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### Vladislav Puzović

## The Study of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade<sup>1</sup>

### Proučevanje cerkvene zgodovine na Pravoslavni teološki fakulteti v Beogradu

Abstract: The study of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade, during the 20th century, was performed within two courses – the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the History of Christian Church. For a certain period of time, besides these two major Church History courses, there also existed the following courses – Cultural History of Byzantium, the History of the Russian Orthodox Church, and the History of Western Christianity. These courses were taught not only by Serbian, but also by Russian professors who emigrated from Soviet Russia. This paper gives the basic outline of the scientific legacy of the Church History Professors at the aforementioned Faculty. The Russian professors had left the most profound mark in the field of the study of the history of the Church in Byzantium, and the history of the Monophysite and Nestorian Communities. Their scientific legacy was important for the Serbian environment as a foundation for further study of the above-mentioned themes. The scientific legacy of the Serbian professors was mostly related to the study of the Serbian ecclesiastical past. A fewer number of their scientific papers concerned the themes of the history of Western Christianity. The aim of this paper is to represent the main research directions in Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade during the 20th century. The individual work of each professor has been examined as a part of a whole which represents a unified scientific legacy.

*Keywords*: Church History, the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade, Alexander Pavlovich Dobroklonsky, Stevan Dimitrijević, Radoslav Grujić.

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Povzetek: Na Pravoslavni teološki fakulteti v Beogradu je proučevanje cerkvene zgodovine v 20. stoletju potekalo znotraj dveh predmetov, in sicer Zgodovine Srbske pravoslavne Cerkve ter Zgodovine krščanske Cerkve. Poleg teh dveh večjih cerkvenozgodovinskih predmetov so v določenih obdobjih obstajali še drugi predmeti: Kulturna zgodovina Bizanca, Zgodovina Ruske pravoslavne Cerkve in Zgodovina zahodnega krščanstva. Predmetov niso poučevali le srbski, pač pa tudi ruski profesorji, ki so emigrirali iz sovjetske Rusije. Pričujoči članek ponuja osnovni pregled znanstvene dediščine profesorjev cerkvene zgodovine na omenjeni fakulteti. Ruski profesorji so pustili najgloblji pečat na področju raziskav cerkvene zgodovine Bizanca ter zgodovine nestorijanskih in monofizitskih skupnosti. Njihova znanstvena dediščina je za srbski prostor pomembna kot temelj za nadaljnje proučevanje teh tem. Znanstvena dediščina srbskih profesorjev je bila medtem po večini povezana s srbsko cerkveno preteklostjo. Manjše število njihovih znanstvenih objav je obravnavalo tudi teme iz zgodovine zahodnega krščanstva. Cili pričujočega članka je predstaviti glavne raziskovalne smeri cerkvene zgodovine na Pravoslavni teološki fakulteti v Beogradu skozi 20. stoletje. Predstavljeno je individualno delo posameznih profesorjev kot del celote, ki predstavlja enovito znanstveno dediščino.

Ključne besede: cerkvena zgodovina, Pravoslavna teološka fakulteta v Beogradu, Aleksander Pavlovič Dobroklonski, Stevan Dimitrijević, Radoslav Grujić

### 1. Introduction

The retrospective analysis of the historical currents of theological education in higher schools of theology represents one of the preconditions for the understanding of the current state of academic theology as well as one of the preconditions for the promotion of further research in different theological disciplines. In such a context, the analysis of Church History study at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, should be observed. Bearing in mind that during the greater part of the aforementioned century there existed a common South Slavic state (The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes / Yugoslavia, later socialist Yugoslavia) the legacy of the academic study of Church History in Belgrade can be seen as a part of a wider legacy of Church History study at the higher schools of theology in the former Yugoslavia. Observed in a wider context, the scientific legacy of the Church History Professors of Belgrade can be seen as a part of both scientific and cultural legacy in South Slavic areas during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade was planned according to the Act on Universities, enacted in the Kingdom of Serbia in 1905.

In the aforementioned context this paper is in a certain correlation with the paper of Robert Petkovšek, dedicated to the development of the theological education at the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana, mostly in the same chronological period studied by this paper as well (Petkovšek 2019, 473–490).

The problems concerning the teaching staff, and later the wars, in the second decade of the 20th century had postponed the opening of the Faculty. The teaching at the Faculty had begun in new historical circumstances, in the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, by the end of 1920, Since the opening of the Faculty, Church History courses have been taught. The two basic Church History courses were - the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the History of Christian Church. During the period between the two World Wars, two courses the Cultural History of Byzantium and the History of the Russian Orthodox Church had also been taught during a certain period of time. Since 1925 the course - the History of Christian Church was divided in such a way that the History of Western Christianity from the 11th century was taught as a separate course (Drašković 1961, 2-3; 7). In these courses, the students of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology were given the opportunity to learn about the history of their Mother Serbian Orthodox Church, the Universal Christian Church up to the 11th century, the history of other Orthodox Churches as well as the history of the Catholic Church and Protestant Communities.

## 2. The Professors of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade

Three Russian church historians taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade. The first of them was Doctor of Church History Alexander Pavlovich Dobroklonsky (1856–1937), an alumnus of the Moscow Theological Academy and a student of a famous Russian church historian Alexey Petrovich Lebedev. Before coming to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, he had been a Dean and a professor at the Faculty of History and Philology of Novorossisk University in Odessa. He taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade from 1920 to 1937 (APBF, Dosije A. P. D.). He chaired the first Session of the Faculty Council, held on September 6th, 1920 (APBF, Knjiga zapisnika sednica fakultetskog saveta (1920–1930), 1). He was one of the first four professors of the Faculty and the first professor of the History of Christian Church. The second Russian church historian was Teodor Ivanovich Titov (1864–1935), the Doctor of Church History and a former professor of Kiev Theological Academy. He taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology from 1920 to 1935. Since the place of a professor in the Department of the History of the Christian Church had already been taken, Titov taught Biblical History with Biblical Archaeology, and later – Dogmatic Theology (APBF, Dosije T. I. T.). At the request of the Russian students, and with the approval of the Faculty Council, he taught the History of the Russian Orthodox Church, as an elective course, from the 1922 (APBF, Knjiga zapisnika sednica fakultetskog saveta (1920–1930), 69; 223). In this way, after the forcible closing of Russian Theological Academies, Russian Church History, as a faculty course, continued to exist in Belgrade. The third Russian church historian was Vikenty Florianovich Fradinsky (1892–1961). Unlike Dobroklonsky and Titov, Fradinsky was not an alumnus of Russian theolo-

gical academies. He had graduated, and later, in 1939, got his Th.D. at Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology. He started working at the Faculty in 1924, as an assistant librarian. He became an Assistant Professor in 1939. He was one of the few professors who restored the Faculty of Orthodox Theology after the Second World War. When the Faculty was expelled from the University of Belgrade in 1952, he declared in writing that he would stay at the Faculty (APBF, Dosije V. F. F.). He succeeded Professor Dobroklonsky in the Department of Christian Church History and taught this course up to 1961. In this way, Russian church historians held the Department of Christian Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade for four decades.

A list of Serbian church historians who taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade begins with Stevan Dimitrijević (1866–1953). Dimitrijević was an alumnus of Kiev Theological Academy and a Rector of Prizren Seminary for many years. He was the first Dean of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade and the first Professor of the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church. He worked at the Faculty from 1920 to 1936. He was awarded the Honorary Degree of the University of Belgrade in 1936, for his great contribution to national science and culture promotion (APBF, Dosije S. D.). The Cultural History of Byzantium was taught by Dragutin Anastasijević (1877–1950), an alumnus of the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, who defended his Doctoral Dissertation in Munich in 1905, under the mentorship of Karl Krumbacher. Before teaching at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology he had taught as a Professor of the History of Byzantium at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. He was the first Serbian Byzantologist and the founder of the Department of Byzantology at the Faculty of Philosophy. He came to the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in 1920 and taught there until his retirement (APBF, Dosije D. A.). In 1924, hieromonk Irinej Đorđević (1894–1952), an Oxford graduate and a Doctor of Theology of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Athens, was elected a teaching assistant to Dobroklonsky, at the Department of Christian Church History. From 1925 he taught the History of Western Christianity, as a part of Christian Church History course. He was a specialist in the history of the Anglican Church. He had stayed at the Faculty until 1928 when he was appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Srem (APBF, Dosije I. D.). Archimandrite Filaret Granić (1883–1948), who taught Patrology and Canon Law from 1929, deserves the credit for the development of Church History science. He wrote a number of significant scientific papers on Church History. Granić defended his Doctoral Dissertation in Munich, under the mentorship of Karl Krumbacher, as well as Anastasijević. Before coming to the Faculty of Orthodox Theology he had taught as a Professor of Byzantology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, and from 1933 he was a part-time Professor of the History of Byzantium at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. In 1935 he became a member of the Serbian Royal Academy (Jevtić 1980, 27). Before the start of the Second World War Radoslav Grujić (1878–1955) and Đoko Slijepčević (1907–1993) taught at the Department of the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Grujić defended his Doctoral Dissertation at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, and, before coming to the Faculty of Orthodox Theology he had been a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje for a long time (1920–1937). While he was in Skopje, he organized the Museum of South Serbia and started a scientific journal The Herald of the Skopje Scientific Society (Serb. Гласник Скопског научног друштва). He came to the Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology in 1937. As a Faculty Professor, he became a member of the Serbian Royal Academy, and he established the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade. During the Second World War, with the help of Germans, he saved the holy relics of the Serbian saints from the Fruška Gora monasteries, which were looted by the Croatian Ustaše military units, since the region of Srem was a part of the so-called Independent State of Croatia. After the Second World War, he was prosecuted for collaboration by the communist authorities (APBF, Dosije R. G.). Đoko Slijepčević started teaching at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in 1938. Earlier on, he had become the first Doctor of Theology at this Faculty. His mentor was Stevan Dimitrijević. Having defended his Doctoral Dissertation he went to the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Berlin for further education (APBF, Dosije D. S.). Before and during the Second World War he stood out as a fierce opponent of the communists. For this reason, he was forced to flee to Italy via Slovenia in 1944. He spent the rest of his life as an immigrant, mostly in Germany, where he worked at the Munich Institute for Southeast Europe.

After the Second World War, when the Faculty of Orthodox Theology was expelled from the University of Belgrade, the longest teaching career among the church historians at the Faculty had Dušan Kašić (1914-1990). Kašić was an alumnus of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology and a student of Radoslav Grujić. He taught Church History courses for three decades, primarily the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church (1959–1988). He contributed to the development of ecumenical relations, participating as one of the Serbian Orthodox Church representatives at the 4th Assembly of the Second Vatican Council in 1965, among other things (APBF, Dosije D. K.). Besides Kašić, in the before-mentioned period, Church History courses were taught by Ljubomir Durković Jakšić (1907–1997), a Doctor of History of the Faculty of Philosophy in Warsaw, as well as Dragoslav Stranjaković (1901–1966), a Doctor of History of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. During the 30s, as a student of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Durković Jakšić went to Poland, where he continued his studies of Orthodox Theology in Warsaw. Later on, he got his Master and Doctoral Degree, and, in the years following the Second World War, he taught the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church at Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology (Mladenović 1997, 277–278). Before coming to the Faculty of Orthodox Theology Stranjaković had taught as a Professor of National History at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy. After the Second World War, he taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology for several years (APBF, Dosije D. S.). By the end of the 20th century, and at the beginning of the 21st century the Church History courses were taught by Bishop Atanasije (Jevtić) (1938–2021), Predrag Puzović (\*1950) and Radomir Popović (\*1954). All three of them were the alumni of Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Jevtić had got his Doctoral Degree at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Athens, while Puzović and Popović had got

theirs at Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology (APBF, Dosije A. J.; Dosije P. P.; Dosije R. P. File).

# 3. The Scientific Contribution of the Russian Professors of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade to the Study of Church History

Alexander Pavlovich Dobroklonsky and Theodor Ivanovich Titov brought the tradition of pre-revolution Russian Church historiography to Belgrade. Dobroklonsky had defended his Master Thesis and Doctoral Dissertation at Moscow Theological Academy. Both the Thesis and Dissertation concerned the history of the Church in the time of the Ecumenical Councils. His Master Thesis, "The Work of Facundus, the Bishop of Hermiane In Defense of the Three Chapters (Pro defensione trium capitulorum): a Historical-Critical Research on the Epoch of the Fifth Ecumenical Council" (Rus. "Сочинение Факунда, епископа Гермианскаго В защиту трех глав (Pro defensione trium capitulorum): историкокритическое изследование из эпохи V-го вселенского собора") had been written under the mentorship of Alexey Petrovich Lebedev, one of the founders of the critical direction in the Russian Church historiography. It had attracted the attention of western scientific circles. A famous German theologian Adolf von Harnack wrote a positive review of this Thesis in the journal Theologische Literaturzeitung (Dobroklonsky 1938, 6). The Doctoral Dissertation was titled "Venerable Theodore, the Confessor and the Abbot of Studion: His Time, Life, Work, and Writings" (Rus. "Преподобный Феодор, Исповедник и игумен Студийский: Его эпоха, жизнь, деятельность и творения"). It was the most comprehensive work dedicated to the famous Byzantine theologian of the first part of the 9th century (Puzović 2011, 57–66). Among the numerous significant Church History works published by Dobroklonsky in Russia, his four-volume textbook on the history of the Russian Church, intended for Russian Theological Seminaries, stands out. He had written this textbook relying on the methods of his professor from Moscow Theological Academy – Evgeniy Evsigneyevich Golubinsky. The chief characteristics of Lebedev and Golubinsky's scientific work were a critical analysis of the sources and a precise factography based on source materials. Dobroklonsky took with him his teachers' methodology to Belgrade.

Titov had become a Candidate of Theology at Kiev Theological Academy, after which he got his Master and Doctoral Degree. His Candidate and Master Thesis were dealing with Biblical Studies themes, while his Doctoral Dissertation was written under the title "The Russian Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State" (Rus. "Русская Православная Церковь в Польско-Литовском государстве"). Titov had published more than 90 scientific papers in Russia. He was famous as a specialist for the history of the Russian Church in Malorossia (Ukraine) as well as for the history of Kiev Theological Academy. He was the successor of Kiev Church History school tradition, with Metropolitan Makary Bulgakov as its main representative (Uljanovskij 2003, XLIV–CXXVI).

The third Russian church historian at Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Vikenty Florianovich Fradinsky, studied in Belgrade and was a student of Dobroklonsky and Titov. He was the second Doctor of Theology at this Faculty, after Đoko Slijepčević. He wrote his Doctoral Dissertation under the title "St. Nilus of Sinai, His Life, His Literary Work and His Moral-Ascetic Teaching" (Serb. "Свети Нил Синајски, његов живот, књижевни рад и морално-аскетско учење"). This Dissertation represented the first systematic study by an Orthodox Theologian on this Holy Father. The Dissertation was published sequentially in the journal *Theology* (Serb. *Богословље*), and it was positively reviewed in Serbian theological circles (Kašić 1961, 29).

These three Russian church historians, the professors of the Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology, contributed immensely to the study of Church History at this Faculty. Two voluminous notebooks of Dobroklonsky's lectures on the History of Christian Church are kept in the Faculty archive. These lectures encompass the period up to the year 1054. In his Belgrade lectures, Dobroklonsky mostly relied on the works of Lebedev, his teacher, but also on the works of a famous Saint Petersburg Theological Academy Professor Vasily Vasilyevich Bolotov. These lessons had compensated for what was lacking in the Serbian Church History science. In his lectures, Dobroklonsky represented the history of the early Church during the first three centuries of the Christian persecution, and the history of the Church in the period of the seven Ecumenical Councils after that. He dedicated several chapters to the relations among the major centres in Christian East and West.<sup>3</sup> The lectures are based on reliable factography and detailed historical-theological analysis of the key events of the Christian history in the first millennium. The tradition of the Russian historiographical school was conveyed in these lectures to the Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology.

Dobroklonsky, Titov and Fradinsky published a number of scientific papers on Church History in Serbian scientific journals. Dobroklonsky and Fradinsky made the greatest contribution in the field of the History of Christian Church, as well as Titov in the History of Serbian Orthodox Church. Dobroklonsky and Fradinsky published their major scientific papers in the Faculty scientific journal – *Theology* (Serb. *Богословље*). In 1926 Dobroklonsky published his paper "The Rigour (ἡ τῆς ἀκριβείας) and Dispensation (ἡ τῆς οἰκονομίας) of Church Politics – a Historical Overview" (Serb. "Црквена политика ригористичка (ἡ τῆς ἀκριβείας) и попустљива (ἡ τῆς οἰκονομίας) – историјски преглед"). This paper deals with the complex history of rigour and dispensation of Church politics during the first millennium. The period of the 8<sup>th</sup>and 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the conflict of the two currents in the Byzantine Church was at its peak was analysed in detail. Dobroklonsky was an expert on this since the theme of his Doctoral Dissertation concerned this very period. Ten years later (1936) he published a paper titled "The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The first notebook of Dobroklonsky's lectures is titled *The General History of the Christian Church – the first period (up to 313)* (Serb. Општа историја Хришћанске Цркве – први период (до 313)), while the second bears the title *The General History of Christian Church – second period (313–1054), part I* (Serb. Општа историја Хришћанске Цркве – други период (313–1054), I део) (APBF).

Ecumenical Councils of the Orthodox Church (their structure)" (Serb. "Васељенски сабори Православне Цркве (њихова структура)"). That was his last published scientific paper. It analysed the historical development of the Council Institution in the Christian Church. The paper was based on the sources. Dobroklonsky used the council acts, published in the Collections of Migne, Mansi and Hefele, as well as the data from the Church Histories of Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates Scholasticus, Hermias Sozomen, and Theodoret of Cyr. The above-mentioned papers of Dobroklonsky made a significant contribution to the Serbian Church historiography. There were no quality scientific papers on these topics in Serbian Church Historiography before Dobroklonsky (Puzović 2012, 100–106).

A few years after Dobroklonsky, Fradinsky published two of his scientific papers in Theology (Serb. Богословље). In 1939 he published a paper titled "A Charismatic-Hierarchic Institution in the Ancient Christian Church" (Serb. "Харизматичкојерархичка институција у старој хришћанској цркви"). A year later (1940), а paper titled "The Church and the State. Their Relationship in the Second Period of the Christian Church from 313 to 1054" (Serb. "Црква и држава. Њихов међусобни однос у другом периоду хришћанске цркве од 313 до 1054 године") was published. In the former paper, which represented his inaugural lecture at the Faculty, he described three charismatic ministries in the Ancient Church: apostles, prophets and teachers. He used sources such as Didache, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Church History of Eusebius the Bishop of Caesarea. Bishop Atanasije Jevtić pointed out that this paper »was a significant contribution to the scientific-theological effort in Serbian theology before the Second World War« (Jevtić 1980, 191). The latter paper considers the relations between the Church and the state in the Eastern Roman Empire, from the Edict of Milan to the Great Schism in the 11th century.

Dobroklonsky and Fradinsky made a significant contribution to the study of the relationship between the Orthodox and Anglican Church, as well as the Monophysite and Nestorian communities. At the request of the Holy Synod of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church that the expert opinion of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade should be passed on the validity of the Anglican consecration of a bishop, Dobroklonsky, with another Russian professor - Nikolay Nikanorovich Glubokovsky wrote a paper titled "An Opinion of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology on the Authenticity of the Consecration of a Bishop in the Anglican Church" (Serb. "Мишљење Богословског факултета поводом питања о аутентичности хиротоније Англиканске Цркве"). The paper was published in *Serbian Church Herald* (Serb. *Весник Српске Цркве*), in 1923. There it was stated that, from the historical point of view, the apostolic succession in the Anglican Episcopacy might be recognised, but that a clear statement of the Anglican Church on the character of a consecration of a bishop, and ordination in general was necessary.

During the 50s Fradinsky published a series of papers dedicated to the history of Monophysite and Nestorian communities in the Northern Africa, the Middle East, and Transcaucasia in an Anthology of Works of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology (Serb. Зборник Православног богословског факултета). There he de-

scribed the history of these communities, the specificities of their dogmatic doctrine, the basic liturgical characteristics, church administration and customs. He was of an opinion that the differences between the Orthodox Church and those communities were, in a theological domain, more of terminological than of essential nature and that their separation was rather a result of historical circumstances. These works were, at that time, the most complete studies on Monophysite and Nestorian communities in Serbian Church historiography (Kašić 1961, 30–31).

The papers of Titov, published in Serbian church journals, can be divided into two groups. The papers dedicated to the recent Russian Church history belong to the first group. Titov especially wanted to inform the Serbian public about the causes of the suffering of the Russian Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia, so he published papers on Russian Church History of the Synodal period. He also wrote on the suffering of the Patriarch of Moscow Tihon Belavin. To the second group of his papers belonged the texts dedicated to the idea of Svetosavlje. The idea of Svetosavlje was formed in Serbian intellectual circles in the third decade of the 20th century. Among its proponents were St. Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović and Venerable Justin Popović. Svetosavlje meant a specific philosophy of life based on the teaching of Christ, supplemented by Serbian historical experience, and it represented a specific Serbian answer to the ideas of European nihilism and humanism. On the other hand, the idea of Svetosavlje had the potential to strengthen the unity of the Serbian people in the multinational Kingdom of Yugoslavia and to make them more resistant to upcoming materialistic and atheistic ideas (Šijaković 2019, 174–182). Titov was one of the rare foreigners who got involved in the shaping of this idea. The specificity of his view on Svetosavlje was reflected in his stressing its Pan-Slavic, Pan-Orthodox, and even Pan-Christian importance. He especially insisted on the Pan-Slavic significance of St. Sava, and he connected the idea of Svetosavlje with Slavophilia.

On the other hand, he called upon the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to join in the celebration of St. Sava in 1935, a jubilee year, which commemorated seven hundred years since his blessed repose. He stressed the fact that, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, Catholic writers Ivan Tomko Mrnjavić and Andrija Kačić Miošić had written a hagiography and a praise to St. Sava. He considered St. Sava a friend of Catholics, not their opponent (Titov 1935, 260–265).

The Russian Professors of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade made their scientific contribution in numerable reviews of the relevant scientific papers from all Christendom as well. Dobroklonsky and Titov wrote surveys and reviews of the papers of Russian, Serbian, and Greek authors, but also of the papers of Western – Catholic and Protestant authors. The majority of the mentioned surveys was published in the Faculty journal *Theology* (Serb. <code>Богословъе</code>), so the Serbian theological academic circles were given an opportunity to get referent commentaries on the latest theological works from their country and abroad, written by the leading Church History experts.

# 4. The Scientific Contribution of the Serbian Professors of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade to the Study of Church History

In the period between the two Wars, the Serbian Professors of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade were scientifically shaped in different educational centres. Stevan Dimitrijević, the first Professor of Church History, was a Russian student, while his successor Radoslav Grujić received his education in the Habsburg Monarchy. The third professor in the Department of the Serbian Church History – Đoko Slijepčević was Dimitrijević's student who achieved his most important scientific results in immigration, after the Second World War. Dragutin Anastasijević, the Professor of Byzantine Cultural History, as well as Filaret Granić, were western students, who were educated in Munich, while Irinej Đorđević, who taught the History of Western Christianity, was first educated in Oxford, and later in Athens.

The scientific legacy of those professors is rich and crucial for the further development of Serbian Church historiography. Dimitrijević and Grujić were regarded as leading Serbian church historians in the period between the two World Wars. Dimitrijević was a pioneer in the systematic study of the history of Serbian-Russian Church relations. His Candidate Dissertation titled "The Travels of Serbian Hierarchs and Other Spiritual Persons to Russia from the 15th to the 18th centuries and the Consequences of These Travels" (Rus. "Путешествия сербских иерархов и других духовных лиц в Россию в течение XV-XVIII веков и последствия этих путешествий") was written at the Kiev Theological Academy in 1898 and evaluated as one of the best Serbian Candidate Dissertations in Russia. In 1922 he published important historical materials under the title The Historical Materials for Serbian History from Russian Archivers and Libraries (Serb. Грађа за српску историју из руских архива и библиотека). Even to this day, this collection of historical materials represents a base for the study of Serbian--Russian Church relations. Dimitrijević published a number of papers dedicated to St. Sava, the first Archbishop of the Autocephalous Serbin Church. During the 20s, with the help of numerous priests and teachers, Dimitrijević started an endeavour of collecting folk legends on St. Sava, throughout the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. He presented the results in a series of papers in which he gave a topography of folk legends on St. Sava, and analysed the major folk customs concerning the fest of this Saint. He also published a number of papers dealing with the history of the cult of St. Sava, including research on St. Sava's cult among the South Slav Catholics (Dimitrijević 1926, 821–830). Dimitrijević also explored the archival material in the Serbian Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos. In 1922, in the edition of the Serbian Royal Academy, he published a group of documents from that monastery (1922, 20-31). He also gathered several hundreds of old inscriptions and records in Hilandar and contributed them to the academician Ljubomir Stojanović for his famous anthology Old Serbian Inscriptions and Records (Serb. Стари српски записи и натписи). He wrote numerous papers on different

persons in Serbian Church History. Leading Serbian historians, such as Nićifor Dučić, Jovan Radonić, Mita Kostić, Đoko Slijepčević etc. wrote positive reviews of his papers. In the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts in Belgrade, his lectures on the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, are kept. These lectures cover the whole of Serbian Church History, from the settling of South Slavs in the Balkans to the beginning of the 20th century. The lectures are preserved in manuscript form and have not been published to this day (Puzović 2021, 97).

Radoslav Grujić, Dimitrijević's successor at the Department of the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church, is among the most important Serbian scientists of the first half of the 20th century. He left behind a bibliography of more than 250 scientific papers. These papers cover the whole of Serbian Church History, from the Medieval period to the beginning of the 20th century. Grujić was regarded as a specialist in the history of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. In a series of his papers dedicated to this Serbian Metropolitanate in the Habsburg Monarchy, a paper titled "The Problems of the History of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci" (Serb. "Проблеми историје Карловачке митрополије") stands out. It was published in 1929, in the Herald of the Historical Society of Novi Sad (Serb. Гласник Историског друштва у Новом Саду). The key issues of the history of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci were analysed in detail, and the inferences made in it are to this day regarded as scientifically relevant. His seminal works are the study of the spiritual life of the Serbs in Vojvodina, and a number of monographs on Serbian dioceses and monasteries. He wrote the scientific papers concerning Serbian Medieval Church History. Geographically looking, these papers are mostly dealing with the area of Macedonia, and they were written in the period after the First World War, i.e. the time he had worked in Skopje, at the local Faculty of Philosophy. His Orthodox Serbian Church (Serb. Православна Српска Црква), which appeared in 1920, was used as a textbook for the students of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology for a long time. A special unit in Grujić's works represents entries he wrote for National Encyclopedia of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Serb. Народна енциклопедија српско-хрватско-словеначка), edited by a historian Stanoje Stanojević, during the 20s. Grujić wrote over 500 entries related to Serbian Church History. These entries were published in 1993, as ABC of the Serbian Orthodox Church according to Radoslav Grujić (Serb. Азбучник Српске Православне Цркве по Радославу Γργίμħγ). Grujić was one of the greatest experts on archival material on Serbian history in the archives of Vienna, Sremski Karlovci and Dubrovnik. Methodologically, he was a follower of Ilarion Ruvarac and his critical direction in historiographical researches (Kašić 1980 47–48; Mileusnić 1993, 335–344).

The third Professor of Serbian Church History in the period between the two Wars was Đoko Slijepčević. He was the first Doctor of Theology at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology. In 1936 he defended his Doctoral Dissertation dedicated to Stefan Stratimirović, the Metropolitan of Karlovci. Over the course of several years of his work at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, before the beginning of the Second World War, he published noted papers on Pajsije Janjevac, the Patriarch of

Serbs, on the abolishment of the Patriarchate of Peć, as well as on the history of the Diocese of Hum and Herzegovina from 1219 to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Andrijašević 2018, 69). He achieved the most important scientific results after the Second World War, as an immigrant in Germany. Slijepčević is the author of the most encompassing Serbian Church History. His work *The History of the Serbian Orthodox Church* (Serb. *Историја Српске Православне Цркве*), in three volumes, was written from the 60s to the 80s of the 20th century. In it, he represented the complete survey of the Serbian Orthodox Church History from the time of St. Sava, and even before him, to the middle of the 20th century. Although he did not have access to the archives and libraries in Yugoslavia, Slijepčević wrote a respectable scientific work which is considered indispensable in any serious research of the Serbian Church past.

The professors Dragutin Anastasijević, Irinej Đorđević and Filaret Granić left behind rich bibliographies. Anastasijević and Granić were experts on Byzantine history, while Irinej Đorđević was an expert on the history of Protestantism in the 16th century, especially on the history of the Anglican Church. Anastasijević and Granić were the students of a famous German Byzantologist Karl Kraumbaher, under whose mentorship they had got their Doctoral Degree at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Jevtić 1980, 9; 27). Irinej Đorđević had first graduated from Oxford with the Graduate Thesis titled "Religious Controversies of the XVI Century". Later, in Athens, he defended his Doctoral Dissertation titled "The Influence of Lutherans on the Anglican Reformation in the 16th Century" (Subotić 2003, 9).

Of the three above-mentioned professors, it was Anastasijević who taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology for the longest period of time. A voluminous notebook of his lectures on the cultural history of Byzantium has been preserved. These lectures represent an exceptional synthesis in which the main Byzantine culture currents were described over the course of many centuries. Of all his researches, those he carried out on Mount Athos (1906–1907, 1911–1912, 1926) are the most significant for the Church History science. He published numerous Byzantine and Serbian documents from the Athonite monasteries. He published about 200 entries dedicated to Byzantine history in National Encyclopedia of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Serb. Народна енциклопедија српско-хрватско-словеначка) (Maksimović 2004, 143–144).

A historiographical part of the scientific legacy of Filaret Granić is dedicated mainly to Serbian and Byzantine Medieval monasticism, monasteries and monastery typika. The papers on the Hilandar and Karyes typika of St. Sava stand out. He also wrote about the legal position of the Church in Byzantium and Medieval Serbia. He published a number of reviews of the relevant works in the field of Byzantology. Some of these reviews were published in the leading German Byzantology journal Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Jevtić 1980, 27). Irinej Đorđević taught at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology for only a few years. During that period he published the following papers — "Ниталізт ав а Precursor of Anglican Reformation" (Serb. "Хуманизам као претеча англиканске реформације"), "Zwinglianism in Anglican Reformation" (Serb. "Цвинглијанство у англиканској реформацији"),

and "Calvinism in Anglican Reformation" (Serb. "Калвинизам у англиканској реформацији"). All three papers were published in the Faculty scientific journal *Theology* (Serb. *Богословље*). Up to that time, these were the highest quality scientific contributions to the history of the Anglican Church within Serbian Church historiography.

In the years following the Second World War, Church historians at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology were Ljubomir Durković Jakšić and Dragoslav Stranjaković. Durković Jakšić got his PhD at the Faculty of Philosophy in Warsow with his Doctoral Dissertation titled "Petar II Petrović Njegoš", while Stranjaković defended his Doctoral Dissertation under the title "The Government of the Constitution Regime 1842–1853" (Serb. "Влада уставобранитеља 1842–1853"), at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Both of them dealt with Serbian political, cultural and Church history of the 19th century, and they both based their scientific papers on the unpublished archival material from Yugoslav and foreign archives. While Durković Jakšić was an expert on Polish archives, Stranjaković was a specialist for archives in France. Durković Jakšić was an expert on the history of Serbian-Polish relations as well. Another field of his scientific interest concerned the history of the Serbian Church in Montenegro, especially Bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš. The greatest number of Stranjaković's scientific papers dealt with political history, which is not strange because he first taught National History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. As regards Church History, he wrote the biographies of a number of famous Church dignitaries of the 19th century Serbia, and published them mostly in the official journal of the Serbian Church – Herald of SOC (Serb. Glasnik SPC) (Mladenović 1997, 277–282; Ljušić 1997, 660).

In the period from 1959 to 1988, the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology was taught by Dušan Kašić. Kašić was a student of Radoslav Grujić under whose mentorship he wrote his Doctoral Dissertation titled "The Diocese of Lepavina-Severin" (Serb. "Лепавинско-северинска епархија") (1954). The theme of the Dissertation paved the way for Kašić's further scientific work. He was an expert on the history of the Serbian Church in Croatia and Slavonia. His monographs Serbs and Orthodoxy in Slavonia and Northern Croatia (Serb. Срби и православље у Славонији и сјеверној Хрватској), published in Belgrade in 1967, Serbian Monasteries in Croatia and Slavonia (Serb. Српски манастири у Хрватској и Славонији), published the same year in Belgrade, as well as Serbian Settlements and Churches in Northern Croatia and Slavonia (Serb. Српска насеља и цркве у сјеверној Хрватској и Славонији), published in Zagreb in 1988, testify to this. He wrote a Church History textbook, which was published in Belgrade in 1967 and used in Serbian seminaries for decades. Kašić's scientific papers, dedicated to various events and persons in Serbian Church History, were published in all important jubilee collections of articles, by the Serbian Orthodox Church from the 50s to the 80s. His bibliography consists of more than 200 titles, and he published his papers both in church and lay scientific journals. He followed the methodological principles of his teacher Radoslav Grujić, basing his scientific articles in the critical analysis of unpublished archival material (Mileusnić 1996, 377–380).

By the end of the 20th century, Church History courses at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology were taught by Predrag Puzović and Radomir Popović. Besides them, Bishop Atanasije Jevtić also taught at the Faculty for a short period of time. Primarily, Bishop Atanasije was not a church historian, but he left behind several valuable papers on Church History. He focused on the Serbian Church History of the 20th century, especially on the suffering of the Serbian people during the Second World War. His papers "The Development of Theology in Serbs" (Serb. Развој богословља код Срба"), published in Belgrade in 1990, and "The Theology of Saint Sava" (Serb. "Богословље Светог Саве"), published in Vrnjačka Banja in 1991, has had considerable scientific importance because they represent pioneer undertakings when it comes to systematic representation and analysis of the historical currents of Serbian theological thought since the time of St. Sava (Vasiljević, Marković 2004, 303-307). Professors Puzović and Popović defended their Doctoral Dissertations at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade. Puzović wrote his Dissertation under the title "Pavle Nenadović, the Metropolitan of Karlovci and His Time" (Serb. "Карловачки митрополит Павле Ненадовић и његово доба) (1990) (APBF, Dosije P. P.), while Popović's Dissertation was titled "Christianity in Our Lands up to the Slavic Settlement" (Serb. Хришћанство на нашем тлу до досељења Словена") (1989) (APBF, Dosije R.P.). Puzović taught the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church, while Popović taught General Church History. Puzović is an expert on recent Serbian Church History. His most important work is a four-volume Contributions to the History of the Serbian Orthodox Church (Serb. Прилози за историју Српске Православне Цркве). In the Contributions we can find scientific papers dealing with all the periods of the Serbian Church History. Puzović is a follower of Serbian Church historiographic tradition represented by his mentor Dušan Kašić, and Radoslav Grujić, before him. Popović published a Serbian translation of selected documents of the seven Ecumenical Councils in his work The Ecumenical Councils – Selected Documents I (Serb. Васељенски сабори – одабрана документа, I), Belgrade 2012, and The Ecumenical Councils – Selected Documents II (Serb. Васељенски сабори – одабрана документа, II), Belgrade 2011, thus making a significant contribution to the research of this subject in Serbian theological circles. He wrote a textbook for the history of Local Orthodox Churches, under the title Orthodoxy at the Crossroads of Centuries. Local Orthodox Churches (Serb. Православље на раскршћу векова. Помесне православне Цркве), published in Belgrade in 1999. He also published a collection of sources for the History of Christian Church, under the title Church History Sources (Serb. Извори за црквену историју), in Belgrade in 2001. He translated into Serbian some important works of ancient Christian writers concerning Church History. Popović has also published a Glossary of Church History (Serb. Појмовник црквене ucmopuje), in Belgrade, in 2000, where he, among other things, covered a number of issues related to the history of the Catholic Church. The bibliography of Puzović and Popović together consists of about 500 titles, representing a valuable legacy of contemporary Serbian Church historiography.

### 5. Conclusion

During the 20th century the study of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade was dominantly developed under the influence of two Church History schools: Russian and Karlovci school. The Russian Church History school was represented by Russian immigrant professors, and Serbian professors educated in Russia, while the school of Karlovci was represented by the professors who were educated in the area of the former Metropolitanate of Karlovci. Professors Dobroklonsky, Titov, Fradinsky, and Dimitrijević belong to the first group, while the main representative of the second group is Professor Grujić. Slijepčević, the student of Dimitrijević, can be added to the first group, while Kašić, Puzović and Popović, the successors of Professor Grujić's work, can be added to the second group. Besides them, there is a group of professors who gained their knowledge in the university centres of the West, such as Anastasijević, Granić, and Đorđević. The scientific legacy of the aforementioned professors consists of several thousand bibliographic units. It is dominantly dedicated to the Serbian Church past, while a part of this legacy is dedicated to general Christian Church History. Serbian Church past has been represented in a series of monographs, textbooks, scientific articles, and published archival material. Chronologically the entire Serbian Church History has been covered, from the time of Saint Sava, or even before him, to the contemporary times. In terms of content, scientific papers on all the key topics of Serbian Church History have been written. The articles have been written on the key events, persons, theological schools, monasteries, on the development of Serbian theology and worship, on the relations with the other Orthodox Churches, but also on the relations with the Catholic Church, and Protestant communities. The first to cover the themes related to general Christian History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology were the Russian professors. The scientific papers on Byzantine Church History, as well as on the history of Monophysite and Nestorian communities were written. In a later phase, the significant material related to the seven Ecumenical Councils was published, and Serbian translations of the sources important for the history of the early Church appeared. As far as Western Christianity is concerned, only a lesser part of the scientific legacy of Serbian Church History professors is dedicated to this subject. The papers on the history of the Anglican Church are dominant, while those dedicated to the themes concerning the history of the Catholic Church and Protestant communities are not numerous. It can be noted that, during the 20th century, the study of Church History at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade was a unified and uninterrupted process in which 15 professors took part and whose results make up a solid base for the further development of Church History researches in the 21st century.

### **Abbreviation**

**APBF** – Arhiv Pravoslavnog bogoslovskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu.

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