers as well, this was quite a common occupation of the blind at the time.

There is no evidence about Milutinović's whereabouts prior to 1806, when he became a person of confidence to Bishop Petar I and started performing a delicate task during the years of the Serbian Uprising against the Turks. Since as a blind singer Milutinović attracted less suspicion, from 1806 to 1808 he regularly travelled between Montenegro and Serbia and distributed confidential messages between Bishop Petar and the Uprising leaders. This fact could shed some light on his whereabouts prior to 1806. Zuković argued that such a responsible and delicate task Bishop Petar would only assign to someone who was his close associate and who enjoyed his full confidence. He argued further that Milutinović, as the blind *guslar* from the area, during his youth mainly resided around the Cetinje Monastery and in the company of Bishop Petar I.[348] That would correspond with the way of life of other Karadžić's blind singers, who frequented monasteries and lived off the charity of their listeners. Furthermore, in the aforementioned report on Montenegro from 1757, Balević claims that '[t]here are no artisans and schools in Montenegro except at the Cetinje monastery, within archbishop's residence, where priests learn reading and writing in Slavonic-Serbian language, which is paid by archbishop'.[349] Thus, in all likelihood, Milutinović's close connections with the Bishop from the first decade of the nineteenth century date already from his juvenile years.

In 1808, Milutinović permanently settled in Serbia and attended the newly opened *Velika škola*, the first Serbian institution for higher education. This fact additionally confirms that Đuro Milutinović had some previous education. Namely, being himself one of its first students, Vuk Karadžić indicated that the school accepted only those who already had some previous knowledge of reading and writing. Karadžić also testifies that Milutinović despite his

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[348] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 117.
[349] See: *Prednjegoševsko doba*, p. 207.

blindness very often knew the lesson better than any other student, which corresponds with the testimonies of other contemporaries about his unusual mnemonic ability and his permanent interest in books and learning. [350]

Milutinović also enjoyed the patronage of Serbian leaders and occasionally performed responsible cultural and political tasks. As Karadžić relates, from 1808 to 1813 he was a *protégé* of Karađorđe, the leader of the Serbian Uprising, and received a certain income for his patriotic services. [351] After the collapse of the Uprising in 1813, Milutinović spent several years as a refugee in Austria and Moldova. The documents from 1816 suggest that he played one of the leading roles among the Serbian refugees. He is described as 'teperši sudnik', which would indicate that he was a judge or performed some sort of legislative function. The same year, Milutinović confirmed his patriotism. Strongly objecting to Russian plans to colonize the refugees in Russia, he told the Russian emissary Stojković the following: 'Mojsej je Izrailjćane izbavio, izbavite i vi rod svoj, no samo tako ćete ga izbaviti, ako izdejstvujete mu, da se u otečestvo svoje vrati, a ne da se otečestva liši.' [352] Upon his return to Serbia in 1817, Milutinović resided at Prince Miloš's court, where he was honoured and respected for his previous merits and patriotic services. Sreten Popović in his book *Putovanja po novoj Srbiji*, for example, relates that Princess Ljubica would refuse to start a meal at the court until 'brother Đura', as she called him, had arrived, and that she used to role a napkin around his neck and to pour him the meal herself. [353]

Until his death in 1844, Đuro Milutinović lived in Belgrade and played an important role in the distribution of books among the Serbs. Namely, since Serbia at the time had few publishers and only one bookstore in Belgrade, Serbian writers in the first half of the nineteenth century still relied on the subscription system called *prenumeracija* – they would

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[350] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 399.
[351] Ibid., p. 399.
[352] Durković, *Đura Milutinović*, p. 148.
[353] See: Ibid., p. 149.

make an announcement in the press about their intention to publish a book, and then tried to attract as many subscribers as possible. The writers therefore mostly relied on well-known locals who would mediate between the authors and the readership. Milutinović was the most successful among them. Karadžić and other contemporaries describe him as a dedicated promoter of books to his fellow citizens, and point out his sometimes strong criticism of their audience's lack of enthusiasm for literature.[354] Given the importance of such mediation in this rudimentary form of book distribution, it is not surprising that contemporary writers and publishers praised him as 'osobitog ljubitelja knjižestva i prosvješčenija braće svoje', 'poznatog rodoljubca i revnitelja srbskog knjižestva' etc.[355] Milutinović also subscribed to books himself, and was considered a great authority in the questions of Serbian literature. He was one of the founders of the first public library in Belgrade, and later significantly contributed to the newly opened University Library in Belgrade. For example, it is illustrative that of some 440 books and letters that made the initial book fund of the University Library, nearly two hundred were donated by Milutinović alone.

Milutinović was the only one of Karadžić's singers whose death was publicly announced and mourned. On September 9, 1844, the official Serbian newspapers *Srbske novine* informed the readership of the death of this 'thankworthy patriot and the living monument of the Serbian Uprising', and announced a more detailed obituary.[356] Indeed, in the next issue, eminent scholar Janko Šafarik wrote extensively about Milutinović's virtues and merits, emphasizing his patriotism and interest in Serbian literature:

Najmilije njegovo zanimanje bilo je knjižestvo Srbsko i misli i razgovori o sreći i napredku premilog mu roda Srbskog i ostale braće Slavenske; svaka skoro novo-izavša knjiga Srbska morala se njemu pročitati, pri čemu je on sve, što je važnije i primečanija dostojno bilo, vrlo

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[354] See: : Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 399. Also: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 119.
[355] See: Durković, *Đura Milutinović*, p. 153.
[356] Ibid., p. 154.

dobro zapamtio; za svake novine je prilježno raspitivao, nebi li što novo za milu Srbiju ili nezaboravljenu Crnu Goru u njima našao.[357]

The text occupied the entire front page, and became the longest obituary ever to be published by *Srbske novine* (see picture 4).
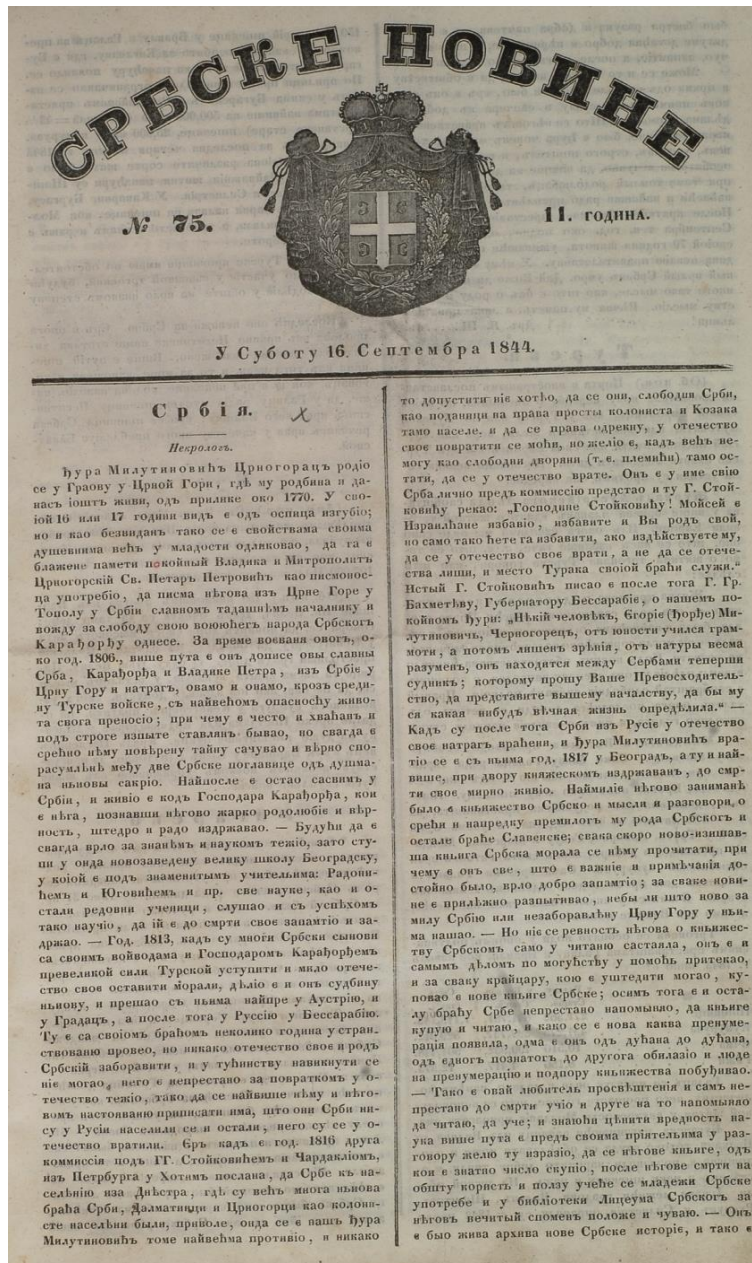


Picture 4 – Đuro Milutinović's obituary from *Srbske novine*

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[357] See: *Srbske novine*, no. 75 (XI), from September 16, 1844, p. 1.

Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac certainly belongs among the best of Karadžić's and Montenegrin singers in general. Karadžić himself had a high estimation of Milutinović as a *guslar*; in his 1833 *Introduction*, Milutinović is the sixth one mentioned, after Karadžić's best singers Tešan Podrugović, Filip Višnjić, Starac Milija, Starac Raško and Stojan Hajduk. Another indicator of Karadžić's high regard for Milutinović is that as many as six out of eleven Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme* were written down from him.

As it appears, Milutinović's repertoire was limited to Montenegrin songs. Typically, all his songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* describe the events from the then present-day Montenegro, and cover wider Montenegrin territory. Situated on the terrain of Rijeka near the Lake Skadar, 'Dijoba Selimovića' describes the arbitrage of the Christians in the dispute of two Muslim brothers. 'Perović Batrić' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' are set on the Montenegrin-Herzegovinan frontier and belong to the particular context of their mutual relations, whereas 'Tri sužnja' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' describe the conflicts of the Brđani and the Turks. Finally, the last song attributed to Đuro Milutinović with certainty is called 'Padenije Mletaka'. Sima Milutinović has published it in his second *Pjevanija* in 1837 with a note 'Od Đure Milutinovića Crnogorca sa Grahova rodom'. 'Padenije Mletaka' describes contemporary conflicts against the French and the Russians for the control over the Kotor Bay, and thus belongs to the same temporal and spatial framework as his other songs.

These seven songs certainly do not represent the total number of Milutinović's songs. Being a professional singer, Milutinović must have known other songs as well. In addition, Karadžić also specified in his 1833 *Introduction* that he had several other good Milutinović's songs that he intended to publish, but in his later editions failed to provide information on these songs.[358] This indicated the possibility that some other songs published in Karadžić's later collections or preserved in his manuscripts might have been written down from

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[358] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 399.

Milutinović as well. Zuković tried to identify some of them, and suggested that Karadžić might have also written down from Milutinović the songs 'Uskok Kariman', 'Jaut-beg i Pero Mrkonjić' and 'Stari Vujadin'.[359] However, since this attribution is uncertain, I take into consideration only Milutinović's songs explicitly attributed to him by the collectors.

<u>'Dijoba Selimovića'</u>

As indicated, this section offers a brief analysis of Đuro Milutinović's song 'Dijoba Selimovića' and exemplifies its traditional features such as oral-formulaic character, traditional phraseology, local perspective and ambiguous ethnic relations between local Christians and Muslims.

'Dijoba Selimovića' describes the conflict between the two Muslim brothers named Selimović from Rijeka over their inheritance. Unable to reach an agreement, they call for respected and distinguished Christians from the surrounding tribes and towns to mediate in their conflict and act as guarantee for the upholding of their agreement. After three days of unsuccessful mediation, Perović Radule loses his temper and threatens the brothers. An unnamed Turk instinctively responds to his sudden rage by killing him. With his dying words, Radule demands revenge from his relative Manojlo, but other Christian mediators/witnesses ('zemaljski kmetovi') prevent the bloodshed.

As specified in the title, the song describes *deoba*, a traditional way of dividing the inheritance or settling disputes. In a society where illiteracy was practically universal, this form of public settlement in front of respected witnesses had legal force. Karadžić in his second edition of *Rječnik* defines *kmet* as follows: 'u Crnoj Gori kmetovi se zovu sudije koje parci izberu da im što presude; ovakovijeh kmetova biva obično po 12 sa svake strane, i svaka

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[359] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 136 et passim.

strana svoje izbira, pa dokle kmetuju dotle se i zovu kmetovi'.[360] Karadžić's definition

corresponds to the description of *kmet* and the procedure of reconciliation from the memoirs

of the French colonel Vialla de Sommière, who witnessed one such event in 1811 in the rural

settlement of Dobro, situated only four miles from Rijeka where the plot of 'Dijoba

Selimovića' is set.[361] In addition, Karadžić in his book *Montenegro und die Montenegriner*

from 1837 adds that 'pri izboru sudija gleda se samo na ličnost, na njegovu rječitost i pamet, a

da li će on biti n. pr. iz plemena onoga s kojim je u svađi, na to se ništa ne gleda'.[362] He also

refers to 'Dijoba Selimovića' as illustrative in this respect: 'Iako je to poetski opis, uzet je

vjerno i istinito iz života narodnog'.[363] Contemporary sources therefore confirm that the song

describes a specific institution, which was still active in the early nineteenth century in the

area where the plot is set and in other parts of Montenegro.

It should be noted that such traditional legal institutions were not in contradiction with

the Ottoman legislation. In general, the Ottomans did not tend to impose their laws on

subjected peoples. As a rule, they respected and codified local customs and regulations, and

reserved the role of *kadija* as the official judge of the Empire only for major offences that

violated sacred Islamic religious codes.[364]

'Dijoba Selimovića', therefore, as Zuković indicates, preserves a living memory of the

time when Christians and Muslims in Montenegro mediated together in mutual disputes and

affrays.[365] Thus, although this meeting of Christians and Muslims ends in murder, the idea

behind the gathering presupposes in the first place their equality above the law. As presented

in the song, despite their religious and tribal differences, their legislative capacity in the local

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[360] See: Karadžić, *Srpski Rječnik*, p. 277.
[361] See: Vialla de Sommières, *Voyage historique et politique au Monténégro*, I (Paris: Alexis Eymery Libraire, 1820), I, p. 342 et passim.
[362] See: Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, p. 42.
[363] Ibid., p. 42.
[364] See: Đurđev, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori*. Also: Radovan Samardžić, 'Osnove uređenja Turske', in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, ed. Radovan Samardžić et all (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 2000), IIIa, p. 43 et passim.
[365] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 133.

context is equal. This enables the Christians to be the mediators and guarantors to Muslims and *vice versa*. Thereby it might be said that this institution of mutual mediation in disputes codifies equality and evaluates social participants independently from their tribal, ethnic and religious conformity.

The origin of the characters suggests their diverse ethnic and religious background, which would correspond to Karadžić's remark that one's qualifications to be a legal representative are not confined to his ethnic or religious conformity, but rest on his reputation within the community. Approximately half of the characters are from Old Montenegrin tribes, while the other half arrive from the coastal towns of Novi, Kotor, Risan, Grbalj, Perast and Dobrota. While the participants from Old Montenegro are all Orthodox Christians, coastal representatives come from towns with significant Roman Catholic population. Some of them, like Sovro Providur, who bears the title of the official representative of the Venetian Republic, or Zane Grbljičić, who is a historical figure and a descendant of the noble family of Bolica,[366] are doubtlessly Roman Catholics, and so are Perličićs from Perast and Lučevićs from Prčanj if judged by their surname and residence. Thus, it is not the religious or ethnic conformity, but their respectability and distinguished status in local community that recommend them as witnesses.

In contrast, the violent ending indicates antagonism between local Christians and Muslims on a broader level. There is an obvious tension between the participants coming from different religious backgrounds. Fearing that Radule's threat to the brothers will lead to a gunfight, one Muslim instantly kills him. Even though it appears that this is an unfortunate outcome of the meeting: 'no se Ture jedno prepanulo', the killer obviously acts on the part of the Muslims/Turks as the offended side. Accordingly, other Christians immediately turn to Manojlo to prevent his revenge. It would be incorrect, however, to perceive their intervention

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[366] Lovorka Čoralić, 'Kotorski plemići iz roda Bolica – kavaljeri Svetoga Marka', in *Povijesni prilozi*, 31 (2006), Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb, pp. 149-59.

as a pacifying mission. They fully recognize the necessity of compensation for Radule, and their sole demand to Manojlo is to postpone his revenge: 'Nemoj danas zametati kavge, | Još će biti dana za megdana'.[367] Eventually, blood revenge must be executed.

Indeed, 'Dioba Muja i Alije', a later version collected from Todor Ikov Piper around 1836, completes the plot by describing the Montenegrin vengeance. It continues the story by describing the killing of Selimović brothers and the burning of their home, and ends with the conclusion: 'Kako se je tade razurila, | nikada se ograditi neće'. For this reason, Zuković considers it as better from Đuro Milutinović's version. In Zuković's words, Todor Ikov's version is complete and logical, while Đuro Milutinović's song remained somehow fragmented and 'u priličnoj meri, lišena pravog pesničkog smisla i istinske poruke'.[368]

However, in spite of its shortness (only fifty-five verses in total) and the perhaps somewhat abrupt ending, it is still hard to agree with Zuković that the song is 'deprived of true poetic meaning and moral', since it implies the reality of Turkish presence and the unavoidability of mutual contacts and collaboration. Namely, the witnesses respond to the invitation without hesitation. There is no suspicion or worry that the call might be a part of the traitorous plan to attract and kill their guests, as it is in the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica'. Moreover, both Radule's reaction and his killing are described as unfortunate, rather aberrant events that violate the regular situation and cause the violent ending of the gathering. In addition, although they do not question the legitimacy of the revenge, the distinguished Christians seek to avoid immediate bloodshed that would radicalize this confrontation and generate further conflicts with larger consequences. In general, the killing is presented as an isolated incident – nothing suggests that it would have any serious political consequences for the mutual relations between the local Christians and Muslims in general. There is no message about their irreconcilable antagonism or Turkish brutality in general, no

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[367] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 428.
[368] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 131-32.

explicit anti-Turkish sentiment, and primary endeavour of the characters is to avoid larger conflict.

'Dijoba Selimovića', like the two previously discussed songs, also displays traditional rhyming and phraseology. Leonine rhyme is found only in the apparently formulaic and pan-traditional expression 'posred pasa ukide ga s glasa'. One case of a proper rhyme in the song belongs to the concluding couplet: 'Bog mu dao u raju naselje | a ostalim zdravlje i veselje'. Đuro Milutinović commonly uses these concluding lines, as they are found in another two of his songs in this collection ('Perović Batrić' and 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom'). Other instances of rhyme are rare, and are limited only to the section that lists the names of participants in *deoba*. Most cases apply to parallelisms in their surnames, as in *Popovića/Lučevića* (13-14) and the four lines that follow suite (16-19). Finally, the listing finishes with a rhymed couplet 'I Manojla sina Vukotina. | Svega kmeta dvadest i šestina'. In total, the number of rhymed verses remains low, comprising around one sixth of all the lines. Practically all occurrences of rhyme are subjected to the strict rules of oral verse making. They are either the singer's individual features like the concluding lines used to mark the ending of the song, or pantraditional expressions in the form of leonine rhyme. Finally, rhyming found in the listing of characters apparently serves as a mnemonic device – parallelism and repetitions such as 'Od Njeguša dva Bogdanovića | Od Cetinja dva Martinovića', as well as the concluding rhymed couplet in this section that summarizes their total number, are aids that the singer uses to effectively list and localize all the characters.

The phraseology in the song is equally traditional; none of the words or phrases appears to be unusual for traditional songs or of literary origin. Only two verses deserve to be mentioned in this respect. Namely, the concluding line 'Bog mu dao u raju naselje' may appear as a landmark of an educated singer of clerical background. However, same or similar verses are found in other songs from Karadžić's and other collections, thus indicating that

these were quite common concluding lines of South Slavonic oral songs. The same could be said of a more archaic word 'čarna' instead of 'crna' that appears in the lines 'Pak odoše preko gore Čarne | dok dođoše na rijeku Crnu'. Namely, while the form 'crn' is used more frequently, it is not uncommon for singers to occasionally reach for the more archaic form, and the vast number of similar instances in the collections of Karadžić and Sima Milutinović testifies to its traditional character. In addition, in this particular case it perhaps serves to distinguish two geographic *topoi* – Montenegro ('gore Čarne') from Rijeka Crnojevića on the Skadar lake ('rijeku Crnu').

To sum up, 'Dijoba Selimovića' is a genuine oral traditional song. Both its phraseology and outlook are consistently traditional and raise no doubts in their oral traditional origin. Moreover, its overall perspective connects it with the two traditional Montenegrin songs that Karadžić wrote down from Tešan Podrugović and Stefan Karadžić. Personal relations between the characters are typically complex and ambiguous, and depend on their tribal and territorial affiliation as well as on their ethnic and religious conformity. Meanwhile, even though all the participants come from the same region, their origin and affiliation are very diverse in terms of the political constellation they belong to and their religious affiliation. While some arrive from Muslim-dominated parts of Rijeka near the Lake Skadar, others are Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians from Venetian ruled coastal Adriatic towns or Orthodox Christians from Old Montenegrin tribes. In general, the song describes a minor conflict in the immediate context of local relations and blood revenge, and makes no conclusions nor draws consequences that would apply beyond this singular and local event. Subsequent analysis will show that Đuro Milutinović in his other songs behaves in a different manner. In the following chapter, his song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' is decribed as transitional text. In other words, he treats this song of nontraditional origin as authoritative version and tries to reproduce it accurately, but also adapts its literary features to

oral style. As will be discussed in the last chapter, in four other songs from the collection he typically keeps the traditional plot, but also introduces nontraditional elements to reinterpret local incidents from a broader perspective that demands a wider Christian solidarity and promotes tribal unity and cooperation in the struggle against the Turks.

### The Battle of Morača: Tribal Victory or the Triumph of Cetinje

In the *Introduction*, I distinguished two groups of Montenegrin songs according to their subject. Those of the first group depict small-scale conflicts like personal duels, cattle raiding and revenge for the death of brother, relative or friend. Those of the second describe larger battles from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between the Turkish armies led by viziers and pashas from Herzegovina, Skadar and Bosnia and coalitions of Montenegrin tribes. In the previous section, I analysed three traditional oral songs with subjects typical of the first group and pinpointed their main characteristics. In the remained of the chapter, the two songs about the battle of Morača collected in 1822 and published in 1833, 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turicma', will be examined. The analysis will indicate that they are traditional songs that represent a local tribal view of this event. In the next instance, the overall perspective expressed in the two traditional songs about the battle of Morača will be compared with an unattributed song 'Boj na Morači' that Karadžić published in his later collection in 1862 but most likely collected around the same time as the two other songs. The comparative analysis of these three different songs about the same contemporary event will enable us to exemplify the fundamental differences between the tribal and traditional views of the battle expressed in the two songs on the one hand and, on the other, the perspective of the political centre promoted and fostered from Cetinje in 'Boj na Morači'.

The actual battle took place in 1820, only two years before Karadžić wrote down the two songs about it. Bosnian vizier Jalaludin Pasha attacked the tribes of Morača in order to conquer them and restore the shaken Turkish supremacy. The direct motivation for the attack was the constant rebelling among the tribes against the Turks. From the middle of the eighteenth century, the territory of Morača became a refuge for hajduks and rebels from Herzegovina and Bosnia. They made their permanent settlements there, lived freely, refusing to pay tribute to the Turkish representatives, and constantly organized small companies that plundered the region. The Pasha's army achieved initial success, penetrating deep into Upper Morača and burning down several villages. However, since large reinforcements from other tribes arrived swiftly, the Moračani and their allies launched a counter-attack and defeated the Turkish army. Although Bishop Petar did not participate in this battle, historians emphasize his role in organizing the resistance, conducting the preparations for the unified multi-tribal action and securing the fast arrival of the reinforcements. They also stress that this victory increased his authority among the Brđani, and take 1820 as the year that the tribes of Morača and Rovci definitely integrated with Montenegro and around Petar I and Cetinje as their political centre.[369]

### a. The Tribal View

Evidences about the two singers who performed these songs about the battle of Morača published by Karadžić in 1833 are scarce, and their names and place of origin are practically all that we know about them. Karadžić left two pieces of evidence about the singers. In his 1833 Introduction, he reports that he wrote down the songs 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' 'od dvojice Crnogoraca (Filipa Boškovića Bjelopavlića iz Martinića, i Milovana Mušikina iz Pipera iz Crnaca), koji su 1822. godine u

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[369] See: Vuksan, *Petar I Petrović Njegoš i njegovo doba*, p. 315-18; Jovanović, *Istorija Crne Gore*, pp. 192-93; Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*, p. 152-53.

jesen bili došli u Kragujevac.'[370] It appears that one of these two songs is also mentioned in Karadžić's letter to Kopitar from November of 1822: 'Jednu malu novu pjesmicu pisao sam iz usta jednoga Crnogorca, koji je prije 14 dana bio izišao iz Crne gore, i znatna je po tome, što ima osobito koješta u jeziku.'[371] These evidences thus confirm that Karadžić wrote down the two songs in autumn of 1822. In addition, his letter provides valuable information about the singer's arrival from Montenegro fifteen days previously. Thus, since Karadžić says in the *Introduction* that both Montenegrins came to Kragujevac in the autumn of 1822, the letter appears to confirm that they both came directly from Montenegro.

As direct representatives of the contemporary Montenegrin oral tradition, Filip Bošković and Milovan Mušikin are different from the four other singers of the Montenegrin songs that Karadžić published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*. As I mentioned earlier, although Tešan Podrugović and Stefan Karadžić were born in Herzegovina, at the time that Karadžić wrote down the songs from them they were both largely detached from the Herzegovinian region and its oral tradition. Stefan Karadžić came to Western Serbia as a child, while Podrugović lived as hajduk for years before coming to Serbia in 1807. In addition, in 1815 they were both refugees residing on the territory of the Habsburg Empire. In other words, at the time when Karadžić collected the songs from them, they had been long detached from the local oral tradition described in the songs. The same applies to Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac and his relations to local oral tradition. He left Montenegro permanently around 1808, that is, some thirteen or fourteen years before Karadžić wrote down the songs from him in Serbia. Finally, since the identity of the singer of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' is uncertain, this leaves us with Milovan Mušikin and Filip Bošković as the only two singers who are confirmed to have inhabited the Montenegrin area at the time and thus represent its then current oral tradition. In addition, the particular importance of these two singers is that they

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[370] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 401.
[371] Karadžić, *Prepiska II (1822-1825)*, p. 123.

both describe a contemporary battle and thus enable us to follow the way the most recent events are depicted by local oral tradition and represented by two different singers.

Approaching the question of the representation of the battle of Morača in the two songs, we need firstly to resolve certain lacunae regarding their respective authors. Namely, in his *Introduction* Karadžić failed to specify which particular song he wrote down from Filip Bošković Bjelopavlić from Martinovići, and which one from Milovan Mušikin Piper from Crnci. Vladan Nedić has described in his short analysis the major differences between the two songs, and concluded that the information about the tribal allegiance of the two singers offer the solution to this question:

> Pesme zaslužuju pažnju kao rani odjeci na istorijski događaj. Kratke su obimom: prva od nekih osamdeset, a druga od nekih četrdeset stihova. Guslari nisu videli boj istim očima. Obojica ističu središnu ulogu moračkog vojvode Mine Radovića i junačku pogibiju pješivačkog serdara Mrkoja Mijuškovića. Zajedničko im je i to što ne pominju predvodnika carske vojske. Međutim, u svemu ostalom znatno se razlikuju. Pevač prve varijante slavi s ponosom Bjelopavliće kao glavne učesnike boja; njihove vojvode Jovana Radovića i Vuksana Radovića naziva kratko i prisno "pope i Vuksane". Po pevaču druge varijante, glavni podvig načinio je rovački junak Novo Šćepanović koji je ugrabio "alaj-barjak carev". Dok prvi guslar stalno nabraja brda, reke i mesta kojima prolaze vojske, drugi uočava na moračkom zemljištu jedino planinu Javorje. Prvi zna dvaput veći broj ratnika po imenu nego drugi.
>
> Zaključak iz celog poređenja bio bi ovaj. Prvi guslar je učestvovao u boju. Za drugoga se to ne bi moglo tvrditi. Filip Bošković je, kao Bjelopavlić, ispevao 'Boj Moračana s Turcima'. Milovanu Mušikinu pripada pesma 'Opet Moračani s Turcima'.[372]

Additional evidence confirms Nedić's attribution. It appears that the singer of 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' especially praises the heroes from his village. Namely, 'pope i Vuksane' applies to the distinguished members of the Bjelopavlići tribe Vuksan and Jovan Radović. They were both from the village of Martinići, as the singer Filip Bošković

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[372] Nedić, *Vukovi pevači*, pp. 172-73.

himself.[373] In contrast, Milovan Mušikin Piper particularly celebrates the heroism of Novo Šćepanović from the tribe of Rovci and mentions that his house was destroyed in the battle ('E su njemu dvori opanuli'), which might indicate the singer's personal acquaintance with the hero.

The predominance of local perspective in both songs has already been noted in previous scholarship. As mentioned, Nedić indicated that both singers praised their tribal members and showed no consideration for the wider cause and importance of this battle. Zuković correspondingly emphasized that both singers presented the victory 'kao delo Brđana i njihovih prvaka koji se sami organizuju i brane'.[374] What is more, in Filip Bošković Bjelopavlić's version the tribal leader Mina even shows certain recklessness. Warned by the *vila* to call for the army of the Rovci tribe to aid him in facing the approaching Turkish army, he sends her away and shows full confidence in the Brđani forces:

> Već se mene dodijalo tvrdo,
>
> Šiljuć' sitne knjige po brdima,
>
> [...]
>
> I ako te udariti Turci,
>
> Mene došlo pet stotin' Brđana;
>
> [...]
>
> Otolen te obrnuti grdno.

Thus, even though the singers mention the participation of several tribes in the battle and thus recognize the importance of mutual cooperation, they both still perceive the events predominantly from a local perspective. Filip Bošković especially praises the heroism of his distinguished fellow tribesmen, while Milovan Mušikin singles out Novo as the greatest hero of the battle.

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[373] See Latković, *Komentari i objašnjenja*, p. 591.

[374] Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 473.

Such an approach is quite typical of both the Montenegrin society and Montenegrin epics. For instance, Marko Miljanov describes the typical situation after the battle as follows: 'U jedan boj Kuča i Pipera s Turcima, pošto se boj razdvojio, govorilo se ka obično: "Koji bi danas najbolji u ovi boj?"'[375] Both songs, therefore, end with a typical appraisal of the most distinguished hero or heroes of the battle. In addition, the singers identify the leader Mrkoje as the member of the Brđani. Indeed, Mrkoje Mijušković, the header of the Pješivci tribe, was killed in the battle. However, although the Pješivci tribe were closest to the tribes of Bjelopavlići and Moračani, they are commonly clasified among the Old Montenegrin tribes from the largest district of Katuni.[376] Moreover, Mijušković received his title of 'serdar', or commander-in chief, from Bishop Petar.[377] Both singers thus seem to ignore completely the relevance of Bishop Petar, Old Montenegro and Cetinje as political centre in this battle, and exclusively focus on the endeavours of their tribesmen or their immediate neighbours.

The song 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' even seems to contain an implicit critique of the political leaders. Praising the heroism of Novo, who captured 'alaj-barjak carev', the singer finishes the song with the following lines: 'Da je suda u ovijeh ljudi, | Još bi Nova dobro darovali… | Teke njima Novo ne zafalja… | Dobio je na megdan junački!'[378] In other words, the singer claims that 'these men' did injustice to Novo because they did not reward him properly for his achievement. Having in mind that the flag that Novo had captured was brought to Cetinje as the symbol of the Montenegrin victory,[379] these verses could likely indicate certain hostility towards the political elite, since Cetinje seems to be accused of taking the credit and glory for the achievement of Novo and his tribesmen. Given the highly stylized language often used in oral poetry, these words do not necessarily apply to any of the

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[375] Miljanov, *Celokupna dela*, p. 68.

[376] See Picture 2.

[377] An illustrative insight into the later Montenegrin tradition on this battle is offered in Marko Vujačić, *Znameniti crnogorski i hercegovački junaci: po istorijskim podacima, tradiciji i narodnoj pjesmi*, II (Beograd: Prosveta, 1952), pp. 219-54.

[378] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 269.

[379] Sekula Dobričanin, *Donja Morača* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1984), p. 33.

actual participants in these events. Nevertheless, since this song has been documented only two years after the actual battle, it is possible that the singer expresses here certain dissatisfaction with the way that the credit and glory for the victory were distributed *post festum*. Any interpretation should therefore account for the singer's claim that Novo should have been better rewarded for his achievement, and the identification of the Cetinje elite as the object of his implicit critique does seem to offer a plausible explanation of these lines. In any case, such an attitude would correspond to the singer's overall perspective, which is predominantly local and tribal, describing the victory as the sole achievement of the Brđani forces without any references to the role of Bishop Petar or Cetinje in the battle.

With regard to the identity of the singers and the overall perspective in their songs, it is plausible to assume that the two singers were nothing more than common tribal members. The first reason that seems to support such a presumption is *argumentum ex silentio*. As it seems, had Filip Bošković and/or Milovan Mušikin been distinguished, highly ranked tribal members or commanders, their names and lives would have been recorded and remembered. For example, practically all the heroes mentioned in the songs have their place in the history of the time – Duke Mina Radović and Duke Boj from Morača, the two Radović's from the Bjelopavlići tribe, and Novo Šćepanović from the tribe of Rovci are all confirmed as historical characters and remembered by their tribesmen, and on the former battle site a monument was erected in the honour of Mrkoje Mijušković. Since Filip Bošković and Milovan Mušikin are not mentioned in any Montenegrin history, reports from the Battle of Morača, tribal monographs and chronicles, it follows that, in all likelihood, they were nothing but ordinary members of their tribes.

The fact that Karadžić wrote down only one song from each singer about their recent tribal history might also support the claim about them being of the common people. Namely, in this respect they differ from the professional singer Đuro Milutinović, Tešan Podrugović

with his vast repertoire of more than a hundred songs, and even from Stefan Karadžić from whom Vuk Karadžić wrote down not less than three full-length songs and, possibly, five long fragments from songs about the Kosovo Battle.[380] Thus, as far as their repertoire is concerned, Filip Bošković and Milovan Mušikin could more plausibly be compared with typical singers represented by Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija*. Namely, unlike Karadžić, who in *Narodne srpske pjesme* relied on the Montenegrin singers available in Serbia, Sima Milutinović collected the songs for his *Pjevanija crnogorska i hercegovačka* on the territory of the present-day Montenegro between 1827 and 1829. In other words, Milutinović's collection offers a first-hand account of tribal singing in Montenegro during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Although there are some inconsistencies in Milutinović's identification of the singers in his *Pjevanija*, among the 150 attributed Montenegrin songs in the collection some sixty-five singers can be identified. More precisely, most singers are represented in *Pjevanija* with one or two songs, and only occasionally one finds singers with a repertoire of five or more songs. As a convenient illustration, in the tribe of Morača Milutinović wrote down approximately twenty-one song from ten singers; in particular, three singers are represented with only one song, five singers with two songs, and three singers with three songs. Nenad Ljubinković summarized these evidences in his study of Milutinović's *Pjevanija* as follows: 'Među pevačima koji su u *Pjevaniji* zastupljeni sa po jednom do dve pesme, najviše je tzv. pevača-hroničara. Učesnik ili svedok događaja značajnog za istoriju plemena ili za hroniku interesne sfere plemena – ispevava hroničarsku pesmu o određenom događaju.'[381] Ljubinković's conclusions fully apply to the two singers of the songs about the

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[380] Svetozar Matić's claims that Karadžić had taken the fragments from the manuscript rather from his father were rejected by Vido Latković and Nikola Banašević. Since, however, this issue has not been resolved after both sides presented their arguments, it appears best to use this attribution with a grain of salt. See: Matić, *Novi ogled o narodnom epu*.

[381] Nenad Ljubinković, *Pjevanija crnogorska i hercegovačka Sime Milutinovića Sarajlije* (Beograd: Rad, 2000) p. 203.

battle of Morača. They too seem to be common tribesmen without particular poetic ambitions and epic repertoire, whose primal concern is the poetic chronicle of their tribe.

*b. The Cetinje Perspective*

The representation of the battle of Morača in these two songs can be briefly compared with the account on these events from 'Boj na Morači' published in Karadžić's fourth book of *Srpske narodne pjesme* in 1862. The comparison between their respective outlooks will enable us to juxtapose the local tribal view of this event and a version that presents it from the perspective of the political centre, and to exemplify most notable differences between 'Boj na Morači' and the two tribal versions.

'Boj na Morači' develops a wide framework distinctive from the two previously analysed songs. At the beginning, the sultan himself sends his grand vizier with the task to pacify Bosnia, and formulates two demands. Firstly, the vizier should pursue 'jaramaze', i.e. local Muslims who disobey the sultan's laws and commands and act independently from the central government. Secondly, he is supposed to put an end to the anarchy on the frontier. However, upon his meeting with the local nobility, the vizier gives up on this initial task and decides to wage a single battle against the tribe of Morača. The local nobles complain that the Moračani, instead of recognizing the Turks as their masters and paying tribute, 'Robe, pale, a sijeku Turke', and put themselves under the Bishop's authority:

> Oni idu lomnoj gori Crnoj
>
> Na Cetinje, ter vladiku mole,
>
> I njegovu prifataju ruku,
>
> I još njemu prinose darove,
>
> Vladika ih dobro dočekuje,
>
> Poklanja im zlaćane medalje
>
> Velikoga cara Moskovskoga,

Postavlja im po želji glavare.[382]

The local Turks warn the vizier that, unless he obeys their request to punish the tribes of Morača, they will abandon the towns on the frontier and demand his beheading from the Sultan. Thus, the army is sent to Morača with the instructions to conquer, kill and convert all the Christians:

Sve porobi i pod mač okrene,

Sve uskoke i gorske junake,

Svekoliko malo i veliko,

Da poturči u Moraču crkvu,

Da načini mečet i munare.[383]

Having arrived to the tribe territory, the army commander tries to hide his real goals. Ostensibly, he expresses sympathy for the rebellion and puts it down to the anarchy in the region, assuring the Christians that the order will henceforth be restored. In addition, he swears by the name of God and the Prophet Muhammad that his sole demand is that they formally subject to the Turks and pay tribute. The singer, however, clearly indicates that this is nothing but demagogy and deceit: 'Baš mišljaše, da će prevariti'. Consequently, in their response, the tribesmen show that they are not deceived easily: 'Što se kuneš, turska aramijo… Sam ti kažeš, da ti javno lažeš'.[384]

While the two previous songs fail to recognize the commander of the Turkish army and his motives for the attack, 'Boj na Morači' thus stages the conflict in a broader international context and presents it as the clash between the Turks and the Christians on a more general level. Their hostility here goes far beyond an essentially tribal battle described in the two previous songs, where it results from the relatively simple and straightforward intention of the local Muslim elite to collect tribute from their Christian subjects. In 'Boj na

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[382] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 260-61.
[383] Ibid., p. 261.
[384] Ibid., p. 263.

Morači', conversely, the battle is an unfortunate outcome of the Sultan's initial intention to pacify Bosnia and to establish peace and order at its borders. This transformation of the vizier's pacifying mission into a brutal expedition against the Christians suggestively depicts a decaying empire, unable to secure order and establish control even over its own officials. In other words, the attack on Morača is here much more than an internal local conflict; something is rotten in the Ottoman Empire itself.

Furthermore, by mentioning Russian medals, the singer additionally frames this event from a wider perspective that takes into consideration international relations and context. By presenting the Bishop as delegating Russian medals to distinguished Montenegrins, the singer not only asserts his sovereignty over them, but also presents him as the legitimate representative of the independent Christian rule under the patronage of the Great Russian Empire. As the treacherous Muslim commander implicitly embodies the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim rule in general, the medals symbolize the protectorate of the great Orthodox Russian Empire under the leadership of Bishop Petar. The battle of Morača, seen as a local conflict in the previously analysed songs, in this version has a much broader significance. Rather than being a simple issue of who pays and who collects the tribute, the conflict here touches the very nature of rule and sovereignty in Montenegro and the region between the Christian and Muslims, and the Ottoman and Russian Empires.

Finally, special emphasis is put on the church in Morača that the Turks intend to burn down. As an endowment of the Nemanjićs, it has great symbolic significance, representing the former Serbian and Christian rule. In addition, the singer describes Bishop Petar as its protector and heir: 'Pa je od njih tebe ostanula.' In other words, he legitimately inherits and continues the traditions of the former Christian rule and kingdom.

Consequently, while the singers of the previous songs describe the victory over the Turks as the sole achievement of the Brđani forces, in 'Boj na Morači' the tribal leader Mina

relies entirely on the Bishop's help: 'Gospodaru Petrović-vladiko! | Na nas ide sila prevelika, [...] | Mi nemamo praha ni olova | Ni spram njega od boja junakah, [...] | Pošlji nama vojske i džebane.'[385] In 'Boj Moračana s Turcima', as mentioned, Mina behaves recklessly, denies the necessity of further preparations, and shows full confidence in the strength of the Brđani forces.[386] The two songs thus convey a largely different message – the tribal leader in the first song expresses his full confidence in the local forces and their own self-sufficiency, whereas in the second he recognizes their weakness and inability to confront the opponent without the Bishop's presidency in their joined performance.

Accordingly, while the two aforementioned songs finish with the typical appraisal of distinctive individual heroism, 'Boj na Morači' underlines collective efforts. The singer thus mentions three killed heroes from three different tribes: 'Od Pješivca Mrkoje serdare, | Od Uskokah Kruševac Nikola, | Jedno momče od Bjelopavlićah'.[387] The emphasis is put on the wider participation of different tribes in the battle, from the Pješivci tribe adjoined to the Old Montenegro, to Bjelopavlići and Uskoci tribe situated on the Herzegovinian border. In addition, the equal distribution of the dead among the participants is another affirmation of their unified action.

'Boj na Morači', therefore, gives a decisive role to the Bishop. As a legitimate successor of the former Serbian kingdom, he protects the medieval church. In addition, he gives Russian medals to the Montenegrins, thus symbolizing the patronage of the Russian Empire. Throughout the song, the Bishop is referred to as the ruler of both the Montenegrins and the Brđani. Thus, he addresses the tribal leaders of Pješivci and Bjelopavlići as his servants: 'O Mrkoje, moja vjerna slugo',[388] and 'Sidi slugo u Bjelopavliće'.[389] Finally, the

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[385] Ibid., p. 263.
[386] Ibid., p. 266.
[387] Ibid., p. 266.
[388] Ibid., p. 263.
[389] Ibid., p. 264.

concluding lines praise Bishop Petar as a saint: 'Slava bogu i Bogorodici, | Na Cetinje svetome vladici',[390] showing the singer's full appreciation and respect towards the Bishop.

Certain contextual information about this song seems to confirm the connections between its singer and Bishop Petar. However, since Karadžić left no information about the singer, date and place of the documentation of 'Boj na Morači', the discussion of these issues cannot provide definite evidence and can only offer suggestions and speculations. Firstly, we need to resolve certain inconsistencies regarding its publication and the time of its documentation. In the *Introduction* to his 1862 collection, Karadžić described it by mistake as one of the songs that has been previously published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*.[391] Zuković has suggested that this omission indicates that it has been collected much earlier, most probably around the same time as the other two songs about this event.[392] He indicated further the possibility that Karadžić wrote it down from a certain deacon Ličinić, and emphasized that 'Boj na Morači' privileges the role of Bishop Petar:

> U samome događaju veoma značajnu ulogu igra vladika Petar I, pa se, na kraju pesme u rimovanim stihovima – pored 'bogu i bogorodici' – odaje zahvalnost i slava 'na Cetinje svetome vladici'. Jezikom i stilom, uz to čestim rimama, a osobito stavljanjem u središte pažnje sveštenih stvari, pesma nas podseća na način pevanja i odnosa prema svetu mitropolita Petra I.[393]

Zuković's suggestion about the early date of collection of 'Boj na Morači' appears to be persuasive for several reasons. Most importantly, the ending lines 'Slava Bogu i Bogorodici, | na Cetinje svetome vladici' is a clear reference to Bishop Petar I, who was already considered to be a saint by his followers during his lifetime. Such an ending would be pointless if at the time Njegoš as Bishop Petar's heir already governed at Cetinje. In addition, several songs with a similar ending 'a u zdravlje svetoga vladike' from Simo Milutinović'ć

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[390] Ibid., p. 266.
[391] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 17.
[392] Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 472.
[393] Ibid., p. 472.

*Pjevanija* were also collected in the 1820s while the Bishop was still alive.[394] Furthermore, we have a fairly good account on the songs that Karadžić received from Cetinje via Njegoš, and it is unlikely that such a song would reach Karadžić's published collection without being mentioned in their correspondence or in his editorial comments. It does seem most plausible to assume that the song was collected sometimes before Bishop Petar's death in 1830.

Zuković's suggestion that Karadžić wrote it down from deacon Ličinić, however, I find to be less probable. Namely, Zuković drew attention to Karadžić's remark from his letter to Bishop Petar from 1823: 'lani sam u Srbiji čuo od nekoga đakona Ličinića, da ste Vi po tome pismu mome poslali u Moraču i tražili meni pjesama'.[395] He considered this information to indicate that Ličinić resided in Morača, and suggested him as a possible singer of the two songs: 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša', which Karadžić published in 1823 and in the 1833 *Introduction* said only that he had collected it in Kragujevac 'od jednog Crnogorca', and 'Boj na Morači' published in 1862 without any information about it.[396] However, Ličinić hardly qualifies as 'Montenegrin' at all. Deacon Ličinić, namely, is Andreja Ličinić from Dalmatia, who resided in Montenegro from the late 1818 to the spring of 1822.[397] Thus, it seems unlikely that Karadžić would describe him as 'a Montenegrin' ('jednog Crnogorca'). Furthermore, Ličinić was educated and spoke Italian, which makes it quite improbable that Bishop Petar would have kept such a person in Morača instead of Cetinje, and even less likely that in such a short time Ličinić could have become sufficiently immersed in the local context and oral tradition to be able to perform local oral epic songs. Finally, Karadžić makes no mention of 'Boj na Morači' in the aforementioned letters to Kopitar from the late 1822.[398] Since these letters provide quite a detailed account on the songs that he had written down that

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[394] See: 'Kaluđer i Arap', 'Markova ženidba'and 'Na Kruse' (*Pjevanija* no. 51, 119, 170).
[395] Karadžić, *Prepiska II (1822-1825)*, p. 248.
[396] See: Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 473.
[397] For the basic facts about Andreja Ličinić see: Tihomir Đorđević, 'Jedno pismo Vuka S. Karadžića crnogorskom vladici Petru I Petroviću', in Đorđević, Tihomir, *Naš narodni život*, ed. by Ivan Čolović (Beograd: Prosveta, 1984), III, pp. 262-66.
[398] Karadžić, *Prepiska II (1822-1825)*, p. 123.

autumn in Kragujevac, it is unlikely that Karadžić collected 'Boj na Morači' at all on this occasion.

As the singer of the most of the Montenegrin songs published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*, Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac should certainly be mentioned in this discussion. Namely, in his 1833 *Introduction*, Karadžić identifies six songs that he had collected from this singer, and adds: 'Ja imam od Đure još nekoliko lepi pesama, koje u napredak mislim štampati'.[399] This indicates that Milutinović performed some of the unattributed Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's collections and/or manuscripts. However, the concluding lines that glorify the Bishop in 'Boj na Morači' seem to indicate another singer. None of the attributed Milutinović's songs finish with such an appraisal of the Bishop. Đuro Milutinović's song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' also emphasizes Bishop Petar's efforts and the decisive role in the battle and finishes with the appraisal of the three fallen heroes from different tribes, and is thus quite comparable to 'Boj na Morača' in this respect. However, it finishes without the mention of the Bishop, in the following manner: 'Njima nigda ime ne umire; | Bog im dao u raju naselje! | A ostalim zdravlje i veselje!' It is, therefore, hard to explain why the same singer would end one song in the name of the Bishop and not the other one as well. Nevertheless, apparent similarities between the two songs still leave the possibility that Karadžić collected this song from Milutinović as well.

Finally, I would suggest 1828 and Petar Marković as another possible candidate for being the singer of 'Boj na Morači'. In the summer of 1828 Petar Marković brought to Karadžić from Cetinje a manuscript with six songs by Bishop Petar about Montenegrin battles from the eighteenth century.[400] It is therefore possible that Marković, as someone from Cetinje and apparently acquainted with the local elite, could perform 'Boj na Morači' in Kragujevac in 1828. In addition, Karadžić mentions the name of Petar Marković in his 1833

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[399] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 399.
[400] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, pp. 160-61.

*Introduction* among those persons who send him the songs that are still not published. Thus, if it is hard to explain how Karadžić could have forgotten the names of his well-known contemporaries and acquaintances such as Đuro Milutinović and Ličinić, it is more likely that the name of Petar Marković could later fade from his memory. However, in the absence of reliable information from Karadžić, the attribution of this or any other song to Marković is uncertain.

The question of the singer of 'Boj na Morači' thus remains without a definite answer. Nevertheless, it appears that the previous discussion did offer certain relevant information. Firstly, in all likelihood, 'Boj na Morači' has been documented sometime in the 1820s during Bishop Petar's lifetime. Secondly, all three persons that can be identified as the possible singers of this song came from Cetinje and had contacts with Bishop Petar. Contextual evidences, therefore, although scarce and inconclusive, do seem to comply with the previous analysis of the song's content and outlook, indicating the singer close to Bishop Petar and Cetinje.

To summarize, the representation of the battle of Morača significantly differs in the three contemporary songs about this event. The comparison thus enabled us to juxtapose a local tribal view of this event with the version that presents it from the perspective of the political centre. Previous scholarship already indicated some of the features by which 'Boj na Morači' departs from traditional local oral songs, such as the distinctive style and phraseology, frequent rhyming or the emphasis on religious matters. My comparison, in addition, focused on the perspective and outlook expressed in the song. Apart from glorifying Bishop Petar and his decisive role in winning the battle, the song also displays a broader historical framework and certain knowledge of international context and relations. Thus, while the two previous songs fail to recognize the commander of the Turkish army and broader motives behind the attack, 'Boj na Morači' stages the conflict in a wider international

context and presents it as the clash between the Turks/Muslims and the Christians on a more general level. Finally, although reliable contextual evidence about its texualization is missing, available information does tend to support previous analyses and indicate a singer close to the political centre and the Bishop himself. In short, even though the evidence about 'Boj na Morači' is scarce and inconclusive, it is nevertheless useful as an illustration of how traditional local songs differed from those that appear to be influenced by the Bishop and Cetinje.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the previous discussion described the basic characteristics of the traditional oral Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's *Narodne Srpske Pjesme*. It was argued that the two earliest documented Montenegrin songs in the collection, 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman', were collected from traditional, illiterate singers and that both qualify as unambiguously oral texts. With regard to their outlook and overall perspective, the essential characteristics of the two songs were described as tribal antagonism and particularism, ambiguous relations between the neighbouring Montenegrin and Herzegovinian Christians and their occasional affiliation with the local Turks. As far as their style is concerned, they both displayed the usage of traditional formulas and phraseology and the absence of consecutive rhymed couplets. In the next instance, these traditional features were identified in 'Dijoba Selimovića', written down from a literate singer Đuro Milutinović. It was therefore argued that this is traditional oral song as well, and that Milutinović performed it as any traditional singer would and did not alter the traditional plot and phraseology. The analysis of 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' suggested that they are also traditional oral songs that represent a local tribal view of the contemporary event. In

addition, another song about these events, 'Boj na Morači', glorifies Bishop Petar and his decisive role in winning the battle; it was thus taken as illustrative of the differences between the tribal and traditional views of the contemporary events and the perspective promoted and fostered from the political centre. Focusing on the two songs about the 1796 battles against Mehmet Pasha composed by Bishop Petar himself, the following chapter will offer a detailed examination of their original nontraditional characteristics and identify them as transitional texts in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*.

## Chapter 3. Transitional Texts

## About the Battles against Mehmet Pasha

In the previous chapter, five Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme* were analysed and identified as genuine oral traditional songs. It was argued that they contain performative features such as oral-formulaic language and style, traditional phraseology and lexis, and typically show scarcity of rhyme and the absence of rhymed couplets. Furthermore, I indicated that they typically promote tribal antagonism and particularism, limit their perspective to the local and tribal level or display ambiguous relations among the local Christians and their occasional affiliation with the neighbouring Muslims. In addition, the comparative analysis of the three songs about the battle of Morača illustrated apparent differences between the tribal and traditional views of the battle in 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' on the one hand and, on the other, the perspective of the political centre promoted and fostered from Cetinje in 'Boj na Morači'.

This chapter identifies as transitional texts 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša', the two Montenegrin songs in Karadžić's collections describing large-scale battles against the Turkish armies fought in 1796. On the one hand, stylistic analysis will show the abundance of literary elements, which suggests that the songs were originally written compositions. These songs, on the other hand, apparently existed in oral form as well. Karadžić wrote them down directly from the oral performances of Montenegrin singers, and stylistic analysis will show that they contain more oral traditional characteristics than similar songs about these events published in Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija* and Njegoš's *Ogledalo srbsko*. In addition, the discussion of these various versions will indicate that the songs about the 1796 battles were probably repeatedly textualised and orally performed in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and that hence all documented versions to some degree display both literary and oral features. Finally, the analysis will show that the two songs from Karadžić's collection contain more traditional characteristics and are proper transitional texts, i.e. a distinctive combination of oral traditional and literary elements.

In the next section, various scholarly arguments about the actual traditionality of the two songs from Karadžić's collection will be examined. Even though Karadžić expressed his belief that Bishop Petar was their original author, he further suggested that, despite their likely nontraditional origin, the songs were partially adapted, transmitted and transformed by oral singers, which therefore justifies their inclusion in collections of folk songs. [401] While Karadžić's remarks led Radosav Medenica to conclude that these songs were 'prave narodne pesme', Ljubomir Zuković and Nikola Banašević expressed some doubts over their folk origin.[402] In accordance with the previous stylistic analysis, I will argue that the two songs from Karadžić's collection were neither widely performed among local singers at the time nor adapted in the oral-traditional manner to such an extent that they should be considered

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[401] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 66.
[402] Radosav Medenica, *Naša narodne epika*, p. 110; Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 457; Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 291 et passim.

traditional songs. They still contain a number of nontraditional features, such as relatively frequent rhyming or unusual perspective and phraseology, and the correspondences between different versions go beyond any typological level of similarity. In accordance with Parry's and Lord's reminder that 'what is important is not the oral presentation but rather the composition during performance',[403] it is argued that this fixed form of the songs about the 1796 battles from Karadžić's collection is another nontraditional feature. In other words, even though Karadžić's singers perform these songs orally, they apparently treat them as fixed texts, trying to memorize them word-for-word and to reproduce them accurately, all of which are nontraditional features.

The second part of the chapter examines the question of Bishop Petar's authorship over these and other similar Montenegrin oral songs collected at the time. I will argue, firstly, that the songs promoting the role of Bishop Petar and other Petrovićs in the Montenegrin struggle against the Turks were certainly composed in and promoted from Cetinje during Bishop Petar's rule. Secondly, that there are strong arguments supporting the claim that the Bishop composed such songs himself but, since he did not publish them under his name and no autographs of his exist, this attribution remains to some extent a matter of speculation. Finally, it will be argued that contextual evidence and the biographies of Karadžić's singers comply with the textual analysis and indicate that the two songs about the 1796 battles were nontraditional songs composed at Cetinje by the Bishop or some of his associates, and further distributed among the relatively narrow circle of Bishop's followers.

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[403] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 213.

As indicated, historians have described the victory of the allied Montenegrins and the Brđani against the army of Mehmet Pasha in 1796 as crucial for the unification of Montenegro. It confirmed Montenegrin factual independence, strengthened the influence of Cetinje on the Brđani and attracted a certain international interest, establishing Montenegro as a respectable player in the region.[404]

The two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha published in Karadžić's third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* in 1823 contain a number of nontraditional elements with respect to their knowledge of the historical context, political message, phraseology and the role of Bishop Petar in the plot. After briefly outlining their plot and common characteristics, in the later part of the chapter I will make a comparison with other documented versions and argue that the classification of the two songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* as transitional texts offers a satisfactory solution to the controversy over the actual degree of their traditionality.

Both songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha from Karadžić's 1823 collection develop a wide framework for the enemy's actions. Previously, my analysis indicated that traditional oral songs about the battle of Morača, as another major contemporary event, typically display a very limited, predominantly local and tribal perspective; the singers especially praise the heroism of their fellow tribesmen, and show no consideration for the wider cause and importance of this battle. Consequently, both songs open with a formulaic phrase and immediately set the plot at Morača, without making wider references to a general context or pretext of the battle:

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[404] According to Dušan Vuksan, 'ova bitka donijela je definitivno slobodu Brdima i već Turci nijesu pokušavali da odvoje Brda od Crne Gore' (*Petar I i njegovo doba*, p. 70). Jovanović emphasizes that in 1796 Piperi i Bjelopavlići definitively decided 'da se konačno ujedine sa Crnogorcima, obavezujući se da će potpuno izvršavati Vladičina naređenja' (Jovanović, *Istorija Crne Gore*, p. 155). Most recent publications especially emphasize the decisive importance of these battles in the formation of the Montenegrin nation and state, see: Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*, pp. 135-138; Branko Pavićević, *Istorija Crne Gore, knjiga 4, Sazdanje crnogorske nacionalne države: 1796-1878*. Podgorica: Pobjeda / Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 2004.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bijela je klikovala vila | Fala Bogu! Fala jedinome! |
| Od Javorja zelene planine, | a' Moraču tama pritisnula. |
| Te doziva u Moraču gornju. | |
| ('Boj Moračana s Turcima') | ('Opet Moračani s Turcima')[405] |

'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', in distinction, opens with a meeting of Turkish nobles in Skadar. The importance of the gathering is emphasized both by the rank of their leader Mehmet, who is described as the vizier, and by the number of participants, since he gathers 'Svu gospodu Tursku izabranu'.[406] In addition, the vizier's intention to attack the Brđani is presented only as the initial action that should enable and secure his larger plan to conquer Montenegro and the Coast. As Mehmet explains, the tribal territory divides Herzegovina and Albania, two regions already under his control. Therefore, after defeating the tribes and uniting his army, he intends to capture Montenegro and the coastal towns Novi,[407] Dubrovnik and Kotor. Describing the vizier's ambitions, the song also displays references to the wider international context:

Sad ne ima u Boku Kotorsku,

U nju nema momka nijednoga,

Sve je pošlo u Taliju ravnu,

Baš da brani Mletke od Francuza.[408]

The preparations of the Christians for their defence in the song are also portrayed from a wider perspective and as involving a broader level of cooperation. Mehmet Pasha sends a letter to Bishop Petar, addressing him as 'O vladiko, Crnogorski kralju', in which he warns him to withhold his assistance to the Brđani in the forthcoming battle. After receiving the letter, Bishop Petar gathers prominent Montenegrin leaders and warriors for council, and gives an elaborate speech to secure their unity and motivate them for the battle. The Bishop

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[405] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 266-68.
[406] Ibid., p. 66.
[407] Present day Herceg-Novi in Boka Kotorska bay on the Montenegrin Coast.
[408] Ibid., p. 67.

begins his speech with a reminder about the previous vizier's pillage of Montenegro. Using a bribe, the vizier succeeded in dividing them, and then proceeded to devastate Montenegro and burn down the church and monastery at Cetinje without suffering any losses ('A bez rane i bez mrtve glave'). The Bishop is afraid the Montenegrins will again make the same mistake, and recalls the treason of Vuk Branković at the Kosovo Battle. He then warns about the infamy of Branković's sin, and reminds the Montenegrins how their ancestors 'Vojevaše, a i boja biše | Radi vjere i slobode drage | Da u Tursko ropstvo ne padaju'.[409] Finally, he concludes his address with the message:

> Od Boga je velika grijota,
>
> A od ljudi ukor i sramota
>
> Izdavati Brđane junake,
>
> Brđani su naša braća mila.[410]

After his speech, all the Montenegrins swear to the Bishop they will rather die than betray the Brđani. The Bishop's satisfaction with this achievement is expressed openly: 'Kade viđe Cetinjski vladika, | Kade viđe slogu i slobodu'.[411] The Bishop plays a decisive role in the following events as well. He is the first to come with initial forces to the territory of the Bjelopavlići tribe. Then he writes to the Montenegrin leaders to secure reinforcements in time for the battle. Finally, prior to the battle he gathers his army in front of the church:

> Te im dade Božje blagoslove,
>
> I višnjemu Bogu preporuči,
>
> Da m' on bude vojsci predvoditelj,
>
> A Turcima skori pobeditelj.[412]

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[409] Ibid., p. 69.
[410] Ibid., p. 69.
[411] Ibid., p. 70.
[412] Ibid., p. 72.

Accordingly, Mehmet Pasha proclaims as his primary goal the elimination of the Bishop, and offers the entire Zeta valley and the government over three towns to the one who kills or captures him.

'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' displays the same characteristics as the previous song, and contains a whole series of the same or similar verses. Mehmet is once more described as a vizier, and again he intends to use a bribe to disunite the Montenegrins and conquer 'Crnu goru i primorje ravno | Do bijela grada Dubrovnika'.[413] As in the previous song, Bishop Petar is described as the Montenegrin king ('O vladiko, Crnogorski kralju!') and plays the decisive role in the events. He receives the letter, gathers the Montenegrins and acts as their military commander: 'Vladika mi razređuje vojsku, | Meće redom pleme do plemena, | Među njima meće čelovođe'.[414] Prior to the battle, the Bishop gives a speech to inspire his army, emphasizing that their internal unity is a prerequisite for success. His contempt for the treason of Vuk Branković is expressed in almost the exact verses as in the song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom':

| | |
|---|---|
| 'A znate li, moja braćo draga! | 'Crnogorci, moja braćo draga! |
| Kako kleti kore Srbe Turci | Znate, kako Srbe kore Turci |
| Od žalosna boja Kosovskoga, | Od žalosna polja Kosovoga, |
| Od izdaje Brankovića Vuka, | Od izdaje Brankovića Vuka, |
| Nek mu bude vazda vječna muka!' | Da bi njemu bila večna muka!' |
| ('Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom') | ('Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša')[415] |

In addition, both songs end in a similar manner, describing the victory as a collective achievement. After the description of the Turkish catastrophe, 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' singles out three fallen warriors from the Bishop's army: 'Krcun Savo od mjesta

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[413] Ibid., p. 74.
[414] Ibid., p. 75.
[415] Ibid., p. 69, 75.

Bjelica, | S Ljubotina Stanko barjaktare, | I od Brda Vojvodića Bego'.[416] The territorial distribution of the dead indicates the singer's intention to emphasize again the unity and universality of the army. The first mentioned hero is from the tribe of Bjelice, which belongs to the largest district of Katuni, while the second comes from the territory of the neighbouring district of Rijeka. Both are from the territory of Old Montenegro, thus indicating its dominant position. Finally, instead of mentioning his tribal allegiance, the singer depicts the third hero as a representative of all the Brđani. The second song also finishes with a similar emphasis on the collective effort and achievement:

> Evo jedno momče vladičino,
>
> Ali jaše hata Mahmutova;
>
> Malo bilo, eto drugo grede,
>
> Ali nosi Mahmutovu glavu;
>
> Treće nosi puške Mahmutove.[417]

Zuković emphasizes that 'pevač iz kolektiva ne bi nikad zaboravio da proslavi junaka koji je posekao neprijatelju glavu', especially in the case of such an eminent enemy like Mehmet Pasha, and concludes:

> Tako su i pobeda nad neprijateljem i pogibija njihovog zapovednika prikazani kao zajednički podvig i uspeh, kao delo sloge i posluha, očigledan primer 'šta čini jedinstvo, kad jednome dadu starješinstvo', kako je to vladika pevao povodom Karađorđa i prvog srpskog ustanka.[418]

In short, the songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha on the overall level show apparent differences from the two traditional songs about the contemporary battle of Morača. 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' are situated in a much wider framework involving Skadar, the Kotor Bay, the Adriatic Coast, and even mention the conflict between Venice and France. In addition, they emphasize the decisive role

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[416] Ibid., p. 73.
[417] Ibid., p. 76.
[418] Zuković, *Pogovor*, pp. 466-67.

of Bishop Petar in the plot, describing him as 'the Montenegrin king'. Finally, they celebrate both the victory and killing of Mehmet Pasha as the collective achievement of the united Montenegrins, without setting apart any particular hero of the battle.

<u>Dispute over the (Non)traditionality of 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša'</u>

While most scholars accepted Karadžić's suggestion about the nontraditional origin of these songs, the actual degree of their traditionality has been a matter of dispute. The issue of the debate among the scholars appears to be the fact that the two songs from Karadžić's collection show more traditional elements than the other documented versions of these songs, such as those published in Milutinović's *Pjevanija* from 1837 and Njegoš's *Ogledalo srbsko*.[419] In the following section, I will examine various claims made by Karadžić and later scholars regarding these two songs. Subsequent analysis will lead to the establishment of two different hypotheses – while the first describes them as being only partially adopted and transformed by oral folk tradition, the second asserts their genuine traditional character.

Karadžić was the first to suggest that these songs were originally composed by Bishop Petar. Republishing the songs in the fourth book of *Srpske narodne pjesme* from 1862, he made the following comment: 'Ja za cijelo mislim da je ove obadvije pjesme o boju Crnogoraca s Mahmut pašom načinio Crnogorski vladika Petar I. (sadašnji Sveti Petar), pa su poslije ušle u narod i idući od usta do usta koliko se moglo dogonjene prema narodnijem pjesmama.'[420] It is not quite clear what Karadžić means by the word 'načinio', but it appears that it indicates the nontraditional origin of the song. Namely, when Karadžić refers to oral

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[419] See: *Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah s Kara-Mahmutom Bušatlijom* (no. 168) and *Na Kruse* (no. 170), in Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, pp. 682-87, 704-09, and: *Boj s vezirom Mahmut pašom* and *Pogibija vezira Mahmut-paše na selo Kruse*, in Njegoš, *Ogledalo srbsko*, pp. 204-21.
[420] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 66.

compositions of traditional singers, he typically uses the verb 'spevati'. For example, when he expresses his firm belief that Filip Višnjić himself composed the songs about the newest battles between the Serbs and the Turks, Karadžić uses almost the same phrase and says: 'Ja za celo mislim, da je ove sve nove pesme, od Kara-Đorđijna vremena, Filip sam spevao'.[421] Thus, 'spevao' means that Filip Višnjić composed his songs orally, whereas 'načinio' would indicate the originally written or literary origin of a song. In addition, in the mentioned 1862 *Introduction*, Karadžić again mentions the songs 'koje je sastavljao i pisao Crnogorski vladika Petar I'.[422] While the verb 'pisati' clearly refers to writing, 'sastavljati' is less exact and can apply to both oral and written compositions, which suggests that Karadžić was not quite sure about their original form. Nonetheless, it is indicative that Karadžić never uses the verb 'spevati' with regard to the Bishop's songs, and tends to describe them in terms of nontraditional, literary works. In particular, Karadžić's explanation of the two songs from his collection rests on the presumptions that they were: a) adopted by the common folk ('ušle u narod'), b) transmitted orally ('od usta do usta'), and c) modified ('dogonjene') according to the rules of oral tradition. In other words, insofar as the two songs had Bishop Petar as their author, they were not originally folk songs. Nevertheless, being adopted and transmitted by the oral tradition and collected from oral folk singers, they became traditional songs to some extent ('koliko se moglo'). This appears to justify their inclusion in the collection among the folk songs.

Radosav Medenica rejected Karadžić's explanation and formulated the second hypothesis. According to him, the two Karadžić's songs are 'prave narodne pesme, potpuno samostalne iako bliske varijante predmeta koji opevaju Vladičine obrade o vojevanju Mahmut-paše'.[423] In other words, the songs about the 1796 battles from Karadžić's and other collections have only the subject, but not the source in common. Medenica supported his

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[421] Ibid., p. 395.
[422] Ibid., p. 17.
[423] Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, p. 110.

claim by underlining the differences between these songs and their versions published by Sima Milutinović and Njegoš. He emphasized that the corresponding songs from *Pjevanija* and *Ogledalo srbsko* are mostly rhymed, and attributes them to Bishop Petar. In distinction, according to Medenica, the two songs from Karadžić's edition contain only a few spontaneously rhymed verses, which are quite commonly found in epic songs.[424]

Medenica's argument, however, suffers from certain inconsistencies. Already in the next paragraph, for example, he quoted several lines from various versions and claimed that the two songs from Karadžić's collection are 'prepevi obeju *njegovih* [*Vladičinih*] pesama'.[425] Thus, it remains unclear how the two songs can simultaneously be 'potpuno samostalne iako bliske varijante predmeta koji opevaju Vladičine obrade', and 'prepevi obeju *njegovih/Vladičinih* pesama.' As it seems, Medenica was not actually denying that Bishop Petar's songs were the original source, but believed that the versions that Karadžić collected departed from their source to such an extent that they could legitimately be considered genuine folk oral songs. It follows that, according to Medenica, 'prepevi Vladičinih pesama' eventually became 'prave narodne pesme' in the course of their oral distribution and performance.

Other scholars dealing with this issue, like Banašević and Zuković, favoured the first hypothesis and accepted Karadžić's explanation. According to Banašević's textual analysis of all the six songs published by Karadžić, Sima Milutinović and Njegoš, their correspondence goes beyond any typological level of similarity and refers to Bishop Petar as their common author.[426] On the other hand, Banašević recognized a larger presence of the traditional oral characteristics in the two Karadžić's songs, and drew his conclusion along the lines of Karadžić's explanation: 'ipak se vidi da je Vukova, kako je sam on osetio, prošla kroz narod i

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[424] Ibid., p. 110.
[425] Ibid., p. 110.
[426] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, pp. 282-85.

"dogonjena prema narodnijem pjesmama"'.[427] Taking into consideration two more versions of these songs from the second half of the nineteenth century, Zuković additionally confirmed that among all the documented songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha there is not a single version that originated independently from the Bishop's songs. He suggested further that other songs about this event did not exist at all: 'Verovatno se niko nije ni usuđivao da se natpevava s vladikom koga su svi poštovali i cenili, a mnogi još za života smatrali svetim'.[428] Zuković thus explicitly rejected Medenica's claim and stressed out: 'mi u ovoj stvari u potpunosti prihvatamo Vukov sud'.[429]

Zuković also took into consideration contextual evidence concerning these songs and indicated that they were collected from Bishop Petar's associates. He emphasized that Karadžić wrote down 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac, the Bishop's known associate, and suggested further that Karadžić could have written down the second song from the deacon Ličinić, who also had connections with the Bishop.[430] While Zuković contributed to the discussion by including contextual information, he fell short of following their full consequences. Namely, if both songs were, as he suggested, collected from literate persons and Bishop Petar's associates, they therefore circulated among the narrow circle of his followers rather than actually being part of the oral tradition. Zuković, however, saw sufficient evidence to adopt Karadžić's explanation and paraphrased it as follows:

> njihovo usmeno putovanje kroz prostor i vreme ostavilo [je] na njima znatnog traga. To je, uostalom, i bio razlog što ih je Vuk objavio zajedno sa pravim narodnim pesmama, mada nam ova knjiga nudi još nekoliko tekstova nad kojima bi se vredelo ozbiljno zamisliti pre nego što ih označimo kao prave narodne pesme.[431]

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[427] Ibid., p. 282.
[428] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači*, pp. 153-54.
[429] Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 457.
[430] Ibid., p. 457.
[431] Ibid., p. 467.

As it appears, disputes and contradictions derive from different estimations and interpretations of Karadžić's hypothesis, which occupies the central position in the debate and is referred to by all other scholars. For Medenica, the facts that the songs were not collected directly from Bishop Petar and that they show more characteristics of traditional songs than other versions, were sufficient to classify them as true folk songs. Consequently, he rejected Karadžić's attribution. Banašević and Zuković, in distinction, emphasized the similarities between different versions and accepted Karadžić's attribution and explanation. Banašević limited his investigation only to the textual analysis of the different versions; insofar as Karadžić's songs showed more characteristics of traditional songs than the versions from Milutinović's and Njegoš' collections, they seemed to be of nontraditional origin but partially adapted by oral tradition. Zuković complied with these views but also included contextual information about the singers and their connections with the Bishop, and advocated further consideration of these and other songs in the collection.

Comparative Analysis of the Songs about the 1796 Battles

In the following section, I will discuss in detail the textual characteristics of 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' and examine their oral traditional and literary features. Since the two songs that Karadžić wrote down from oral singers are not the only documented versions of songs about these events, their characteristics and distinctive features can be best examined in comparison to other versions. As far as 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' is concerned, five complete versions of this song were documented during the nineteenth century. After Karadžić, different variants were published in Montenegrin state almanac *Grlica* in 1835, Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija* in 1837 and Njegoš's *Ogledalo srbsko* in 1846. In addition, sometimes after 1860, Karadžić received

another version of the song from his associate Maksim Škrlić, and the last known variant appeared in the journal *Bosanska vila* in 1892. In regard to the song 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' from Karadžić's 1823 collection, three other versions were documented later – two were published by Sima Milutinović and Njegoš in the aforementioned collections, while Maksim Škrlić's variant remained unpublished until 1974 edition of songs from Karadžić's manuscripts. However, not all versions are suitable for determining if the songs published by Karadžić were indeed adapted, transmitted orally, and modified according to the rules of oral tradition. Namely, only the versions published by Sima Milutinović appear to provide adequate material for textual comparison with Karadžić's versions. Milutinović had collected them in the late 1827 or 1828, that is during Bishop Petar's lifetime and only several years after Karadžić's versions were published. All other versions were documented after Bishop Petar's death and without reliable evidence of their singers and sources, and are thus considered to be less reliable and less suitable for textual comparison.[432] Admittedly, this all makes Sima Milutinović, as the Montenegrin public secretary and the Bishop's personal assistant, closer to the presumed original source(s) of the songs, whether written songs or the Bishop's oral performance(s).

Milutinović's editorial approach is another reason to refer to the *Pjevanija* versions. Namely, while nineteenth-century scholars usually considered Milutinović to be intrusive and unreliable as collector, recent scholars re-evaluated his approach and demonstrated that his

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[432] In addition, the two Bishop Petar's songs from Njegoš's collections are clearly not separate versions but reprinted songs from Milutinović's *Pjevanija*. The only notable difference between the two editions is the absence of the following concluding lines from the second song in *Ogledalo srbsko*: 'Bogu fala i svim' ugodnicma, | A za zdravje svetoga vladike | Što podnese tad' najviše muke, | Suze roneć', te svom' Bogu s' moleć'. Banašević persuasively explains this difference: 'Njegoš je izostavio ova četiri stiha jer su oni verovatno Simin dodatak..., a stih koji prethodi "to je bilo, kad se i činilo", više je u duhu narodne pesme kao završetak. Osim toga, stih "A za zdravje svetoga vladike" nije više pristajao posle smrti Petra I' (Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, 277). Banašević's last point corresponds with the conclusions made by other scholars about Milutinović's occasional editorial contribution in the form of morals added in the concluding lines. This particular case is especially clear, since it is unimaginable that the Bishop would glorify himself as a saint.

interventions were light and mostly limited to concluding lines.[433] Since approximately one third of his original manuscript has been preserved, it enables us to scrutinize his editorial approach with considerable precision. Vladan Nedić studied the manuscript and described Milutinović's editorial practice as follows:

> Razlike između rukopisnih i objavljenih pesama osvetljavaju Milutinovića kao redaktora. Spremajući tekstove za štampu, on je činio izmene. Ali, dok u glavni deo svake pesme nije dirao – izuzimajući sitne ispravke i, razume se, pravopis – poslednje stihove obično je menjao; prerađivao, izostavljao, ili dodavao nove.[434]

Nedić also illustrated typical forms of interventions that Milutinović had made. In several cases, Milutinović excluded the concluding lines from the published collection, such as: 'Neka drule, da se brade gule, | Barem turske ako bi ničije; | Amin, Bože, sve u tvoju slavu!' ('Dvorba Jakšića'), 'On, i Bajo, i ostala družba' ('Zujo i Vujo'), 'A junaštvo dika i pofala | Srbinu je i njegovu drugu.' ('Uskoci') or 'A mi vazda mudro i veselo' ('Marko u tavnici tatarskoj'). In distinction, he sometimes added the concluding lines himself, like in: 'Da se hlade i zlo dobrom grade' ('Pošto je ćeif'), 'Tad odoše k Smederevu svome' ('Despot Đuro') or 'Dok je turskog i srbaljskog uha' ('O Medunu gradu'). Finally, in some instances Milutinović adapted the original text in the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tek što baba sine osvetio, | Tek što baba sine osvetio, |
| I 'vaki se Srbin posvetio. | I zdravo se doma povratio. |
| (Manuscript, no. 38) | ('O zidanju Nikšića') |
| | |
| Svim svijeta obraz na krajinu. | Petru svjeta obraz na krajinu. |
| (Manuscript, no. 38) | ('Na Kruse') |

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[433] For a comprehensive account on the reception of Milutinović's two editions of *Pjevanija*, see: Ljubinković, *Pjevanija*, pp. 80-143. For a discussion of his editorial approach see: Vladan Nedić, 'Rukopis Milutinovićeve Pjevanije', in *Prilozi za književnost, jezik istoriju i folklor*, 24 (1958), pp. 238-46.
[434] Nedić, *Rukopis Milutinovićeve Pjevanije*, pp. 239-40.

| | |
|---|---|
| Zdravo da su Piperi junaci, | A svi zdravo Piperi junaci, |
| I ostala braća Crnogorci! | Svi Brđani i svi Crnogorci. |
| (Manuscript, no. 46) | ('Pastiri') |

After examining the *Pjevanija* manuscript, Nedić presented Milutinović's editorial approach in a positive light: 'Kako se iz navedenih primera vidi, Milutinović je dopuštao sebi redaktorske slobode samo na završecima pesama'.[435]

For all the aforementioned reasons, I will limit the comparison of Karadžić's songs to their versions published in Milutinović's second *Pjevanija* in 1837. In the first instance, **'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom'**, which Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac around 1821 and published in the third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* in 1823 (referred to as Karadžić's version), is compared with the song 'Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah s Kara-Mahmutom Bušatlijom' published in Sima Milutinović's second *Pjevanija* from 1837 (the *Pjevanija* version henceforth).[436] The analysis will show that Karadžić's version displays more oral traditional features than the *Pjevanija* version. Four categories of differences of Karadžić's version in respect to the one from *Pjevanija* will be identified: a) the absence of the exact dating of events; b) the transformation of verses with the wider knowledge of historical context and international relations; c) the adaptation of the nontraditional verses and phrases into traditional lines and formulaic expressions, and d) the decrease in number of rhymed verses. This is followed by a brief summary of the overall degree of traditionality of both versions. In the final step, I will pinpoint several most striking characteristics of literary style in the *Pjevanija* version, and suggest that the most satisfactory explanation of these literary features is that the song originated as a written composition in the manner of an oral song.

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[435] Ibid., p. 241.
[436] See: Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 66-73; Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, pp. 682-87.

In the next instance, 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' from Karadžić's collection will be compared with the version from *Pjevanija* called 'Na Kruse'. It will be shown that, in accordance with the previous findings, the song from Karadžić's collection shows more traditional characteristics than its counterpart 'Na Kruse' from Milutinović's *Pjevanija*. I shall therefore argue that the two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha from *Narodne srpske pjesme* are transitional texts that present the combination of oral traditional and literary features, whereas *Pjevanija* versions are nontraditional songs with predominantly literary characteristics.

Comparison of Karadžić's 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' with Sima

Milutinović's 'Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah s Kara-Mahmutom Bušatlijom'

In the first chapter, I mentioned Lord's conclusion that 'the statement of date is an element not found in truly traditional epic'.[437] The absence of precise dating of the events in Karadžić's version can thus be taken as the first notable difference between the two songs. Already the first two lines in the *Pjevanija* version: 'Na tisuću i sedme stotine | devedeset i šeste godine' are clearly nontraditional. For example, other Montenegrin songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* typically have a traditional formulaic opening: 'Bože mili: čuda velikoga!' ('Perović Batrić'), 'Vino piju mladi Crnogorci' ('Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica'), 'Procviljele tri Srpske vojvode' ('Tri sužnja'), 'Knjigu piše pope Lješeviću' ('Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković') etc. If a temporal marker is present at all, as in 'Šehović Osman', it is of a very broad and formulaic nature, and deprived of any historical accuracy: 'Od kako je svijet postanuo'.

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[437] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, p. 234.

It could be argued, of course, that these songs are different from 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' insofar as they all describe minor local conflicts. If the more appropriate comparison would be between songs describing correspondingly large battles, the two songs about the battle of Morača from Karadžić's collection have a similarly formulaic opening: 'Bijela je klikovala vila' ('Boj Moračana s Turcima') and 'Fala Bogu! Fala jedinome!' ('Opet Moračani s Turcima'). This should suffice as evidence that traditional oral songs do not begin by a precise statement of date. In addition, the *Pjevanija* version contains another nontraditional element of a similar nature. The singer specifies that the battle took place 'na julija dan jedanaesti, | baš na praznik svete Jefimije'. As Banašević already pointed out, both the specification of the exact date of the battle and the mention of this relatively minor and not widely known Christian saint, indicate an educated author from clerical circles.[438] Both couplets are absent from Karadžić's version. 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' thus begins with the meeting of vizier and other Turks, and moves from the preparations for the conflict to the actual description of the battle without mentioning the precise date and its place in the Christian calendar.

The second prominent difference between the two versions is a thorough knowledge of the international relations in the *Pjevanija* version. In Karadžić's version, we typically find such information to be reduced or completely absent. A single example is taken as an illustration of this point. Revealing his plans to the Turkish representatives, vizier Mehmet explains that the moment has come for them to capture the Coastal territory:

| A sad nejma u Boki Kotorskoj | Sad ne ima u Boku Kotorsku |
|---|---|
| Principova broda nikakvoga, | U njoj nema momka nijednoga, |
| Ni golema u Primorje momka, | Sve je pošlo u Taliju ravnu, |
| No sve pođe u Taliju ravnu | Baš da brani Mletke od Francuza; |
| Da čuvaju Mletke od Francezah, | (Karadžić's version) |

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[438] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 283.

Kojizi su naši prijatelji,

Oni će nam u pomoći doći,

Kako su mi skoro obećali

Na dogovor što smo svijećali.

      (*Pjevanija* version)

Even though both versions have quite similar content, the differences in perspective and outlook between them are prominent. In the *Pjevanija* version, Vizier Mehmet explains to the distinguished Turks that there are no Venetian ships due to their preoccupation with the French forces in Italy. Furthermore, he mentions the French as their allies and refers to their diplomatic contacts and agreement over the allied action. Such verses where the author shows a thorough knowledge of the international relations and reveals information apparently inaccessible to the traditional singer are absent from Karadžić's version. Hence there is no reference to the Venetian Dodge (*princip*) and to the diplomatic and military alliance of the French with Mehmet Pasha. Karadžić's version therefore adopts these elements to a lesser degree than the *Pjevanija* version and appears as more traditional.

The two quotations also differ in respect to their usage of traditional stylistic devices, which are more frequently applied in Karadžić's version. In the first line of the passage from the *Pjevanija* version, the usage of the locative case ('u Boki Kotorskoj') suggests an educated author with the knowledge of grammar. Karadžić's singer, in contrast, uses the accusative ('u Boku Kotorsku') as a characteristic feature of the local dialect but also as a distinctive device in the traditional songs. While in some cases traditional singers use locative instead of accusative to fill in a missing syllable, in others they inversely apply accusative for locative to enable alliteration and transform geographic marker into formulaic expression: 'U svu Bosnu i Hercegovinu', 'Da poturči u Moraču crkvu' ('Boj na Morači'). Thus although Montenegrin singers occasionally use locative, they are more inclined to use accusative instead of it in their songs: 'u Ružicu u bijelu crkvu' (Tešan Podrugović), 'U Vilusu selu

malenome' (Stefan Karadžić), 'Šta procvilje u Banjane gornje' (Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac). In short, traditional singer is likely to use the form 'u Boku Kotorsku', which has a more traditional and formulaic character than its counterpart 'u Boki Kotorskoj'.

In addition, the opening of Karadžić's version contains repetitions and retardations characteristic for the oral performance, such as: 'Sad ne ima' | 'U njoj nema'. In distinction, the line of thought in the *Pjevanija* version is barely disrupted by the decasyllable. The sentence progresses without interruption from one line to another and encompasses several verses. This characteristic is commonly found throughout the song. For example, the lines 1-4 and 5-7 in the *Pjevanija version* can be read as two separate sentences:

'Na tisuću i sedme stotine

devedeset i šeste godine

Mahmut vezir sovjet učinio

u bijelu Skadru na Bojanu.

Svu gospodu tursku izabranu

na divan je bio sakupio,

pa im 'vako Mahmut govorio'.

Even though the expression is separated into decasyllable verse with the tendency towards rhymed couplets, opening lines basically convey two complete sentences. Karadžić's version, however, typically displays a series of repetitions and retardations characteristic for the oral performance, such as in the lines 1, 3 and 5: 'Mahmut vezir vijeć učinio [...] | Na vijeću vezir sakupio [...] | Kada ih je vezir sakupio'. These verses are very similar and essentially reformulate the same idea. Such repetitions are clear signs of the composition in performance, providing the singer with a kind of short rests or retardations that enable him or her to proceed further. A number of similar examples, found throughout Karadžić's version, testify to the partial transformation of nontraditional elements in the manner of traditional oral song.

Finally, the aforementioned verses also illustrate the decreasing number of rhymed verses in Karadžić's version compared with the one from Sima Milutinović. The verses from the *Pjevanija* version show a tendency towards consistent rhyme: aabccbb. Out of seven rhymed verses, the verses 3, 6 and 7 have corresponding participle endings, which is a quite common form of rhyming in traditional songs. Verses 1-2 and 4-5, however, contain rhymed couplets of nouns, with full rhyme that encompasses several syllables. In the corresponding verses from Karadžić's version, we find only the rhyming of participle endings: Mahmut vezir vijeć' učinio [...] | Na vijeću vezir sakupio [...] | Kada ih je vezir sakupio, | Još je vako njima govorio'. This is typical for the two songs in general. Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac behaves as traditional oral singer and avoids consecutive rhymed couplets. Consequently, in Karadžić's version corresponding rhymed verses from the *Pjevanija* version are absent or have different word order and grammatical person. Several typical cases are listed:

| | |
|---|---|
| Crnogorci, moja braćo draga, | Crnogorci, moja braćo draga! |
| Nuto nama nenadnoga vraga! | Evo nas je knjiga dopanula. |
| Evo me je knjiga dopanula. | [...] |
| [...] | |
| Crnu goru i Primorje ravno, | Crnu goru i Primorje ravno |
| Kakono smo žuđeli odavno. | Kojeno smo odavna žuđeli. |
| [...] | [...] |
| Ali evo moje rane ljute, | Nego evo moje rane ljute |
| Brđani mi zatvoriše pute. | Brđani mi pute zatvoriše. |
| (*Pjevanija* version) | (Karadžić's version) |

Frequent rhyming in the *Pjevanija* version offers another argument in support of its literary origin. This claim is best exemplified if we compare Karadžić's and Milutinović's version with traditional songs from the collection. For example, I mentioned earlier that in Podrugović's song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' as many as 24 out of 170 verses show

certain form of rhyming. However, it is mostly limited to participle and verb endings; in addition, several cases of a leonine rhyme, as well as the only two properly rhymed couplets found in Podrugović's song, all showed strong formulaic character. The comparison between 'Perović Batrić' as a song that Karadžić also wrote down from Đuro Milutinović is even more insightful. All the verses that could be said to have some form of intentional rhyme are subordinated to the same stylistic rules described in Podrugović's song. There are four cases of leonine rhyme, all limited to formulaic verses: 'Da je vila, na više bi bila', 'Zemlji pade, pušci oganj dade', 'Posred pasa, ukide ga s glasa' and 'To izusti, a dušu ispusti'. Other forms of rhyming are rare. One is found in the noun endings in a couplet: *perištane/đerdane*, and two are limited to listings and repetitions: 'vijence i oboce'. As in Podrugović's song, properly rhymed couplets are exceptionally rare. Đuro Milutinović uses a single one, in clearly formulaic concluding verses: 'Bog mu dao u raju naselje, | A ostalim zdravlje i veselje'. Finally, even if we take into consideration the couplets with repetition *uvatio / uvatio* and (possibly unintentional) parallelisms like *poznade/Osmane* and *risovinom/zlatom*, the total number of rhymed verses would comprise only 16 out of 140 verses. To sum up, although Podrugović appears to use rhyme more frequently than Đuro Milutinović, in both traditional songs it has a very limited range and is strictly subjected to traditional diction and style.

The songs about the battle against Mehmet Pasha published in Sima Milutinović's and Karadžić's collections, however, contain an exceptionally high number of rhymed verses. What is more, the *Pjevanija* version contains whole chains of such verses. In addition to the mentioned septet at the beginning, most prominent examples are the verses 9-14, 27-30, 37-40, 90-94, 97-101, 148-51, 184-89, 211-15 and the concluding octet with four rhymed couplets. In total, at least 85 out of 256 verses in the *Pjevanija* version are rhymed, and many of them contain proper rhyme. In Karadžić's version the total number of rhymed verses is also

exceptionally high – approximately 57 out of 293 verses, but still much lower in comparison to the *Pjevanija* version. In other words, while in the *Pjevanija* version one third of the verses are rhymed, in Karadžić's version that number decreases to around one fifth of all the verses. Most often, rhymed verses in Karadžić's version are couplets with the corresponding participle or verb endings – as much as 22. Karadžić's singer also tends to use rhyme in the cases where it shows formulaic character, like the leonine rhyme in the verses 'Vr'jeme dođe, udarit' se hoće', Kuluglije i mlade delije, | Haznadari, paše, siliktari', or with the geographic *topoi*: 'Kraj Zlat<u>ice</u> više Podgor<u>ice</u>', 'Od Prizr<u>ena</u> i od Vučit<u>rna</u> | Od Sjen<u>ice</u> i od Mitr<u>ovice</u>, | I lijepe šeher Đak<u>ovice</u>'. Consecutive series of rhymed verses are especially rare. The *Pjevanija* version thus contains three rhymed quatrains, four quintets, a sextet, an opening septet and a concluding octet, whereas Karadžić's version has a single quartet. Nevertheless, even Karadžić's version only partially succeeds in absorbing the nontraditional elements and adapting them to traditional phraseology. Thus, it contains a number of verses with a proper rhyme: *veliko/svekoliko*, *gospoduje/čuje*, *Vuka/muka*, *vezira/bez obzira* etc. Altogether, the total number of rhymed verses in general remains significantly higher than in genuine oral traditional songs, particularly when compared with other songs collected from Đuro Milutinović.

Examples of Literary Style in the *Pjevanija* version

Finally, I will mention three salient examples of literary manner and style in the *Pjevanija* version. Since these features will prove to be especially incompatible with oral style and manner, they strongly speak in favour of essentially nonperfomative origin of his song.

Firstly, some verses in the *Pjevanija* version appear to be more appropriate for literary style than for oral songs. For example: 'Jednu slaću put Novske države; | Druga vojska valja

da se vrati | I da ide preko Gore Crne', or 'Ti si teške rane udario, | svakojemu redom Crnogorcu;' In Karadžić's version, corresponding lines have a more traditional form: 'Jednu ćemo opraviti vojsku | Do Novoga grada bijeloga [...] Treća valja da otide vojska, | Neka ide preko gore Crne', and 'To si svakog mlada Crnogorca, | Svakoga si u srce ud'rio'. As it appears, in certain occasions the poet of the *Pjevanija* version fails to provide an adequate traditional expression, or deliberately avoids repetitions and retardations and thus shows the knowledge of literary style.

Secondly, the *Pjevanija* version contains one extreme violation of the traditional metrical laws. One of the rules of the South Slavonic decasyllable is that it is comprised of two half-verses with the caesura after the fourth syllable. The second line in the couplet: 'Prah, olovo i drugu zahiru, | Nek o boju radi a ne miru', however, has a caesura not after the fourth, but after the six syllable (*Nek o boju radi // a ne miru*). Although this is an isolated case in the *Pjevanija* version, traditional rules are so severely violated that it alone might perhaps suffice to indicate its literary origin.[439] In other words, such extreme reshaping of the *deseterac* to 6+4 syllable is by all accounts incompatible with the oral tradition and would certainly have been reformulated during live performance. In Karadžić's version, we predictably find it adjusted to the metrical rules: 'Boj da biju, o miru ne rade'.

Thirdly, despite the usage of traditional phraseology, certain verses in the *Pjevanija* version reveal what are essentially the perceptions of an educated poet. For example, in the description of the beginning of the battle, strong poetic individuality comes to the forefront:

Nad njima se tmina ufatila

a u tminu puške sijevaju,

---

[439] This point, however, needs to be taken with certain caution. Namely, folk songs published by Karadžić do not offer such examples of the violation of basic metrical patterns. On the other hand, Parry's and Lord's field research showed that traditional singers are not unerring and that during live performances they occasionally make metrical omissions. Karadžić's manuscripts also offer some examples of such 'incorrect' nine or eleven syllable verses, which are obviously a result of the singer's 'slip' and were corrected by the editor in the published collections. However, even these 'slips' are limited to the singer's miscalculation of the length of the second half-verse or, rarely, to his or her usage of the 'redundant' one-syllable word at the beginning of the first half-line.

ne bi reka, mio pobratime,

da je ono bojak ognjeviti,

nego sudnji danak strahoviti.

This image appears as too complex and too clearly marked by the individual literary style to be identified with oral traditional style. It is written in the literary manner and its direct origin in religious literature could perhaps be pursued further. Darkness falling on the village during the peak of the battle is a common literary motif that indicates the fatality and metaphysical importance of described events, such as the death of Christ. In addition, the fire from the guns is described as the only light in the dark, and further compared to the lightning in the skies. Ending couplet makes the comparison explicit – the poet says that it appears as if this is not a battle but the Judgment Day itself. Of course, the description of the fatality of the battle is not foreign to Serbian oral tradition, in particular to the songs about the battle of Kosovo, but it is certainly not expressed in such elaborate form. In accordance with the previous suggestions about the transformation or exclusion of nontraditional elements in Karadžić's version, none of these verses is found in it.

Of course, the author of the *Pjevanija* version is equally well versed in oral traditional style, and uses a number of formulaic expressions such as four-syllable and six-syllable fixed epithets 'bijela grada', 'rane ljute', 'krilati orlovi', 'bijele čadore' etc. In addition, the whole sections of the song appear to be entirely traditional and fully accessible to the traditional singer, like the lines 30-40 or 154-74. These verses are typically found in almost exact form in Karadžić's version:

| | |
|---|---|
| i ognjene vjetre obratiti | Da puštimo ognjene vjetrove |
| Na Pipere i Bjelopavliće, | Na Pipere i Bjelopavliće |
| Porobiću malo i veliko, | Porobimo malo i veliko, |
| A sažeći ognjem svekoliko | Izgorimo ognjem svekoliko |
| [...] | [...] |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ema što je vladičina vojska! | Ama što je vojska kod vladike, |
| To su mrki od planine vuci, | To su mrki od planine vuci; |
| Što pred vojskom jesu čelovođe, | Što l' pred vojskom jesu čelovođe |
| To su, pobro, krilati orlovi; | To bijahu krilati orlovi; |
| Što l' u vojsku jesu barjaktari, | Što li momčad mladi barjaktari, |
| To bijahu sivi sokolovi. | To bijahu sivi sokolovi. |
| (*Pjevanija* version) | (Karadžić's version) |

All this shows that Karadžić's song compared with the *Pjevanija* version contains strong tendency of reproducing those verses that appear as traditional and excluding or transforming literary characteristic in general. To sum up, the evidence presented in previous analysis strongly suggests that the *Pjevanija* version is essentially a literary epic song, i.e. a poetic composition written in the manner and style of traditional epic songs, while Karadžić's version contains much more traditional elements.

Comparison of Karadžić's 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' with Sima Milutinović's 'Na Kruse'

In the following section, I will briefly compare the characteristics of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša', the second song about the battle against Mehmet Pasha from Karadžić's third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, with 'Na Kruse', published by Sima Milutinović in his second *Pjevanija* in 1837.[440] The comparison will show that the textual analysis of the two songs fully complies with the previous findings. Namely, both versions contain verses found in Bishop Petar's literary epic song *Poučenje u stihovima*, and show a high proportion of literary features such as frequent rhyming and properly rhymed couplets. Nonetheless, in the song from Karadžić's collection these nontraditional elements are often partially transformed

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[440] See: Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 73-77; Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, pp. 704-09.

into verses of traditional spirit and thus appear more traditional than in the version from Milutinović's *Pjevanija*.

Frequent rhyming in both versions presents a clear indicator of their literary influence. In 'Na Kruse', as much as 159 out of total 256 verses, or nearly two thirds, are rhymed. This proportion remains the same if we exclude from consideration the last four verses that are probably Sima Milutinović's contribution. Furthermore, cases of leonine or internal rhyme, which was previously described as typically oral-formulaic in nature, are found in 19 verses in total. In addition, fully rhymed couplets, such as *vladiku/preveliku*, *hodiše/biše*, *novacah/trgovacah*, *blago/drago* etc., are more frequent than rhymed participle or verb endings such as *izgubio/ostavio*, *učinio/prepanuo*, *sastaviti/dočekati* etc. More precisely, there are at least thirty fully rhymed couplets in the song, compared with approximately twenty-four couplets with rhymed participle and verb endings. Finally, 'Na Kruse' contains many instances of parallel rhyme, such as in the lines 10-15, 24-31, 45-48, 50-53, 60-67, 80-83, 85-90, 91-96, 108-16, 118-32, 134-41, 151-56, 186-90, 224-31, 233-41. Especially notable in this respect are the verses 108-41, where 32 out of 34 consecutive verses are rhymed, and 224-41, where only one out of 18 consecutive verses is not rhymed. To sum up, 'Na Kruse' shows an abundance of rhymed verses in general and of fully rhymed couplets in particular, and contains a number of sequences with four or more rhymed verses.

In the song 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' from Karadžić's collection, 53 out of 162 verses in total are rhymed, thus making up approximately one third of the song. The overall number of rhymed verses is, thus, much higher than in the aforementioned oral traditional epic songs 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman', where it stands at around fifteen percent. However, it is still significantly lower than in the *Pjevanija* version, and decreases from nearly two thirds to one third of all the verses. In other words, Karadžić's version contains twice as many rhymed verses as in the mentioned oral traditional songs, but

still only half of the total number of rhymed verses in the version from Milutinović's *Pjevanija*. There are other pointing differences between the types of rhyming applied in the two songs. Properly rhymed verses with full rhyme are exceptionally rare in Karadžić's version, and are found only in the verses *Vuka/muka* (99-100), *rabota/sramota* (104-05) and *daju/staju* (125-26), with the last example containing the repetition of the last four syllables in the next half-verse to make a leonine rhyme. In other words, while 'Na Kruse' contains as many as thirty properly rhymed couplets, 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' contains only two or three such cases. Consequently, the rhyme in 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' is mostly limited to parallelisms between participle or verb endings (nineteen verses in total) and leonine or internal rhyme (fifteen verses). These characteristics clearly show the more oral traditional character of Karadžić's version; as discussed earlier, properly rhymed couplets are not frequently found in oral traditional songs, whereas rhymed participle endings and internal rhyme are quite common. Finally, while 'Na Kruse' contains a whole series of sextets, octets, one nonet and even a case of fifteen consecutive rhymed verses, in 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' only one septet, one sextet and two quatrains are found. Such prominent difference shows that 'Na Kruse' shows clear tendency towards consistently rhymed couplets, whereas the singer of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' uses them only occasionally.

This feature can be exemplified by juxtaposing similar verses in both versions and comparing the amount and type of rhyme used by the singers. For example, the lines 14-16 closely resemble the lines 7-11 from 'Na Kruse':

| | |
|---|---|
| No se srdi na Petra vladiku | no srdi se na Petra vladiku, |
| I na one mlade Crnogorce, | jere ima žalost preveliku |
| Koji s Petrom u Brda idoše. | na junake mlade Crnogorce |
| | koji s Petrom u Brda hodiše, |
| | Te se boja junačkoga biše. |
| ('Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša') | ('Na Kruse') |

'Na Kruse' contains two rhymed couplets separated by a single non-rhymed verse. Karadžić's singer, however, uses only the first verse found in the couplets from 'Na Kruse', which results in the form of a three non-rhymed verse unit.

Another characteristic example of the difference in rhyming in the two versions could be made between the lines 21-27 from 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' and 23-31 from 'Na Kruse':

| | |
|---|---|
| 'Ko će moju silu pridobiti, | 'Ko će moju silu zadobiti? |
| Dokle mi je u ćesu novaca, | Dokle imam u ćesu novacah |
| A u Crnu goru izdajnika, | a u Crnu Goru trgovacah |
| Koji su mi lakomi na blago: | kojizi su lakomi na blago, |
| Prodaće mi lomnu goru Crnu, | učiniću što je mene drago, |
| Crnu goru i primorje ravno | oni će mi prodat Crnogorce; |
| Do bijela grada Dubrovnika;' | poharaću redom i Primorce |
| | Do bijela grada Dubrovnika. |
| | Što će mene učinjet vladika?' |
| ('Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša') | ('Na Kruse') |

Again, we can see the absence of the second couplet and, consequently, the absence of rhyme and the overall fewer number of verses in Karadžić's version. Another way that Karadžić's singer uses to suppress the rhyme is by using the non-rhymed word in cases where we find a rhymed one in the *Pjevanija* version. Thus, while in *Pjevanija version* we find a couplet with rhymed ending words *novacah/trgovacah*, in Karadžić's version ending words *novaca/izdajnika* do not rhyme.

Finally, the difference in the approach of the two singers can be seen by comparing their verses with the corresponding lines from Bishop Petar's literary epic songs. Namely, both songs contain the same or similar verses to those from 'Poučenje u stihovima' written by

Bishop Petar and first published in Sima Milutinović's short collection *Zorica* in Leipzig in

1826:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Je li, brate, rane žestočije, | Mogu l' biti rane žestočije, | Je li kaka rana žestočija, | Bit može li rane žestočije |
| No strijela srce kad probije? | No kad udri nebeska strijela, | No strijela kad ud'ri u srce? | No strijela kad srce udrije? |
| A ni ona nije tako jaka, | Te ustr'jeli golema junaka ? | A ni ona nije tako jaka, | A ni ona nije tako jaka |
| Da razbije srce u junaka, | Nije tako jaka ni strijela, | | Da razbije srce u junaka, |
| Ni ostala nikakva rabota, | Da raščupa srce u junaka, | Ni nikakva ostala rabota, | Ni ostala ikakva rabota |
| Kao takvi ukor i sramota. | Kao taki ukor i sramota | Kao takvi ukor i sramota. | Ka i takvi ukor i sramota |

('Poučenje u stihovima') ('Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom') ('Opet Crnogorci s Mahmut-paša') ('Na Kruse')

Aparently, the verses from 'Na Kruse' are an almost exact reproduction of the verses from

Bishop Petar's 'Poučenje u stihovima', and maintain the structure of three consecutive

rhymed couplets. In distinction, Karadžić's version contains only the rhyming in the third

couplet, whereas the first two are either reformulated or excluded.

Finally, the unusual phraseology used in the song offers another persuasive piece of

evidence of its literary style and manner, revealing an educated author with the knowledge of

the Slavonic-Serbian tradition. For example, one of such distinctive phraseological units in

the aforementioned quotation is the unusual half-verse 'rane žestočije', found in Bishop

Petar's poem. While other expressions used in these songs, such as 'rane ljute' and 'teške

rane', are very common in South Slavonic oral songs, the word 'žestočije' is found nowhere

in the entire tradition except in these two songs, where it is obviously used for the purpose of

rhyming. In addition, as far as the mentioned passage is concerned, it is equally telling that the

word 'rabota' is also exceptionally rare, and apart from these songs it can be found only in

several others documented also at Cetinje from Todor Ikov Piper some years later.

It is instructive to make a further differentiation between the versions with regard to

their traditionality. Namely, the versions from *Pjevanija* contain much more of these

distinctively nontraditional expressions. Thus, in addition to 'žestočije' and 'rabota' as the

expressions found in both songs, the terms such as 'pomojcu', 'grabežljive', 'opoštiše' or

'grožnicu' (found in other songs exclusively in the form 'groznica'), all are exclusive to 'Na Kruse' and have no parallels in neither Karadžić's versions nor other folk songs. Moreover, they all have a more archaic form and sound Slavonic-Serbian, and reveal the singer's familiarity with Orthodox Church tradition. Another case that perhaps falls into this category is the expression 'Još vas molim'; while in other South Slavonic songs it has the form 'Ma vas molim', 'Al' vas molim' or 'Već vas molim', the appropriation of the distinctive adjective in 'Na Kruse' resembles the phrase 'Još se molimo', repeatedly used during Orthodox liturgy. Moreover, 'Na Kruse' also contains a phrase 'roda slovinskoga', which is also exceptionally rare in other songs and has a dialectical form characteristic of the literary tradition of Dubrovnik and the Adriatic Coast. In short, both the number and the character of these distinctive and nontraditional terms found in the two songs from *Pjevanija* strongly suggest an educated author familiar with both Church Slavonic and Coastal literary tradition.

In summarizing the discussion so far, the two songs about the 1796 battles from *Pjevanija* contain a number of literary characteristics. This strongly suggests that they were not originally oral traditional songs but composed by a literate author in written form. Furthermore, such exceptionally high number of literary features indicates that they were not included in the collection from oral performance but from a previously written text. As a distinctive combination of oral and literary features, the two songs from Karadžić's collection were described as transitional texts. As it appears, they originated from nontraditional songs, but show more of the traditional characteristics; even though they still contain recognizable nontraditional features such as frequent rhyming or unusual perspective and phraseology, they are closer to the oral traditional style, phraseology and outlook. These oral features, it was argued, were introduced when Karadžić's singer performed orally these originally nontraditional songs and adapted them to some extent to oral manner and style.

<u>Bishop Petar I and the Montenegrin Oral Tradition</u>

In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine the question of Bishop Petar's authorship over these songs in the context of his overall impact on Montenegrin oral tradition and its textual representation. I will summarize the information about Bishop Petar's influence, such as comments and remarks made by early collectors and their contemporaries and later philological and stylistic analyses of certain songs with apparent nontraditional characteristics. As I will argue, it is certain that the songs promoting the role of Bishop Petar and other Petrovićs in the Montenegrin struggle against the Turks were composed in and promoted from Cetinje during Bishop Petar's rule, and the Bishop apparently wrote some of them himself. Furthermore, there are strong arguments supporting the claim that he also wrote the two songs about the 1796 battles. After examining various contextual evidences, I will argue that he certainly influenced the two songs from Karadžić's collection and epic representation of the 1796 battles in general, but that his actual authorship over them cannot be positively determined. Namely, since the Bishop never published any songs under his name and no autographs were preserved, this discussion is essentially based on circumstantial evidence and textual parallelisms and therefore remains to some extent a matter of speculation.

The first set of evidences about Bishop Petar's authorship over some songs published as oral folk songs comes from the early collectors themselves. Even though both Karadžić and Sima Milutinović included these songs in their collections of folk songs, in several instances they directly or indirectly attributed some of them to the Bishop.

Vuk Karadžić mentioned Bishop Petar's songs on three occasions. Firstly, as I discussed earlier, he made a comment in the 1862 collection and expressed his firm belief ('ja za celo mislim') in the Bishop's authorship of the songs about the 1796 battles. Karadžić also

added 'U predgovoru ja mislim o ovome govoriti više', but did not fulfill his promise to provide more information on this matter; writing this introduction later that year, he said that his health disabled him to say more 'o pjesmama koje je sastavljao i pisao Crnogorski vladika Petar I'.[441] Finally, Banašević drew attention to the comment that Karadžić made on his unpublished manuscript containing six Montenegrin songs (see picture 5).
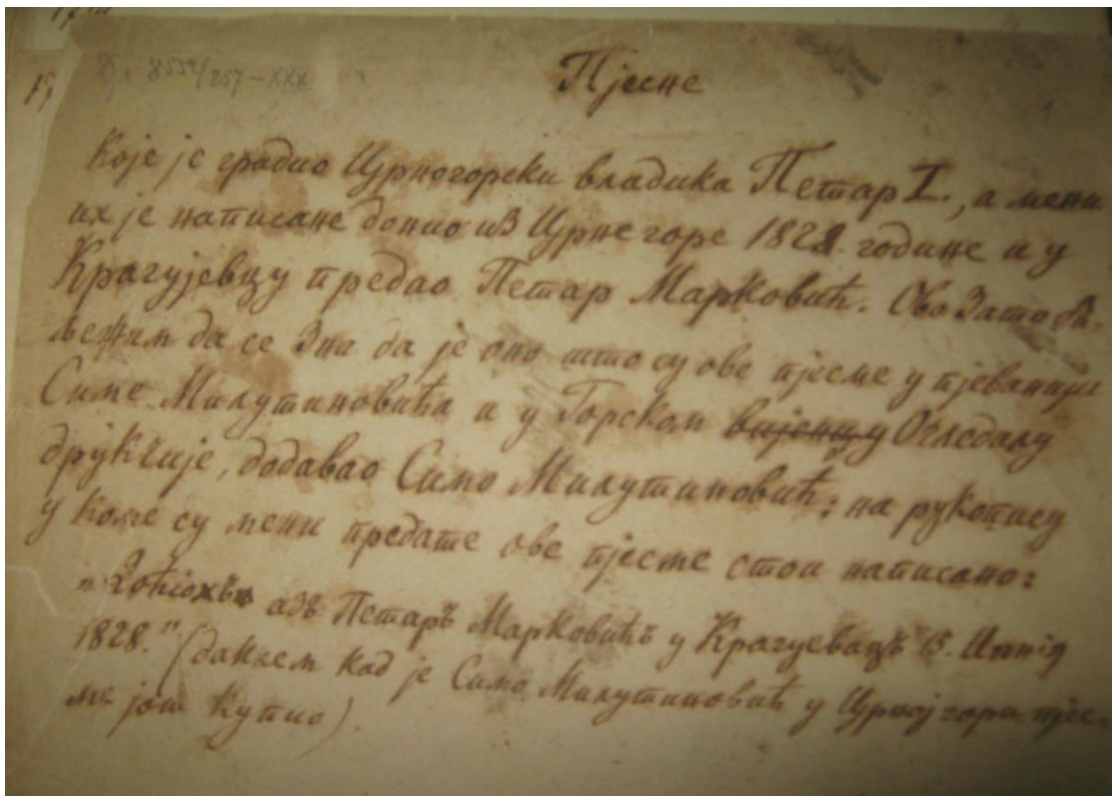


Picture 5 – Karadžić's note on his copy of the manuscript with six Montenegrin songs

The note reads:

Pjesne koje je gradio Crnogorski vladika Petar Prvi, a meni ih je napisane donio iz Crne Gore 1828 godine i u Kragujevcu predao Petar Marković. Ovo zato bilježim da se zna da je ono što su ove pjesme u pjevaniji Sime Milutinovića, i u ogledalu drukčije, dodavao Simo Milutinović.[442]

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[441] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 17.
[442] Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 468.

In support to Karadžić's claim that these songs were made by Bishop Petar, we could say that they were indeed published by Sima Milutinović and Njegoš in their collections. Both collectors had close relations with Bishop Petar, Milutinović as his secretary at the time that Karadžić received the manuscript, and Njegoš as the Bishop's relative and heir. Moreover, the original manuscript with six Montenegrin songs contains an inscription 'nu poslušaj dragi pobratime, što su mudri ljudi upisali' (see picture 6). Ljubomir Zuković identified it as the handwriting of Sima Milutinović, and my investigation of this manuscript complies with this attribution.[443] The songs themselves were written in the old orthography and in different handwriting, distinct from the one of Milutinović and, for that matter, of Bishop Petar, and it is likely that they were transcribed at Cetinje before Milutinović's arrival to Montenegro. However, without further analyses, it is hard to date these songs with more precision. Nevertheless, this inscription additionally links the manuscript to the Bishop, since it is the quotation of the opening verses of his didactic epic poem 'Poučenje u stihovima'.

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[443] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 168.
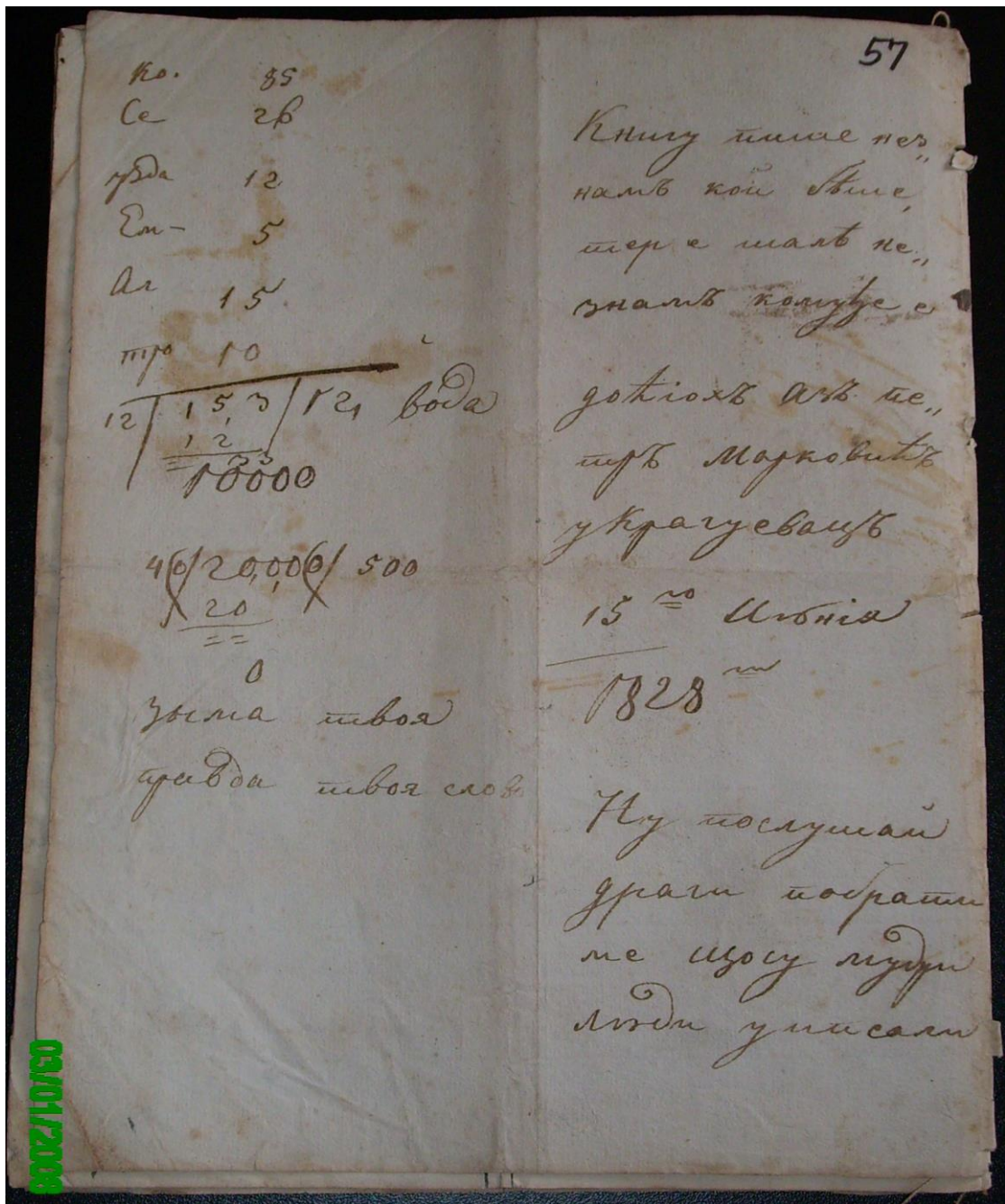
Picture 6 – The front page of the original manuscript with six Montenegrin songs

In short, it is telling that until 1862 Karadžić made no comments about the nontraditional origin of the two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha that he collected already in the early 1820s. In addition, while he was certain that the Bishop wrote some songs ('o pesmama koje je gradio') and attributed to him six manuscript songs from 1828 ('Pjesne koje je gradio Crnogorski vladika Petar Prvi'), he is more cautious with regard

to the two songs about 1796 battles ('ja za cijelo mislim'). It thus seems plausible that Karadžić had firm evidence about the Bishop's authorship over six manuscripts songs, which has not been recorded in his correspondence. Finally, their apparent similarities with the two songs about the 1796 battles, as well as their later publication by Milutinović and Njegoš, all prompted him to express his firm belief that they were originally composed by Bishop Petar as well, and their versions published in Milutinović's *Pjevanija* seem to support his claims.

Sima Milutinović's collections and publications offer more, but also mostly circumstantial, evidence of Bishop Petar's poetic opus. Firstly, four out of six songs from Karadžić's manuscript also appeared in Milutinović's *Istorija Crne Gore* in 1835. Although Milutinović described all the songs published there as folk songs, he implicitly acknowledged Petar I as their author. Namely, in the *Introduction*, he provided the following information about the book: 'Nastala je na osnovu usmenog kazivanja nekih starih Crnogoraca, a osobito od gorepomenutog bogougodnog pokojnika [Petar I - A.P.] samo vjerno primljena i na papir stavljena'.[444] In the *Conclusion* he even more explicitly praised Bishop Petar as 'Rukovodioca za istoriju Crne Gore'.[445] In addition, Milutinović explicitly attributed the song 'Sopernik Bušatlije' from his 1837 *Pjevanija* to the Bishop. Namely, in the manuscript of the collection he left the remark 'vladikom spjevana' in the subtitle of the song (see picture 7).[446] In the published collection, however, Milutinović left out this information, which is another indicator that this song did not emerge from local oral tradition. Namely, this was quite atypical for Milutinović, since out of 174 songs in the whole collection only twenty-one remained unattributed. In addition, Banašević's aforementioned analysis already indicated certain nontraditional elements in some of these songs, such as frequent rhyming, unusual phraseology and outlook, emphasis on religious matters and the prominent role of the Petrović family in the plot. Hence, even before this inscription was noticed, Banašević had already

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[444] Milutinović, *Istorija Crne Gore*, Cetinje: Svetigora, 1997, p. 9.
[445] Ibid., p. 126.
[446] See: Nedić, *Rukopis Milutinovićeve Pjevanije*, p. 242.

suggested Bishop Petar as the author of the songs about Mehmet Pasha in *Pjevanija*. Also, Nedić found one of these songs from *Istorija Crne Gore* in the same part of the manuscript that contained 'Sopernik Bušatlije'; he thus identified them as the earliest songs, collected shortly upon Sima Milutinović's arrival at Cetinje, and correspondingly suggested that they were all Bishop Petar's songs. Such an explanation complies with both the Karadžić's attribution and Banašević's textual analysis of the unattributed songs from Milutinović's *Pjevanija*.
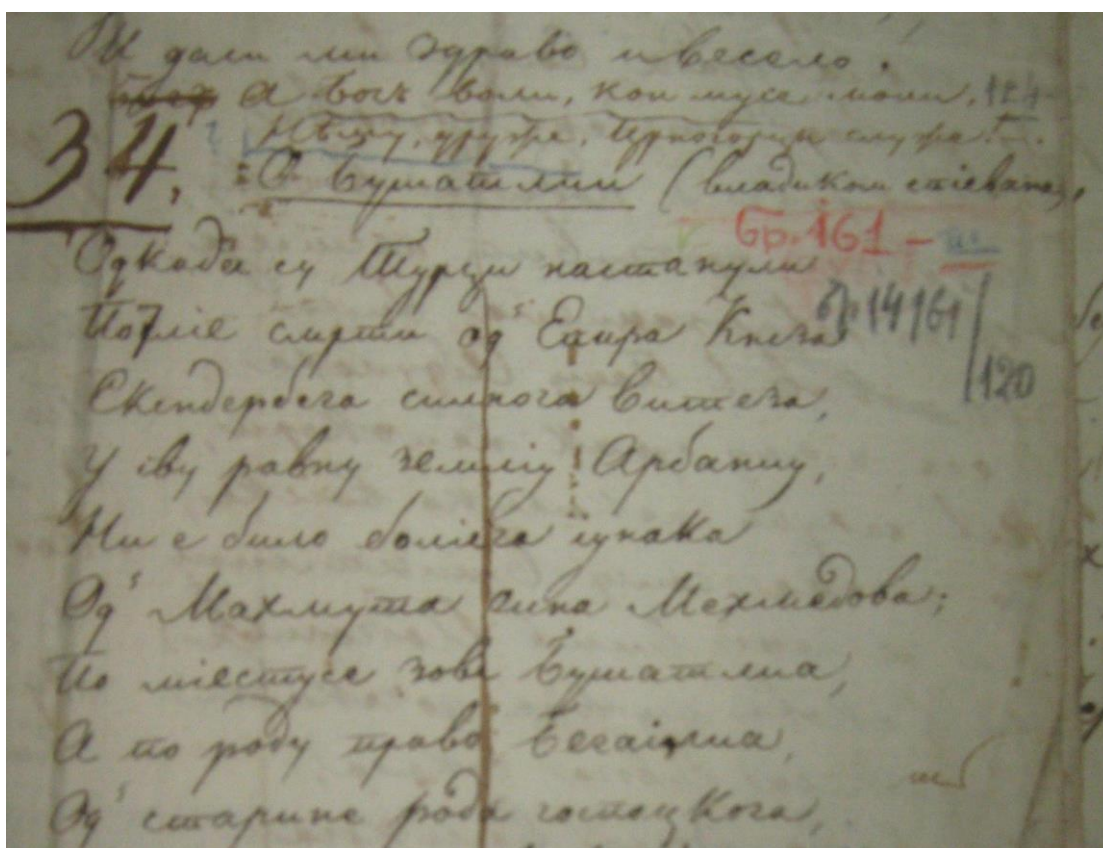


Picture 7 – The song from Milutinović's manuscript with the inscription 'vladikom spjevana'

Several indications by contemporaries enable us to attribute the songs 'Poučenje u stihovima' and 'Pohvala Karađorđu' to the Bishop with more certainty. Namely, unlike the aforementioned pseudo-folk songs whose literary origin is a matter of dispute, these two are clearly literary didactic epic songs written by an educated author. In addition, available

evidence shows that they circulated in written form and offers little doubt that the Bishop was their author. A shorter version of 'Poučenje u stihovima' first appeared in Milutinović's short collection *Nekolike pjesnice, stare, nove, prevedene i sočinjene*, published in Leipzig in 1826.[447] Milutinović marked this and three other songs as 'Crnogorske', and reported that his friend Toma Milutinović Morinjanin gave him the songs, but 'nije umio ili utajao kazati tko ih je sočinio'.[448] Trifun Đukić suggested that Morinjanin, who was a merchant from the bay of Kotor, came into possession of the songs during his stay at Cetinje in 1817. In addition, Đukić argued that Morinjanin was a friend and admirer of Bishop Petar and that he dedicated one of his manuscripts to him. Đukić therefore attributed the song to the Bishop.[449] The complete text of the song was published under Bishop Petar's name in *Srpsko-dalmatinski magazin* in 1864 by the Archimandrite Nićifor Dučić, who resided at Cetinje at the time.[450] Dučić informs us that he received this 'mudro i pobožno poučenje koje je Božji ugodnik Sv. Petar I Petrović u stihove sveo i napisao' from an old monk Mihajlo from the Piperska cell monastery, and adds that it is likely that further unpublished Bishop's songs could be found in Montenegro.[451] Being published more than thirty years after Bishop Petar's death, this attribution seems dubious. However, as it is the same monk Mihailo who was the Bishop's associate and had kept correspondence with him,[452] it seems that at the time the old monk could indeed provide both the text and such information about the Bishop's compositions. In a letter from 1828, for example, the monk Mihailo describes how he distributed the news and messages from the Bishop to the local population: 'Odili smo po vašoj zapovjedi u Rovca i u Moraču i nosili knjige i okupiše se Gornje i Donje Morače i uskoci okolo vojvode Mine i popa Dragovića i

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[447] Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*, pp. ix-x.

[448] Milutinović Sima, *Nekolike pjesnice: stare i nove, prevedene i sočinjene* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hertel, 1826), p. 35; Also: Nedić, *Sima Milutinović Sarajlija*, p. 76.

[449] See: Nedić, *Sima Milutinović Sarajlija*, p. 76, 78-81. Also: Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*, p. ix.

[450] Nedić, *Sima Milutinović Sarajlija*, pp. 78-81.

[451] See: See: Đukić, *Pregled književnog rada Crne Gore*, p. 12.

[452] Se, for instance, his letter to the Bishop from 1828, in Martinović et all, *Prednjegoševsko doba*, p. 343.

kneza Raška'.[453] This suggests that the Bishop's songs were distributed to his followers in Montenegro in a similar manner as his epistles and public proclamations.

*Pohvala Karađorđu* is another didactic ten-syllabus song attributed to Petar I by his contemporaries. Dimitrije Milaković, national secretary and editor of the Montenegrin state almanac *Grlica*, published it in the 1835 edition of *Grlica* with the explicit claim that it was 'spjevana pokojnijem mitropolitom Petrom Petrovićem Njegošem'.[454] In the 1835 *Grlica* Milaković also included the short *Istorija Crne Gore*, written, as he relates, by the Bishop himself and found in his manuscripts.[455] Published shortly after his death with another work from the Bishop's manuscripts, and explicitly attributed to him by the editor, this song hardly leaves any doubt about the identity of its author. In addition, a version of 'Pohvala Karađorđu', almost exactly the same as the one edited by Milaković also appeared in another almanac, published by the Serbs from Trieste in 1851. The title and the note above it provide the information about its author, and briefly sketch the history of the text before the publication: 'Pjesma na pohvalu srpskijeh vitezovah S. G. G. P. P. mitropolita (svetog Petra) 1811 god… Prepisano na Ostrog Svetoga Vasilija pri Gos. arh. Jos. Pavićevićem u Crnoj Gori 1823 od V. Milinovića, a iz Trsta sad od And. Stojkovića'.[456] In other words, according to this testimony, the song had been composed by the Bishop in 1811, and then distributed in several manuscripts before being published.

In short, contextual evidence shows that these two literary epic songs circulated in manuscript form among the Bishop's followers in Montenegro, and that they were familiar with his authorship of them. Thus, even though this attribution remains grounded on circumstantial evidence, it would be hard to find alternative explanation of the reasons for

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[453] See: Martinović et all, *Prednjegoševsko doba*, p. 343.
[454] See: Pantić, *Književnost na tlu Crne Gore*, p. 515.
[455] Ibid., p. 87.
[456] See: Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*, p. ix.

different editors to come up with superficial explanations about the Bishop's authorship that involve distinguished church representatives like monk Mihailo and archimandrite Pavićević.

Following this information about Bishop Petar's compositions, Nikola Banašević and Trifun Đukić established an initial corpus of eleven Bishop Petar's songs in the early 1950s.[457] Initially, they attributed to him the eight songs identified as his creations by Karadžić. Banašević and Đukić also used textual evidence such as stylistic and comparative analyses to assert their attribution. Đukić thus indicated that three other anonymous songs, published as 'Crnogorske' in Milutinović's *Nekolike pjesnice* from 1826, show apparent similarities with the Bishop's 'Pohvala Karađorđu', and attributed these to the Bishop as well.[458] Banašević and Đukić also pointed out that eight songs attributed to the Bishop by Karadžić contain the characteristics atypical of the oral folk epic songs, such as frequent rhyme, wider knowledge of the historical and international context, an explicit political message and moral, as well as a style and phraseology that indicate a literate and educated author. In addition, they showed thematic, stylistic and ideological unity between these songs and several others published in Milutinović's *Istorija Crne Gore* and *Pjevanija* and Njegoš's *Ogledalo srbsko*. Since these songs were already associated with the Bishop by the early collectors and their contemporaries, Banašević and Đukić considered those features to be sufficient indicators of Bishop Petar's authorship over them as well. The songs that they attributed to Petar I are regularly included in the publications of his works, and are identified as his creations in later editions of the songs collected by Karadžić, Milutinović and Njegoš.[459]

Later scholars accepted these findings and attributed several more songs to Bishop Petar. I mentioned earlier that Nedić attributed 'Sopernik Bušatlije' from *Pjevanija* to the

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[457] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, pp. 275-299; Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*.
[458] Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*, pp. 9-10.
[459] See: Čedo Vuković, *Književnost Crne Gore od 12. do 19. vijeka*, Cetinje: Obod, 1996; Petar I Petrović Njegoš, *Djela*, ed. by Branislav Ostojić, Podgorica: CID, 2001; Milutinović, *Pjevanija*; Njegoš, *Ogledalo srbsko*.

Bishop, and argued that several other songs that follow in the manuscript have likely been collected from the Bishop as well; they were documented shortly after his arrival at Cetinje, and before he actually started travelling around Montenegro and collecting folk songs from the local traditional singers.[460] More recently, Zuković and Medenica suggested Bishop Petar's influence on other songs from the collections of Karadžić and Milutinović.[461] Recent scholars therefore confirmed Banašević's estimate from 1951 that Bishop Petar's impact on Montenegrin epic tradition might be bigger than Karadžić indicated.[462] They also suggested that this was probably not the definite number of Bishop Petar's songs. Medenica, for example, claimed: 'Svakako bi bilo smelo tvrditi da bi pesnički proizvodi Petra I mogli biti ovim iscrpeni'.[463] Pantić also expressed similar view: 'dugo se nije znalo, a i sada se ne zna baš do kraja, ni potanko, ni koliko je, i kojih sve, pesama te vrste vladika ukupno ispevao'.[464] The corpus of Bishop Petar's songs established by the scholars during the second half of the twentieth century thus indicates his significant contribution to the epic tradition.

Scholars refer to the impersonal character of oral tradition to explain Bishop Petar's decision to promote his songs anonymously.[465] Indeed, as Karadžić relates in his *Introduction* to the first volume of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, 'u narodu niko ne drži za kaku majstoriju ili slavu novu pjesmu spjevati, i ne samo što se niko tim ne vali, nego još svaki (baš i onaj, koji jest) odbija od sebe i kaže da je čuo od drugoga.'[466] In other words, the authority of folk epic songs rests on oral tradition and not on the identity of their author. Medenica thus claims that Bishop Petar surely had in mind the popular tradition that claims the song is more appreciated if it is adopted from another singer, i.e. if it is older, and adds that it was also inappropriate for

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[460] Nedić, *Sima Milutinović Sarajlija*, pp. 104-107. See also: Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, p. 112.
[461] See Zuković, *Pogovor*, pp. 472-473.
[462] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj crnogorskoj istoriji*, p. 298.
[463] Medenica, *Naša narodne epika*, p. 112.
[464] Pantić, *Književnost na tlu Crne Gore*, p. 510.
[465] See: Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, p. 12.
[466] Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović. *Srpske narodne pjesme I* (Prosveta: Beograd, 1975), p. 566.

the Bishop to publish under his name the songs that praised his deeds and the deeds of his ancestors.[467]

Bishop Petar's motivation for composing the songs has also been discussed in previous scholarship.[468] In the absence of proper state institutions, the most efficient way for the Bishop to influence his subjects was through his words, either publicly spoken or written; as Petar I himself says: 'U mene mimo pera i jezika ne imade sile nikakve za privesti nepokorne na poslušanije'.[469] His numerous epistles, of which more than 250 were preserved, are illustrative of his efforts and goals as well as of the difficulties that he was faced with. The epistles, written as public proclamations directed towards a particular clan or tribe, or sometimes towards the entire population, were sent to local priests and tribal leaders in order to be read at public gatherings. Only occasionally is their content a call for the unification of forces and joint resistance in forthcoming battles. More often, it is a critique of the clans and tribes for their particularism and their countless mutual conflicts and hostilities. A leitmotif in his epistles is his request to end their 'samovolije', 'meždusobno krvoprolitije' and 'domaća rat'. For instance, as indicated, in 1807 Bishop Petar criticizes the Bjelice tribe because they continue 'biti, robiti i plenjivati našu istu braću i krajičnike Brđane, s kojijema smo jednu krv radi vjere i slobode naše prolivali, a drugi također ne prestaju daviti jadne i žalosne Grahovljane i Banjane';[470] and especially regrets that 'Crnogorci pomagaju Turcima klati i davati Hristijane u vrijeme, kada je Bog sojedinio srpski narod, da se od turskoga jarma oslobodi'.[471] A similar critique of the tribal confrontations, mutual conflicts and the absence

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[467] Medenica, *Naša narodna epika*, p. 12.
[468] See Miroslav Pantić, *Književnost na tlu Crne Gore i Boke Kotorske od XVI do XVIII veka* (Beograd: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1990), p. 511 et passim.
[469] Niko S. Martinović et all, *Prednjegoševsko doba* (Titograd: Grafički zavod, 1963) p. 531.
[470] Petar I, *Djela*, p. 52.
[471] Ibid., p. 53.

of ethnic and religious solidarity persists throughout the Bishop's epistles and correspondence.[472]

Consequently, since the local oral tradition glorified such events and characters, it also became the subject of the Bishop's criticism. Therefore, in his partially preserved epistle from 1818, he criticizes the Montenegrins for their constant attacks on the Austrian Coastal territory and on local Christians, but also for the fact that they praise these deeds in their songs: 'kada straže ćesarske bijete i robite, pak… i pjevat kako ste koga ubili i zarobili.'[473] Commenting on this epistle, Banašević emphasizes: 'Van svake sumnje, ovde se vladika obračunava i sa plemenskim pevačima, tim štedrim darovaocima slave i onim ljudima koji su se istakli jedino u međusobnim borbama i grabljenjima bratskih glava i plena.'[474] This corresponds with Ljubomir Zuković's overall conclusion that the tribal epic tradition was the personification of the views and actions against which the Bishop had fought.[475]

In summarizing the previous discussion, we could say that the information about Bishop Petar's compositions is substantial, but mostly circumstantial. It is beyond dispute that the didactic epic songs and pseudo-folk songs promoting the role of Bishop Petar and other members of the Petrović family in the Montenegrin struggle against the Turks were composed in and promoted from Cetinje during Bishop Petar's rule. The strongest arguments, in my view, are those about the Bishop's authorship over literary epic songs 'Poučenje u stihovima' and 'Pohvala Karađorđu'. These songs were distributed in written form, their various editions contain no significant differences, and no one else except the Bishop has ever been considered as their author.

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[472] See also Bishop Petar's epistles to: 'Moračanima i Uskocima' from March 1790; 'Rovcima, Moračanima i Uskocima' from November 1795; 'Glavarima' from November 1796; 'Brđanima' from February 1800; 'Katunjanima' from Jully 1805; 'Gornjomoračanima' from March 1806; 'Bjelicama' from December 1807; 'Drobnjacima' from September 1809, in Petar I, *Djela*, pp. 10, 13-14 , 17, 19-21, 34-35, 47, 52-53, 71-72.

[473] Ibid., p. 113.

[474] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 460.

[475] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 148.

Explicit information about Bishop Petar's authorship over six songs from Karadžić's manuscripts and 'Sopernik Bušatlije' from *Pjevanija*, I also take to be strong argumentation that the Bishop composed pseudo-folk songs comparable to the ones that his heir Njegoš later wrote. Like Njegoš, he was raised in a predominantly illiterate culture with strong oral tradition, and was certainly capable of composing such songs in the epic manner and style. Particularly telling are those indices coming from several unrelated sources, such as the manuscripts of Karadžić and Milutinović, connections of the persons that distributed and edited these songs with Cetinje, or Nedić's investigation of the *Pjevanija* manuscript with Banašević's previous attribution based mostly on textual and stylistic analyses. In addition, there has practically existed universal agreement of the interpretive community in the past sixty years about Bishop Petar's authorship over these songs.

While the Bishop was apparently involved in the production and distribution of such songs, it is less obvious that he should be identified as their actual author. For instance, the songs from Karadžić's manuscript were textualised in various versions during the nineteenth century by several collectors and editors, and these differences require further elaboration of the impact that their editors, scribes or oral performers had on their published form. This particularly applies to the two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha from Karadžić's collection; while their nontraditional origin is evident, they were also orally performed and became more like traditional oral songs. In other words, while the claim that Bishop Petar influenced these nontraditional songs attributed to him by the early collectors and later scholarship is well justified, there is not sufficient evidence to confirm they provide accurate transcriptions of the songs about this event that he had allegedly written himself.

In the previous discussion, the two songs about the 1796 battles from Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija* were described as nontraditional texts of literary origin, and the versions from Karadžić's collection as transitional texts where we find these original literary features to be adapted to some extent to oral manner and style. In addition, I argued that contextual information suggests nontraditional origin and Bishop Petar's influence on the Montenegrin songs about contemporary events in general. In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine contextual evidence about the literary origin of the *Pjevanija* versions to show that they are in accordance with the previous textual analysis and the identification of Karadžić's versions as transitional texts.

Upon first examination, these claims seem to be in deep tension with Sima Milutinović's information that he collected the song 'Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah s Kara-Mahmutom Bušatlijom' from the priest Rade Knežević from the Bjelopavlići tribe. However, I submit that this contradiction can quite effectively be resolved if we suppose that the priest received the song in written form from Bishop Petar or his associates. I offer several arguments in support of such a claim. Most importantly, this song clearly differs from other Knežević's songs. Namely, four other songs that Milutinović collected from the priest, 'Pastiri', 'Bošković', 'Zmaj-Ognjen Vuk' and 'Carska riječ', all have traditional subjects and content, and contain very few rhymed verses. Meanwhile, this is not the only song in *Pjevanija* attributed to the Bishop that Sima Milutinović collected from local singers. Milutinović also named 'Mata Radova Martinovića Bajicu' as the singer of the song 'Sve-oslobod'. The scholars, however, showed its nontraditional characteristics and identified Bishop Petar as its author, and the song is regularly published in recent editions of the

Bishop's works and attributed to him in the new edition of *Pjevanija*.[476] In other words, such nontraditional songs were occasionally collected from distinguished Montenegrins of the time acquainted with the Bishop.

Another argument that supports this claim is that Bishop Petar's works were circulated in the written form both during and after his lifetime. For example, I already argued that his epistles were typically sent to distinguished local representatives that were his associates and supporters. The Bishop's didactic epic songs 'Poučenje u stihovima' and 'Pohvala Karađorđu' were also repeatedly textualised both during and after his lifetime. This all suggests that similarly to his epistles and public proclamations, the Bishop's songs, too, might have been distributed to his followers in Montenegro – archimandrite Dučić, for example, found 'Poučenje u stihovima' from the monk Mihajlo from the Piperska cell monastery.

In addition, Dučić also claimed that it was well known that Bishop Petar wrote epic songs, and estimated that some of them were still unpublished and scattered in Montenegro:

> Kao što je poznato, sveti Petar Cetinjski napisao je nekoliko junačkijeh pjesama, u kojima se vidi njegov veliki poetski dar, bistrina misli, prosti i slatki slog, čista i prava pobožnost, krasno osjećanje i veliko rodoljublje. Njegove su neke pjesme naštampane, a jamačno ih ima koje još nijesu naštampane, nego su kojekuda zaturene zbog čestijeh nemirah i ratovah koji se događaše u Crnoj Gori.[477]

In this context, the version of the song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' published by Veljko Radojević in the journal *Bosanska vila* in 1892 deserves certain attention.[478] Radojević claimed that he had found the original song written by Bishop Petar in old ortography among the manuscripts of the late Jokan Radović, who, Radojević specifies, was an associate of the Bishop and had kept correspondence with him. Radojević thus transcribed

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[476] See: Vuković, *Književnost Crne Gore*; Petar I. *Djela*; Milutinović, *Pjevanija*; Njegoš, *Ogledalo srbsko*.
[477] See: See: Đukić, *Pregled književnog rada Crne Gore*, p. 12.
[478] See: Veljko Radojević, 'Pjesna v boja bivšago leta Gospodnja 1796. meždu Cernogorcima, Italiancima i Berđanima i Mahmutom vezirom v Arbanije u Bjelopavliće, više grada Spuža, u selo Martiniće', in *Bosanska vila*, 18 (1892), pp. 283-85.

it, noticed that the song contained many more rhymed verses than Karadžić's 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', and raised the claim that this version was 'vijerna slika originala – onakva kakva je izašla iz pera njenog autora'.[479] However, as Zuković observes, the late edition of the song and the fact that Radojević later republished it with certain, although minor, changes despite the decided claim that he had kept 'vjerno terminologiju originala', raise some doubts about the credibility of his textualization.[480] Nevertheless, while the accuracy of Radojević's textual transcription is disputable, there are no reasons to disregard his explanation altogether.[481] In all likelihood, Radojević did precisely what contributors to *Bosanska vila*, a well established literary magazine at the time that especially promoted folk literature, were supposed to do – he found a song in a manuscript, saw its similarity with Karadžić's 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', transcribed it as best as he could and added a short commentary. Thus, the presumption of Bishop Petar's personal distribution of his pseudo-folk songs in written form appears to be not only plausible but supported by several, although circumstantial, pieces of evidence.

There are fewer reasons to accept Radojević's claim that the song he published was the original song composed by Bishop Petar. As indicated, the differences between the various documented versions cannot be all explained away by claims of editorial interventions

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[479] Ibid., p. 283.

[480] See: Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 471.

[481] If we reject Radojević's testimony, we would need to imagine a rather bizarre and superficial scenario – Radojević makes a deliberate forgery to deceive the readers and the general public, adds a title written in old ortography, and meticulously rewrites Karadžić's version, which is the only one that he mentions and most likely the only one that he knows about, by substituting unrhymed verses with the rhymed ones. In addition, he involves in the story not only late Jokan Radović, but also his grandson Božo Radović, whom he mentions by name as his personal friend and the source of the original manuscript. Thus, even if we accept that Radojević could have had the expertise and dishonesty for all this, which is highly unlikely, the strongest argument against it is that it is simply hard to see what the point of such an enterprise would be. If Radojević was opting for scholarly and public acclaim, he would have had many more chances for public appraisal if he had counterfeited the songs about Marko Kraljević or the Kosovo Battle. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Bogoljub Petranović tried to deceive the public with his collections of supposedly folk songs about these older Serbian heroes, and Miloš S. Milojević and Stefan Verković published collections of equally superficial folk songs abut old Slavonic Gods Perun, Dajbog, Volos and others (See: Pantić, *Pravo i lažno u narodnom pesništvu*, Despotovac : Narodna biblioteka 'Resavska škola', 1996.). However, to counterfeit only one song in *Bosanska vila* simply to confirm the claim that Karadžić already made about Bishop Petar's authorship over it would be rather pointless.

and inadequate transcription.[482] It is thus unlikely that there actually was one original written song in the first place that served as the source of all subsequent versions. Early nineteenth century Montenegrin culture was still predominantly oral, and it is hardly surprising that all the documented versions, whether being published from the manuscripts or written down from oral performances, merge written and oral characteristics to some extent. The songs were most likely repeatedly textualised and orally performed in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and it is quite understandable that even the written versions would be affected by this still predominantly oral culture to some extent. In addition, since Đuro Milutinović was blind, the only way for him to learn the song was if it was read aloud to him or performed orally in his presence. If a more precise hierarchy of the existing versions is needed, Radojević's version appears to be the most literary of all – it contains the highest number of rhymed verses because, as it appears, it was written by the author at one point and remained fixed in such textual form. Sima Milutinović's version, even if it was actually written down from the priest Rade Knežević, is also, as I argued, predominantly literary.

The question of their original form, therefore, should not be overestimated. Orality, Lord reminds us, 'does not mean merely oral presentation . . . what is important is not the oral presentation but rather the composition during performance'.[483] Principles of oral composition, therefore, to use Parry's words, require that 'the oral poem even in the mouth of the same singer is ever in a state of change'.[484] In addition, I mentioned earlier that Lord describes the difference between the traditional and nontraditional singer precisely by referring to the direct copying and word-for-word memorization as signposts of nontraditionality. Once the singers start reproducing one version and treating it as fixed and authoritative text, their performances, according to Lord, 'could not be oral in any except the

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[482] See also: Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, pp. 275-79; Zuković, *Pogovor*, pp. 460-62.
[483] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 5.
[484] Parry, *The Making of the Homeric Verse*, p. 335

most literal sense'.[485] Therefore, even in the unlikely event that Sima Milutinović did not take the written song from the priest Rade Knežević, but actually wrote it down from his performance, we could see how the priest tries to memorize the Bishop's song and to reproduce it accurately. Karadžić's singer Đuro Milutinović, however, behaves according to Lord's instructions: 'Even as copyist he remains to some extent a traditional singer'.[486]

Nonetheless, it would still be hard to justify the claim that any of the aforementioned versions is actually a proper oral traditional song. Such a conclusion follows both from Lord's instruction that these songs remain traditional only 'to some extent', and from my previous analyses. As the discussion in the previous chapter suggested, different variants in South Slavonic oral tradition at best show similarities in the names of the protagonists, describe similar main events, sometimes even ordering them in a corresponding way, but never actually incorporate a whole series of exactly the same verses as various versions of the songs about the 1796 battles do. In particular, the analysis of the two tribal versions of 'Boj na Morači' demonstrated that even contemporary songs from the same territory display great differences with regard to their outlook, style and the evaluation of characters.

It could be objected, perhaps, that the songs about the battle of Morača were collected only two years after the actual event and thus had no time to became widely popular and well established and fixed by tradition like the songs about the 1796 battles. However, basically any popular song can serve to illustrate the ways by which traditional orally distributed songs about the same subject depart from each other. I take here the example of the song 'Tri sužnja'; it describes the imprisonment of Liješ, Selak and Vuksan, the distinguished heroes of their respective tribes of Piperi, Vasojevići and Rovci. The song obviously captured a popular motive, documented in various versions and published by Karadžić, Sima Milutinović and Njegoš in their collections, and preserved in three more variants in Karadžić's manuscripts.

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[485] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 280.
[486] Lord, *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition*, p. 183.

The popularity of the song is additionally confirmed by Karadžić, who in his 1833 *Introduction* reports that he has written down five different versions of the song, and that all were largely congruent. The documented versions are, indeed, quite similar, certainly due to the set structure of the plot, the formulaic character of the heroes' speeches, and their names being well established in the tribal tradition.[487] The opening lines of the two of Karadžić's versions and the songs published in *Pjevanija*, all documented around the same time, are given bellow:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Zacmilješe tri nevoljni sužnja | Procviljele tri Srpske vojvode | Ucmilješe dobri tri junaka |
| U tamnicu Skadru na Bojanu, | U sužanjstvu paše Skadarskoga, | U bijelu Skadru na Bojanu. |
| Oni smile tri godine dana, | A da zašto? Veće ni kroza što, | Jedno soko Liješe Pipere, |
| Ne viđaju sunca ni mjeseca, | Za harače od lomnijeh Brda, | Drugo Solat od Vasojevićah, |
| Jedno je Liješ od Piperah, | Jer se Brdska đeca posilila, | Treće Vuksan od Bulatovića. |
| Drugo Tomo od Vasojevića, | Pa ne dadu carevih harača, | Vuksan pita oba pobratima: |
| Treće je Bulatov Vuksane. | A vojvode paša prevario, | "O Boga vi, oba pobratima, |
| No je Vuksan njima govorio: | Na tvrdu ih vjeru domamio, | ev' doista poginut' hoćemo, |
| "A tako vi, do dva pobratima, | Turio ih na dno u tavnicu: | nego što je jutros kom' najžal'je |
| Što je, braćo, kome najžalije?" | Jedno bješe Vuksan od Rovaca, | ostaviti na svoje dvorove?" |
| | Drugo bješe Liješ od Pipera, | |
| | Treće bješe Selak Vasojević, | |
| | Ljuto cvile, jest im za nevolju, | |
| | Sužanjstvo je njima dodijalo. | |
| | Još besjedi Vuksan od Rovaca: | |
| | "Braćo moja, ljubimna družino! | |
| | Mi hoćemo ovđe izginuti; | |
| | Šta je kome danas najžalije"? | |
| Vuk, SANU IV, 14 | Vuk , SNP IV, 4 | SM, *Pjevanija*, 10 |

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[487] See: Latković, *Komentar i objašnjenja*, p. 491.

In short, even the corresponding lines show certain differences in the names and order of characters, as well as in expression and style; in addition, each of the singers builds the narrative in a partly different manner, by either emphasizing the length of the imprisonment, the characters' disobedience and the pasha's wretchedness, or by referring to their household. Thus, even in this case of a song with a firmly established structure, we find significant variations even in the most similar versions, and if we included other Karadžić's variants and the one published by Njegoš, the differences and general incongruence would be far greater.

All this complies with the previous discussion of the oral traditional technique and style. Namely, the comparative evidence from various oral traditions showed that exact verbal reproduction is essentially foreign to oral culture, and that, as Morris puts it, 'Lord's model of an insistent, conservative urge for the preservation of an essential idea, but in a fluid context, is much closer to the norm'.[488] In addition, the aforementioned examples of Đemail Zogić, Toma Vučić Perišić and other singers confirmed these general views in the context of South Slavonic oral tradition.

To summarize, although decisive proofs that 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' was originally a written song composed by Bishop Petar are lacking, the available contextual evidence can coherently be combined with the previous stylistic analysis, which showed the abundance of literary elements in the songs published by Sima Milutinović and Karadžić. Thus the most plausible explanation is that this song involved both literary and oral techniques of composition and distribution. Still, both Radojević's and Sima Milutinović's versions in effect appear to be written compositions in which literary characteristics dominate over traditional ones. Therefore, I described them as essentially literary songs. The two songs published by Karadžić effectively combine literary and traditional characteristics, and were therefore described as proper transitional texts – even though traces of literary influence on

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[488] Morris, *The Use and Abuse of Homer*, p 86.

the songs are still visible, they are not dominant and remain to some extent subject to the rules of oral traditional composition. Nevertheless, it is evident that although singers transform many nontraditional elements in a traditional manner by reducing the overall number of the rhymed verses, avoiding chains of rhymed couplets and excluding or adapting unusual phraseology, they still behave to some extent as if the song is a fixed text that they should reproduce accurately.

The above analysis seemed to follow the line of Karadžić's argument about the nontraditional origin of 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', and its subsequent adaptation and further traditionalization through oral performances. But, are these traditional elements present to such an extent that this song should be considered as a legitimate part of the oral tradition, that is, as a song that was transmitted orally and became popular among folk singers like other songs from the collection? This seems less plausible for several reasons. Firstly, as I argued, the *Pjevanija* version and other later variants are still predominantly literary, and even Karadžić's version only partially adapted these literary characteristics to oral manner and style. In other words, even though Đuro Milutinović behaves as a traditional singer to some extent, reformulating or transforming various nontraditional elements in the oral traditional manner and style, he still performs this song differently from his other songs and treats it as an authoritative text that he tries to reproduce more accurately. Finally, this song was apparently not distributed as part of local oral tradition. All the persons mentioned so far in relation to 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' and its later versions, like Đuro Milutinović, Sima Milutinović, priest Rade Knežević or Jokan Radović, were the Bishop's associates and supporters and had direct contact with him. The song was, thus, not distributed orally and adopted by common folk as Karadžić had guessed, but apparently remained known only to a narrow circle of Bishop Petar's followers, who received or learned it either directly from him or from someone from his immediate surroundings.

It is harder to assert such a direct connection between the Bishop and the singer of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša'. Karadžić published this song without specifying the date of its documentation and the name of the singer, and the only information about it is his statement from the 1833 introduction that he collected it 'u Kragujevcu, od jednog Crnogorca'. Since Karadžić published this song in the third book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* in 1823, the time of its textualisation can be determined with some precision. Karadžić prepared this volume for publication in the late 1822, which means that he had written it down during some of his stays at Kragujevac, that is, between 1820 and 1822. More precisely, in the aforementioned letters to Kopitar from 1822,[489] Karadžić specifies the songs he collected during his stay at Kragujevac that year. Since he does not mention 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' in these letters, it is unlikely that he wrote it down in 1822. As far as the two previous years are concerned, Karadžić collected far more songs in 1820 than in 1821,[490] which thus makes the former year the more probable date of the textualization of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša'. This would correspond with Zuković's suggestion that Karadžić could have left out the name of the singer simply because he documented it early and had forgotten the name of its singer by the time that he wrote the *Introduction*.[491] In any case, it is certain that Karadžić wrote down the song sometimes between 1820 and 1822, with 1820 being the most probable year of its textualization.

While the date of the documentation of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' can be established with some precision, the name of its singer essentially remains a matter of speculation. Radosav Medenica raised a claim that the unknown Montenegrin undoubtedly learned his version from Đuro Milutinović and that this song relies on Milutinović's version. It appears that this claim can be substantiated to some extent. Namely, 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' contains certain distinctive features, absent from both songs about the 1796

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[489] Karadžić, *Prepiska II (1822-1825)*, p. 117.
[490] See his letter to Kopitar from 1 December 1820 in *Prepiska I (1811-1821)*, p. 841.
[491] See: Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 473.

battles from *Pjevanija* and found only in Đuro Milutinović's song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' from Karadžić's collection. One of such distinctive details is the identification of Ibrahim as the future governor of Dubrovnik in 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša'. The relevant lines in three different versions are given bellow:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Postaviću brata Ibrahima | Do bijela grada Dubrovnika; | Kad dođemo gradu Dubrovniku, |
| u Novome, gradu bijelome[…] | Sve ću junak ognjem popaliti; | Tu hoćemo, braćo, zapašiti |
| a sinovca mladoga Mehmeda, | Tu ću vrći brata Ibrahima, | Baš mojega brata Ibrahima, |
| u Dubrovnik neka gospoduje | Da kraljuje i da gospoduje, | Da pašuje i da gospoduje, |
| da se ovo na daleko čuje. | Da se i ja čujem na daleko. | Nek se čudo na daleko čuje. |
| 'Opet Crnogorci' *(VK, NSP)* | 'Boj u Martiniće' *(SM)* | 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' *(VK)* |

In the two songs about these battles from Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija*, these verses belong to the song about the first Mehmet Pasha's campaign against Bjelopavlići and Piperi fought in early 1796; they are completely absent from the song 'Na Kruse', which describes his death in the second campaign against the Montenegrins launched later that year. In addition, in the quoted excerpt from the song 'Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah', Ibrahim is mentioned as the future governor of Novi, while Mehmet is to become the governor of Dubrovnik. The same identification is also found in the version from *Grlica* published in 1835, in Radojević's version from *Bosanska vila*, and in both versions from Karadžić's manuscripts – the one that he received from Maksim Škrlić after 1860 and the fragmentary version with only thirty three verses that he wrote down around 1822. In other words, all other versions indicate that in local tradition both names were quite firmly fixed and pertained to Novi and Dubrovnik respectively. It thus seems plausible to assume that it was Đuro Milutinović who made this permutation, and that the singer of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' adopted it from him. In addition, in both songs the concluding verse of Mehmet's speech sounds 'I na moru konja napojimo'. Being absent from all other versions, this verse presents another distinctive feature of these two songs, and the detailed analysis would likely

amount to a list of such distinctive similarities. In any case, I think that it is safe to say that such a distinctive correspondence between the two songs shows that they do not belong to separate lines of oral tradition but stem from the same branch.

As indicated, Ljubomir Zuković tried to identify the singer of 'Opet Crnogorci i Mahmut-paša' as deacon Ličinić.[492] However, as I previously argued, Ličinić spent less than four years in Montenegro; it is thus unlikely that in such a short time he could have become sufficiently immersed in the local context and oral tradition to be able to perform these songs, and equally implausible that Karadžić would describe him as 'an Montenegrin' ('jednog Crnogorca'). Furthermore, Karadžić frequented Prince Miloš's court at the time when Ličinić worked there as tutor to the Prince's children, and would thus hardly forget his name. Nonetheless, the fact remains that Ličinić did come from Montenegro and remains the only possible candidate mentioned at the time in Karadžić's correspondence.

To summarize, while my earlier discussion confirmed Karadžić's claims that the two songs contain more traditional elements and that he wrote them down from oral performances, the last section has showed that they were not adopted by the local oral tradition and transmitted orally in Montenegro for decades prior to their documentation by Karadžić. Namely, they were collected in Serbia from Đuro Milutinović, who previously resided at Cetinje, and in all likelihood some of his anonymous acquaintances in Kragujevac, or deacon Ličinić, learned this song from him and performed it to Karadžić. In any case, contextual information complies with the previous claims about the nontraditional origin of the songs about 1796 battles; these songs belonged to the narrow circle of Bishop Petar's associates who mostly resided at Cetinje, and were certainly not a part of local oral tradition in Montenegro at the time or widespread and popular songs in Serbia. The striking similarities in expression, exposition, order of the events etc. between the various documented songs,

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[492] Ibid., p. 473.

showed not only their literary origin but also another essentially nontraditional characteristic formulated by Lord – the singers' attempt to treat the song as a fixed text and to try and reproduce it accurately, which is a nontraditional characteristic incompatible with the process of oral composition and distribution.

### Beyond Oral Tradition: *Pjesn Crnogorska* and Bishop Petar's Songs

The songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha published by early collectors appear to be of literary origin. In the absence of traditional folk songs about these events, the literary epic song *Pjesn Crnogorska pobjeda nad skadarskim pašom Mahmutom Bušatlijom* is the only available comparison with alternative presentation of the events from 1796 that could provide additional clues on the songs' origin and the Bishop's influence on the songs from Karadžić's collection. Vikentije Rakić, prior at the Fenek Monastery in Vojvodina and notable early nineteenth-century Serbian writer, published it in Buda in 1803.[493] In addition to its literary origin, the song also shows strong tendency towards consecutive rhymed couplets, typically found in other literary epic songs written in the manner of oral traditional poetry. More precisely, out of 295 ten-syllable lines in total, only around fifteen are not rhymed, which clearly shows that the singer aims at achieving consistent rhyming. Moreover, the cases of the adjoining verses without rhyme almost exclusively apply to the verses containing geographic terms, like: *Zatvoriše/Nikšića tvrda*, *Goru Černu/Cetinju*, *Cetinju/godini*, *Podgorice/vojnika*, *Bjelopavliće/do podne*. In other words, the occasional absence of rhyming

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[493] See later edition in Božidar Šekularac, *Dukljansko-crnogorski istorijski obzori* (Cetinje: Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore 'Đurđe Crnojević', 2000), pp. 251-70. For a more detailed survey of historical background, see: Nikola Škerović, '"Pjesen": Crnogorska pobjeda nad Skadarskim pašom Mahmutom Bušatlijom, kao istorijski dokument', in *Istorijski časopis*, 1-2, (Beograd: SANU, 1949), pp. 167-80. For a comparative analysis of this song with other literary presentations of these events, see: 'Crnogorsko ratno 1796. leto u guslarskim, Rakićevim i Njegoševim pesmama', in Vladimir Otović, *Beleške na belinama Njegoševih knjiga* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1994), pp. 16-27.

is not the consequence of the singer's usage of oral traditional or formulaic expressions, but of his inability to match certain toponyms with corresponding rhyming words.

The importance of this song for this analysis is that besides Bishop Petar, it also celebrates the role of the *guvernadur* Joko Radonjić in the two battles. In all likelihood, the title of governor was originally assigned to Montenegrins by the representatives of the Republic of Venice, which controlled the adjacent coastal territory. [494] By instituting a governor, Venice intended to formalize its relations with the neighbouring Montenegrins, to improve cooperation on the frontier and to enable the settlement of mutual disputes. The title had symbolic significance and its bearers considered themselves official and legitimate political representatives of Montenegro. The Radonjić family from the Njeguši tribe from Cetinje usually held this title from the late seventeenth century and was the most serious local rival of the Petrović family for political control over Montenegro. Joko Radonjić, doubtlessly the most distinguished among them, held this title from 1764 until his death in 1802, and played an important role in Montenegrin history in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. However, as Bishop Petar's political influence constantly grew over the first decades of the nineteenth century, the role of the governor gradually lost its authority and significance. In 1834, Njegoš finally abolished it and prosecuted the last *guvernadur* Vuko Radonjić for treason. Shortly after his conviction, the Radonjić's were banished from Montenegro and their houses burned down.

*Pjesn Crnogorska* contains certain duality, in the sense that it acknowledges the importance of both the Bishop and the governor Joko, but ultimately identifies the latter as the highest political authority. For instance, this duality manifests itself in the correspondence between Mehmet and the Montenegrin leaders. Thus, prior to the first battle Mehmet writes to the Bishop, who then informs Joko. On the eve of the second combat, however, the vizier

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[494] See: Pejović, *Crna Gora u doba Petra I i Petra II*, pp. 48-51. For a full list of the Montenegrin *guvernaduri*, see: Risto Dragićević, 'Guvernaduri u Crnoj Gori (1717-1830)', in *Zapisi*, 23 (1940), pp. 14-24, 75-93.

sends his letter directly to Joko. In the correspondence, Bishop Petar himself addresses Joko as 'crnogorska glavo', and Mehmet calls him 'crnogorski kralju'. In addition, throughout the song it is Joko who 'divno razrijedi vojsku', 'postavi buljubaše vojsci', and at the end 'razvi svilen barjak' as the sign of the victory.[495] As Šekularac indicates:

> Sve ovo, očigledno, govori da autor smatra Joka za vrhovnog komandanta vojske […] S druge strane, Petru se daje mjesto duhovnika ('duhovna sam ja persona, bane', stih 43), koji želi da mudrošću i blagom riječju smiri skadarskog vezira 'da ljudi ne ginu'. Petar je za njega više crkveni poglavar i 'crnogorska slava i dika' nego komandant i gospodar.[496]

Previous consideration enables us to suggest that the songs about the 1796 battles from *Narodne srpske pjesme* and *Pjevanija* were originally composed shortly after this event. Namely, the song celebrating *guvernadur* Joko Radonjić as the Montenegrin military leader and emphasizing his decisive role in the victory against Mehmet Pasha was published only seven years after the two battles took place. If the corresponding songs stressing Bishop Petar's part in these victories were not already composed at the time, this would certainly stimulate the Bishop and his followers to produce and promote such narratives. In addition, Đuro Milutinović's biography shows that he moved permanently to Serbia proper in 1808. It is far more likely that at the time he already knew the song about this battle that Karadžić later collected from him, than to assume that he received it later in written form. Otherwise, it would be hard to explain how Karadžić's version acquired so many oral features in such a short time, and why no other songs about these battles apart from those celebrating exclusively the Bishop's role were collected from the 1820s onwards. In short, *Pjesn Crnogorska* offered alternative contemporary interpretation of the battles against Mehmet Pasha from the one expressed in the songs about this event from Karadžić and Sima Milutinović's collections. This additionally suggests that the songs from these collections

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[495] See: Šekularac, *Dukljansko-crnogorski istorijski obzori*, pp. 262-64.
[496] Ibid., p. 254. Škerović reaches the same conclusion: 'Pisac *Pjesme* glavnu ulogu u događajima pripisuje guvernaduru Joku, dok mitropolita Petra I tretira samo kao duhovnog poglavara, kao neki moralni autoritet, a ne kao stvarnog upravljača, kao vladara'. See: Škerović, *Pjesen*, p. 175.

were influenced by the Bishop and promoted by his followers in the first years of the nineteenth century already.

**Chapter 4. Between Traditional and Nontraditional Texts:**

**The Songs of Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac**

The three previous chapters defined oral traditional, transitional and nontraditional texts and determined the characteristics of five genuinely oral traditional and two transitional Montenegrin texts in Karadžić's collection. This chapter focuses on four remaining Montenegrin songs from *Narodne srpske pjesme* that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac: 'Perović Batrić', 'Tri sužnja', 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša'. It will be argued that these songs are still predominantly traditional with respect to their oral-formulaic style and local outlook, but that they also contain distinct phrases, verses and views that promote national unity, solidarity and cooperation in the struggle for national liberation from the Turks. I shall suggest further that these elements of a broader perspective are external to oral tradition, and that this literate singer adopted them outside the local tradition during his education and under the influence of Bishop Petar.

Previous consideration already identified Đuro Milutinović as a distinct figure among Karadžić's Montenegrin singers. As indicated, even though Milutinović was a professional blind *guslar*, he differed from other traditional singers since he became literate early in his life, later received some formal education and even became a distinguished participant in the Belgrade literary life. In addition, the singer already in his youth established cooperation with Bishop Petar, and I will suggest further that nontraditional songs composed and promoted by the Bishop and/or his associates significantly influenced his views.

Two out of six songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović and published in *Narodne srpske pjesme* were analysed so far. The discussion in the second chapter showed that Đuro Milutinović's 'Dijoba Selimovića' is an oral traditional song. The singer in this case did not alter the traditional plot and performed this song as any traditional singer would, and it is therefore fully representative of the local oral tradition of the time. In distinction, I argued that 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' is a transitional text of literary origin that Đuro Milutinović adapted to some extent to the oral performative manner and style.

Subsequent analysis of the four remaining Đuro Milutinović's songs from the collection will show that they adopt distinctive lexis and outlook to a certain degree, and combine the tribal and local outlook, as a typical feature of the local oral tradition, with a broader perspective promoting tribal unity and cooperation in the struggle against the Turks. As I will argue, these idiosyncratic elements are coherently and more effectively combined and inserted in the traditional narrative in the songs 'Tri sužnja' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', whereas in 'Perović Batrić' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' they sometimes collide and contradict the prevailing traditional plot. These features were introduced by the singer in order to harmonize the traditional plot with the views of national unity that he developed during his education, and to present local events as part of the struggle for national liberation.

I will therefore argue that these four songs show the first stage of the influence of literate culture on oral tradition. The subjects, themes and stylistic devices in Đuro Milutinović's songs are still mostly oral traditional and similar versions of all four songs were collected throughout the Montenegrin area in this period. This shows that the singer relies on the traditional local oral epic songs, and uses oral-formulaic style and phraseology. The influence of literate culture on the singer, however, becomes recognizable when we move on to the overall level of the represented perspective. Namely, it is argued that in promoting national unity and general insurrection against the Turks, the singer most heavily departs from the traditional plot. These emerging elements in his songs are still by large expressed in traditional style and phraseology, but also contain idiosyncratic features found in other contemporary songs of nontraditional origin that previous scholars have attributed to Bishop Petar, which enables us to identify these elements with considerable accuracy.

'Perović Batrić'

This section offers an analysis of Đuro Milutinović's song 'Perović Batrić', from the third book of *Narodne srpske* from 1823, as another essentially traditional song that reflects the particular context of the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian relations. As I already argued, the antagonism between the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian tribes was a distinctive feature of the social history of the region as well as of the local oral tradition, and previous analysis of 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' exemplified these characteristics of the Montenegrin epic.[497]

It is indicative that Karadžić himself in several instances referred to the songs 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Perović Batrić' as illustrative of both local oral tradition and

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[497] See: Serensen, *Prilog istoriji razvoja srpskog junačkog pesništva*, p. 263-76; Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 148 et passim; Matić, *Naš narodi ep i naš stih*, pp. 95-125; Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti*, p. 388.

these social relations. For example, describing the anarchy on the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian frontier in his book *Montenegro und die Montenegriner*, Karadžić says that the most common and popular form of warfare in Montenegro is 'četovanje', attacks launched by small groups of warriors that plunder across the adjoining territory under Turkish control.[498] Summarizing the overall image of the Montenegrin epic tradition in the same book, he indicated: 'Ponajviše srpsko-crnogorskijeh narodnijeh pjesama pjevaju o ovakvom četovanju', and singled out 'Perović Batrić' as particularly illustrative in this respect. [499] Another mention of the antagonisms between the Herzegovinians and Montenegrins is found in his 1862 edition of the fourth volume of *Srpske narodne pjesme*. Karadžić makes a comment about the conflict between Vuk Koprivica from Banjani and the Montenegrins in the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica', and specifies: 'Banjani se i sad broje u Tursku državu, a otprije su morali s Turcima udarati na Crnu goru i braniti se od Crnogoraca, kao što su i Crnogorci četujući onuda po Turskoj slabo razlikovali imanje hrišćansko od Turskoga.' [500] Karadžić then illustrates this point by reminding us that in the song 'Perović Batrić' '"od Tupana Panto" (opet Banjanin) nije samo govorio Ćoroviću Osmanu da Batrića nipošto ne pušta živa, nego ga je još i ubio sam.'[501] All this shows that Đuro Milutinović's song 'Perović Batrić' should be approached from a particular perspective of the early nineteenth-century epic songs from the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian frontier.

Our analysis will show that the song offers the intersection of two contested perspectives. One is dominant in the narrative, and displays ambiguous and complex tribal relations and antagonisms between the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian tribes, already identified as typical characteristics of the local oral tradition. Another one is the view that demands unity and national solidarity among the Christians irrespective of their tribal

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[498] Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, p. 59.
[499] Ibid., p. 60.
[500] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 30.
[501] Ibid., p. 30.

affiliation. As indicated, this perspective stems from the singer's life history, his wider education and international experience, and his contacts with Bishop Petar. I will show that these views of a wider Christian solidarity and unity in this song at one point explicitly contradict the traditional tribal outlook that still prevails in the plot. It will therefore be argued that 'Perović Batrić' is still predominantly an oral traditional song; the views of a wider Christian solidarity have limited impact on the prevailing traditional plot, and appear to be nontraditional elements external to local oral tradition. Finally, I will submit that similar features are more frequently adopted in the three remaining songs from Karadžić's collection, and that in fostering these views Đuro Milutinović often uses the phraseology and style found in contemporary local songs attributed to Bishop Petar.

### a. Đuro Milutinović's version and Karadžić's 'Narodne srpske pjesme'

The opening lines of the song describe the Montenegrin hero Perović Batrić being captured by Osman Ćorović on the territory of the Banjani tribe. The hero asks Osman to spare his life and offers a rich ransom. Osman is ready to accept the offer, but a Christian named Panto intervenes to prevent this. His explanation that all Batrić's wealth comes from his plundering of the Banjani applies to three realms. In the beginning, Panto articulates what we could label as the sphere of luxury and identifies it with the Turks:

'Što ti daje nebrojeno blago,

Uzeo je blago od Turaka;

Što l' ti daje sedam dževerdara,

S taki' ih je skinuo Turaka'.[502]

On this level, Panto neither claims nor recognizes any direct personal interest that would follow from his position of the subjected Christian. His initial address to Osman thus aims at those possessions identified with the Turks, which serve as direct displays of social

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[502] Ibid., p. 23.

and symbolic prestige and wealth. In other words, Batrić's unforgivable crime is that he denies the Turks in their social and military superiority.

In the second part of his speech, Panto moves on to describe their mutual interests: '"Što ti daje v'jence i oboce, | On će naše snahe povatati, | Te će skidat' v'jence i oboce"'.[503] Referring to 'our sisters-in-law', he exposes Batrić as their common threat. Panto also moves from the past to the future tense, showing that he is less concerned with the righteous punishment of Batrić for his previous crimes committed against the Turks, than with the repercussions of Batrić's future actions on the communal level.

Finally, Panto shows his personal concern for the security of his own family: '"Što ti daje Cuckinju robinju, | To će moju ćerku zarobiti | Te je dati zase u otkupa"'.[504]

Therefore, Panto systematically presents Batrić as a threat to all the social participants – he endangers both the domination of the Turks and Panto's family security. The intersection of the two spheres is recognized on the mediatory tribal level of common identification, as the protection of 'our' sisters-in-law, i.e. of the females married to our tribesmen.

The latent sexual connotation of the phrase 'v'jence i oboce' (necklaces and earrings) is explicated in another song from the same singer, where one of the Turks: 'vata Pivljanke Srpkinje, | Skida njima v'jence i oboce, | A ljubi ih silom na sramotu.'[505] In other words, to reach towards their private belongings also means to claim access to their most intimate sphere. Thus in the same way in which the loss of 'sedam džeferdara' symbolizes Batrić's seizure of their heroic and social status, necklaces and earrings from women's necks function as a synecdoche for Batrić's violation of the sphere of privacy on the deepest level.

Certainly, neither tribal conformity nor hostility towards Batrić eradicates the differences between Panto and Osman and their respective social and religious positions. On the contrary, Batrić's offer actually induces Panto to formulate the difference between them

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[503] Ibid., p. 24.
[504] Ibid., p. 24.
[505] See: 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković', in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 270.

and to explicate their separate interests. Their common ground is found in their tribal association, which for Panto is the highest effective level of the identification and recognition of common interests and the one that marks the horizon of his actions.

However, we should not overlook the perspective of a broader Christian solidarity that appears in this song. Namely, the singer is not indifferent towards this fratricidal bloodshed. Thus, although Panto occupies a subject-position and owns a voice, his speech is introduced with the curse 'Bog ubio od Tupana Panta', apparently stigmatizing Panto for his disloyalty towards the fellow Christians and his collaboration with the Turks. In other words, although the higher level of solidarity among the Christians irrespective of their tribal affiliation is not operative in the plot, the singer himself recognizes it. This indicates the existence of the broader perspective that transcends presented events and unifies Christian characters on the higher national level.

The apparent dissonance between the perspective that seems to be embedded in the plot and what looks as the singer's own views appears as unusual, almost aberrant if seen from the light of the canonical approaches to the epic such as those of Hegel and Bakhtin discussed previously. According to their views, in epic world the poet's subjectivity is still inextricably bound with a collective outlook and does not permit an individual, personal point of view or evaluation.[506] I argued, however, that Hegel and Bakhtin formulated their claims on a rather narrow epic material, and that evidences from other oral traditions and contemporary studies of Ancient Greek oral tradition do not confirm such strict distinctions. In addition, the discussion of the Thersites scene showed that even the *Iliad*, the main source of the Hegelian and Bakhtinian reasoning, allows different points of view to be articulated apart from the dominant one, and that they can collide and contradict each other; moreover,

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[506] Hegel, *Lectures on Aesthetics*, II, p. 115; Bakhtin, 'Epic and the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination*, p. 17.

that one of these contested perspectives can be privileged in the plot or by the narrator through his comments and evaluation of the characters.

The identification of two contested perspectives in the Thersites scene bears clear resemblance to the above analysis of 'Perović Batrić'. As indicated, the two perspectives in 'Perović Batrić' are incompatible. Panto is accused of being a traitor, but at the same time is given a voice that explains and justifies his actions, and immediately disqualifies the ultimate implicit request and demand for national/religious solidarity that stands behind the curse. In other words, the immediacy of Batrić as a threat disables such wider association that would account for a broader Christian affiliation, and directs Panto towards Osman and their association on the tribal level. Certainly, Osman is recognized as privileged in social and financial status and wealth. Nevertheless, Panto also expresses certain expectations and demands, and reminds Osman of his obligations. Namely, Panto confronts his intention to accept Batrić's offer for ransom that is, indeed, profitable for Osman, since it increases his personal wealth. However, although Batrić is Osman's captive, Panto denies him the right to make a sovereign decision over his life and to act solely for his own benefit. Osman is obliged to protect the interests of his fellow Turks, of the Banjani tribe, and finally of Panto himself. Thus, Panto confronts Osman, gives his speech and kills Batrić without waiting for an answer or permission from Osman.

This scene contains another interesting detail. Namely, Panto is apparently armed, which seems to be in contradiction to the one of the fundamental laws of the Ottoman rule, which forbids 'raja', that is, the subjected, non-Muslim population, to bear weapons in any instance. A brief reference to an anecdote from Karadžić's *Montenegro und die Montenegriner*, should offer some clarification of this scene. Describing these peculiar relations on the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian frontier, Karadžić also mentions distinctive privileges enjoyed by the Herzegovinian Christians:

Hrišćani ovijeh krajeva imaju znatne povlastice jedno što zajedno s Turcima imaju da se brane od Crnogoraca, i drugo zato da ne bi imali uzroka da uskaču u Crnu goru. Tako između ostaloga njima je dopušteno da svuda mogu ići s oružjem, da mogu nositi najljepše duge puške i srebrnjake s nožem za pojasom, što inače u cijeloj Turskoj Hrišćanima nije dopušteno. Kad je 1820 godine došao u Nikšić tufekdžibaša Dželaludin-paše da predvodi vojsku protiv Crne gore, i našao Hrišćane da obaška logoruju u polju, zapita Nikšićkog kapetana, kakva je ovo vojska. Kad mu je kapetan odgovorio 'to su Hrišćani', on u čudu gnjevno poviče: 'Kako se može trpljeti da je raja tako naoružana?' Kapetan mu odgovori: 'Mora se trpljeti, što bez njih ne bi se ni mi tu mogli održati; oni mi pomažu da čuvam granicu.'[507]

The historical veracity of this story is open to questioning. Karadžić's sources of information were not the Herzegovinian Turks mentioned in the narrative. As indicated, his information about Herzegovina came mostly from the distinguished Christians from Grahovo and the Drobnjaci tribe. But even if we suppose that the entire story does not have historical veracity, it nonetheless still vividly illustrates the cultural perception of the distinctive and ambiguous position that the Herzegovinian Christians occupied in relation to both Herzegovinian Muslims and Montenegrin Christian tribes. More importantly here, this anecdote provides an explanation of the scene in which Panto kills Batrić without waiting for Osman's order or permission.

To sum up, Panto's speech offers quite an elaborate explanation of this loose tribal association that is, for sure, not without its own internal antagonisms and tensions. Contested views promoting broader Christian solidarity are far less articulate, and essentially remain limited to the verse 'Bog ubio od Tupana Panta'.

Zuković suggested that the singer reinterpreted the traditional plot in another instance: 'To što osveta, ipak, nije usmerena na njega [Panta], obasjava, čini nam se, prikaz ovoga

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[507] Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, p. 63.

događaja jednim širim shvatanjem i savremenijim nacionalnim osećanjem'.[508] In other words, he claims that Panto should have been subjected to the Perovićs' revenge, and that the singer excluded this feature from the original plot to avoid further elaboration of the mutual conflicts between the local Christians. Although such interpretation would not contradict the previous discussion, ethnographic records show that this exclusion is actually the consequence of blood revenge. Namely, as Karadžić writes in his book *Montenegro und die Montenegriner* from 1836: 'Ako je krivac kakav neznatan čovjek, to se na njemu osveta naročito ne vrši; već se za to bira kakva uglednija ličnost'.[509] The same situation is described by famous warrior Marko Miljanov in his book *Primjeri čojstva i junaštva*: 'Takvi je običaj bio i slabog svoga s najboljijem da sveti, jer ako bi rđavoga ubio za osvetu, rugali bi mu se'.[510] Therefore, the exclusion of Panto from the vengeance is not the consequence of his ethnic and religious conformity, but of the incompatibility of his social position and status with the demands of blood revenge. In addition, although Panto is formally the killer, it is Osman who cuts off Batrić's head as the trophy, thus claiming the credit for his death.

To summarize, Panto's voice represents the perspective of the local oral tradition, confronted with the reality of tribal violence and Turkish presence; it recognizes tribal association as the one that potentially protects the household from this immediate danger. The curse that falls on Panto, demanding the higher level of recognition of mutual interests and national unity, therefore appears here as a separate, external perspective that comes from outside that tradition. It collides with the traditional perspective and contradicts it, and offers no solution and no real alternative to Panto's position.

On a more general level, 'Perović Batrić' could be described as essentially an oral traditional song that contains a single phrase that departs from the traditional plot. Written

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[508] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 143.
[509] Karadžić, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*, p. 44.
[510] Miljanov, *Celokupna dela*, p. 49. See also: Gerhard Gezeman, *Čojstvo i junaštvo starih Crnogoraca* (Cetinje: Obod, 1968), pp. 173-74 [originally published as: Gerhard Gesemann, *Heroische Lebensform: zur Literatur und Wesenskunde der balkanischen Patriarchalität*, Berlin: Wiking Verlat, 1943].

down from the performance of the professional *guslar*, it leaves no doubt of its oral performative character. In addition, Karadžić's associates and Njegoš later collected several other songs about Perović Batrić from local singers, which confirms its presence and popularity in the Montenegrin oral tradition.[511] Furthermore, its style and phraseology are entirely traditional and show no signs of literary influence. Even the curse made upon Panto is articulated in the form of the traditional formula 'Bog ubio', commonly found both in South Slavonic oral tradition in general and in the songs of other Karadžić's singers. However, the influence of the ideas that Đuro Milutinović adopted outside the local oral tradition during his education and cooperation with political leaders, comes to the forefront when we turn to the overall level of the perspective and outlook expressed in the song. Therefore, the difference between Đuro Milutinović's version and a purely traditional song is revealed more in its perspective that comes into conflict with the outlook embedded in the traditional plot, than in its manner and lexis.

### b. Beyond Karadžić's collection: the Aftermath of Perović Batrić

The claim about the collision between Đuro Milutinović's personal outlook and the perspective embedded in the traditional plot can be further exemplified by examining two other versions of this song preserved in Karadžić's manuscripts. Around 1836, Karadžić received the song with the same title 'Perović Batrić' from Njegoš, who summoned the tribal singer Todor Ikov from the Piperi tribe to Cetinje and collected it from him. Finally, sometimes after 1846, Karadžić received another version, entitled 'Opet Perović Batrić', from his associate Vuk Popović from Risan. Zuković argued that Popović had collected it in all likelihood from the Herzegovinian peasant Stojan Kandić from Grahovo, during one of the singer's regular visits to the market in the coastal town of Risan in the Kotor bay. As Popović

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[511] See: Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, pp. 121-25.

informs Karadžić, he turned to the Herzegovinian territory because Njegoš had at the time started preparing his own collection, and placed all Montenegrin songs under his jurisdiction.[512] This disabled Popović to continue collecting songs from the territory of Old Montenegro. 'Osveta Perovića Batrića' and 'Opet Perović Batrić', thus, enable us to compare the two versions articulated almost simultaneously at Cetinje as the political centre, and at Grahovo outside Njegoš's political control.

Both versions deal with the same subject – Perović Batrić is captured by Ćorović Osman. He offers Osman a ransom, but it is declined and he is killed. Batrić's brother gathers a company of men, makes an ambush and catches Osman alive. Now Osman offers a rich ransom, but the brother refuses it and avenges Batrić by cutting off Osman's head. Vengeance is the crucial element of all the versions. After Batrić's murder, it is the father who demands revenge and reminds his son of its mandatory character. In addition, it is essential that Osman is not just killed in an ambush, but that he is beheaded with the full knowledge of who his killer is and whom he avenges. However, although both songs share these structural units, the presentation of events, evaluation of the characters and overall perspective vary significantly in different versions.

It is hardly surprising that Todor Ikov's version, performed at Cetinje, shows greater appreciation for the Montenegrins. More precisely, it explicitly praises the Montenegrins and presents the conflict from a more general level of hostility between the Montenegrins and the neighbouring Turks. Like Đuro Milutinović, Todor Ikov also does not specify Batrić's tribal allegiance, describing him at the beginning as being 'od prostrane lomne Crne Gore'. Accordingly, the company gathered by Batrić's brother is not limited to his clan members: 'pokupi mlade Crnogorce'. The singer also situates the story around Nikšić, which is an urban

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[512] Karadžić, *Prepiska VII (1843-1847)*, Sabrana dela Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića (Prosveta: Beograd, 1993), XXVI, p. 35.

area inhabited predominantly by a Muslim population, and specifies that only the Turks are the subject of the vengeance:

> Ali ide trideset Turakah
>
> Od Nihšića, grada bijeloga,
>
> […]
>
> Crnogorske puške popucale
>
> I ubiše trideset Turakah.[513]

As in Karadžić's published version, in this song Osman is also ready to accept Batrić's offer; here, however, the complaint comes not from a Christian but the local Turks, and has a more general character:

> 'Što ti daje osam džeferdarah,
>
> To je Batrić skinuo s Turakah;
>
> Što ti kaže dvanajes' đerdanah,
>
> To su oni s bulah ujagmili!'[514]

Therefore, this version refines the revenge that progresses to the level of the Montenegrins in general, in the sense of the common denominator for the tribes from the territory of Old Montenegro. Additionally, both Batrić and his avengers limit their actions only to the local Muslims/Turks. Consequently, no Christian characters participate on the other side, and no mention is made of the Montenegrin brutality over Herzegovinian Christians. Thus, the greatest difference of this version in comparison to Đuro Milutinović's is the radically different portrayal of the Montenegrins. Contrary to the critique of their behaviour in 'Perović Batrić' from *Narodne srpske pjesme*, here the Montenegrins are openly glorified for their heroism. Certainly, the conflict still has only local meaning and importance, and its broader national dimension could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, compared with

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[513] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme iz neobjavljenih rukopisa Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića*, ed. by Živomir Mladenović and Vladan Nedić, 4 vols (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1974), IV, p. 37.
[514] Ibid., p. 37.

the previous version, this song evidently consolidates the perspective in the specific context of the frontier tribes, dividing the characters into two hostile camps according to their religious allegiance and the territory they inhabit.

Finally, the last version considered here is 'Opet Perović Batrić', collected sometimes after 1846 from a singer from Grahovo, in all likelihood from the peasant Stojan Kandić. As Đuro Milutinović was born in Grahovo himself, this version appears to be especially relevant for the analysis of the traditional plot. Being documented several decades after Đuro Milutinović left his hometown, it enables us to compare his performance with another one of the singer from the same area.

Notably, 'Opet Perović Batrić' as the latest documented version contains the most explicit tribal antagonism among local Christians. As mentioned, in 1845 Njegoš begun preparing his collection, and demanded from Montenegrin singers to stop performing their songs for other collectors. For this reason, Karadžić's associate Vuk Popović started searching for the songs outside the territory under Njegoš's control.

Collected from a Herzegovinian singer from Grahovo, 'Opet Perović Batrić' displays a certain animosity towards the Montenegrins that we typically find in the earliest documented Herzegovinian songs 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman'. The song describes the members of the Perović clan not by reference to their tribal allegiance, but more generally as being from Montenegro: 'Gledaju ga mladi Crnogorci' […] | 'Pa utječe u Goricu Crnu'. Furthermore, the song presents the vengeance of Batrić's brother Vuk as directed towards the whole tribe, without explicit differentiation between the Christians and Muslims:

On pokupi trides' Perovića,

Šnjima ode u pleme Banjane

Na osvetu mila brata svoga.

[...]

On posječe trideset Banjana,

Sve boljega i valatnijega.[515]

However, the brother is still unsatisfied and continues the pursuit for six weeks until he finally kills Osman. The song finishes with a seemingly contradictory and unmotivated act. On his way home, Vuk meets his blood brother Marko Kovačević from Grahovo, who asks him if he revenged his brother. Vuk responds:

'Ja osvetih mila brata moga,

Zanj posjekoh tridest' i četiri,

Sve boljega iz Banjana, Marko,

I donijek sa Osmana glavu,

Al' ne nađoh u Banjane glave

Kao bješe u Batrića moga,

Izvan tvoja, dragi pobratime –

Danas ću te, bogme posijeći

Da osvetim mila brata moga!'[516]

Marko thinks Vuk is joking and offers him a drink, but Vuk cold-bloodedly cuts off Marko's head and returns to Montenegro.

It might seem that the demands of blood vengeance offer certain explanation for this act. As mentioned, the more distinguished the member of the killer's clan or tribe to be killed, the more appropriate and heroic the vengeance is. Therefore, the mere multitude of Banjani killed is not enough if the revenge fails to find the adequate match for the hero. Only after slaying Marko is Batrić's brother satisfied with the qualitative damage he has done. However, no rationale can truly justify the killing of Marko, who is, as it appears, actually Vuk's blood brother from the neighbouring Herzegovinian tribe of Grahovo and, as such, should be exempted from vengeance. The fact that they are blood brothers shows that no religious, ethnic, national or personal friendship and solidarity can disrupt the brutal economy of

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[515] Ibid., p. 39.
[516] Ibid., p 41.

Montenegrin blood vengeance. In other words, not even the blood brother from another tribe is excluded as a potential foe and the ultimate victim of the Montenegrins.

In short, the version documented from Grahovo sometimes after 1846 shows typical features of the local oral tradition, such as tribal antagonism or hostility between the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian Christians. As previously discussed, Đuro Milutinović's version doubtlessly still displays this antagonism but, in distinction, also contains a certain dissatisfaction with such state of affairs in the form of the singer's remark that opposes the traditional plot.

This all implies that Đuro Milutinović's 'Perović Batrić' should be perceived as partially reinterpreted oral traditional text. Both its content and outlook are still predominantly traditional, which suggests that the singer essentially transmits the local oral tradition. In other words, 'Perović Batrić' is not composed anew in a manner or form of an oral folk song by a singer well versed in the traditional style. It is a traditional song that circulated as part of the local oral tradition. The singer inherited it from the tradition and included it in his repertoire. It is only when the traditional perspective contradicts the values adopted by the singer outside the local tradition that his nontraditional outlook comes to the forefront. By cursing Panto for the lack of solidarity towards his fellow Christian, Đuro Milutinović therefore transforms the song and displaces it from its traditional oral and social context, infusing it with views essentially different from the local tribal outlook embedded in the traditional plot.

The conclusion about the nontraditional origin of these views is further supported by the evidences from Đuro Milutinović's biography that confirm his cooperation with Bishop Petar. They indicate the singer developed certain advanced and modern views, atypical for the local oral tradition, and suggest that his acquaintance with Bishop Petar might have played a certain role in this respect. The following section sets to investigate the influence of the world of literacy, education and Bishop Petar on Đuro Milutinović in further detail. It is argued that

this impact can be corroborated on an actual textual level. It will be demonstrated that in the three remaining songs Đuro Milutinović more systematically reinterprets the traditional plot from a broader perspective of Christian unity and solidarity in their struggle against the Turks, and uses for that purpose the phrases and themes found in nontraditional contemporary songs attributed to Bishop Petar.

'Tri sužnja'

As mentioned, the song 'Tri sužnja' describes a popular motif, documented in various versions and published by Karadžić, Sima Milutinović and Njegoš in their collections. Waiting in the dungeon for their execution, three heroes from the tribes of Piperi, Vasojevići and Rovci discuss what they regret the most. While Liješ from Piperi and Selak Vasojević mourn for their wives and property, Vuksan from Rovci, like the previously mentioned hero Šehović Osman, regrets that he will 'Poginuti danas bez zamjene'.[517] Later, the executioner informs two of the heroes that their tribes have supposedly paid for their ransom and they are free to go, and kills them easily when they carelessly come outside their dungeon. Vuksan from Rovci, however, manages to deceive the executioner by promising him a rich reward if he releases his hands. After killing him and several other Turks on his way, he safely returns to Rovci.

All documented versions are largely congruent, certainly due to the set structure of the plot and the formulaic character of the heroes' speeches. However, it is sufficient to compare the opening lines from Đuro Milutinović's song with the two other versions collected around the same time, to see how in his version a broader perspective of Christian and national emancipation from the Turks comes to the forefront. The version that Sima Milutinović wrote

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[517] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 36.

down from Vuko Đurov Radonjić and published in *Pjevanija* practically has the same opening as the version of Todor Ikov Piper from Karadžić's manuscript:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ucmilješe tri dobri junaka | Zacmilješe tri nevoljni sužnja |
| U bijelu Skadru na Bojani.[518] | U tamnicu Skadru na Bojani.[519] |

In distinction, the first line of Đuro Milutinović's song, 'Procviljele tri srpske vojvode', already emphasizes the nationality of the heroes. The following verses explicate further their imprisonment as being the consequence of the rebellion and the Pasha's malice:

Jer se Brdska đeca posilila,

Pa ne dadu carevih harača.

A vojvode paša pevario,

Na tvrdu ih vjeru domamio.[520]

Ii is implied that this is not simple disobedience or a mutiny against the local Pasha. The Brđani refuse to pay the sultan's tribute, therefore disobeying and denying the Turkish rule *in toto*.

While these distinctive verses that reinterpret the local event are absent from the other versions, they are found in a more elaborate form in the nontraditional song 'Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah s Kara-Mahmutom Bušatlijom' from Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija* attributed to Bishop Petar. In his letter to Bishop Petar, Vizier Mahmut explains his intentions to punish the Brđani for their disobedience and describes their insubordination as follows:

Od kada su Brda nastanula,

To je raja moga baba bila,

A sad ima doba nekoliko,

Ka su mi se Brda pohasila,

Ne daju mi pare ni dohotke,

I nikakva careva harača,

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[518] Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, p. 62.

[519] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme iz neobjavljenih rukopisa*, IV, p. 63.

[520] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 35.

No mi čine zulum po krajinah,

Provaljuju dvore i stobore,

A ćeraju konje i volove,

Bule robe, a sijeku Turke,

I ćeraju ovce i jaganjce.

Đuro Milutinović appropriates only several verses from this developed and advanced presentation of tribal insurrection: 'Jer se Brdska đeca posilila' corresponds with 'Ka su mi se Brda pohasila', and 'Pa ne dadu carevih harača' with 'Ne daju mi pare ni dohotke, | i nikakva careva harača'. Nonetheless, his couplet preserves the message about tribal rebellion and insubordination to the Turks in general.

In addition, while the two other versions simply state that the heroes are imprisoned, Đuro Milutinović emphasizes that the Pasha caught them 'na vjeru'. This means that he invited them to negotiate with the promise of good faith, granting them hospitality and security with his word and honour. The violation of these universal and sacred codes of behaviour thus dishonours and dehumanizes the Pasha's character in the song. Furthermore, as its highest local representative, the Pasha personifies Turkish rule in general, which suggests its traitorous and inhumane nature. In short, the opening lines of the song 'Tri sužnja' are effectively used to elevate the local event to the more general context of the fight for national emancipation from the Turkish domination.

'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković'

The use of the same stylistic devices in the opening lines, with the purpose of transforming the traditional story of local importance into a narrative of national liberation, marks the song 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković'. In addition, this song offers another

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reference to the phraseology and ideology of the nontraditional songs attributed to Bishop Petar.

A version of this song Sima Milutinović wrote down 'od Nika Krkeljina sa Sretnje u Bjelopavlićima', and published in his *Pjevanija* under the title 'Osveta'.[521] Priest Lješević informs Duke Dragiša from Upper Morača that Ibro Hajrović, the killer of Dragiša's son, came to Piva to collect tribute. Duke Dragiša brings along Matija Jušković and few other comrades, secretly comes to Piva and avenges his son by cutting off Ibro's head and killing his companions. The function of priest Lješević in this version is simply to distribute information. He addresses Dragiša as his blood brother and, presumably, serves as the local ally of the *uskoci*. In addition, priest Lješević sends a letter to priest Milovan from Ljevišta, who then informs the Duke about its content ('te mu pope knjigu proučio'). Apparently, the local singer assumes that Duke Dragiša is illiterate, and uses the priests to motivate the circulation of the information.

Đuro Milutinović's song, in distinction, excludes these personal reasons and gives nobler motives to the avengers. They are invited in the name of national solidarity to protect Serbian men and women from Turkish brutality. The priest complains to his godfather Matija Jušković that the violence of Pasha Čengić, who came to collect the tribute, has become unbearable. For fifteen days, the priest is forced to host and feed the Pasha and his company. In addition, priest Lješević describes several extreme acts of Turkish brutality against the local Christians. Airović Ibro 'globi preko mjere ljude', bey Usica 'vata Pivljane junake, | Uzima im sjajne džeferdare', and Nargila Alija 'vata Pivljanke Srpkinje, | Skida njima v'jence i oboce, | A ljubi ih silom na sramotu; | To je mene zazor i sramota'.[522] The priest, therefore, mentions at first the brutality of the Turkish authorities towards him, but describes it as the least painful. Progressing to the description of brutality towards others, he expresses solidarity

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[521] See: Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, p. 520.
[522] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 270.

for his tribesmen. However, this exploitation in the economic sphere is presented as far lesser than the derogation enforced on the symbolic level. The priest describes the confiscation of weapons from the local heroes as an especially violent and infamous act, which dishonours and emasculates them in their heroic and social status. Finally, as the ultimate crime the priest depicts sexual violence committed against the females. Placed after three acts of brutality committed by Turkish masters, this motif of sexual harassment achieves particular effect and force. The priest would be ready to forgive all forms of violence except the last one. On this level, all local and tribal reasons and motives are superseded. The point in question is 'Pivljanke Srpkinje' – this is the ultimate demand for national solidarity.

Analogously, the Pasha's personal participation in the collection of tribute, and the identification of other distinguished Turkish representatives in the song 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković', aim to show the systematic character of Turkish violence, which is orchestrated from a high position and performed by them all. Consequently, there is no mention that Ibro killed Matija's son – that would undermine his motives to respond to the priest's plea and reduce them to personal revenge. Furthermore, the priest emphasizes that their action will be valued and recognized by other local heroes as well: 'A ostali Pivljani junaci | Činiće ti doček i poštenje'.[523] Therefore, although the priest promises a rich financial reward ('dvije kese blaga'), their action is presented in the first place as morally and symbolically valuable. Thus in distinction to Niko Krkeljin, who motivates the killing of Ibro as personal revenge without any wider meaning and significance, Đuro Milutinović offers an elaborate picture of Turkish brutality and portrays his characters as being sympathetic with their compatriots. This gives nobler motivation to their actions that follow primarily from a wider Christian and national solidarity.

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[523] Ibid., p. 270.

However, the actions of Dragiša and his company are not without a more prosaic motivation. As mentioned, the priest in his letter also promises them 'dvije kese blaga' after the successful killing. Consequently, when one of the Turks manages to survive the ambush and runs away with the tribute, the company decides not to risk capturing him since they will be paid by the priest.

The hiring of the company to perform the assassination and the identification of Ljevišta and Upper Morača as the destination of the letter are clear references to the Uskoci tribe. Certain basic facts about this particular community throw additional light on Đuro Milutinović's poetic presentation. The Uskoci were refugees from predominantly Herzegovinian regions under Turkish rule, who settled in Ljevišta and then gradually formed a separate tribe in the Upper Morača region.[524] There, as Karadžić says, they built houses in which they lived during the winter season with their families, while during the summer they organized companies throughout Herzegovinian regions under Turkish control.[525] From the middle of the eighteenth century until the formal recognition of the Herzegovinian tribes as an official part of the Montenegrin state in 1878, they constantly organized attacks on Turkish territory, hardly differentiating between the Turks and the Christians. These raids were, for instance, the subject of the aforementioned correspondence between the Herzegovinian archimandrite Arsenije Gagović and Bishop Petar, who described Uskoci as: 'ljudi zli i bezbožni, [...] oni ne paze svoju braću i ne spominju turski jaram, koga su što je reći, još juče nosili i koga njihova braća i danas nose na vrat.'[526] Kilibarda further explains: 'Morački uskoci često su realizovali osvetu pojedinih ljudi koji nijesu mogli javno da se osvete

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[524] See: Novak Kilibarda, 'Morački i turski uskoci u narodnim pjesmama', in Kilibarda, *Legenda i poezija* (Beograd: Rad, 1976), pp. 186-202. For a comprehensive study about the *Uskoci* from Morača, see: Milan Vujačić, 'Dvije razure Trebješana i postanak plemena Uskoka u Crnoj Gori', in Glas SANU, Odeljenje društvenih nauka, CCLXXX, 15 (1971), pp. 218-370.
[525] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 323.
[526] Petar I, *Djela*, p. 30.

Turcima. Ponekad i pojedini separatno raspoloženi Turci koristili su uskočke usluge za obračun sa drugim Turcima, svojim rivalima.'[527]

In the remainder of the song, however, certain elements of the plot that suggest the affiliation of local Christians and Muslims come into contradiction with the previously established irreconcilable hostility between the Serbs and the Turks. Thus, after their stay at priest Lješević's household, the Turks reside 'Kod bijele crkve manastira | U Orašju mjestu pitomome, | Kod igumna Gagović-Adžije',[528] and move afterwards to the home of the Pasha's 'kmet' Bajo Baletić. Like Osman Šehović and his company, who visit one of distinguished Christians in the area, the hosts in this song are also eminent local representatives. However, while priest Lješević describes their stay as a burden and orders their assassination, relations with Bajo Baletić are very different. The Pasha describes him to his companions as 'mila kmeta svoga', and receives a friendly welcome: 'tu ga Bajo dočekao divno, | Dade njemu konak i večeru'.[529] Furthermore, Bajo and his Golijani accompany the Turks through the area to protect them from the possible attack of the hajduks.

This episode contains structurally similar comment to the phrase 'Bog ubio' from 'Perović Batrić'. As indicated, the relations between Bajo and the Turks are apparently described in formulaic expressions that suggest friendly relations, such as 'mila kmeta', 'dočekao divno', 'dade njemu konak i večeru'. However, once the Turks decide to release their escort, the singer emphasizes: 'To je Bajo jedva dočekao'.[1] This, conversely, suggests Bajo's involuntary and forced cooperation with the local Turks, and thus appears to contradict the previous description of their friendly relations.

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[527] Kilibarda, *Morački i turski uskoci u narodnim pjesmama*, p. 189. Njegoš, for example, hired them in 1840 to conduct the assassination of his enemy Smail-aga Čengić who defeated the Montenegrins and personally killed Njegoš's brother on the battle of Grahovo in 1836. See: Milorad Živančević, 'Napomene', in Ivan Mažuranić, *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1979), p. 151 et passim.

[528] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 271.

[529] Ibid., p. 272.

In addition, the Turks show appreciation towards their subjects. Ibro expects that many local peasants will complain against the villagers of his feud Koravljice and Deleuša when he arrives in the region of Gacko to collect the tribute. He pleads with the Pasha to spare them: 'Kumim tebe Bogom istinijem, | Bogom kumim, a ruku ti ljubim, | Nemoj kmeta koga izgubiti!'[530] This episode is apparently incompatible with the framework established in the opening lines of the song. Articulated in a sacred form, his plea indicates Ibro's sincere concern for his subjects, which goes beyond his property concerns and rights. Finally, while the priest portrays the Turks' brutality and exploitation as the sole purpose of their visit, it follows from Ibro's words that the Pasha also performs legislative function. Namely, it is implied that he will be addressed by the locals and expected to hear their complaints and arbitrate in their disputes. All this apparently contradicts the presentation of Turkish brutality over their Christian subjects described in the priest's letter at the beginning.

To sum up, 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' illustrates Đuro Milutinović's poetic approach in its essence. Typically, in the opening lines the singer develops a broader framework, promoting the ideas of Christian and national solidarity and cooperation, in order to elevate minor local conflicts to a broader level of the struggle for national emancipation from the Turkish domination. Secondly, the singer intervenes to correct the traditional plot in the moments when it collides with these ideas of a wider Christian solidarity and hostility towards the Turks, and emphasizes Bajo's involuntary, extorted association with the Turks. However, as the singer does not exclude the characters involved with the Turks and preserves the traditional plot, this creates inconsistencies and contradicts the previously established picture of enmity between the Turks and the Serbs that he has introduced in the opening lines of the song. This manifests itself as the duality between, on the one hand, the external perspective that promotes a broader Christian and national solidarity and hostility towards the

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[530] Ibid., p. 272.

Turks and, on the other hand, the traditional outlook of tribal antagonism, which, as discussed, is typically much more ambiguous and without such clear-cut distinctions between the local communities. This dualism is especially apparent if the opening presentation of Turkish sadism over the local Christians is juxtaposed to those elements in the plot that describe Pasha as a legitimate representative expected to perform legislative and administrative functions, the affiliation between the local Christians and Turks and the appreciation of the latter for their Christian subjects.

<u>'Piperi i Tahir-paša'</u>

The last remaining Đuro Milutinović's song in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*, entitled 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', shows a greater impact of both his ideas of a broader national solidarity and cooperation and the distinctive phraseology found in the nontraditional contemporary songs attributed to Bishop Petar. Like the two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha, it contains clear anti-Turkish sentiment and describes a larger conflict between the local Christians and Muslims. However, the scope and implications of the fighting in the song 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' differ from the perspective expressed in the two songs about the 1796 battles. As Zuković indicates, the first presents only the conflict between one tribe and the pasha, whereas the songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha describe the clash between the vizier and the religious and political representative of all the Montenegrins.[531] Nevertheless, the apparent wider national cause and perspective of 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' have also been recognized. Svetozar Koljević describes this song as 'dramatizovan niz sukoba koji nose velike teme nacionalne istorije', and sees it as the Montenegrin counterpart of the programmatic folk song 'Početak bune protiv dahija' as the

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[531] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 130.

highest expression of the ideology of the Serbian Uprising.[532] As I will argue in the following pages, this broader perspective of 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' largely resulted from the singer's explicit and systematic appropriation of stylistic features of nontraditional origin.

'Piperi i Tahir-paša' describes the refusal of the Piperi tribe to pay the tribute to the local pasha in Podgorica, and his subsequent defeat in an attempt to overcome them in battle. In essence, the song portrays a local event and stays limited to its local context: the decision about the rejection of pasha's demands is reached at the tribal assembly, and the song finishes with the commemoration and praise of the fallen tribal heroes. Accordingly, the victorious tribal force consists of sixty warriors in total, whereas the number of the pasha's soldiers remains unspecified.

As in other Milutinović's songs, there are certain elements in 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' that present these local events from a more general level of national emancipation from the Turkish domination. This broader perspective can be exemplified most clearly with the lines that celebrate the victory of the Piperi as a triumph of the Cross over the Crescent:

> Rišćanska se posilila vojska,
>
> Kao, brate, ko je zadobio;
>
> A Turska se prepanula vojska,
>
> Kaonoti ko je izginuo.[533]

The similarity between some of the verses in this song and the manner, style and phraseology of the songs attributed to Bishop Petar has also been noticed. According to Zuković, this song: 'i po izrazu, a i po osnovnoj ideji, podseća na pevanje vladike Petra I, i to, pre svega, na njegovu pesmu „Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom Bušatlijom"'.[534] The two songs contain a whole series of the same verses:

> Paša pade na Doljane ravne          S njome dođe na Doljane ravne

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[532] Svetozar Koljević, *Naš junački ep* (Beograd: Nolit, 1974), p. 249.
[533] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 45.
[534] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 128.

| | |
|---|---|
| Kraj Zlatice više Podgorice | Kraj Zlatice više Podgorice, |
| Tu je paša tabor učinio | Tu je paša tabor učinio |
| I raspeo bijelo šatorje. | I raspeo bijelo šatorje. |
| [...] | [...] |
| Porobiću malo i veliko, | Porobiću malo i veliko, |
| Izgorjeti ognjem svekoliko. | Izgorjeti ognjem svekoliko. |
| [...] | [...] |
| Od Boga je velika grijota, | Od Boga je velika grijota, |
| A od ljudi pokor i sramota.[535] | A od ljudi pokor i sramota.[536] |
| ('Piperi i Tahir-paša') | ('Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom') |

Since both songs Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović, certain similarities might be expected. However, similar lines are also found in the two Bishop Petar's versions of the songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha from Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija*, documented without the mediation of Đuro Milutinović:

| | |
|---|---|
| Porobiću malo i veliko, | A porobit malo i veliko |
| A sažeći ognjem svekoliko | […] |
| […] | Pa podiže i okupi vojsku |
| Na doljane više Podgorice, | Na Doljane više Podgorice. |
| Tu razape bijele čadore, | Tu je vezir tanbor učinio |
| I tu silan tambor učinio. | I zeleni šator razapeo. |
| ('Boj u Martiniće Crnogoracah') | ('Na Kruse')[537] |

In addition, this song contains a similar motif of Turkish brutality towards local women as the song 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković'. Like Priest Lješević, the Piperi tribe are willing to fulfil any demands by their pasha except to send him their girls as a tribute. However, while in

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[535] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 42-43.
[536] Ibid., p. 70-71.
[537] See: Njegoš. *Ogledalo srbsko*, p. 208; Milutinović. *Pjevanija*, p. 682-84; Also: Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj crnogorskoj istoriji*, pp. 282-85.

the previous song the priest says only that 'to je mene zazor i sramota', in 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' the refusal is articulated in a more elaborate form:

'Al' što šljete osam đevojaka,

Od Boga je velika grijota,

A od ljudi pokor i sramota:

Bolje nam je svima izginuti,

No u Turke davati đevojke'.

The claim about the similarities between 'Piperi i Tahir--paša' and the contemporary songs of literary origin influenced by Bishop Petar can be further exemplified by a comparison between Đuro Milutinović's song and 'Boj na Onogoštu 1756 godine'. 'Boj na Onogoštu' is one of six songs that Karadžić received from Cetinje in 1828 and identified as Bishop Petar's compositions, and Sima Milutinović and Njegoš also published similar versions of it in their collections without providing information for its singer. As I argued, even if these songs from Karadžić's manuscripts were not actually written word-for-word by the Bishop himself, their literary origin and his influence on them are apparent. 'Boj na Onogoštu' contains a similar request from the local Pasha to Bishop Petar to pay the tribute, and the Pasha's last demand is that the most beautiful Montenegrin girls are sent to him. As in 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', in this song this is also the actual reason for the refusal of the demand.[538] Namely, the Bishop warns the Montenegrins that if they accept the demands 'slobode imati nećemo, | ni junačke glave ni poštenja, | nego ćemo uvek ostanuti | pod sramotom u nevolju tešku'. Responding to this warning, one of the Montenegrin headers uses similar lines as the hero from 'Piperi i Tahir-paša': 'jer sam voli izgubiti glavu | neg sramotno vijek vjekovati.' These parallelisms suggest that both singers used common motifs in a largely corresponding way, in order to elevate local events to the more general level of the unified struggle against

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[538] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, pp. 236-40; Njegoš. *Ogledalo srbsko*, pp. 130-34.

the domination of the local Turks, and to emphasize its wider political dimension and importance.

In addition to such structural and lexical parallelisms, there are other indicators that these elements were not an integral part of the traditional plot. Vido Latković noticed certain geographical inaccuracies in the song; as he argued, these mistakes in the name of the local clans and places suggest that the singer was unfamiliar with the region where the battle actually took place. [539] However, previous consideration showed that Đuro Milutinović typically reinterprets the traditional plot and supplies local events with a wider meaning and importance by introducing certain verses in the opening lines. The geographical misplacement is therefore not necessarily the consequence of the singer's unfamiliarity with local topography, but of his poetic approach. Comparison of this song with the version that Sima Milutinović collected from the local singer Marko Gojkov Bjelopavlić from Sretnja and published in *Pjevanija* under the title 'Brđani', appears to confirm this point. None of the above elements is found in this song. Thus, while it accurately identifies places and characters, there is no mention of either the pasha's request to Piperi to send their women as the tribute, or any wider identification of the troops as 'Rišćanska vojska'.[540] In addition, 'Brđani' finishes with the conversation between Piperi and the local Turks after the battle. After counting their deads, they end the talk with the aphoristic and reconcilable conclusion 'no' vako se nigde ne sretali'.[541] In other words, what is missing from the *Pjevanija* version is precisely this image of general Turkish brutality and immorality, especially emphasized by their sexual demands for Christian women in Đuro Milutinović's song. In 'Brđani', the local pasha makes no such claim. He demands the tribute and wants several tribal representatives to be brought to him as hostages and as economic and symbolic signs of tribal subjection. Accordingly, the aphoristic ending of the *Pjevanija* version simply establishes his failure.

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[539] Latković, *Komentari i objašnjenja*, p. 494.
[540] Milutinović, *Pjevanija*, pp. 331-33.
[541] Ibid., p. 333.

However, there are no indices that either their neighbouring relations or the general regional political constellation are seriously questioned or reversed. All this strongly suggests that the elements of a wider perspective, which gives more general meaning and importance to the local event in the song 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', are Milutinović's personal contribution, and that in reinterpreting the local epic tradition he uses distinctive phrases and themes of nontraditional origin.

In short, four songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović, 'Perović Batrić', 'Tri sužnja', 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša', show apparent differences from the versions documented around the same time by Karadžić, his associates and Sima Milutinović. They contain the elements of a broader perspective that promotes wider Christian solidarity and cooperation in the struggle for national emancipation from the Turks. As indicated, the singer typically develops this broader framework in the opening lines in order to elevate minor local conflicts to a more general level of the struggle against the Turkish domination, and occasionally adopts the phraseology and outlook found in nontraditional songs attributed to Bishop Petar.

The question that arises from this discussion is how to explain these differences between Đuro Milutinović's songs and the other versions from the region? The late nineteen-century hypothesis of the German scholar Asmus Soerensen that the songs from Milutinović's *Pjevanija* are in fact older and more archaic than Karadžić's songs, has been strongly rejected by the scholars. [542] Their objections were mostly based on the presumption that Sima Milutinović made severe editorial changes and that his collections are thus unreliable for making such claims. [543] As previously discussed, recent scholars have re-evaluated Sima Milutinović as a collector, and demonstrated that his interventions were relatively light

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[542] See: Asmus Serensen, *Prilog istoriji razvoja srpskog junačkog pesništva* (Beograd: Vukova zadužbina, 1995), p. 135 et passim.
[543] About Soerensen's hypothesis, see: Marija Kleut, 'Asmus Serensen – zaboravljeni doprinos izučavanju narodne književnosti'. In: Serensen, *Prilog istoriji razvoja srpskog junačkog pesništva*, pp. 363-71; Ljubinković, *Pjevanija*, pp. 110-15.

according to the standards of the time and essentially similar to the ones that Karadžić occasionally made. [544] The difference between the versions, as my discussion indicates, lies in the identity of the singers. Sima Milutinović, for example, collected his versions of 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' in the remote, rural settlement called Sretnja, from the locals Niko Krkeljin and Marko Gojkov Bjelopavlić, and each of them is represented in *Pjevanija* with only one song. Their narrow repertoire and limited outlook thus seems to comply with the previous suggestions that Sima Milutinović often encountered common local singers who typically knew one or two songs about minor local events. Therefore, the aforementioned versions from *Pjevanija* are not actually older or more archaic in their form than Đuro Milutinović's songs, but are proper traditional local songs and independent from literary influence.

Concluding remarks

This chapter focused on four songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac and published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*: 'Perović Batrić', 'Tri sužnja', 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša'. It was argued that the traditional outlook of tribal particularism and antagonism in Đuro Milutinović's songs occasionally overlaps and collides with the singer's personal perspective that fosters wider unity and solidarity among the Christian tribes. As an educated singer, the former associate of Bishop Petar and eager nationalist, Đuro Milutinović typically develops wider framework and ideas of Christian emancipation from the Turks in the opening lines to elevate insignificant local conflicts to the level of the national struggle. These lines often supplement the traditional plot by the phraseology and ideology found in the contemporary nontraditional songs attributed to Bishop

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[544] See: Nedić, *Rukopis Milutinovićeve Pjevanije*; Ljubinković, *Pjevanija*.

Petar. Thus, the narrative about Vuksan's escape from Skadar is refined into general insurrection and disobedience towards the Turks, and the conflict between Piperi and local pasha sublimed into triumph of Christendom over Islam. In addition, the singer occasionally intervenes to correct the traditional plot when it contradicts his ideas of a wider Christian and national solidarity and hostility towards the Turks. However, as the singer does not exclude the characters involved with the Turks and preserves the traditional plot, it creates inconsistencies and contradictions with his previously established picture of radical enmity between the Turks and the Serbs. In the songs 'Perović Batrić' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković', this manifests as irreconcilable duality of the external perspective of a broader Christian solidarity and their hostility towards the Turks on the one hand and, on the other, the traditional outlook of tribal antagonism without such broad anti-Turkish sentiment.

To summarize, Đuro Milutinović's repertoire offers a wide range of examples, from genuine traditional song 'Dijoba Selimovića' to transitional song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom', which is based on a literary composition of Bishop Petar or some of his associates. In most cases, however, Đuro Milutinović adapted traditional songs that circulated as a part of local oral tradition, and continued to act as a traditional oral singer transmitting that tradition in his own turn. It is only when the traditional plot contradicted his wider national views or failed to explicate them that he intervened to correct and supplement it. In the aforementioned four songs from the collection, the singer thus transformed and reinterpreted traditional songs in various ways by introducing the elements of the wider political and national perspective in the opening lines, and by using the verses from nontraditional songs influenced by Bishop Petar for this purpose. I argued that Milutinović introduced such features in these songs to different degrees. The traditional perspective remains dominant in 'Perović Batrić', whereas 'Tri sužnja' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' revisit the traditional plot more thoroughly.

Finally, 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' includes more of such features of nontraditional origin, which makes it the most systematically reinterpreted song by Đuro Milutinović in the collection.

**Conclusion**

This research focused on the influence of literate culture on the Montenegrin oral epic songs in Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme* from 1823 to 1832. Published at the time of national revival among the South Slavs in the first part of the nineteenth century, these songs were codified as documents of Serbian oral tradition, and there were few attempts so far to analyse the process by which oral tradition reached textual form or had been represented in the collections. Recent interest in the documentation of oral tradition, however, has led to a fuller understanding of the process of collection and textualisation of oral epic, and contemporary scholars persuasively argued that the published collections are not simple reflection of oral tradition and that a more attentive approach to the entire process of textualisation and representation of oral tradition is needed. This thesis makes a contribution to the current research in the textualisation of oral tradition in oral studies by revealing a complex socio-political framework giving rise to the early-nineteenth century collections of South Slavonic oral songs. It provides a consistent model for the analysis of transitional texts based on their phraseology, style, outlook and contextual evidences about their documentation and singers.

In the *Introduction*, I outlined basic facts about the social and political history of the highlands – a territory that stretches across the present day continental part of Montenegro, South-West Serbia and Herzegovina, and introduced some preliminary remarks about the local oral tradition, its documentation and representation in the early nineteenth-century collections. As indicated, in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, people of the highlands still had fragmented social organization, lived separated into various clans and tribes, and the Ottomans accepted and codified this social formation of blood-related clans of shepherds, united in tribes on a collectively owned and shared territory.

The hereditary position of bishop in the region belonged to the members of the Petrović family from the clan of Njeguši at Cetinje, who used their religious authority to initiate a process of unification of the clans and tribes. They gradually transformed the original clan structure into a unified state and successfully fought against both local Turks and armies sent by viziers and pashas from Skadar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the persistence of local traditions, such as the unwritten law of blood vengeance in the first place, or clan and tribal particularities and mutual conflicts over wealth and pastures, posed a constant threat to the emerging centripetal forces, and often shattered or suspended the fragile peace. Despite the constant efforts by the Petrovićs to eradicate blood revenge, to end old conflicts and antagonisms and to establish a lasting peace and unity, clan and tribal wars and occasional cooperation with the Turks continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Following previous scholarship, I distinguished two groups of Montenegrin songs; one describes minor local incidents like personal duels, cattle raiding and revenge for the death of brother, relative or friend, or small-scale conflicts between the local clans and tribes, and displays typical features such as tribal identification, political particularism and ambiguous relations between the local Christians. The second group describes large-scale conflicts from

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between the Turkish armies led by viziers and pashas from Skadar, Bosnia and Herzegovina against coalitions of Montenegrin tribes. These battles involved large numbers of men in regular military formations and had greater and more enduring consequences for the political status of the region. Unlike the predominantly short chronicle songs about minor local incidents, these songs sometimes contain more elaborate views about the contemporary historical and political context or international relations and power-structure in the region. They also foster tribal unity and cohesion under the Petrovićs' leadership, suggesting that all Christian tribes should fight united against the Turks as their common enemies.

This study examined the influence of literate culture on the earliest representation of oral epic from Montenegro. Collected at the time of rule of Bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš I (1782-1830), Montenegrin songs were first included in Karadžić's third and fourth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme* published in 1823 and 1833 respectively. Together with other songs that he collected, Karadžić published them as oral folk epic songs, composed by and collected from common people and traditional singers. In his later edition of Montenegrin songs in 1862, however, Karadžić expressed his belief that the two songs about the 1796 battles against Mehmet Pasha from Skadar were not originally traditional oral songs, but composed by the Bishop himself.[545] During the second half of the twentieth century, a number of scholars argued that Bishop Petar composed and promoted epic songs about this event himself, but expressed different views about the oral traditional character of the two songs from Karadžić's collection.[546]

As I argued, previous scholars noticed certain features unusual for traditional oral songs in these texts, but described them in rather ambiguous terms and did not offer a detailed

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[545] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 66.
[546] Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, pp. 275-299; Đukić, *Pjesme Petra I Petrovića Njegoša*; Nedić, *Rukopis Milutinovićeve Pjevanije*; Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*; Medenica, *Naša narodne epika i njeni tvorci*; Ljubinković, *Pjevanija*.

and precise analysis of their traditional and literary features. Karadžić himself seemed uncertain how to describe the two songs about the 1796 battles. On the one hand, he acknowledged that they somehow differ from traditional oral songs and expressed his belief that they were originally composed by the Bishop. On the other hand, he also claimed that they were adapted by oral tradition to some extent and alike other oral songs in the collection. Radosav Medenica complied with other scholars that the Bishop composed the songs about this event, but claimed that the two songs from Karadžić's collection are genuine oral songs and that the influence of the Bishop's songs and literary style on them is insignificant. Nikola Banašević and Ljubomir Zuković, in distinction, emphasized their literary origin and the Bishop's impact on the singer Đuro Milutinović, but used ambiguous terms such as 'pesnički proizvodi vladike Petra' and 'epske pesme po ugledu na narodne', without providing a precise disitinction between their oral and literary characteristics or firm evidence of their literary origin. The fact that Karadžić wrote down the song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom' as well as five other Montenegrin songs in the collection from the literate and educated singer Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac, attracted far less attention in previous scholarship. Zuković was the only one to analyse his songs in detail, arguing that Milutinović's repertoire mostly comprised local oral songs and that the singer generally did not alter the traditional plot and style.[547]

This study analysed in detail these impacts of literacy, educated culture and Bishop Petar in particular on the corpus of Montenegrin songs published in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme*, and offered a more detailed analysis of their traditional and literary characteristics and their generic features on the overall level. I elaborated further on the questions concerning the literary origin of the two songs from the collection, the generic status of these and other songs collected from the literate singers, and discussed in detail the

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[547] Zuković, *Vukovi pevači iz Crne Gore*, p. 121, 143.

differences between oral traditional songs and those that display nontraditional features and literary influence.

Approaching these issues, in the first chapter I pinpointed distinctive features of oral traditional songs. I adopted basic concepts of Parry-Lord oral theory, as well as Albert Lord's later analysis of transitional and nontraditional texts. In the first instance, it was indicated that the fundamental characteristic of oral song is its performative character, and that the patterns of oral composition and distribution are essentially different from those of written literature. Consequently, it was argued that it is impossible simply to copy an oral tradition in textual form and that its documentation always involves elements of selection, representation and editing. Nevertheless, I submitted that, when accurately documented, transcribed and edited, published collections of oral songs are illustrative of a given oral tradition and enable its scholarly analysis. This was followed by a survey of the editorial procedures of Karadžić and his contemporaries, which demonstrated that they usually made a significant contribution to their collections by adapting and 'correcting' the traditional content. However, I argued that even though Karadžić's methods of collecting and publishing folk songs were not exceptional in this respect, he had comparatively rigorous scholarly methods and generally edited texts less obtrusively than many of his contemporaries. Thus, I assumed that Karadžić's collections in general can be taken for an investigation of the early nineteenth century oral tradition and traditional outlook and style.

In the second part of the chapter, Parry's and Lord's views were supplemented by Lord's and Foley's more recent analyses of South Slavonic oral tradition and its documentation and textual representation. As they argued, a number of South Slavonic songs published as oral folk songs contain various nontraditional elements. Although Lord and Foley did not offer a systematic account or classification of such songs, they nevertheless examined a variety of South Slavonic texts and identified some distinctive cases and groups.

Such songs were typically collected from the literate and educated persons who adopted literary style and nontraditional outlook. They thus exhibit features like consistent rhyme, complex phraseology and lexis, or contain a thorough knowledge of the international relations and foster ideas and views unusual for traditional songs. Another exemplary group of such songs were those written down from genuine oral singers, but influenced by collectors or previously published collections to such an extent that they can only be perceived as imitations of oral traditional songs. Finally, certain songs included in the collections have a recognizable literary origin and were composed by literate poets inspired by oral tradition.

By supplementing their analyses with several other exemplary cases of merging between the worlds of orality and literature in South Slavonic context, I advocated for a more systematic differentiation of the actual level of traditionality in South Slavonic songs. I suggested that the collections of South Slavonic oral songs offer a continuum of published texts with various degree of oral traditionality, and distinguished several basic categories. The texts that show no influence of literacy and printed collections, and were accurately written down or recorded from traditional oral singers, I considered to be genuinely oral traditional and fully illustrative of a particular oral tradition. In distinction, the poems composed by literate, professional poets raised outside oral traditional culture and later inspired by oral tradition, I classified as essentially literary texts. Finally, I discussed different forms of merger between oral and written culture and examined several ways in which literary elements and ideas can be introduced in oral songs.

After original 'strong thesis' that oral and literary modes are mutually exclusive, oral theory relatively soon acknowledged that there is no great divide separating oral and written literature, and that interchange and merger between the two spheres are quite common.[548] Still, while *periods* of transition from oral to literary culture and transitional *figures* that

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[548] See: Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition*, pp. 16-18. Also: Finnegan , *Oral Poetry*.

passed from oral to literary culture have readily been acknowledged, little has been done to actually identify the distinctive features of transitional texts, and theoretical contributions to this issue remained limited to South Slavonic, Medieval European and Homeric epic. South Slavonic oral tradition proved to be particularly valuable for such consideration: being textualized relatively recently, it contains information about its singers, contributors and editors, and thus provides solid evidence of how, by whom and in which circumstances the transitional texts originated. In several articles written during the 1980s, Lord thus adopted the category of transitional texts to denote a group of South Slavonic texts written by literate authors raised in the traditional oral milieu. By revisiting Lord's analyses and South Slavonic oral and written tradition, this study described transitional texts as a distinctive generic form involving two principal modes of enunciation – literary notion of fixed textuality and oral performative principle of composition in performance in traditional oral-formulaic language.

It was argued that transitional texts emerged in two principal ways, either by introducing literary characteristics in oral traditional content, or by appropriating original literary characteristics to oral performative manner and style. In the first case, they were composed by literate authors well versed in traditional style and technique. Such transitional texts are, for example, certain songs published by poets raised in traditional milieu like Petar Petrović Njegoš and Andrija Kačić Miošić; even though these works were published by educated writers, they stem from local tradition and retain oral traditional features. Secondly, I considered as transitional those texts from South Slavonic collections that appear to combine the notion of fixed textuality and exact reproduction with oral-formulaic style and performative features. Such texts were documented when singers performed orally previously published text or a nontraditional text composed in the manner of oral song. It was indicated that oral singers can respond to published songs in various ways. If they show appreciation to their 'author' and try to reproduce it accurately, we are already on the terrain of the world of

literature. However, insofar as they remain traditional singers, their performance will involve elements of oral singing – that is, they are likely to adapt some of the literary features such as a statement of date, parallel rhyme, unusual phraseology and outlook, or they can well improvise certain elements instead of copying them directly. If the result of their performance shows such an appropriation of literary features in oral traditional manner and style, it is best described as a transitional text.

The analysis showed that, rather than with fixed categories like literary text/oral traditional song, we are actually dealing with a continuum of published texts with various degree of oral traditionality – from those meticulously recorded from traditional oral singers unaffected by literacy and printed collections at one end, to the poems received from literate poets inspired by oral tradition at the other. In order to avoid, as Lord said, generalities about oral tradition following from the uncritical usage of doctored texts constructed outside that tradition, various factors that determine the overall level of traditionality were examined. Following the examples and instructions of Parry, Lord and Foley, I have taken into consideration the overall level of formulaicity in the songs, their outlook and style, the circumstances and conditions of their textualisation or recording, as well as the life history of the singer and the role of literacy in his or her culture. It was argued that Karadžić's and other nineteenth century South Slavonic collections of folk songs usually contain data about the singers, contributors, editors and collectors; such information are not quite comprehensive, but they nevertheless contain some background information about the date and place of collection, all of which enables us to determine and exemplify their literary and nontraditional characteristics. I therefore offered synthetic model for the analysis of transitional texts and literary elements in South Slavonic oral songs, based on the textual analysis of the phraseology and style, and supplemented by the discussion of their outlook and contextual evidences about their documentation and singers.

In accordance with the aforementioned classification, Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme* were divided into genuine oral traditional songs, transitional texts and texts with nontraditional elements. The two earliest documented songs, Tešan Podrugović's 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and Stefan Karadžić's 'Šehović Osman', written down by Karadžić in 1815, were taken as the starting point of the analysis. It was argued that the two songs fully qualify as oral traditional songs. They were collected from illiterate singers, and both displayed traditional formulas and phraseology and the scarcity of rhymed couplets. With regard to their outlook and overall perspective, the essential characteristics of the two songs were described as tribal antagonism and particularism, ambiguous relations among the local Christians and their occasional affiliation with the neighbouring Turks. In the second part of the chapter, I identified as traditional songs 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima', published in 1833 in Karadžić's fourth volume of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, by analysing their style, outlook and available data about their singers. In addition, I argued that the tribal perspective and local-patriotism as common characteristics of Montenegrin epics are the dominant views expressed in the two songs.

This was followed by the analysis of 'Dijoba Selimovića' as another oral traditional song in the collection with ambiguous relations among the local Christians and Muslims. It was argued that, even though it has been written down from a literate singer Đuro Milutinović, it shows the same traditional features found in the two aforementioned songs, such as oral-formulaic character, traditional phraseology, local perspective and ambiguous ethnic relations between local Christians and Muslims. In accordance with the previous discussion of South Slavonic oral tradition, I claimed that the singer in this case did not alter traditional content and style and performed it as any traditional singer would, and that this song is therefore fully representative of local oral tradition of the time.

In the next instance, I analysed 'Boj Moračana s Turcima' and 'Opet Moračani s Turcima' and compared them with 'Boj na Morači', which is another song about the same event documented in the first half of the nineteenth century and published by Karadžić. The comparison illustrated the differences in outlook and style between the two oral traditional songs and the version apparently composed under the influence of Cetinje as the political centre of the emerging Montenegrin state. This analysis thus enabled us to contrast a local tribal view of this event expressed in the two traditional songs, to 'Boj na Morači' that promotes a wider tribal association under the political leadership of Bishop Petar and national solidarity among the local Christians in their struggle against the Turks.

In the third chapter, the two songs about large-scale battles against the Turkish armies fought in 1796 attributed to Bishop Petar were analysed and identified as transitional texts. On the one hand, stylistic analysis showed the abundance of literary elements, which suggests that the songs were originally written compositions. These songs, on the other hand, apparently existed in oral form as well; Karadžić wrote them down directly from the oral performances of the Montenegrin singers. In addition, stylistic analysis showed that they contain more oral traditional characteristics from the similar songs about these events published in Sima Milutinović's *Pjevanija* and Njegoš's *Ogledalo srbsko*. Finally, the discussion of these various versions indicated that the songs about 1796 battles were probably repeatedly textualised and orally performed in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and that hence all documented versions to some degree display both literary and oral features. The analysis thus showed that the two songs from Karadžić's collection contain more traditional characteristics and are proper transitional texts, that is, the distinctive combination of oral traditional and literary elements.

In the next section, various scholarly arguments about the actual traditionality of the two songs from Karadžić's collection were examined. Even though Karadžić expressed his

belief that Bishop Petar was their original author, he further suggested that, despite their likely nontraditional origin, the songs were partially adapted, transmitted and transformed by the oral tradition, which therefore justifies their inclusion in the collections of folk songs.[549] As discussed, Karadžić's remarks led Radosav Medenica to conclude that these songs were genuine folk songs, whereas Ljubomir Zuković and Nikola Banašević expressed some doubts over their folk origin.[550] In accordance with the previous stylistic analysis, I argued that the two songs from Karadžić's collection were nor widely performed among local singers at the time nor adapted in oral-traditional manner to such an extent that they should be considered traditional songs. They still contain a number of nontraditional features, such as relatively frequent rhyming or unusual perspective and phraseology, and the correspondences between different versions go beyond any typological level of similarity. In accordance with Parry's and Lord's reminder that 'what is important is not the oral presentation but rather the composition during performance',[551] it was argued that this fixed form of the songs about the 1796 battles from Karadžić's collection is another literary feature. In other words, even though Karadžić's singers performed these songs orally, they apparently treated them as fixed texts, tried to memorize them word-for-word and to reproduce them accurately, all of which are nontraditional characteristics.

The second part of the chapter examined the question of Bishop Petar's authorship over these and other similar Montenegrin songs collected at the time. I argued, firstly, that the songs promoting the role of Bishop Petar and other Petrovićs in the Montenegrin struggle against the Turks were certainly composed in and promoted from Cetinje during Bishop Petar's rule. Secondly, that there are strong arguments supporting the claim that the Bishop composed such songs himself but, since he did not publish them under his name and no

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[549] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme IV*, p. 66.
[550] Radosav Medenica, *Naša narodne epika*, p. 110; Zuković, *Pogovor*, p. 457; Banašević, *Pesme o najstarijoj*, p. 291 et passim.
[551] Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 213.

autographs of his exist, this attribution remains to some extent a matter of speculation. Finally, it was argued that contextual evidence comply with the textual analysis and indicate that the two songs about 1796 battles were nontraditional songs composed at Cetinje by the Bishop himself or some of his associates, and further distributed among the relatively narrow circle of Bishop's followers.

In the final instance, the overall comparison of all the documented versions with the literary epic *Pjesn Crnogorska pobjeda nad skadarskim pašom Mahmutom Bušatlijom*, published in 1803, showed alternative version of events from 1796 from the one promoted by the Bishop and collected by Karadžić and his contemporaries. The overall comparison of all the songs about this event documented at the time thus additionally suggests that the songs from these collections were influenced by the Bishop and promoted by his followers in the first years of the nineteenth century already.

The last chapter focused on four songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović Crnogorac and published in *Narodne srpske pjesme*: 'Perović Batrić', 'Tri sužnja', 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša'. As indicated, Đuro Milutinović was literate, formally educated singer and Bishop Petar's associate, and his songs show these influences of literacy and educated culture. I followed the intersection of the tribal and local outlook as a typical feature of the local oral tradition, with a broader perspective promoting tribal unity and cooperation in the struggle against the Turks in his songs. It was argued that the majority of Milutinović's songs combine the traditional outlook of tribal antagonism and particularism with the nontraditional views that promote national unity, solidarity and cooperation in the struggle for the national emancipation and liberation from the Turks. I suggested further that these elements of a broader perspective are external to oral tradition, and that the singer had adopted them outside the local tradition during his education and under the influence of Bishop Petar.

With regard to their content, Đuro Milutinović's songs published in Karadžić's *Narodne srpske pjesme* offer a full scale of possible socio-political relations, from the affiliation with the Turks and overt antagonism between the Christian tribes, to the sublime poetic vision of national unification and liberation from the Turks as general political enemies. His repertoire therefore provides a wide range of examples, from genuine traditional song 'Dijoba Selimovića' to transitional song 'Boj Crnogoraca s Mahmut-pašom'. In most cases, however, Đuro Milutinović's songs were orally performed traditional songs that had circulated as a part of local oral tradition, and in this respect he continues to act as a traditional oral singer transmitting that tradition in his own turn. However, when a traditional plot contradicts his broader views of national solidarity, the singer intervenes to correct and supplement it. He does so by using the verses that were not part of traditional plot and are found in other contemporary songs, in particular those influenced by Bishop Petar and his associates. It was argued in this thesis that these songs contain distinctive phraseology and reinterpret the traditional plot in various ways. The traditional perspective remains dominant in 'Perović Batrić', while 'Tri sužnja' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković' revisit the traditional plot more thoroughly. Finally, 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' includes more of such nontraditional elements, which makes it the most systematically reinterpreted song by Đuro Milutinović in the collection. As indicated, such distinctive phraseology and outlook is absent from other versions and essentially nontraditional and external to local oral tradition.

On the whole, Karadžić's second edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme* represented Montenegrin oral epic tradition only fragmentarily and indirectly. At the time, Karadžić did not travel to Montenegro nor did he have associates from the area. Therefore, he had a rather limited insight into the oral tradition of this region. This was reflected in the relatively modest number of songs about the events from Montenegro – six in the third book, and five in the fourth. In addition, he was limited to the singers who resided outside that tradition. As it

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appears, only two out of a total of eleven songs were written down from singers who at the time of documentation still inhabited the Montenegrin area. Thus, the only direct representatives of contemporary oral tradition were Filip Bošković Bjelopavlić and Milovan Mušikin Piper, whose songs about the battle of Morača were documented two years after the event described in the songs took place. At the time of documentation, all other singers had resided outside the context of local tradition for a substantial period of time; Karadžić's father Stefan came to Serbia as a child, Tešan Podrugović settled there in 1807 and Đuro Milutinović in 1808, while the identity of an unnamed Montenegrin remains uncertain.

This study also draws some inferences about the Montenegrin oral tradition in general. Several typical regional characteristics of this oral tradition can be identified. The majority of songs describe small-scale conflicts without wider importance and broader consequences for the political status of the region. Among them, two songs collected among the Serbian refugees in Srem in 1815, 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica' and 'Šehović Osman' display certain similarities. Both represent the oral tradition from Herzegovina, with recognizable features such as hostility between the Herzegovinian and Montenegrin tribes or the Herzegovinians' affiliation with the Turks. Hence, the Turks are completely absent from the song 'Pop Crnogorac i Vuk Koprivica'. Similarly, their portrayal in 'Šehović Osman' is more sympathetic than hostile with particular esteem reserved for the main hero Osman. The latter also evinces the influence of the Muslim oral tradition and the Muslim heroic model. The ties between the characters are predominantly local and tribal, without a broader perspective to indicate Christian bonds on a higher level of religious or national solidarity. The two songs that Karadžić wrote down from Đuro Milutinović, 'Perović Batrić' and 'Pop Lješević i Matija Jušković', also display these hallmark features of the Herzegovinian songs. Similar characteristics are found in Đuro Milutinović's 'Dijoba Selimovića', the only song in the collection with a narrow focus on the terrain of Rijeka near the lake Skadar. 'Dijoba

Selimovića' describes the arbitrage of Christians in a local dispute between two Muslim brothers. Despite the fact that the arbitrage ends with a Muslim killing a Christian, there are no indications that this legislative mediation and cooperation was unusual or aberrant.

The tribal perspective and local identification also dominate the two short chronicle songs about the battle of Morača, which represent the epic tradition of the Brđani. Further to their anti-Turkish orientation, both singers represent the triumph as the exclusive achievement of the Brđani forces and celebrate the victorious thrust of their fellow tribesmen. Despite the comparatively large magnitude of the battle, the singers show no awareness of its wider implications and importance. There is no mention of the participation of Montenegrin forces in the battle nor for that matter of Bishop Petar's role in its successful outcome.

Đuro Milutinović's songs 'Tri sužnja' and 'Piperi i Tahir-paša' also represent this local tribal tradition of the Brđani, but in addition contain elements of a broader perspective of Christian solidarity, the phraseology adopted from Bishop Petar's songs, as well as certain geographic inaccuracies. Admittedly, such interferences make these songs less representative for the investigation of local oral traditional characteristics from the two songs about the battle of Morača that Karadžić wrote down from the locals two years after the event.

This research confirms the importance of the specifics of time and place at which a song is collected. In 1815, in Srem, Karadžić wrote down some songs from his father Stefan Karadžić and Tešan Podrugović, both of whom were illiterate common people originally from Herzegovina who showed up in Srem as refugees after the First Serbian Uprising. Their songs typically manifested the tribal and local outlook, ambiguous relations between the local Christians and Muslims, and showed implicit or even explicit hostility towards the Montenegrins. However, other Montenegrin songs in the collection, documented at Prince Miloš's court in Kragujevac or in Belgrade, offered a different picture of local oral tradition. Their singers show greater interest in the major contemporary battles, develop a larger

historical and sometimes international framework of the events they describe, and praise Bishop Petar for his efforts and achievements in opposing the Turks. Unlike the destitute Serbian refugees who fled across the rivers Sava and Danube after the collapse of the Uprising, the Montenegrin singers who stayed at Prince Miloš's court presented Karadžić with a wholly different visage. Đuro Milutinović, the most prominent source of Montengrin songs in the collection, was in Prince Miloš's service, and came to Serbia for a diplomatic mission at the behest of Bishop Petar. In addition, the unnamed Montenegrin could perhaps be identified as deacon Ličinić, another literate and politically active figure who came to Prince Miloš's court directly from Bishop Petar's service. As it appears, the singers that Karadžić had met in 1815 had a different repertoire from the Montenegrins that he later found on Prince Miloš's court during the 1820s. While the first still foster the songs about minor local conflicts with ambiguous ethnic and religious relations, the second adopt Bishop Petar's songs and views, emphasize the wider context of the events and opt for national liberation and unification.

The study showed that the majority of Montenegrin songs from this collection testify to a strong influence of literate culture. Of eleven Montenegrin songs from Karadžić's second and fourth book of *Narodne srpske pjesme*, two songs about the battles against Mehmet Pasha are of literary origin, and four others are influenced by literate culture and display distinctive outlook and phraseology typical of an educated singer. These songs thus occupy the largest part of the Montenegrin section in Karadžić's second edition of *Narodne srpske pjesme* – two out of eleven Montenegrin songs in the collection are proper transitional texts, and four others show nontraditional elements. As suggested, such phraseology and the broader perspective promoting tribal unification under Bishop Petar's leadership are by and large the input of the political leaders and particular singers close to them. They were invested in *Narodne srpske pjesme* during the process of the literary fixation of the oral tradition in the first half of the

nineteenth century and they are to be distinguished from traditional local songs promoting tribal particularism and antagonism. This study thus sheds light on the impact of literacy, educated authors and singers close to political leadership in the early stages of the literary documentation and representation of Montenegrin oral tradition. Furthermore, it provides a more precise differentiation between traditional and transitional South Slavonic texts and contributes to the discussion of transitional texts in oral studies by offering consistent model for their analysis. As I argued, only when stylistic and textual analysis is supplemented by generic and contextual information, the proper distinction between oral and literary, traditional and nontraditional features can be made. South Slavonic oral tradition proved to be of particular value for such consideration. Unlike Homeric or Medieval European epic, it has been textualized relatively recently, and thus provides more information about its singers, contributors and editors.

For this reason, I anticipate that a wider field of oral studies could benefit from the argument presented in this study. Namely, throughout the twentieth century, South Slavonic oral tradition remained pivotal to the key theoretical approaches in the field of oral studies and epic poetics, such as those about heroic epic by the Chadwicks and Bowra,[552] the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition or later discussions of transitional and nontraditional texts by Lord and Foley. Furthermore, the recently spurred interest in a number of previously neglected oral epic traditions, such as those of Central Asia, former Soviet Union and Africa, has not displaced South Slavonic oral tradition from its privileged position in the scholars' the discussions of oral and epic features. In the words of renowned contemporary scholars, it is one of the best, if not *the* best, documented oral tradition worldwide,[553] and the one that 'still

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[552] See: 'The Battle of Kosovo in Servian Poetry', in Munro Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912) , pp. 313-19; Also: 'Yugoslav Poetry', in Munro Chadwick, and N. Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932-1940), II, pp. 299-456; Bowra, Cecil Maurice, *Heroic Poetry*, London: Macmillan, 1952.
[553] David E. Bynum, 'The Collection and Analysis of Oral Epic Tradition in South Slavic: An Instance', in *Oral Tradition*, 1/2 (1986), p. 304.

serves as the best comparanda to Homeric epic'.[554] Thus, any new insights and contributions to the South Slavonic oral tradition will bear on the wider field of oral studies.

In that respect, this study contributes to the current trends and debates regarding the entire process of textualisation and representation of oral tradition, and of various political and ideological forces involved in its production and distribution. It examines a complex socio-political framework giving rise to the early-nineteenth century collections of South Slavonic oral songs, in particular the textualisation of Montenegrin oral tradition and the impact of literacy, educated authors and singers close to political leadership in this process. It thus calls for a proper consideration of the personal contribution of particular singers, collectors and editors, their mutual relations and their dependence on the contemporary political constellation and leadership. It shows the need for the cultural and historical contextualisation of the process of documentation and representation of the oral tradition, and highlights various factors involved in it. Accordingly, this research contributes to the discussion of transitional texts in oral studies by offering a consistent model for their analysis, based on the combination of textual analysis and genetic criterion. It indicates that transitional texts in South Slavonic tradition became more prominent with the increasing influence of literacy and published collections in the second half of the nineteenth and throughout twentieth century. In this respect, the borderline zone of transitional texts examined here might provide leverage for comparative studies in other traditions influenced by literacy and perhaps shed some light on epics and collections published without the data about their collectors, singers, written or other influences. Moreover, analogous examples are not limited to medieval European epic, and there is growing comparative evidence of the interchange between literacy and orality in contemporary oral traditions. A consistent model of transitional text is thus required to clarify if such mergers should be conceived as a hybrid

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[554] Richard Martin, *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the 'Iliad'* (Ithaca: Cornel University Press, 1989), p. 150. Also: Nagy, *Epic as Genre*, p. 24.

genre emerging only in particular oral traditions influenced by literacy, or our generic dyad oral song/literary text requires modification into triad to include transitional texts and their many facets.

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