

Kartografija Crne Gore s naglaskom na prve domaće karte Crne Gore Cartography of Montenegro With the Emphasis on Its Earliest Domestic Maps

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Sažetak / Abstract

Radi se o kartografskoj interesantnosti i zastupljenosti “istorijskog prostora” Crne Gore u kontekstu sfera velikih sila i njihovog prikazivanja. Prati se kartografija od IV do XX vijeka, s naglaskom na prve domaće karte Crne Gore u XIX vijeku.

This work discusses cartographic attractiveness and representation of the Montenegrin “historic spaces” in the context of the Great Powers spheres of influence and their imperial assessment of the cartographic material. It gives an overview of the “historic space” of Montenegro between the 4th and 20th century, esp. in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Ages, placing special emphasis on the earliest and subsequent domestic/local maps.

Uvod. Kritički pristup, autentičnost i mjesto izvora u istoriji kartografije

Posmatrano u prostorno-vremenskoj, odnosno istorijskoj dimenziji, kao jedinstveni “istorijski prostor”, na pitanje saznanje vrijednosti i autentičnosti, vjerodostojnosti *kartografskih izvora* primjenjuje se istorijski kritički pristup ili istorijska kritika kao i na narativne, tekstualne izvore, poduprte opažajnošću prostorne predmetnosti. Zato je preduslov kritičke upotrebe karte poznavanje njenog mjesta u kartografskoj tradiciji, odnos prema ranijim kartama i nastojanje da se podaci dopunjavaju. (Ćirković 1991b; Škalamera 1991, 136–138)

Kartografska interesantnost “istorijskog prostora” Crne Gore od IV do XIX vijeka

Prostor Crne Gore je zastupljen na najstarijim poznatim kartografskim djelima u razdoblju od IV do XX vijeka. Razlog takve zastupljenosti je u njenom geografskom položaju koji je uvijek bio strateški važan, a time i interesantan za kartografska djela (Pejović 2009a). O strateškoj važnosti geografskog položaja Crne Gore svjedoči i zamišljena “Teodosijeva linija” koja je označavala granicu između (razdvojenog) Zapadnog i Istočnog rimskog carstva (koja se od 395. g. nijesu ujedinila), a povučena je preko Crne Gore.

Introduction. Critical approach, authenticity and place of source in the history of cartography

Observed in spatio-temporal, i.e. historical dimension, as a unique “historical space”, to the question of cognitive value and authenticity, credibility of *cartographic resources*, a historical critical approach or historical critique is applied as well as to narrative, textual resources, supported by the perception of spatial objectivity. Therefore, the precondition for the critical use of a map is the understanding of its place in the cartographic tradition, relation to earlier maps and efforts to supplement the data. (Ćirković 1991b; Škalamera 1991, 136–138)

Cartographic curiosities of the “historical space” of Montenegro from the 4th to the 19th century

The area of Montenegro is represented on the oldest known cartographic works in the period from the 4th to the 20th century. The reason for such presence is in its geographical position which has always been strategically important, and thus interesting for cartographic works (Pejović 2009a). The strategic importance of the geographical position of Montenegro is evidenced by the imaginary “Theodosius line” which marked the border between the (partitioned) Western and Eastern Roman Empires (which have

U antičkom i feudalnom dobu, Balkansko poluostrvo bilo je poprište stalnih borbi, nemira i naglih političkih promjena i nestajanja pojedinih država, u sjenci sukoba Zapada i Istoka. Upadom Osmanlija u 14. vijeku Balkansko poluostrvo i šira okolina većim dijelom postaje teritorija Otomanskog carstva.

Interesni strateški i geopolitički položaj Crne Gore zadržan je i u novovjekovnoj Crnoj Gori, u trajnim aspiracijama i teritorijalnim pretenzijama većih i manjih imperijalnih sila. To je uslovljavalo i određivalo i kartografske prikaze uopšte, naročito "istorijski prostor" Crne Gore sve do početaka domaće kartografije početkom, sredinom i u drugoj polovini XIX vijeka. To je Njegoš, iako poetski, sasvim tačno istorijski konstatovao "zemlja mala otsvud stiješnjena",¹ u trajnim teritorijalnim aspiracijama imperijalnih sila.

Ovo je tipičan model činjenice da je kartografija, kao materijalno-predmetna naučna disciplina, naročito primjenjivana na crnogorski "istorijski prostor", bila stalno opterećena imperijalno-istorijskom vrijednosnom komponentom, odnosno osnovom. To je uslovljavalo i određivalo dominantni imperijalni karakter odnosnih karata, kartografske prikaze i uopšte njihovo tumačenje, naročito "istorijskog prostora" Crne Gore sve do početaka domaće, samostalne i državne kartografije u prvoj i drugoj polovini XIX vijeka.

Kartografski "istorijski prostor" Crne Gore

U antici i srednjem vijeku

Ptolemejove karte iz II vijeka n. e. čine predstavu o svijetu tadašnje rimske kartografije. Preko Vizantije dospjele su u Evropu gdje su proučavane i štampane u vremenu renesanse. U izdanju iz 1513. godine, između 27 karata, na petoj i devetoj mapi predstavljene su i oblasti današnje Crne Gore. Takođe su predjeli Crne Gore prikazani na rimskoj putnoj karti (itinerar) iz IV vijeka, u obliku svitka od pergamenta, pod nazivom Tabula Pointegriana, a otkriven je u XIII vijeku (Pejović 2009a). Istoričar Ferdo Šišić (1925) je u svojoj knjizi *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara* kao prilog stavio tri karte na kojima je prikazan prostor Crne Gore sa rimskom toponimatom.

U srednjem vijeku kartografija je dvojno usmjerena. Uglavnom dominira sholastičko-crkvena predstava

not been united since A.D. 395), and it was drawn across Montenegro. In ancient and feudal times, the Balkan Peninsula was the scene of constant battles, turmoil and sudden political changes and the disappearance of individual states, in the shadow of conflict between West and East. With the incursions of the Ottomans in the 14th century, the Balkan Peninsula and its wider surroundings became for the most part the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

The interesting strategic and geo-political position of Montenegro was maintained in modern Montenegro as well, in the lasting aspirations and territorial pretensions of larger and smaller imperial powers. This will condition and determine the cartographic representations in general, especially the "historical space" of Montenegro until the beginnings of domestic cartography in the early, middle and second half of the 19th century. Njegoš, although poetically, but quite accurately historically, states: "a small country squeezed from everywhere",¹ in the lasting territorial aspirations of the imperial powers.

This is a typical model that cartography, as a materially subject scientific discipline, especially applied to the Montenegrin "historical space", is constantly burdened with the imperial-historical value component, i.e., with the basis. This will condition and determine the dominant imperial character of the respective maps, cartographic representations and their interpretation in general, especially the "historical space" of Montenegro, until the beginnings of domestic, independent and state cartography in the first and second half of the 19th century.

Cartographic "historical space" of Montenegro

In Ancient Times and the Medieval Ages

Ptolemy's 2nd A.D. century maps form an idea of the world in Roman cartography at the time. Through Byzantium they reached Europe, where they were studied and printed during the Renaissance. In the edition from 1513, between 27 maps, on the fifth and ninth map, parts of today's Montenegro are also presented. The region of Montenegro was also shown on the Roman road map (itinerarium) from 4th century, in the form of a parchment scroll, under the title Tabula Pointegriana, and was discovered in the 13th century (Pejović 2009a). Historian Ferdo Šišić (1925) in his book *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme*

¹ Njegoš: "Zemlja mala, otsvud stiješnjena kakve sile put nje zijevaju", pa kategorički zaključuje: "Za dvostrukost ni mislit ne treba". Ovaj njegov zaključak bitno i prije svega se odnosi upravo na imperijalnu teritorijalnu podjelu Crne Gore, na njene osvojene krajeve i "stiješnjenu" slobodnu podlovcensku Crnu Goru (podvojenu na "Donju Zetu" i uglavnom "Gornju Zetu"), netačno nazivanu "Stara Crna Gora".

¹ Njegoš: "A small country squeezed from everywhere, what forces yawn at her way", and then he categorically concludes: "There is no need to think about duality". His conclusion essentially and above all refers precisely to the imperial territorial division of Montenegro, to its conquered lands and "squeezed" free Montenegro under Lovćen (divided to "Donja Zeta" and mainly "Gornja Zeta"), incorrectly called "Old Montenegro".

svijeta sa geocentričnim prikazom zemlje, zvane sa dva grčka slova *T-O karte*. U njima je svijet prikazan u krugu, opkoljen okeanom, a kopno je podijeljeno na tri dijela: Aziju, Evropu i Afriku. Osim u zapadno-hrišćanskom svijetu, postojale su i u istočno-arapskom. Na drugoj strani, iz praktičnih potreba trgovine i pomorstva, javljaju se i svjetovne karte. Krajem XIII vijeka pojavljuje se kartografsko djelo *Insulle Archipelagi* (Arhipelagska ostrva) iz 1420. godine od C. Buondelmontija. U njegovom djelu je i sadržajno uobličena ova vrsta karata u kojima su pored kartografskog predstavljanja ostrva uključeni i priobalni dijelovi i pisani tekst o trgovačkim i ekonomskim prilikama te istorijat odnosno kraja. I pored rečenog edukativnog karaktera, izolari su bitni kartografski prikazi.

Novovjekovni kartografski "istorijski prostor" Crne Gore

Kartografski prikazi Crnogorskog primorja (obale) od najstarijih vremena su razmatrani kao dio istočne jadranske obale (Muljačić 1971; Marković 1974). Crnogorska obala bila je u svim istorijskim razdobljima značajna za talasokratije u strateškom i navigacionom smislu, kao što je Venecija, pa je prisutna u posebnoj produkciji venecijanskih portulana, izolara ili atlasa od XIV do XVIII vijeka. O crnogorskoj obali i njenoj važnosti za Mletačku Republiku iz tog razdoblja postoje brojna svjedočanstva među kojima su djela Giuseppea Rosaccia i Vincenza Marije Coronellija. Djela Coronellija sabrana u djelu i širem opusu i u obimnijem djelu sa dugim naslovom, poznata su i kao *mali izolar*. To je period iz druge polovine XVII i prvih decenija XVIII vijeka koji se dobrim dijelom poklapa sa periodom Morejskog rata, dobrim dijelom vođenog na Crnogorskom primorju. Iz tog vremena datira njegovo djelo *mali izolar* (prvo izdanje 1688. godine) (Sindik 1927; 1931; Škrivanić 1959; Kisić 1988). U tom djelu je Crnogorska obala predstavljena sa 22 karte, plana i veduta. U karti 1 jasno se uočava Bokotorski zaliv. Sljedeća karta prezentira crnogorsku obalu u cjelini i u sklopu šireg regiona. U karti 3 uz dijelove Dalmacije i Dubrovačke Republike prikazano je čitavo današnje Crnogorsko primorje. I u drugim Coronellijevim djelima je *Topografski prikaz Boke Kotorske* (K-3) koja se "odlikuje velikom minucioznošću i preciznošću" (Pavić 2007). Na tragu ove karte su i prikazi Boke Kotorske (K-5 i K-6) u kojima se može jasno pročitati njen naziv: *Kotorski kanal s Herceg Novim i ostalim mjestima*. U ostalim kartama su prikazi ostalih gradova Crnogorskog primorja, izvan Boke Kotorske, sve do

narodnih vladara (History of Croats in the time of the national rulers) has added as supplement three maps that show the region of Montenegro with Roman toponymics.

In the Medieval Ages, cartography was doubly oriented. It is mainly dominated by the scholastic and church representation of the world with a geocentric representation of the Earth, called by two Greek letters, *T-O maps*. In them, the world is shown in a circle, surrounded by the ocean, and the land is divided into three parts: Asia, Europe and Africa. Apart from the Western Christian world, they also existed in the Eastern Arab world. On the other hand, for the practical needs of trade and shipping, secular maps also emerge. At the end of the 13th century, from 1420, the cartographic work *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (Book of Islands) by C. Buondelmonti appears. In his work this type of map is also substantially shaped and, in addition to the cartographic representation of the island, its coastal parts are included with the written text on trade and economic opportunities and the history of the concerned area. Despite the stated educational character, *Isolarios* (Books of Islands) are important cartographic representations.

Modern cartographic "historical space" of Montenegro

Cartographic representations of the Montenegrin seaside (coast) from the earliest time have been considered as part of the eastern Adriatic coast (Muljačić 1971; Marković 1974). The Montenegrin coast has been important in all historical periods for thalassocracies in strategic and navigational sense, such as Venice, so it is present in a special production of Venetian portolan charts, *Isolarios* or atlases from the 14th to the 18th century. From that period numerous testimonies about the Montenegrin coast and its importance for the Venetian Republic exists, including the works of Giuseppe Rosaccio and Vincenzo Maria Coronelli. Works of Coronelli are collected in a work and in a wider opus and in a more voluminous work with a long title, also known as *Small Isolario*. It is a period from the second half of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century, which largely coincides with the period of the Morean War, which was led largely on the Montenegrin coast. His work, *Small Isolario* dates from that period (first issue in 1688) (Sindik 1927; 1931; Škrivanić 1959; Kisić 1988). In this work, the Montenegrin coast is presented with 22 maps, plans and vedute. Map 1 clearly shows the Bay of Kotor. The following map presents the Montenegrin coast as a whole and within

Bara i Ulcinja. Na kraju, dr Milorad Pavić zaključuje da je Coronellijevim radovima na području kartografiranja učinjen značajan *doprinos u vjerodostojnom prikazivanju prostora*, ali i da taj fond ostaje za mnogo veće istraživanje u kartografiji. U stilu dr Milorada Pavića i njegove instrukcije za dalje kartografsko istraživanje Boke Kotorske i Crnogorske obale objavljivalo je radove više autora (Milojević 1953; Radivović 1994, 13; Milošević 1974; 2000; 2003), među kojima je i rad mr Marije Mihaliček (2006; 2016).

Zbog prethodno navedenih razloga Crna Gora i u onom okupiranom i onom slobodnom dijelu bila je višestruko interesantna i za kartografsko prikazivanje od strane evropskih sila, ali i iz istih razloga nije bila još u moći da stvara sopstvenu i državnu kartografiju.

Još o sistematizaciji karata Crne Gore strane provenijencije

Janko Senderđi prvo ističe da Crna Gora do ujedinjenja 1918. godine nije imala sopstvenu i službenu kartografiju svoje teritorije, a zatim u razvoju kartografskih prikaza Crne Gore razlikuje dvije globalne faze: 1. kada je obrađivana u sklopu susjednih oblasti i zemalja ili u "cjelosti Balkanskog poluostrva unutar Osmanske imperije" i 2. kada je kartografski obrađivana kao zasebna cjelina. Zatim ih je podijelio na 6 epoha (Senderđi 1955). Iako je nabijena i pokrivena iscrpnim bibliografskim i kartografskim izvorima, u osnovi ove studije je jedan imperijalni ideološko-vrijednosni stav koji se čini da ne odgovara stvarnom stanju, a takođe njegov kartografski pristup da okupiranu teritoriju Crne Gore ne smatra kartografskim prikazom Crne Gore.

Iako je rečena podjela J. Senderđija u načelu opravdana, dosta je šematizovana i nepotpuna, jer se u tu šemu ne uklapa stvarno stanje. U prvoj podijeljenoj grupi nije odgovarajuća formulacija "u cjelosti Balkanskog poluostrva unutar Turske imperije", jer je izostavio i da pomene da su na izložbi Istorijskog muzeja Beča (iz Bečkog arhiva) od 5. 5. do 30. 10. 1983. godine izložene dvije karte pod nazivom "Turci pred Bečom". Jedna karta prikazuje Osmansko carstvo pri kraju 15. vijeka, a drugom iz 1699. godine je označeno da je u moru Turskog carstva Crna Gora bila ograničena kao slobodna država (Karadag). Legendarna karta je: "Nr ¼ Das Osmanisch Reich von der Mitte des 14. (kraj XV v.) i 15. Jahrhunderis bis 1699". U njoj je Osmansko carstvo obilježeno zelenom bojom čitavom svojom širinom, a Montenegro je kao "ostrvce" izdvojeno istom bojom kao i ostale

the wider region. Map 3, along with parts of Dalmatia and the Republic of Dubrovnik, shows the entire Montenegrin coast as is today. In other Coronelli's works there is a *Topografski prikaz Boke Kotorske* (Topographical presentation of the Bay of Kotor) (K-3) which is "characterized by great meticulousness and precision" (Pavić 2007). On the trail of this map are also depictions of the Bay of Kotor (K-5 i K-6) where its name can be clearly read: *Kotorski kanal s Herceg Novim i ostalim mjestima* (Kotor Canal with Herceg Novi and other places). Other maps show other cities of the Montenegrin coast, outside the Bay of Kotor, all the way to Bar and Ulcinj. At the end, Dr. Milorad Pavić concludes that Coronelli's work in the field of mapping has made a significant *contribution to the authentic presentation of space*, but also that fund remains for much greater research in cartography. In the Dr. Milorad Pavić's style and his instructions for further cartographic research of the Bay of Kotor and the Montenegrin coast, works by several authors were published (Milojević 1953; Radivović 1994, 13; Milošević 1974; 2000; 2003), including the work of Marija Mihaliček, MA (2006; 2016).

Due to the aforementioned reasons, Montenegro, in both parts, occupied and free, was in many ways interesting for cartographic presentation by the European powers, but for the same reasons it was not yet able to create its own and state's cartography.

More about the systematization of maps of Montenegro of foreign provenance

Janko Senderđi first points out that Montenegro did not have its own and official cartography of its territory until the unification in 1918, and then distinguishes two global phases in the development of cartographic representations of Montenegro: 1. when it was elaborated within neighbouring regions and countries or in the Balkan Peninsula as whole *within the Ottoman Empire* and 2. when it was cartographically elaborated as a separate unit. Then he divided them into 6 epochs (Senderđi 1955). Although charged and covered with exhaustive bibliographic and cartographic resources, at the core of this study is opinion of imperial ideological-value that does not seem to correspond to the real situation, and also its cartographic approach not to consider the occupied territory of Montenegro as a cartographic representation of Montenegro.

Although mentioned division of J. Senderđi is generally reasoned, it is quite schematic and incomplete, because the real situation does not fit into this scheme. In the first divided group, the formulation

samostalne evropske države. Prema tome, nije Crna Gora prikazana “u cjelosti Balkanskog poluostrva unutar Turske imperije”. Ovo je izuzetno značajna mapa Crne Gore za njenu samostalnost. Prikazuje stanje turskih osvajanja i izložena je na Bečkoj izložbi *Die Turken vor Wiene* (1983).²

U njegovom kartografskom prikazu nema ni karte Crne Gore Petra I Petrovića ni Jana Vaclika, koja bi trebala da je navedena u “trećoj epohi od 1856. do Berlinskog kongresa 1878. godine”. Nema je ni u bibliografiji kartografije tog perioda u “Prva Epoha = konac XVIII. vijek, t.j. prvi ozbiljniji pokušaji za teritorije Crne Gore”.

Ostale karte Crne Gore strane provenijencije

Međutim, sa sve većom samostalnošću i izdvojenošću Crne Gore u odnosu na Osmansko carstvo već tokom XVII, XVIII i XIX vijeka na kartama je često Crna Gora prikazivana zasebno, čak i na turskim (Pejović 2009a). Već od početka XIX vijeka na većini karata različite provenijencije Crna Gora biva prikazana kao zasebna cjelina. U prvoj polovini XIX vijeka nastalo je nekoliko karata Crne Gore počevši od one Napoleonovog pukovnika Vijale de Somijera, preko ruskog inženjera Jegora Kovaljevskog, zapovjednika Kotora grofa Teodora Karačaja do karte egiptologa Džona Gardenera Vilksona.

Prema Crnoj Gori bile su usmjerene francuska, ruska i austrijska, a u jednom periodu i engleska kartografija. Osamostaljivanje i teritorijalno širenje granica Crne Gore bilo je praćeno radom međunarodnih komisija za razgraničenje i utvrđenje granica. To je bila prilika da stručna lica i topografski oficiri doprinesu tome. Njihovim radom nastalo je više karata Crne Gore. Među prvim takvim samostalnim kartama je *Maps of Montenegro*, štampana u Londonu 1836. godine. Autor te mape je inženjerski oficir (inače iz Crne Gore) Nikola Milošev od Vasojevića, a u London je došla posredstvom engleskog funkcionera sa Jonskih ostrva, pod suverenitetom Velike Britanije. Već 1836. godine izdata je i karta grofa F. F. Karaczaua *Karta zemlje Crne Gore* (razmjjer 1 : 288.000). Iz 1853. godine su i dvije rukopisne karte u Ratnom arhivu u Beču.³

Akademik CANU i DANU Branko Pavićević posebno naglašava značaj i važnost karte o državnom razgraničenju Habzburške monarhije i Crne Gore (1837–1841) iz 1841. godine, koja je ovjerena Njegoševim i Šalerovim potpisom. Ovim dokumentom

“Balkan Peninsula as whole within the Turkish Empire” is not appropriate because he also neglected to mention that at the exhibition of the Historical Museum of Vienna (from the Vienna Archives) from 5th May to 30th October 1983, two maps entitled “Turks in front of Vienna” were exhibited. One map shows the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 15th century, and the second from 1699 marked that in the sea of the Turkish Empire, Montenegro was identified as a free state (Karadağ). Legendary map is: “Nr ¼ Das Osmanisch Reich von der Mitte des 14. (end of 15th century) and 15. Jahrhunderis bis 1699”, where the Ottoman Empire is marked in green colour with its entire width, and Montenegro is singled out as an “island” in the same colour as other independent European states. Therefore, Montenegro is not shown in the “Balkan Peninsula as whole within the Turkish Empire”. This is an exceptionally important map of Montenegro for its independence. It shows the state of Turkish conquests and was exhibited at the Vienna Exhibition *Die Turken vor Wiene* (1983).²

In his cartographic presentation, there is neither a map of Montenegro by Petar I Petrović nor Jan Vaclík, which should be listed in “the third epoch from 1856 to the Congress of Berlin in 1878”. It is not even in the bibliography of the cartography of that period in “First epoch = end of 18th century, i.e. the first serious attempt for the territories of Montenegro”.

Other maps of Montenegro of foreign provenance

However, with the increasing independence and separation of Montenegro in relation to the Ottoman Empire, already during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, Montenegro was often shown separately on the maps, even on the Turkish ones (Pejović 2009a). Since the beginning of the 19th century, Montenegro has been shown as a separate entity on most maps of different provenances. In the first half of the 19th century, several maps of Montenegro were created, starting with the map of the Napoléon’s Colonel Vialla de Sommières, Russian engineer Yegor Kovalevsky, maps of the Commander of Kotor, Count Teodor Karačaj, to the Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson.

French, Russian and Austrian cartography were directed towards Montenegro, and at one time English cartography too. Independence and territorial expansion of the borders of Montenegro was accompanied by the work of international commissions for demarcation and establishment of borders.

² Objavio je kod nas dr Radoslav Rotković (1966, 69).

³ Vrijedno bi bilo provjeriti je li riječ o primjerku karte Petra I i austrijske komisije koje je slao u Beč, a kasnije i u Njegoševu doba.

² Published by Dr. Radoslav Rotković (1966, 69).

je snažno potvrđen državno-pravni identitet Crne Gore i legitimnost njenih organa vlasti, zaključuje B. Pavićević (1993, 7).

Iz ovoga razdoblja značajne su još dvije geografske karte Crne Gore. Prvu je izradio 1838. godine poznati ruski geograf, učenjak, putopisac i diplomata Jegor Petrovič Kovaljevski. To je bilo prilikom njegovog dolaska u Crnu Goru kao kapetana po preporuci Štaba korpusa rudarskih inženjera i po naredbi Nikolaja I da četiri mjeseca provede u Crnoj Gori sa zadatkom da ispita mineralna bogatstva ove zemlje. Na Njegošev zahtjev je izradio kartu Crne Gore. Austrijski pukovnik Karačaj izradio je drugu geografsku kartu, koja je u kartografskom pogledu nešto preciznija od one Kovaljevskog. Kao značajni državno-politički i drugi reformator Crne Gore, Njegoš je poklanjao posebnu pažnju i naprima da se Crna Gora što potpunije kartografski obradi. Pod imenom Filip Vuković, došao je sredinom 1840. godine u Crnu Goru Danilo Kokotović, koji je postao Njegošev učitelj njemačkog jezika. Pored toga, Vuković se “pri crnogorskom praviteljstvu” bavio i crtanjem “topografskih karata”. Jednu takvu njegovu kartu objavio je Jevto M. Milović (Pavićević 1993, 7). Značajna je i geografska karta koju je usvojila međunarodna komisija za crnogorsko-tursko razgraničenje 1859. godine, naročito zato što je Turska imperija uporno po svaku cijenu osporavala međunarodni suverenitet Crne Gore sa pozivom na svoje, turske kartografe, među kojima je najistaknutiji Hadži Kalfa, koji su Crnu Goru (Karadag) prikazivali kao sastavni dio Osmanskog carstva, naravno, samo na osnovu njegove *jednostrane* imperijalne volje. Na crnogorskoj strani su bili predstavnici Rusije, Austrije i Velike Britanije koji su se pozivali na faktičku slobodu i nezavisnost Crne Gore i u odnosu na tursku vlast. Ovo je tipičan primjer da je kartografija, naročito primjenjivana na crnogorski “istorijski prostor”, kao materijalno predmetna objektivna i precizna nauka, ipak stalno bila opterećena imperijalno-istorijskom vrijednosnom komponentom, odnosno osnovom.

Član Komisije za razgraničenje Crne Gore (1859–1860) britanski poručnik Sittwell izdao je u Londonu *Map of Montenegro* (1 : 200.000). Njemački geograf Heinrich Kiepert objavio je 1852. godine u Berlinu kartu *Das Fürstentum Montenegro* (1 : 500.000), Bečka kuća *Artario* izdala je 1861. godine Paulinijevu *Carta di Montenegro* (1 : 300.000). Ruski kapetan P. Bikov, na osnovu sopstvenih topografskih radova, izdao je u Petrogradu 1868. g.

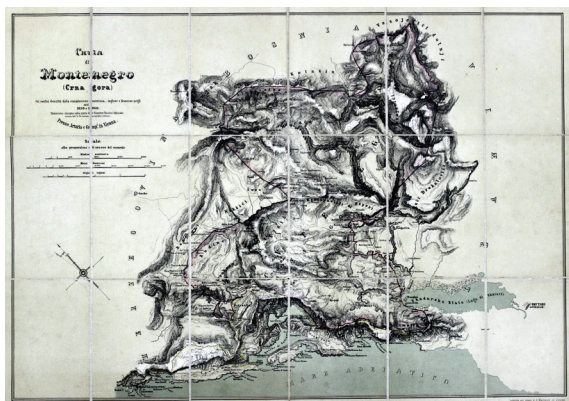
It was an opportunity for experts and topographic officers to contribute. Their work created several maps of Montenegro. Among such first stand-alone maps is *Maps of Montenegro*, printed in London in 1836. The author of that map is an engineering officer (otherwise from Montenegro), Nikola Milošev from family Vasojević. The map came to London through an English official from the Ionian Islands, under the sovereignty of Great Britain. Already in 1836, a map of the Count F. F. Karaczay, *Karta zemlje Crne Gore (Map of the country of Montenegro)* (scale 1 : 288.000) was published. There are also two manuscript maps from 1853 in the Austrian War Archives in Vienna.³

Academician of Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts and Doclean Academy of Sciences and Arts, Branko Pavićević, emphasizes in particular the significance and importance of the map on the state demarcation of the Habsburg Monarchy and Montenegro (1837–1841) from 1841, which were authenticated by Njegoš's and Schaller's signatures. This document strongly confirms the state-legal identity of Montenegro and the legitimacy of its authorities, concludes B. Pavićević (1993, 7).

From this period two more geographical maps of Montenegro are significant. The first was made in 1838 by the famous Russian geographer, scholar, travel writer and diplomat Jegor Petrovich Kovalevsky, during his arrival in Montenegro as a captain on the recommendation of the Colonel Corps of Mining Engineers and on the orders of Nicholas I to spend four months in Montenegro with the task of examining the mineral resources of this country. At Njegoš's request, he made a map of Montenegro. The second map was made by an Austrian colonel Karačaj, which is cartographically somewhat more precise than Kovalevsky's. As a significant state-political and second reformer of Montenegro, Njegoš paid special attention to the efforts to cartographically process Montenegro as more as possible. Under the name Filip Vuković, Danilo Kokotović came to Montenegro in the middle of 1840 and became Njegoš's teacher of German language. In addition, Vuković was drawing “topographic maps” “under the Montenegrin government”. One of such Vuković's maps was published by Jevto M. Milović (Pavićević 1993, 7). The geographical map adopted by the International Commission for Montenegrin-Turkish Demarcation in 1859 is also significant,

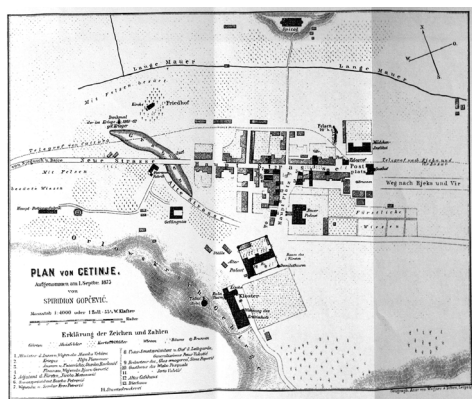
³ It would be worth checking whether this is a copy of the map of Petar I and the Austrian commission that he sent to Vienna, and later in Njegoš's time.

*Kartu knjaževstva Černogorskogo.*⁴ Na osnovu topografske građe koju su prikupili austrijski oficiri i građe iz Komisije za razgraničenje 1856–1860. izradio je i izdao bečki Vojnogeografski institut specijalnu kartu Crne Gore. Topografski biro ruskog generalštaba izradio je u Petrogradu 1878. *Kartu Černogoriju*, ali nije objavljena, već je kasnije upotrijebljena pri izradi karte P. Rovinskog 1889. godine.



Carta du Montenegro / Giacomo Paulini. Wien [1860]

Nićifor Dučić (1874) priložio je u svojoj studiji *Crna Gora* jednu preglednu kartu sa označenim državnim granicama iz 1500, 1796, 1820. i 1860. godine,⁵ a Spiridon Gopčević u svojoj knjizi *Montenegro und Montenegrinen* (izdate u Beču 1877. godine) priložio plan Cetinja sa istaknutim javnim zgradama (1 : 4000).



Plan von Cetinje / Spiridon Gopčević. Wien, 1877.

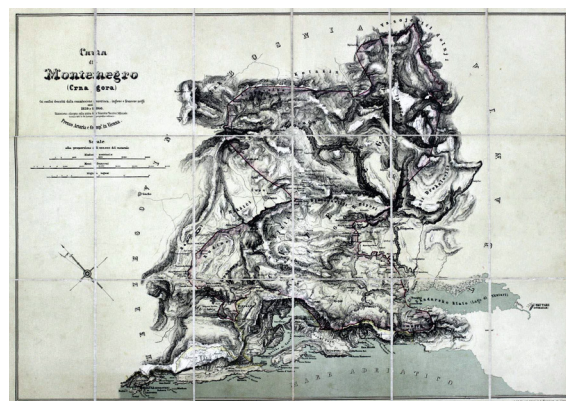
Objavljeno je više karata nastalih kompilacijom starijeg kartografskog materijala u kojima je zajedno prikazivana Bosna, Hercegovina, Srbija i Crna Gora, a u nekima dodata i Albanija.

⁴ Ta je karta korišćena u Crnoj Gori kao školska zidna karta.

⁵ Ova karta iz 1820. moguće je da ima vezu sa onom Petra I Petrovića Njegoša, o kojoj će biti kasnije riječi u poglavlju *Prve domaće karte Crne Gore*.

especially because the Turkish Empire persistently challenged the international sovereignty of Montenegro at all costs, referring to their own, Turkish cartographers, among whom the most prominent was Hājī Khalīfa (Kâtip Çelebi), who portrayed Montenegro (Karadağ) as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, of course, only on the basis of his *one-sided* imperial will. On the Montenegrin side were representatives of Russia, Austria and Great Britain, who called on the real freedom and independence of Montenegro and in relation to the Turkish government. This is a typical example that cartography, especially applicable to the Montenegrin “historical space”, as a material subject, objective and precise science, was constantly burdened with the imperial-historical value component, i.e., with the basis.

Member of the Commission for Demarcations of Montenegro (1859–1860) British Lieutenant Sitwell published in London *Map of Montenegro* (1 : 200.000). The German geographer Heinrich Kiepert published in Berlin in 1852 a map *Das Fürstentum Montenegro* (1 : 500.000), and Vienna Publishing House *Artaria* in 1861 published Paulini's *Carta di Montenegro* (1 : 300.000). Russian Captain P. Bikov, on the basis of his own topographic works, published in St. Petersburg in 1868 *Karta knjaževstva Černogorskogo* (Map of the Principality of Montenegro).⁴ Based on topographic materials collected by Austrian officers and materials from the Demarcation commission 1856–1860, Vienna Military Geographic Institute made and published special map of Montenegro. The Topographic Bureau of the Russian General Staff made a *Karta Černogorija* (Map of Montenegro) in St. Petersburg in 1878. It was not published, but later was used in the making of a map of P. Rovinsky in 1889.



Carta du Montenegro / Giacomo Paulini. Wien [1860]

⁴ This map was used in Montenegro as a school wall map.

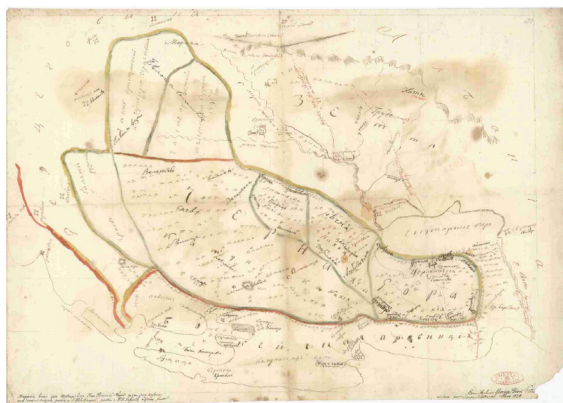
Poslije Berlinskog kongresa, austrijska i ruska zvanična kartografija organizovano određuju astronomske tačke, postavljaju trigonometrijske mreže i više geodetskih snimanja Crne Gore. Sve je to doprinijelo da Crna Gora tada dobije savremeniju, tačniju i naučno utvrđenu osnovu za topografske karte. Iz njih se u Petrogradu i Beču sastavljaju razne specijalne, pregledne i tematske karte. Osnovne ruske i austrijske radove koriste i drugi, tako da je do kraja vijeka izašlo mnogo karata Crne Gore u Berlinu, Glogou, Rimu, Beogradu i u drugim mjestima. Krajem vijeka, pridružuju im se njemački, italijanski i srpski naučnici. (Škalamer 1991, 136–138)

Prve domaće karte Crne Gore

U sklopu mnoštva stranih karata Crne Gore (velikih imperijalnih sila) i njihovog kartografskog proučavanja, ignorisane i zanemarivane su domaće (“sopstvene i državne”) karte: Petra I, Njegoševa narudžba od Filipa Vukovića, imenovanog i kao Vukasović (alijas Danila Kokotovića) i narudžba knjaza Danila od Jana Vaclika, te i karta Nikole Miloševa od Vasojevića.

Petar I Petrović (1747/1784–1830) kao kartograf

Karta Petra I Svetog – prva domaća karta sa toponimima, etnonimima i paronimima ćirilicom na narodnom jeziku



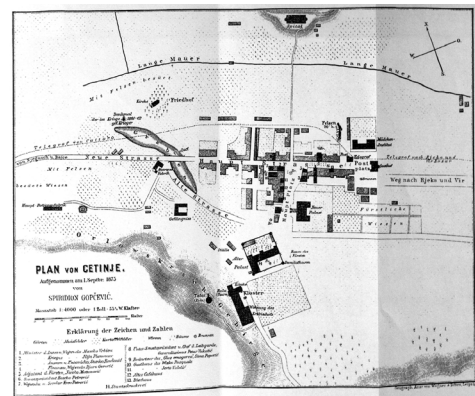
Karta Petra I Petrovića Njegoša (još uvijek nedovoljno istraženo (definisano) porijeklo karte), 1828.

Prvi izvor o njegovoj karti

Prvi poznati zapis o svojeručnoj karti ondašnje Crne Gore Petra I Svetog učinio je Andra Gavrilović⁶ u kolumni “Književnost, umjetnost, prosvjeta” pod naslovom “Vladika Petar I kao kartograf” u službenom Glasu Crnogorca br. 20. od 12. IV 1914. godine, strana 5. On piše o karti Crne Gore Petra I gotovo sa punom sigurnošću, bez hipotetičnosti

⁶ Iako se u originalu potpisuje Andra Gavrilović, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) ga imenuje Andrija Gavrilović.

Nićifor Dučić in his study *Crna Gora* (Montenegro) (Dučić 1874) enclosed one General Map with marked state borders from 1500, 1796, 1820 and 1860⁵ and Spiridon Gopčević in his book *Montenegro und Montenegrinen* (Montenegro and Montenegrins) (published in Vienna in 1877) submitted a plan of Cetinje with prominent public buildings (1 : 4000).



Plan von Cetinje / Spiridon Gopčević. Wien, 1877.

Several maps created by compiling older cartographic materials were published, where Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro were shown together, and in some of them Albania was added.

After the Congress of Berlin, Austrian and Russian official cartography organized identify astronomical points, set up trigonometric networks and several land surveying of Montenegro. All this contributed to Montenegro getting a more modern, more accurate and scientifically established basis for topographic maps. From them various special, general and thematic maps are compiled in St. Petersburg and Vienna. Basic Russian and Austrian works were also used by others, so by the end of the century many maps of Montenegro were published in Berlin, Glogów, Rome, Belgrade and in other places. At the turn of the century, they were joined by German, Italian and Serbian scientists. (Škalamer 1991, 136–138)

First domestic maps of Montenegro

As part of many foreign maps of Montenegro (of great imperial powers) and their cartographic studies, domestic (“own and state”) maps were ignored and neglected: maps of Petar I, Njegoš’s order from Filip Vuković, also named as Vukasović (alias of Danilo Kokotović) and order of Prince Danilo from

⁵ It is possible that this map from 1820 has a connection with the map of Petar I Petrović Njegoš which will be discussed later in the chapter of the First Domestic Maps of Montenegro.

i problema, iako je jedini ostali primjerak te karte vladika-gospodar Petar I 1829. godine na Cetinju poklonio poznatom poljskom slavisti Andžeu (Andriji) Kuharskom.⁷ Ipak, na kraju svog teksta A. Gavrilović navodi: “Možda će se pri naknadnom pregledu svih haratija i relacija Kuharskog naći i primjerak kartografske radnje vladicine, a u Beču su i kasnije, za vremena vladike Rada, dolazile karte koje su bile kopija izrade Petra Prvog...”. Time se otvaraju neka bitna pitanja i znatno usmjeravaju dalja istraživanja. No, i pored toga, ovaj članak naglašava ono što je najznačajnije u karti Petra I. To je samouka, iskustvena realističnost, tačnost, vjerodostojnost, pluralizam kartografskih podataka, toponima, etnonima, hidronima, nahija. Ovo obilježje karte je rezultat neposredne i životne terenske kartografske spoznaje, bitno “tačnije i vjernije od kartografskih poslova učenih crtača koji ‘kamena ovoga videli nijesu’”. Zaključuje da se Kuharski “uvjerio da je vladicina karta kud i kamo tačnija od svih tuđinskih izrada” (Gavrilović 1914, 5).

Na vladiku-gospodara Petra I pali su svi poslovi oko razgraničenja Crne Gore i Austrije. U najstarijim godinama svog života morao je sam da odredi da ne ošteti granice svoje države pored velikog broja austrijskih stručnjaka za premjeravanje i razgraničenje, topografa, kartografa, oficira svih struka. Petar I Sveti morao je noću, nakon svih ostalih svojih poslova, da radi na svojoj karti slobodne Crne Gore. Radio je svoju kartu iz noći u noć, premjeravao povučene poteze hartijom i prisjećanjem koliko je koje mjesto vremenski udaljeno od drugog (“Uru, dvije ure, pola ure”, Gavrilović 1914, 5). Gotovu kartu je sam umnožavao, onoliko koliko je smatrao da mu je potrebno. Svaki primjerak te karte je bilo njegovo djelo, znači izvornik i original.

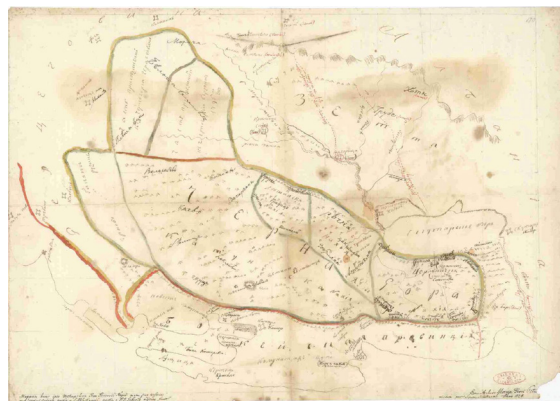
S primjerkom takve karte, Vladika Petar je išao na nove sastanke sa austrijskim izaslanicima koji su bili snabdjeveni mnogim kartama kartografskih zavoda. A. Gavrilović (1914, 5) kaže da je “vladika dobro znao što sve stoji u tim kartama koje su radili tuđinski stručnjaci”. Bio je ubijeđen da je njegova karta tačnija i vjernija od njihovih karata. Navodi da je Vladika bez sustezanja davao primjerke svojih karata austrijskim članovima komisije, dao im slobodu da ih mogu precrtati, dostaviti nadležnim u Beču i da ih mogu zadržati. Sve to da se uvjere u vjerodostojnost njegove karte.

Dalje se navodi tačna istorijska činjenica da je 1829. godine poljski naučnik slavista Andžej

Jan Vaclík, including the map of Nikola Milošev from family Vasojević.

Petar I Petrović (1747/1784–1830) as a cartographer

Map of Saint Petar I the first domestic map with toponyms, ethnonyms and paronyms in Cyrillic in the vernacular language



Map of Petar I Petrović Njegoš (still insufficiently researched (defined) origin of the map), 1828.

The first source about his map

The first known record of the handwritten map of back then Montenegro of Saint Petar I was made by Andra Gavrilović⁶ in the column “Književnost, umjetnost, prosvjeta” (Literature, art, education) under the title “Vladika Petar I kao kartograf” (Prince-Bishop Petar I as a cartographer) in the official newspaper Glas Crnogorca (La voix de Montenegro), No. 20 from 12 April 1914, page 5. He writes about the map of Montenegro by Petar I almost with complete certainty, without hypotheses and problems, although in 1829 in Cetinje Prince-Bishop-sovereign Petar I has gifted the only remaining copy of that map to the famous Polish Slavist Andrzej (Andrija) Kucharski.⁷ However, at the end of his text, A. Gavrilović states: “Perhaps after subsequent review of all the papers and relations of Kucharski, a copy of the Prince-bishop’s cartographic work may be found, and even in Vienna later, during the time of Prince-Bishop Rade, the copies of the maps made by Petar the First were arriving...” This raises some important questions and significantly guides further research. Nevertheless, this article emphasises what is most significant in the map of Petar I. It is self-taught, experiential realism, accuracy, credibility, pluralism of cartographic data, toponyms, ethnonyms, hydronyms, nahiyahs (administrative units). This feature of the map is the re-

⁷ Andra Gavrilović *Andžej* prevodi kao *Andrija*, ali ga Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić u navedenoj studiji ne prevodi.

⁶ Although the original is signed by Andra Gavrilović, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) calls him Andrija Gavrilović.

⁷ Andra Gavrilović *Andrzej* translates as *Andrija*, but in the stated study, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić does not translate the name.

(Andrija) Kuharski boravio na Cetinju šest dana kod Petra I, da je koristio mitropolitsku biblioteku i stare rukopise. Kada je kod Kuharskog vidio više karata crnogorske teritorije, koje su radili tuđinci, Vladika mu je, pri njegovom odlasku, darovao jedan primjerak svoje karte Crne Gore. Navodi se i to da je Kuharski izjavio da “na karti nije vladika označio samo granice državne, već je u kartu unio čega ima u Crnoj Gori” i “da je vladčina karta tačnija od svih tuđinskih izrada”.⁸

Međutim, A. Gavrilović nije se u svom tekstu pozivao na izvore njegovih tvrdnji, pa to ostaje otvoreni problem. Ostaje i sumnja da je iz mnoštva primjeraka karte Petru I ostao samo jedan primjerak i da je taj jedini poklonio A. Kuharskom. Drugi istraživači se pozivaju na njega čije bi tvrdnje tek trebalo dokazati. To su sofizmi (namjerne logičke greške): *traženje principa*,⁹ *obrtnanje (vrćenje) u krugu*¹⁰ i *zamjena (ignorisanje) teze*.¹¹ To se znatno javlja u “nekritičkoj (tradicionalnoj, romantičarskoj) istoriografiji u Crnoj Gori, pa evo i u kartografiji, što će se pojavljivati i u sljedećem, drugom izvoru o karti Petra I.

Drugi izvor o karti

Istoričar Dušan D. Vuksan 1939. godine piše da je na Cetinju boravio 1829. godine poljski slavista Andžej Kuharski i naglasio je: “Žao nam je, što je ponio i mapu Crne Gore, koju je izradio mitropolit Petar I. Danas bi ona bila za nas dragocjena kao jedan dokaz više bistrine i uma mitropolita Petra I.” (Vuksan 1939, 99). Ne kaže da mu je poklonjena, nego neodređeno “da je ponio mapu”, iako je u prvom navedenom izvoru o karti Petra I imao jasnu formulaciju. Ovo se iznosi samo kao neka konstatacija, a ne zna se na osnovu čega, kojeg izvora i svjedočanstva.

Treći izvor o karti

Dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) u kraćoj studiji “Mitropolita Petra I Petrovića karta Crne Gore” traga za kartom Petra I Petrovića koju je poklonio A. Kuharskom. Povod i podstrek mu je bila gornja “konstatacija” Dušana D. Vuksana 1939. godine. Odmah zatim sa ushićenjem navodi: “Za kartom

sult of immediate and vital fieldwork of cartographic cognition, considerably “more accurate and realistically than the cartographic works of schooled drawers who ‘did not see an inch of this land’”. He concludes that Kucharski “has assured himself that the Prince-Bishop’s map was far more accurate than all foreign creations.” (Gavrilović 1914, 5)

Prince-Bishop-sovereign Petar I was responsible for all the affairs regarding the demarcation of Montenegro and Austria. In the senior years of his life, he had to set on his own not to damage the borders of his country, in addition to a great number of Austrian professionals for surveying and demarcation, topographers, cartographers and officers of all professions. Saint Petar I had to work on his map of free Montenegro at night, after all his other work. He was working on his map from night to night, measuring the drawn strokes with paper and remembering how far is one place was from another in real time (“An hour, two hours, half an hour”, Gavrilović 1914, 5). He copied the finished map himself, as much as he thought he needed. Each copy of that map was his work, that is, the source and the original.

With a copy of such a map, Prince-Bishop Petar went to the new meetings with Austrian emissaries who were equipped with many maps of cartographic institutes. A. Gavrilović (1914, 5) says that “Prince-Bishop knew well what was in those maps made by foreign experts”. He was convinced that his map was more accurate and more faithful than their maps. He states that the Prince-Bishop gave copies of his maps to the Austrian members of the commission without hesitation, with the freedom to cross them out, submit to the authorities in Vienna and that they can keep them. Just to persuade them in the authenticity of his map.

The exact historical fact is further stated that in 1829, the Polish Slavic scholar Andrzej (Andrija) Kucharski stayed at Petar I in Cetinje for six days, and that he used the Metropolitan Library and old manuscripts. When he saw several maps of Montenegrin territory in Kucharski possession, made by foreigners, on his departure, Prince-Bishop gave him a copy of his map of Montenegro. It is also noted that Kucharski exclaimed “on the map, the Prince-Bishop did not only mark the borders of the state, but he also included what Montenegro has” and “that the Prince-Bishop’s map is more accurate than all foreign creations”.⁸

⁸ Andra Gavrilović je uglavnom ponovio u članku iz 1922. (Gavrilović 1922, 664–666).

⁹ U dokazivanju jedne teze pozivamo se na neki stav kao na dovoljan razlog, iako on tek treba da bude dokazan.

¹⁰ Za dokazivanje teze navodimo jedan stav koji se sa svoje strane tek pomoću teze može dokazati.

¹¹ Umjesto teze koju treba dokazati, vrši se izvjesno pomjeravanje (ignorisanje), pa se dokazuje neka druga teza slična prvoj, tako da pritom prividno izgleda da se navedeni argumenti ipak odnose na prvu tezu.

⁸ Andra Gavrilović has mostly repeated in the article from 1922. (Gavrilović 1922, 664–666).

mitropolita Petra I tragao sam godinama i sada sam u mogućnosti da je prikazem”.

Prvo navodi kraću genezu izrade karata koje se odnose na Crnu Goru prije karte Svetog Petra. U Evropi se javljaju još u XVI vijeku, a na Balkanu, pod Turskom, ozbiljnije se radi tek u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka, u toku srpskih ustanaka. Sa preciznijom tačnošću granica, karte počinju tek za vrijeme od francuske revolucije. Navodi da su se u sporovima oko granica gospodari Crne Gore najradije pozivali na granice koje je odredio Ivan Crnojević i da se na te granice pozivao i mitropolit Petar I u pregovorima sa susjedima 1917. godine. Kaže da je pitanje granica Crne Gore možda glavni razlog da i mitropolit Petar I izradi kartu svoje zemlje. Zatim navodi pet grupa (najviše) stranih karata koje prikazuju Crnu Goru prije izrade karte Petra I. Smatra da je Petar I znao za neke od tih karata i da su mu neke poslužile kao uzor za njegovu kartu, naročito one koje je mogao dobiti od Filipa Vukasovića i Viale de Somijera, koje je dobro poznao. Ovo tvrdi bez utemeljenja i samo na osnovu navođenja rečenih postojećih karata. Dalje kaže da je za sudbinu karte koju je radio Petar I bilo interesovanje i ranije, naročito za onaj primjerak koji je on poklonio Kuharskom.

Dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) navodi da je Kuharski pokazivao Vladici neke njegove karte Crne Gore, da bi čuo njegovo mišljenje o njima. Mitropolit mu je ukazao na neke greške i nedostatke na tim kartama, naročito u obilježavanju Skadarskog jezera i toka rijeka. Ovo su samo njegove naracije, bez utemeljenja u izvorima i arhivalijama, kad nema nikakve pismene zabilješke o samom razgovoru i neposrednom kontaktu između Petra I i Kuharskog o kartama jednog i drugog. Durković-Jakšić nastavlja svoju priču. Tom prilikom mu je Petar I Sveti poklonio jednu kartu o kojoj je Kuharski zabilježio sljedeće: “Držim ja za znak osobitog blagovolenja naklonosti i povjerenja što me je najposlje obdario mapom od Crne Gore, koju je sam načinio. Zaista ovaj je gospodin u svakom prizreniju veliki muž, kao što će se u budušte iz njegovih djela viditi”. Ni ovdje ne navodi izvor ovog citata, što izaziva sumnju i nepovjerenje. Ovo tim prije što usput, sasvim iznenađujuće i nepoznato u istoriografiji, priča da je Mitropolit poklonio Kuharskom i jednu “rukopisnu knjigu”, a Simo Milutinović (koji je tada bio kod Petra I) dao mu je “ogroman zbornik” pjesama, pod uslovom da ih štampa. Ni za ove tvrdnje ne navodi nikakav izvor, nego sve djeluje kao njegova subjektivna priča. Umjesto obrazloženja i navođenja izvora za prethodne tvrdnje, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić navodi dalje putešestvije Kuharskog iz Crne Gore

However, A. Gavrilović did not refer to the sources of his claims in his text, so this remains an open problem. A doubt still remains that out of the many copies of the map, only one copy remained for Petar I and that he gifted his only copy to A. Kucharski. Other researchers refer to him whose claims have yet to be proven. These are sophisms (intentional logical errors): *search for principles*,⁹ *rotation (spinning) in a circle*¹⁰ and *replacement (ignoring) of the thesis*.¹¹ This appears significantly in “uncritical (traditional, romantic) historiography in Montenegro, and even in cartography, which will also appear in the next, second source of the map of Petar I.”

Second map source

The historian Dušan D. Vuksan wrote in 1939 that the Polish Slavist Andrzej Kucharski stayed in Cetinje in 1829 and emphasized: “We are sorry that he also took a map of Montenegro, made by Metropolitan Petar I. Today, it would be precious to us as one proof of the clarity and mind of Metropolitan Petar I.” (Vuksan 1939, 99). He does not say that it was gifted to him, but unspecified “that he took a map”, although in the first cited source on the map of Petar I it had a clear formulation. This is presented only as a statement, and it is not known on the basis of what, which source and testimony.

Third map source

Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) in shorter study “Mitropolita Petra I Petrovića karta Crne Gore” (Map of Montenegro by Metropolitan Petar I Petrović) searches for a map of Petar I Petrović gifted to A. Kucharski. The reason and encouragement was upper “statement” of Dušan D. Vuksan in 1939. Immediately afterwards, he states with delight: “I have been searching for the map of Metropolitan Petar I for years and now I am able to show it.”

First he states a brief genesis of creating maps relating to Montenegro before the map of Saint Petar. They appeared in Europe already in the 16th century, and in the Balkans, under Turkey, in the first half of the 19th century more serious work was done, during the Serbian uprisings. With more precise accuracy of the borders, the maps have started in the time of the French Revolution. It is stated that in disputes over borders, the sovereigns of Montene-

⁹ In proving a thesis, we refer to an opinion as a sufficient reason, although it has yet to be proven.

¹⁰ To prove the thesis, we state one position which, in turn, can be proved only with the help of the thesis.

¹¹ Instead of proving the thesis, there is a certain shift (ignoring), then another thesis similar to the first is proved, in doing so, apparently seems that the stated arguments still refer to the first thesis.

preko Dubrovnika u Zagreb u novembru 1829. godine. Namjerno stvara “jezičku i logičku pometnju” da lakše provuče svoje tajanstvene tvrdnje za čije obrazloženje su potrebne vrlo ozbiljne i duge studije.¹² Odmah zatim se priča nastavlja: “Nije poznato kakva je zadesila sudbina kartu koju je Kuharski dobio na Cetinju. Nije isključeno da je dospjela u Biblioteku Odeskog univerziteta, gde je poslje njegove smrti dospio i jedan broj rukopisa iz njegove zaostavštine”. Umjesto objašnjenja, obrazloženja i pozivanja na izvor za ovaj navod, Lj. Durković Jakšić pod fusnotom 11. upućuje da će opširno pisati i o literaturi o boravku Kuharskog u Crnoj Gori u svom pripremanom radu *Jugoslovensko-poljska saradnja 1797–1852*, koji je spremao za proslavu hiljadugodišnjice osnivanja poljske države koja će se održati od 1961. do 1965. godine. U tom radu biće navedena i literatura o boravku Kuharskog u Crnoj Gori.

Kaže “zna se da je karta Mitropolita Petra I u prepisu slata u njegovo vreme u Beč, pa čak kasnije u vreme Njegoševo”. U fusnoti 12. za ovu tvrdnju poziva se na već navedeni članak Andra Gavrilovića za koji smo rekli da je bez određenih izvora i narativna impresija. Tako nas *vrti u krug*: upućuje nas na izvore koji traže svoje izvore. Kako zna da je “prepis slat” u Beč, kada A. Gavrilović u svom tekstu navodi da je Petar I sam, svojeručno umnožavao svoju kartu u broju koji mu je bio potreban i da ih je prilagao *ćesarskim* članovima komisije za nadležne organe i u Beču? Istakli smo već da su takve Vladičine mape sve njegovo djelo, znači izvornici, a ne prepisi.

Sada je u zaključku “jezička zbrka”. Kaže “ova karta poslata je 1828. godine i Pavlu Šafariku u Novi Sad”.¹³ Ona je sačuvana i nalazi se u Pragu, sada u Šafarikovoj zbirci karata (ŠSM 93 s. B 21) čiju su mu fotokopiju originalne veličine 65x45 cm dostavili poznati naučnici Čehoslovačke akademije nauka¹⁴ dr Karlo Kuhaža i dr Vaclav Začek, zašto im se zahvaljujem. O ovoj karti je nedavno pisano.¹⁵ Na donjem dijelu karte, na lijevoj strani, piše: *Mappam honc ipse Mitropolita Petr. Petrović Negoš manu sua cokfecit*;¹⁶ *qua serius skrta, partim a S*

gro preferred to refer to the borders determined by Ivan Crnojević, and that Metropolitan Petar I also referred to those borders in negotiations with his neighbours in 1917. He says that the issue of the borders of Montenegro might be the main reason for Metropolitan Petar I to create a map of his country. Then he specifies (mostly) five groups of foreign maps showing Montenegro before the creation of Petar I map. He believes that Petar I knew about some of these maps and that some of them served as a model for his map, especially the ones he could get from Filip Vukasović and Violla de Sommières, which he knew well. He claims this without foundation and only on the basis of the referencing the existing maps. He goes on saying that before there has been interest in the fate of the map made by Petar I, especially in the copy he gifted to Kucharski.

Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić (1962) states that Kucharski showed the Prince-Bishop some of his maps of Montenegro, in order to hear his opinion about them. The Metropolitan pointed out to him some mistakes and shortcomings on these maps, especially in markings of Lake Skadar and the flow of rivers. These are just his narratives, without foundation in sources and archives, when there is no written note about the conversation itself and the direct contact between Petar I and Kucharski about their maps. Durković-Jakšić continues his story. On that occasion, Petar I the Saint gifted him a map, of which Kucharski noted the following: “I consider it a sign of special benevolence and trust that he finally bestowed me with a map of Montenegro, which he made himself. Truly this gentleman is a great man in every respect, as will be seen in the future from his deeds.” Here also he does not cite the source of this quote, which arouses suspicion and mistrust. All the more, which, by the way, is quite surprisingly and unknown in historiography, he says that the Metropolitan gifted a “manuscript book” to Kucharski, and Simo Milutinović (who was then staying at Petar I) gave him a “huge collection” of poems, under condition to print them. He does not cite any source for these claims either, but everything sounds as his subjective story. Instead of explaining and citing sources for previous claims, Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić cites Kucharski’s further travels from Montenegro via Dubrovnik to Zagreb in November 1829. It deliberately creates a “linguistic and logical confusion” to make it easier to draw through his mysterious claims, which require very serious and long studies.¹² Immediately

¹² Uporediti u ovom radu sa posljednjim pasusom u *Prvom izvoru o karti*, sa fusnotom 3 i sa Pavićević 1993, 7.

¹³ Poziva se na *Osveta*, 1895, 880, a ne zna se ko, odakle i kada.

¹⁴ Nejasno je je li sačuvana mapa Kuharskog u Pragu ili (sada) u Šafarikovoj zbirci karata u Novom Sadu ili u Čehoslovačkoj akademiji nauka čiji su mu naučnici poslali kartu u “originalnoj veličini”, a ne u “istoj dimenziji” originala.

¹⁵ Da bi bilo što tajanstvenije, ne navodi ni u fusnoti potreban izvor.

¹⁶ Nije utvrđeno da je na originalu (originalnim primjercima) pisalo da je mapa Petra I, tim prije što se tvrdi da je njegova karta izuzeta što je pisana ćirilicom.

¹² Compare in this paper with the last paragraph in *The first source about his map*, with footnote 3, and with Pavićević 1993, 7.

Milutinović, *partima a P. Šafarik adjecta sumt*, na desnoj strani: *Ex Archivo Metrop. Petri Petro(vi)ć – kraj oštećen) misum peer Symeon. Milutinović Ano 1828*, a na rubu: *Gu Magaraševiću da preda Gu Šafariku u Novom Sadu koi sočinjava ob (?) izu Landkartusviech' Slavjanskiech arred (...?) ach*. Da bude još tajanstvenije i zbrkanije za čitaoca, nema prevoda ovog zaključnog dijela, a nema ni prevoda Durković-Jakšićevog rezimea ovog rada koji je dat na stranom jeziku (preveo Miroslav Luketić na ruski jezik).

Durković-Jakšić navodno, sažeto zaključno sve citirano prevodi: “Prema tome kartu je izradio Mitropolit Petar I, S. Milutinović dopisao je pojedine nazive mjesta i krajeva, a Šafarik je označio granice između Srba, Arbanasa i Turaka, počevši od utoka reke Bojane u pravcu Brda.¹⁷ Ovo je on mogao uraditi po svoj prilici negde oko četrdesetih godina prošlog veka.”

Durković-Jakšić nije našao i prezentovao *izvornik* karte Petra I koji je on darovao Kuharskom, niti neki drugi primjerak izvornika, nego neku kompilaciju više osoba. Neke objavljene karte Petra I su sasvim blijeđe, gotovo da se u njima ne vide znaci i bez navedenog teksta (a Vladika ih je mastilom udebljavao, kao i granice). Nije Ljubomir Jakšić u svom radu ni naveo da uz svoj objavljeni rad prilaže četiri druge karte i kartu Petra I, ali je to za njega učinio u istom *Glasniku Etnografskog muzeja* na Cetinju, odmah iza njegovog rada, prikazivač Gavro A. Škrivanić. Sam Lj. Durković-Jakšić na početku svog rada navodi “da je sada u mogućnosti da je *prikaže*”, a ne da objavi originalnu kartu Petra I Svetog.

Uz sve ovo, vrlo je važno uzeti u obzir činjenicu da poznati revnosni historičar, arhivista, historičar književnosti, poznavalac stranih arhiva, posebno Bečkog arhiva, autor više obimnih tomova arhivskih izdanja, najznačajnijih domaćih atlasa karata Crne Gore, član CANU, dr Jevto Milović nije u svoj Atlas karata uvrstio navedenu kartu Petra I koju je prvobitno objavio dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić u svom radu *Mitropolita Petra I Petrovića karta Crne Gore*, u *Glasniku Etnografskog muzeja* na Cetinju 1962. godine, iako su mu taj rad i karta zasigurno bili poznati. Razlog toga samo je nezadovoljenje Milovićevih strogih arhivističkih mjerila. Ni drugi istraživači Bečkog arhiva nijesu se u njoj sreli sa kartom Petra I (npr. Đorđević 1913).

afterwards the story continues: “It is not known what happened to the map that Kucharski got in Cetinje. It is not excluded that it reached the Library of Odessa University, where a number of manuscripts from his legacy arrived after his death.” Instead of explaining, reasoning and citing the source for this statement, Lj. Durković Jakšić under footnote 11 refers that he will write extensively about the literature on Kucharski's stay in Montenegro in his prepared work *Jugoslovensko-poljska saradnja 1797–1852* (Yugoslav-Polish cooperation 1797–1852), which he was preparing to celebrate the millennium of the founding of the Polish state, which will take place from 1961 to 1965. In the paper also the literature on Kucharski's stay in Montenegro will be listed.

He says that “it is known that the map of Metropolitan Petar I in the transcript was sent in his time to Vienna, and even later in the time of Njegoš.” Under footnote 12 for this claim, he refers to the already mentioned article by Andra Gavrilović, which we said was narrative impression without certain sources. So, he *spins us in a circle*: directs us to sources that seek their own sources. How he knows that the “transcript was sent” to Vienna, when A. Gavrilović states in his text that Petar I himself copied his map in the number he needed and that he submitted them to the Imperial members of the commission for the authorities in Vienna? We have already pointed out that such maps of the Prince-Bishop are all his work, originals, not transcripts.

In the conclusion now is the “linguistic confusion”. He says that “this map was sent in 1828 to Pavle Šafarik in Novi Sad”.¹³ It has been preserved and is in Prague, now in Šafarik's collection of maps (ŠSM 93 s. B 21) whose photocopy of the original size 65x45 cm was delivered to him by famous scientists of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences¹⁴ Dr. Karlo Kuhaža and Dr. Václav Záček, why I thank them. This map was recently written about.¹⁵ At the bottom of the map, on the left, it says: *Mappam honc ipse Mitropolita Petr. Petrović Negoš manu sua cokfecit*;¹⁶ *qua serius skrta, partim a S Milutinović, partima a P. Šafarik adjecta sumt*, on the left side:

¹³ Refers to *Osveta*, 1895, 880. and it is not known who, where and when.

¹⁴ It is unclear whether the Kucharski's map in Prague or (now) in Šafarik's collection of maps in Novi Sad or in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, whose scientists sent him a map in “original size” and not in “the same dimension” of the original, has been preserved.

¹⁵ In order to be as mysterious as possible, he does not state the necessary source in the footnote.

¹⁶ It has not been established that the original (original copies) said that it is the map of Petar I, especially since it is claimed that his map was excluded because it was written in Cyrillic.

¹⁷ Poziva se na: Josef Hursky, Šafarikova historijska mapa Slavenska, *Kartografický přehled Československé Akademie Ved*, 4444, 1953, 176.

S obzirom na sve navedeno, ostaje opravdana metodološka sumnja i potreba za vrlo kritičkim odnosom prema ovom nepotpunom, nedovoljno neutemeljenom i verifikovanom izvoru, češće protivvrjednomo, tamnom, “jezički i logički zbrkanom” radu.¹⁸



Prikaz ove kraće Durković-Jakšićeve studije, takođe u istom *Glasniku etnografskog muzeja na Cetinju*, postaje ipak novi izvor o karti Petra I, iako se taj prikaz pohvalno odnosi na Jakšićev rad, ali i daje zaslužno ocjenu same karte Petra I.

Prikazivač Gavro A. Škrivanić ocjenjuje da Petar I Petrović Njegoš ovim svojim kartografskim “djelom ulazi u istoriju jugoslovenske kartografije početkom XIX vijeka” i da je “ova karta utoliko značajnija što predstavlja, koliko nam je to do danas poznato, jedinstveni primjerak karte na kojoj su toponimi pisani ćirilicom na narodnom jeziku”. Dopunjava i to da “karta sadrži podjelu ondašnje Crne Gore na nahije, navedena su plemena i bratstva pojedinih plemena, kao i susjedne teritorije, koje nisu bile u sklopu tadašnje Petrove države. Ovakvim prikazivanjem teritorije Crne Gore i susjednih oblasti dat je koristan doprinos toponomastičkom saznanju koje je za nas novo”. Škrivanić navodi da je Durković-Jakšić uz navedeni objavljeni rad dao kao priloge više karata i predmetnu Petru I Petrovića.



Dakle, karta Petra I Svetog je *prva domaća karta Crne Gore i prva u kojoj su toponimi pisani ćirilicom*. To ukazuje da je ovo u “istorijskoj geografiji”, “istoriografskom prikazu karata” i “kartografskoj istoriji” (*istoriji karte* kao kartografske discipline) propušteno ili ignorisano da se predstavi.

Ostale domaće karte

Karta Filipa Vukovića po zahtjevu Njegoša

I Njegoš je za potrebe razgraničenja i priznanja suvereniteta Crne Gore naručivao karte od Filipa Vukovića (alijas Danila Kokotovića). Pominje se u istorijskoj i kartografskoj literaturi i na stranom jeziku kao Filipo de Vukassović i u prevodu kao Filip Vukasović kao poznata ličnost. Ima dosta literature o njemu.¹⁹

Karta je iz 1788. godine “Neue topografisch von Montenegro, von Cataro und zum Theil von Albani-

Ex Archivo Metrop. Petri Petro(vi)ć – end damaged) misum peer Symeon. Milutinović Ano 1828, and on the edge: *Gu Magaraševiću da preda Gu Šafariku u Novom Sadu koi sočinjava ob (?) izu Landkartusviech' Slavjanskiech arred (...?) ach*. To make it even more mysterious and confusing for readers, there is no translation of this concluding part, and there is no translation of Durković-Jakšić's summary of given paper in a foreign language (translated by Miroslav Luketić into Russian).

Durković-Jakšić supposedly translates all the quoted summaries: “Therefore, the map was made by Metropolitan Petar I, S. Milutinović wrote down the individual names of places and areas, and Šafarik marked the borders between Serbs, Albanians and Turks, starting from the confluence of the river Bojana in the direction of Brdo.¹⁷ He was probably able to do this around the 1940s of the last century”.

Durković-Jakšić did not find and present the *original* map of Petar I, which he gifted to Kucharski, or any other copy of the original, but a compilation of several people. Some published maps of Petar I are completely light, almost no characters can be seen in it even without the stated text (and the Prince-Bishop made them thicker with ink and borders too). Ljubomir Jakšić did not even state in his work that he is enclosing four other maps and a map of Petar I with his published work, but in the same *Herald of Ethnographic Museum (Glasnik etnografskog muzeja)* in Cetinje, after his paper, reviewer Gavro A. Škrivanić did it for him. Lj. Durković-Jakšić himself states at the beginning of his paper “that he is now able *to show it*”, and not to publish the original map of the Saint Petar I.

With all this, it is very important to take into account the fact that a well-known eager historian, archivist, literary historian, connoisseur of foreign Archives, especially the Vienna archives, author of several voluminous volumes of archival publications, the most important domestic atlases of maps of Montenegro, member of Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr. Jevto Milović did not include in his Atlas of Maps mentioned map of Petar I in the *Herald of the Ethnographic Museum in Cetinje* from 1962, which was originally published by Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić in his work “Mitropolita Petre I Petrovića karta Crne Gore” (Map of Montenegro by Metropolitan Petar I Petrović), although that work and map were certainly known

¹⁸ Uporediti sa fusnotom 3 i sa Pavićević 1993, 7.

¹⁹ Pominje ga i dr Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić u navedenom radu. O boravku Vukasovića u Crnoj Gori ima podataka u pojedinim istorijama Crne Gore, a i u sljedećim radovima: Đorđević 1914; Vuksan 1940a; 1940b; 1951; Vukasović i Pernet 1949. O njegovom boravku u Crnoj Gori ima građe i u Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu.

¹⁷ Refers to: Josef Hursky, Šafarikova historijska mapa Slavenska, *Kartografický prehled Československé Akademie Ved*, 4444, 1953, 176.

en”, poslije čega ima objašnjenja za granice nahija Crne Gore, granice sa Venecijom i Dubrovnikom, koje su u bojama. Ima na nacrtnoj kamenoj ploči natpis autora: “Filipo de Vukassovichis...” Primjerak ove karte nalazio se prije rata u Geografskom institutu u Beču, a nastala je za vrijeme Boravka Filipa Vukasovića u Crnoj Gori 1788. godine. Vjerovatno iz nekih opravdanih razloga, da se ne pozna u javno poznatom stranom imenu, Njegoš ga je imenovao Filip Vuković, a tako ga oslovljava i Jevto Milović.

Kao značajni državno-politički i drugi reformator Crne Gore, Njegoš je poklanjao posebnu pažnju i naporima da se Crna Gora što potpunije kartografski obradi. Pod imenom Filip Vuković, došao je sredinom 1840. godine u Crnu Goru (alijas Danilo Kokotović) te je postao Njegošev učitelj njemačkog jezika. Pored toga, Vuković se “pri crnogorskom praviteljstvu” bavio i crtanjem “topografskih karata”. Jednu takvu njegovu kartu objavio je Jevto M. Milović (1993).

Karta Jana Vaclika po narudžbi knjaza Danila 1859. godine

Kartografi su zanemarivali i posebno interesantnu kartu Crne Gore koju je za potrebu crnogorske države, kao i knjigu o nezavisnosti Crne Gore, naručio knjaz Danilo od Poljaka Jana Vaclika 1859. godine (štampana, a urađena prije) (Pejović 2009b). Ova karta je od većeg značaja, opštepoznata, štampana, nije uopšte sporna njena vjerodostojnost i postoji kao dokument u arhivi Narodnog muzeja na Cetinju. Stavljena je u Istorijsko-geografski atlas Crne Gore XVI–XX vijek (Milović 1993). Izrađena je i naručena za diplomatske potrebe Crne Gore da predstavi svoje granice, radi razgraničenja sa susjedima, i za potrebe Pariske konferencije. Za potrebu države Crne Gore knjaz Danilo je naručio i platio ovu kartu kao i knjigu o suverenitetu Crne Gore. Za istu potrebu je naručio kartu Crne Gore i od Kovaljevskog i drugih stručnjaka. Zbog toga je ova karta domaće provinijencije.

Pobjeda na Grahovcu je usloвила da velike sile nateraju Tursku carevinu da pristane na obrazovanje međunarodne komisije za razgraničenje Crne Gore od Osmanskog carstva. Komisija je utvrdila crnogorske granice 1859, u čemu je znatnog uticaja imala karta Jana Vaclika.

Jan Vaclik je napisao i knjigu o suverenosti Crne Gore u kojoj je razložno i dokumentovano dokazao suverenitet države Crne Gore. U njoj se poziva i na originalni Ferman sultana Selima III o suverenite-

to him. The reason for this is only the dissatisfaction of Milović’s strict archival criteria. Other researchers of the Vienna archives did not come across a map of Petar I (e.g. Dr. Vladan Đorđević, *Ispisi iz bečkih državnih arhiva* (Records from the Vienna State Archives)).

Considering all the above, there remains a justified methodological doubt and the need for a very critical attitude towards this incomplete, insufficiently unfounded in the verified source, more often contradictory, dark, “linguistically and logically confused” work.¹⁸

✱

Review of this short Durković-Jakšić study, also in the same *Herald of Ethnographic Museum* in Cetinje, becomes, however, a new source on the map of Petar I, although this review is commendable for Jakšić’s work, but however it gives evaluation for the map of Petar I.

Reviewer Gavro A. Škrivanić assesses that Petar I Petrović Njegoš with his cartographic “work enters the history of Yugoslav cartography at the beginning of the 19th century” and that “this map is all the more significant because it represents, as far as we know, a unique copy of a map on which toponyms are written in Cyrillic in the vernacular.” He also adds that “the map contains the division of the then Montenegro into nahiyah, the tribes and fraternities of certain tribes are listed, as well as the neighbouring territories, which were not part of the Petar’s state at that time. With this presentation of the Montenegro territory and its neighbouring areas it has made a useful contribution to toponymic knowledge which is new to us.” Škrivanić states that Durković-Jakšić, in addition to the given published work, also provided several maps as well as concerned one of Petar I Petrović.

✱

Therefore, the map of Saint Petar I is the first domestic map of Montenegro and the first one in which toponyms are written in Cyrillic. This indicates that this is in “historical geography”, “historiographical presentation of maps” and “cartographic history” (*the history of the map* as a cartographic discipline) missed or ignored to be present.

Other domestic maps

Map of Filip Vuković at the request of Njegoš

Njegoš also ordered maps from Filip Vuković (pseudonym of Danilo Kokotović) for the purpose

¹⁸ Compare with footnote 3, and with Pavićević 1993, 7.

tu Crne Gore iz 1799. godine za vrijeme vladavine Petra I Petrovića. Na isti dokument pozivao se i Njegoš dok je boravio u Beču 1836/7. u objavljenom pismu *Sa crnogorske granice* u bečkoj novini *Allgemeine Zeitung* (u vanrednom prilogu) od 7. 2. 1847. godine. U njemu čitaocima objašnjava da je država Crna Gora faktički samostalna i nezavisna i da je to “pravno obrazložio” sultan Selim III svojim fermanom od 1799. godine u kojem se navodi da *Crnogorci nijesu nikada bili podanici Visoke Porte...* Ferman o suverenitetu Crne Gore izdejstvovao je opunomoćenik Njegoševog strica Petra I, crmnički senator Sava Plamenac.²⁰ Ovaj Ferman je citirao i Jan Vaclik na francuskom jeziku za potrebe knjaza Danila Petrovića radi slanja u sve evropske i druge zemlje u cilju dobijanja i formalnog priznanja suvereniteta Crne Gore. Jan Vaclik u originalu navodi da je taj dokumenat – Ferman otkrio u tajnoj crnogorskoj (cetinjskoj) arhivi i citirao ga.²¹ Navedeni dokument – Ferman Selima III nestao je iz cetinjskih arhiva, kao što je crnogorska dokumentarna baština ostala bez mnogo izvornika i manuskripta.

Navedena karta Jana Vaclika je kartografska podloga rečene njegove knjige, koja je i tekstualno obrazlaganje njegove karte.

Karta Nikole Miloševa od (knez) Vasojevića

U navedenom radu Janka Senderdija (1955, 249), u njegovoj istorijskoj sistematizaciji, *II epoha*, pod *kartom* broj 6. Nikola Milošev, knez Vasojevički, navodi se karta Nikole Miloševa od Vasojevića, štampana u Londonu 1836. godine “Karta Crne Gore, izrađena u litografiji kod štampara L. Herberit-a u litografskom poduzeću Kwartirmajstora Glavnog Ureda”.

Nikola Milošev školovan je prvo u Rusiji za inženjerskog oficira. Kasnije je prešao u službu Turske imperije. U Crnoj Gori se bavio službenim poslom i tada se povezao sa engleskim funkcionerima Jonskih ostrva, koji su bili pod suverenitetom Engleske. Tim putem je njegova, kako je naziva Janko Senderdi “kompilatorska karta”, dospjela u London, gdje je i izdata. Austrijski generalni konzul u Skadru Teodor Yppen iznosi u svom djelu da je ovu kartu vidio kod Nikole Miloševa kada se ovaj 1837–1838. godine zadržavao u Skadru i od Velike Britanije bio naznačen za vicekonzula u Novom Pazaru. U Skadru je sa te njegove karte bila učinjena

of demarcation and recognition of the sovereignty of Montenegro. He is mentioned in historical and cartographic literature and in a foreign language as Filippo de Vukassović and in translation as Filip Vukasović as a prominent person. There is a lot of literature about him.¹⁹

Map is from 1788 “Neue topografisch von Montenegro, von Cataro und zum Theil von Albanien”, after which there are explanations for the borders of the nahiyah of Montenegro, borders with Venice and Dubrovnik, which are in colours. There is an inscription of the author on the drawing stone slab: “Filipo de Vukassovichis...” A copy of this map was kept before the war at the Geographical Institute in Vienna, and was created during the stay of Filip Vukasović in Montenegro in 1788. Probably for some justified reasons, so that he does not become known in a publicly known foreign name, Njegoš named him Filip Vuković, and that is how Jevto Milović calls him.

As a significant state-political and second reformer of Montenegro, Njegoš paid special attention to the efforts to map Montenegro as fully as possible. Under the name Filip Vuković, he came to Montenegro in the middle of 1840 (pseudonym Danilo Kokotović) and became Njegoš’s German teacher. In addition, Vuković “under the Montenegrin government” drew “topographic maps.” One such map was published by Jevto M. Milović (1993).

Map of Jan Vaclík by order of Prince Danilo in 1859

Cartographers also neglected a particularly interesting map of Montenegro that was ordered for the needs of the Montenegrin state, as well as the book on the independence of Montenegro by Prince Danilo from Polish man Jan Vaclík in 1859 (printed, but made before) (Pejović 2009b). This map is *of greater importance, well known*, printed, its authenticity is not disputed at all and exists as a document in the archives of the National Museum in Cetinje. It was added to the Historical-Geographical Atlas of Montenegro 16th–20th century (Milović 1993). It was drafted and commissioned for the diplomatic needs of Montenegro to present its borders, for demarcation with its neighbours, and for the needs of the Paris Conference. For the needs of the state of Montenegro, Prince Danilo ordered and paid

²⁰ Vidjeti o tome detaljnije u Milović 1954.

²¹ Objavljen je i u *Žurnalu* Ministarstva narodnog preosvještenja (Ferman sultana Selima III 1878, 234) te u *Spomeniku* Srpske kraljevske akademije (Ferman sultana Selima III 1891, 64). Navodi se i u CID-ovom prevodu knjige Jana Vaclika sa francuskog (Vaclik 1996, 165).

¹⁹ He is also mentioned by Dr. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić in the referred paper. There is information about Vukasović's stay in Montenegro in some histories of Montenegro, and in the following works: Đorđević 1914; Vuksan 1940a; 1940b; 1951; Vukasović i Pernet 1949. There is material about his stay in Montenegro in the State Archives in Zagreb (Državni arhiv u Zagrebu).

jedna kopija, koja je kasnije bila dostavljena austrijskom namjesniku u Dalmaciji.

Zanemarivanje domaćih karata Crne Gore

Navedene domaće karte Crne Gore bile su ne samo zaobilažene, zaboravljane, zabačene i nedovoljno istraživane, nego i ideološko-politički potiskivane i ignorisane iz rečenih imperijalnih razloga u Uvodu ovog rada čiji se tragovi provlače u savremenosti i sve do danas. Karakterističan primjer toga je sasvim neosnovana tvrdnja Janka Senderđija na početku i u zaključku njegove studije: “Crna Gora kao samostalna država na Balkanskom poluotoku, sve do njenog ujedinjenja 1918. godine sa ostalim južno-slovenskim zemljama u Jugoslaviji, *nije imala svoje vlastite, ni državne, ni privatne kartografije svoje teritorije*” (Senderđi 1955, 245, 248). Ovo je ne samo istoriografski netačna teza, jer su (kako smo već naveli) domaće karte Crne Gore zaista postojale prije 1918. godine, nego je i nastavljeni izraz i odraz opšteg ideološko-političkog odnosa 1918. godine prema Crnoj Gori. Nije mu odgovarajuća ni ostala formulacija ove sasvim kategoričke teze, jer prvo je samostalna Crna Gora 1918. godine bezuslovno prisajedinjena Srbiji koja je, sa takvom većim ulogom, ujedinjena u KSHS i Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju. Crna Gora je tada izgubila i svoje ime, teritoriju, istoriju, pa shodno tome, i svoju i tuđu kartografiju. I na kraju, navedena teza Janka Senderđija izokrenuto skriva da je u tom smislu i znatno prije pripremana 1918. godina, a upravo od nje bila zvanična politika i zakonodavstvo brisanje Crne Gore i sa same karte Crne Gore i kartografije Srbije i Jugoslavije.

Politika brisanja Crne Gore sa karte

U osnovi ove studije Janka Senderđija je jedan imperijalni ideološko-politički vrijednosni stav koji ne odgovara stvarnom stanju, a takođe njegov kartografski pristup da pripojenu teritoriju Crne Gore Srbiji ne smatra kartografskim prikazom Crne Gore. Ukazaćemo kratko samo na ideološko-političku vrijednosnu komponentu koja se krije u osnovi ove teze. Još od tajnog, trajnog, a zvaničnog, srpskog državnog spoljno-političkog nacionalnog programa *Načertanija* Ilije Garašanina (1844) za stvaranje Velike Srbije, vršena je uporna propaganda brisanja Crne Gore sa karte Crne Gore, Srbije, KSHS i Jugoslavije. Na tom putu proširenja granica Srbije, Dimitrije Davidović je u svojoj *Istoriji naroda serbskog* priložio mapu *Zemalja u kojima preobivaju Srbli*: “Crna Gora, Albanija do Kavaje, Makedonija, prugom od Ohrida do Skoplja, Banat do Lugoša

this map, as well as the book on the sovereignty of Montenegro. For the same need, he ordered a map of Montenegro from Kovalevsky and other experts. That is why *this map is of domestic provenance*.

The victory at Grahovac conditioned the Great Powers to force the Turkish Empire to agree to the formation of an international commission for the demarcation of Montenegro from the Turkey. The commission determined the Montenegrin borders in 1859, which was significantly influenced by the map of Jan Vaclík.

Jan Vaclík also wrote a book on the sovereignty of Montenegro where he reasonably and by documents proved the sovereignty of the state of Montenegro. He also refers to the original Firman of Sultan Selim III on the sovereignty of Montenegro from 1799 during the reign of Petar I Petrović. Njegoš referred to the same document while he was in Vienna in 1836/7 in a published letter *Sa crnogorske granice* (From the Montenegrin border) in a Viennese newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung* (in special edition) from 7 February 1847. There he explains to the readers that the state of Montenegro is in fact autonomous and independent and that Sultan Selim III “legally explained” it with his Firman (decree) from 1799, which states that *Montenegrins were never subjects of the Sublime Porte...* Firman on the sovereignty of Montenegro was obtained by the proxy of Njegoš’s uncle Petar I, the senator of Crmnica, Sava Plamenac.²⁰ Jan Vaclík also cited it in French for the needs of Prince Danilo Petrović for notification to all European and other countries in order to obtain also formal recognition of the sovereignty of Montenegro. Jan Vaclík states in the original that this document – Firman he discovered in the secret Montenegrin (Cetinje) archives, and quoted it.²¹ The mentioned document – Firman of Selim III – disappeared from the Cetinje archives, just as the Montenegrin documentary heritage was left without many originals and manuscripts.

The mentioned map by Jan Vaclík is the cartographic base of his mentioned book, which is also the textual explanation of his map.

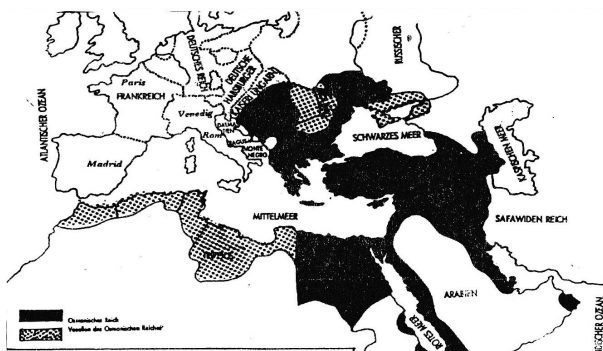
Map of Nikola Milošev of (Prince) Vasojević

In the stated work of Janko Senderđi (1955, 249), in its historical systematization, *II epoha* (2nd epoch),

²⁰ See more: Milović 1954.

²¹ Published also in *Žurnal* Ministarstva narodnog preosvještenja (Ferman sultana Selima III 1878, 234) and in *Spomenik* Srpske kraljevske akademije (Ferman sultana Selima III 1891, 64). Iz is stated in CID’s translation of the book by Jan Vaclík from French (Vaclík 1996, 165).

u Rumuniji i Segedina u Mađarskoj, zatim usjek od Budimpešte i odatle, pored Pečuja, Rovinja na jadranskoj obali.” (Davidović 1846). U *Prosvjetnom glasniku* za 1892. godinu objavljena je kao prilog mapa *Etnografska karta srpskih zemalja* koju je priredila školska omladina Velike škole u Beogradu. U njoj su ucrtane (kao) *srpske zemlje*: “istočna polovina Istre, Hrvatska, Slavonija, zapadna Bugarska”. Takve karte crtaju i đачka društva iz Graca, Beča, Petrograda, uz tvrdnju da je mapa “sačinjena na osnovu povijesti, jezika, običaja i narodne pesme” te i da “srpski narod znaćue već punih pet stoljeća krvlju svoje granice, od Senja do Iskre (u Bugarskoj odakle su tek pravi čisti Bugari), i od Soluna do Pešte” (Radojević 1995, 148). U istom smjeru je i Miloš S. Milojević sačinio *Istorijsko-etnografsko-geografsku mapu Srba i srpskih zemalja 1871. godine* koja je služila kao *nastavno sredstvo*. Na mapi je prikazana Velika Srbija u granicama druge Jugoslavije, proširena do Crnog mora i Grčkog mora. Na čitavom prostoru su Srbi: Srbo-Slovinci, Srbo-Hrvati, Srbo-Mačedonci, Srbo-Bugari i Beli Srbi (Rumuni, Besarabija). Crne Gore i Crnogoraca i nema!



Karta je iz istorijskog muzeja Beča “Turci pred Bečom”

Karta je iz istorijskog muzeja Beča “Turci pred Bečom” od 5. 5. do 30. 10. Crna (u originalu zelena boja) boja oznaćava osvojene zemlje Osmanskog carstva, a bijela slobodne zemlje. Na obje karte Crna Gora (Montenegro) je oznaćena bijelom bojom, što znaći da je bila slobodna, odnosno nepokorena.

Crnogorac od 27. avgusta 1925. godine, strana 3, objavljuje: “Ujedinjenje je zateklo na Cetinju jednu reljefnu kartu Crne Gore, lijepo urađenu od Austrijanaca za okupacije Crne Gore. Ali nekog je Srbijanaca smetalo što se to zvala *reljefna karta Crne Gore*, pa je ovakav natpis i stavio: *Reljefna karte Zetske Divizijske oblasti*.”

Smatrajući da politika centralizma i unitarizma prve Jugoslavije podrazumijeva *brisanje* politićkih, eko-

under the *map* number 6. Nikola Milošev, Prince of Vasojević, the map of Nikola Milošev from Vasojević is stated, published in London in 1836 as “Map of Montenegro, made in lithography by the printer L. Herberit in the lithographic company of the Quartermaster of the Main Office”.

Nikola Milošev was first educated in Russia as an engineering officer. He later transferred to the service of the Turkish Empire. He was engaged in official business in Montenegro and then connected with the English officials of the Ionian Islands, which were under the sovereignty of England. This way, his, as Janko Senderđi calls it, “compiled map”, arrived in London, where it was published. Austrian Consul General in Shkoder, Theodor Ippen, states in his work that he saw this map in Nikola Milošev possession when he dawdled in Shkodra in 1837–1838 and was appointed vice-consul in Novi Pazar by Great Britain. In Shkodra, a copy of his map was made, which was later delivered to the Austrian governor in Dalmatia.

Neglect and ignoring of domestic maps of Montenegro

These domestic maps of Montenegro were not only overlooked, forgotten, lopsided and insufficiently researched, but also ideologically and politically suppressed and ignored for the stated imperial reasons in the Introduction of this paper, whose traces glide in modern times, and to this day. A characteristic example of this is the completely unfounded claim of Janko Senderđi at the beginning and conclusion of his study: “Montenegro, as an independent state on the Balkan Peninsula, until its unification in 1918 with other South Slavic countries in Yugoslavia, *did not have its own, neither state, nor private cartography of its territory*.” (Senderđi 1955, 245, 248). This is not only a historiographically incorrect thesis, because (as we have already stated) the domestic maps of Montenegro really existed before 1918, but also a continued expression and reflection of the general ideological-political attitude of 1918 towards Montenegro. Formulation of this quite categorical thesis did not remain appropriate, because first, in 1918, independent Montenegro was unconditionally annexed to Serbia, which, with such a larger role, was united into Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. At that time, Montenegro lost its name, territory, history, and consequently, its own and foreign cartography. Finally, the above-mentioned thesis of Janko Senderđi invertedly hides that in that sense, the year 1918 was prepared much earlier, and

nomskih i kulturnih individualiteta, poznati narodni poslanik iz Crne Gore u Narodnoj skupštini kritički je isticao: “Žalim što moram konstatovati, da prema ni jednoj od naših zemalja ta politika *brisanja* nije sprovedena sa toliko bezobzirnosti sa kolikom je sprovedena prema Crnoj Gori. Politika brisanja Crne Gore i svega što je crnogorsko, inaugurisana 1918. godine, a uzdignuta do visine državnog sistema Vidovdanskim ustavom, *bríše sve sa bezobzirnošću*, čije su pobude vrlo mutne, a čije posledice daleko izmiču krajnjem pogledu i najvrednijih umova. Ali ko mari za posledice! Glavno je da se *Crna Gora briše*. Ona se briše iz udžbenika istorije naših zemalja, briše se sa *istorijske karte, briše se i iz administracione strukture naših zemalja*. Na *administrativnoj karti* naše države zaludu ćete tražiti Crnu Goru, nje nema čak ni *kao oblasti...*!” (Stenografske bilješke... 1925, 492–493). Na ovo podsjećaju u našim aktuelnim uslovima i akademik CANU prof. dr Đorđe Borozan.

Kartografsko brisanje Crne Gore i njen korjeniti palimpsest

Politika kartografskog brisanja Crne Gore je samo ishod radikalnog, strukturalnog iskorjenjivanja ukupnog istorijskog, tradicionalnog bića Crne Gore. To se u stručnoj literaturi naziva i *palimpsest*²² ili brisanje istorije Crne Gore.

Puni palimpsest izvršio je Nemanja nad Dukljskom kraljevinom, kad je osvojio. Nemanjini biografi, sami njegovi sinovi Stefan Prvovjenčani i Rastko-Sava, pišu da je njihov otac “porušio do kraja temelja iskorijenio sve dukljanske gradove”. O tome piše Stefan Prvovjenčani: “Te gradove poruši i do kraja temelja ih iskorijeni, jer ne osta kamen na kamenu koji se ne poruši Ostale gradove poruši i razori slavu njihovu u *pustoš i obraz* napuštenija.” (Druga hilendarska povelja 1966, 29)

Dragica Živković naglašava da su se “geografski i kartografski podaci o *srpskim zemljama*, krajem 18. veka, mogli naći sasvim fragmentarno u spisima crkvenih velikodostojnika”. Ističe da je *Istorija* arhimandrita Jovana Rajića “prvi veliki i ozbiljan pokušaj da se prošlost Južnih Slovena prikaže u celini”. Njegova *Istorija* počinje “ranijom sudbinom Slovena” i “uz nju prilaže 2 karte: kartu Skitije, kao *pradomovine* Slovena i kartu Panonije i Ilirika, zbog Srba i uopšte Južnih Slovena”. Srbi su u toj *Istoriji* prvi put vidjeli “karte zemalja gde su Srbi nekada

from it was the official policy and legislation to delete Montenegro from the map of Montenegro and the cartography of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Politics of deleting Montenegro from the map

The basis of the study of Janko Senderdi is an imperial ideological-political value attitude that does not correspond to the real situation, and also his cartographic approach not to consider the annexed territory of Montenegro to Serbia as a cartographic representation of Montenegro. We will briefly point out only the ideological-political value component that lies in the basis of this thesis. Ever since the secret, permanent, and official Serbian state foreign policy national program *Načertanija* (Plan) by Ilija Garašanin (1844) for the creation of a Great Serbia, persistent propaganda was carried out to erase Montenegro from the map of Montenegro, Serbia, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Yugoslavia. On that path of expanding the borders of Serbia, in his *Istorija naroda serbskog* (History of the Serbian People), Dimitrije Davidović enclosed a map of the Countries where Serbs reside (*Zemalja u kojima preobivaju Srblji*): “Montenegro, Albania to Kavajë, Macedonia, by rail from Ohrid to Skopje, Banat from Lugoj in Romania and Szeged in Hungary, then cutting from Budapest and from there, beside Pécs, Rovinj on the Adriatic coast.” (Davidović 1846). In *Prosvjetni glasnik* for 1892 as an appendix was published the map *Etnografska karta srpskih zemalja* (Ethnographic map of Serbian lands) which was prepared by the school youth of the Velika škola (Great School) in Belgrade. In it are drawn (as) *Serbian lands*: “the eastern half of Istria, Croatia, Slavonia, western Bulgaria”. Such maps are also drawn by student societies from Graz, Vienna, Saint Petersburg, with the claim that the map is “made on the basis of history, language, customs and folk songs”, and that “the Serbian people have been marking their borders with blood for five centuries, from Senj to Iskra (in Bulgaria, from where only real pure Bulgarians are), and from Thessaloniki to Pest” (Radojević 1995, 148). In the same direction Miloš S. Milojević composed *Istorijско-etnografsko-geografska mapa Srba i srpskih zemalja* (Historical-ethnographic-geographical map of Serbs and Serbian lands) in 1871, which served as a *teaching tool*. The map shows Great Serbia within the borders of the second Yugoslavia, extended to the Black Sea and the Greek Sea. There are Serbs in the whole area: Serbo-Slovenes, Serbo-Croats, Serbo-Macedonians, Serbo-Bulgarians and White Serbs (Romanians, Bessarabia). There are no Montenegro and Montenegrins!

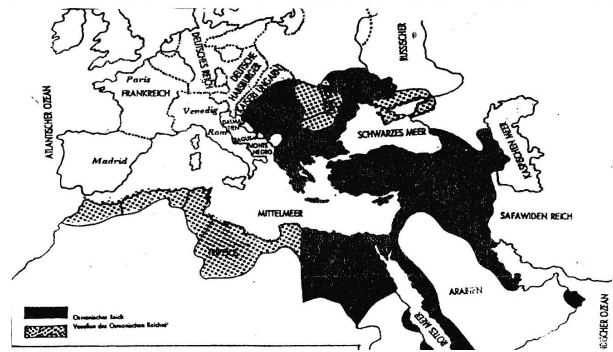
²² Grč. *tablica* na kojoj se piše i kad se ispuni briše, da bi se ponovo pisalo dalje nešto drugo.

živeli i gde su se stalno naselili” (Živković 2012).²³ D. Živković, na uobičajen način, neodređeno i nejasno ne razdvaja Skite, Slovene, Južne Slovene, Srbe i stalno se ponavlja sintagma *srpske zemlje*, pa i kad navodi i tumači druge autoritete. Npr.: “Detaljan pregled geografskog poznavanja Srbije i srpskih zemalja od srednjeg do početka 19. veka... uradio je Nikola Radojčić (1927)” ili “Mirko Marković je u svom delu *Geografska bibliografija Jugoslavije od početka 16. veka do 1970. godine* (1978) dao najpotpuniju bibliografiju karata *srpskih zemalja*”. Takođe: “najobimnije i najtačnije podatke o Srbiji i *srpskim zemljama* imale su austrijske vojne vlasti” i “1805. godine Sava Popović Tekelija štampa prvu *srpsku kartu srpskih zemalja Zemljooobraženije Srpske, Bosne, Dubrovne, Crnegore i ograničenih predele*”. Nije izostao ni Jovan Cvijić: “Krajem 19. vijeka J. Cvijić je štampao kartu *Srbije i Crne Gore*, za školsku upotrebu. Ova karta označava veliki napredak u razvitku kartografije o *srpskoj zemlji* i nagoveštava početak novog perioda”. (Živković 2012, 1–4) Ovdje je Cvijićeva karta “Srbije i Crne Gore” karta “srpske zemlje”. Po tom imperijalnom obrascu manipulacije radi i Olivera Stefanović (2003, 100) koja za studiju Nikole Radojčića *Geografsko znanje o Srbiji početkom 19. veka* kaže da je “to u stvari pregled geografskog znanja Srbije i srpskih zemalja od srednjeg do tridesetih godina 19. veka”.

Zaključak

Puni palimpsest nad Crnom Gorom izvršen je od 1918. godine. Najizričitije je to javno i deklarativno-pobjednički iskazao potpredsjednik Podgoričke skupštine na sjednici od 27. 11. 1918. godine na kojoj je donijeta deklaracija o ukidanju crnogorske države i svega što ona podrazumijeva: “Ja ve molim, gospodo, da stavimo na stranu istoriju Crne Gore, što se pak tiče njene političke istorije ja je dijelim na dva dijela: na onu do juče i od juče. Mi više nijesmo Crnogorci, nego Srbi” (Stenografske bilješke... 1918).

Simbolički se to naziva i *vađenje korijenja* ili *iskorjenjivanje* Crne Gore. Odnosi se na iskorjenjivanje, doslovno vađenje sa korijenom istorijskog *brijesta* između Dvora i Biljarde na Cetinju 1918. godine gdje razoriše i guvno oko njega na kojem su se održavali službeni sastanci. Ovaj brijest je presječen i njegovo korijenje je izvađeno u toku jedne noći, kada je vojska opkolila grad i zabranila izlaženje iz



The map is from the Vienna Historical Museum “Turks in front of Vienna”

The map is from the Vienna Historical Museum “Turks in front of Vienna” from 5th May to 30th October. Black (in original green) colour signifies the conquered lands of the Ottoman Empire, and white is free land. On both maps Montenegro is marked in white, which means that it was free, that is, unconquered.

“Crnogorac” (Montenegrin) from 27th August 1925, page 3 publishes: “Unification has found in Cetinje a relief map of Montenegro, beautifully made by the Austrians during the occupation of Montenegro. But some Serbian person was bothered by the fact that it was called a *relief map of Montenegro*, so he added an inscription: “*Reljefna karrta Zetske Divizijske oblasti* (Relief map of the Zeta Divisional area)”.

Considering that the politics of centralism and unitarism of the first Yugoslavia implies the *erasure* of political, economic and cultural identities, the well-known MP from Montenegro in the National Assembly critically emphasized: “I regret to state that towards none of our countries this politics of *erasure* hasn’t been implemented with as much recklessness as it has been pursued towards Montenegro. The politics of erasing Montenegro and everything that is Montenegrin was inaugurated in 1918, and elevated to the height of the state system by the Vidovdan Constitution, *erases everything with recklessness*, whose motives are very vague, and whose consequences are far beyond the ultimate view of even the most valuable minds. But who cares about the consequences! The main thing is to *delete Montenegro*. It is being deleted from the history textbooks of our countries, it is being erased *from the historical map, it is also being erased from the administrative structure of our countries*. On the *administrative map* of our country, you will look for Montenegro in vain; *it does not even exist as an area...!*” (Stenografske bilješke... 1925, 492–493). Academician of Montenegrin Academy of Sciences

²³ Rad pripada osnovnom naučnom projektu broj 176008, koje finansira Ministarstvo za nauku i tehnološki razvoj Republike Srbije.

kuća (policijski čas). Kasnije (1937) presječen je i mlađi brijest ispred Dvora, posađen 1882. godine, kada je onaj stari počeo da vene.

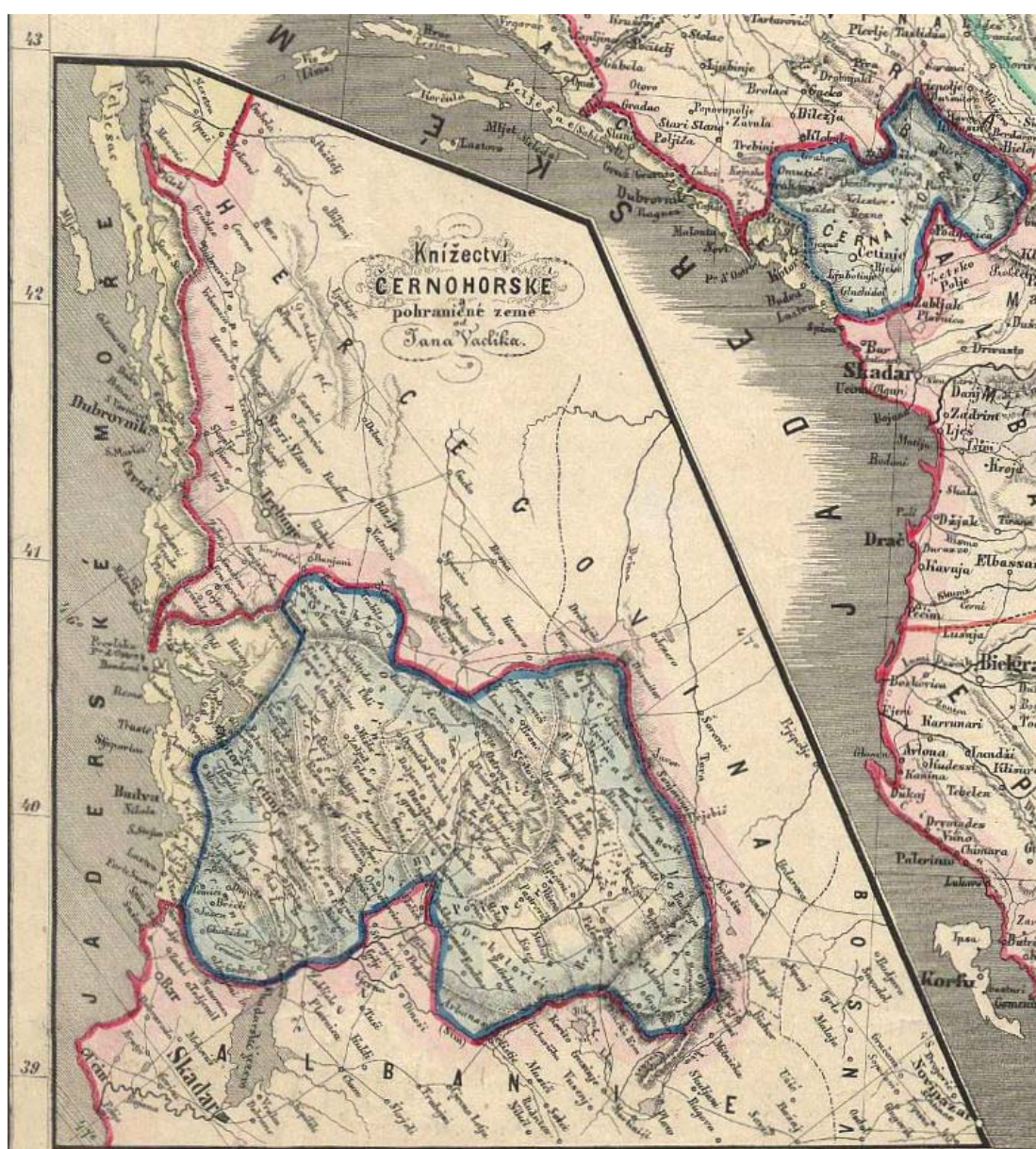
Vađenje korijena je i bukvalno i simbolično *iskorjenjivanje* istorije Crne Gore, njene slobodarske tradicije, kulture i nezavisnosti. O ovom problemu je poznati pjesnik Mirko Banjević napisao poemu *Brijest* (1939) u kojoj ovaj brijest shvata kao čeljade, odnosno kao živi crnogorski istorijski organizam. Zatim je i srpska pjesnikinja Isidora Sekulić (1961) pisala: “Ubiše brest!... Bolje da je ostao brest, nego oni koji su naredili da se poseče”.

and Arts, Dr. prof. Đorđe Borozan also reminds us of this in our current conditions.

Cartographic erasure of Montenegro and its profound palimpsest

The politics of cartographic erasure of Montenegro is only the outcome of the radical, structural eradication of the entire historical, traditional being of Montenegro. This is also called *palimpsest*²² in the professional literature or erasing of the history of Montenegro.

²² Greek *slate* where the text has been scraped from or washed off so that the page can be reused for another document.



Vaelík Jan. (1859) *Knížectví Černoohorské*. Retrieved from <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/Content/32264>

The full palimpsest was performed by Nemanja over the Kingdom of Duklja, when he conquered it. Nemanja's biographers, his sons Stefan the First-Crowned and Rastko-Sava, write that their father "demolished to the end eradicated foundations all the towns of Duklja". Stefan the First-Crowned writes about that: "He destroyed those cities and eradicated them to the foundations, because there is no stone left on the stone that was not destroyed. He overthrew the other cities, and destroyed their glory into emptiness, and the face of desolation." (Druga hilendarska povelja 1966, 29).

Dragica Živković emphasizes that "geographical and cartographic data on *Serbian lands*, at the end of the 18th century, could be found quite fragmentarily in the writings of church dignitaries." She points out that the History (*Istorija*) of Archimandrite Jovan Rajić is "the first great and serious attempt to show the past of the South Slavs in its entirety." His *Istorija* (History) begins with "the earlier fate of the Slavs" and "he gives 2 maps with it: map of Scythia, as the *ancestral home* of the Slavs and map of Pannonia and

Illyricum, because of the Serbs and the South Slavs in general." For the first time in that History, Serbs saw "maps of countries where Serbs once lived and where they settled permanently." (Živković 2012).²³ D. Živković, in the usual way, does not separate the Scythians, Slavs, South Slavs, and Serbs indefinitely and vaguely, and the phrase *Serbian land* is constantly repeated, even when it cites and interprets other authorities. Eg.: "A detailed review of the geographical knowledge of Serbia and Serbian countries from the Middle age to the beginning of the 19th century ... was done by Nikola Radojčić (1927)" or "Mirko Marković in his work *Geografska bibliografija Jugoslavije od početka 16. veka do 1970. godine* (Geographical bibliography of Yugoslavia from the beginning of the 16th century to 1970) (1978) gave the most complete bibliography of maps of Serbian countries." Also, "the Austrian military authorities had the most extensive and accurate data on Serbia

²³ The paper belongs to the basic scientific project number 176008, which is financed by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia



Karte von Montenegro Filipa Vukovića, alias Danilo Kokotović, 1838.

and Serbian countries” and “in 1805 Sava Popović Tekelija prints the first Serbian map of Serbian lands *Zemljobraženije Srpske, Bosne, Dubrovne, Crnegore i ograničenih predel’* (Map of Srpska, Bosnia, Dubrovno, Montenegro and limited areas)”. Jovan Cvijić hasn’t failed to miss: “At the end of the 19th century, J. Cvijić printed a map of Serbia and Montenegro, for school use. This map marks a great progress in the development of cartography about the Serbian land and indicates the beginning of a new period”. (Živković 2012, 1–4) Here is Cvijić’s map of “Serbia and Montenegro” map of “Serbian country”. According to that imperial pattern of manipulation Olivera Stefanović (2003, 100) also works, who for the study of Nikola Radojčić, *Geografsko znanje o Srbiji početkom 19. veka* (Geographical knowledge about Serbia at the beginning of the 19th century), says that “it is in fact an overview of the geographical knowledge of Serbia and Serbian countries from the middle age to the thirties of the 19th century.”

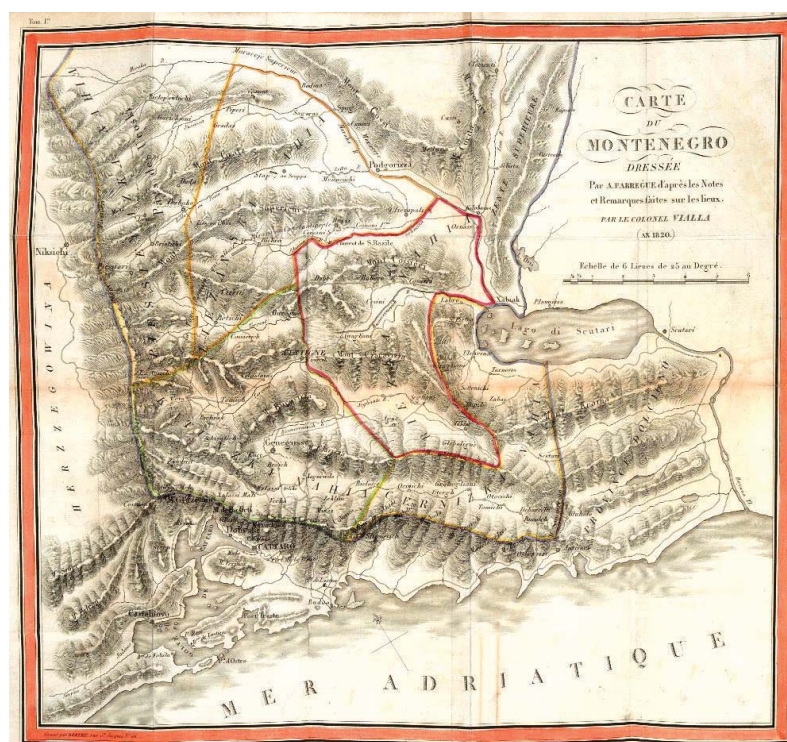
Conclusion

The full palimpsest over Montenegro has been carried out since 1918. This was most explicitly stated publicly and declaratively-victoriously by the Vice President of the Podgorica Assembly at the session of November 27, 1918, at which the declaration on the abolition of the Montenegrin state and everything that it implies was adopted: “I am asking

you, gentlemen, to put aside the history of Montenegro, as far as its political history is concerned, I divide it into two parts: the one until yesterday and the one from yesterday. We are no longer Montenegrins, but Serbs.” (Stenografske bilješke... 1918).

Symbolically, this is also called root extraction or eradication of Montenegro. It refers to the eradication, the literal extraction with the root of the historic *brijest* (elm) between Court and Biljarda in Cetinje in 1918, and destroys the threshing floor around which official meetings were held. This elm was cut down and its roots were taken out during one night, when the army surrounded the city and banned people from leaving the houses (curfew). Later (1937) the younger elm in front of the Palace, planted in 1882, when the old one began to wither, was cut.

Extracting the roots is both a literal and symbolic eradication of the history of Montenegro, its libertarian tradition, culture and independence. About this problem, the famous poet Mirko Banjević wrote the poem *Brijest* (Elm) (1939), in which he sees this elm as a person, that is, as a living Montenegrin historical organism. Then the Serbian poet Isidora Sekulić (1961) wrote: “Ubiše brest!... Bolje da je ostao brest, nego oni koji su naredili da se poseče” (They killed the elm! ... It would be better if elm has stayed, than those who ordered it to be cut down).



12 / From: Vialla De Sommières, L. (1820). *Voyage historique et politique au Montenegro*. Retrieved from <https://blogs.bl.uk/european/2018/04/montenegro-in-19th-century-maps-and-history-books-.html>

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