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20 - 21 MAYIS 2023 / ANKARA

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Dr. Naseem Akhter	Shaheed Benazir Bhutto Women University, Peshawar, Pakistan	FIG, MELON, AND WATERMELON AS BOTANICAL REMEDIES FOR VARIOUS DISEASES (AN ANALYSIS FROM MEDICAL SCIENCE, HOMEOPATHIC AND ISLAMIC CONTEXT)
Dr. Sándor FÖLDVÁRI	Debrecen University, Hungary	THE GREEK PHANARIOTS UNDER OTTOMAN TURKISH RULE AS RELATED TO THE SERBS.
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Katılımcılar 5

Sohbet

Ekran Paylaşımı

Kaydet

Ara Odalar

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Uygulamalar

Beyaz Tahtalar

Odadan Çık

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SERBIAN ORTHODOXES AND GREEK PHANARIOTS UNDER OTTOMAN TURKISH RULE AN THE BALKANS IN THE 16-18 CENTURIES

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Abstract

As highlighted in the classic monograph on Serbian history by English scholar Temperley, following the author of Balkan history by Jireček, the rule of Greek Phanariots in monastic schools made it impossible to write the Cyrillic alphabet in Slavic, and they denied the usage of the Church Slavonic Liturgy. (Temperley, 1917: 123, 163-166. Jireček, 1876. 466-467.) Greek priests held ecclesiastical power in their hands because the patriarch of Constantinople was the head of all Christians. The Turkish Sultan appointed him the head of the Christian “millet”. The millet system is well-known to those who have studied the history of the Ottoman Empire. (Karpát, 1982, 1997) Islamic practice did not prohibit the “peoples of the book” from practicing their religion if they paid proper taxes. But in the seventeenth century, the wealthy and educated Greek bourgeoisie, named after the Phanar (Lighthouse) part of Istanbul, seized both economic and administrative power over all Christians under Ottoman rule and even corrupted the patriarch together with the entire church. As a Balkan historian, Constantin Jireček wrote in his monograph, Greek Phanariots did not allow Serbs to use the Church Slavonic language, only Greek, and Slavic liturgical books and manuscripts were even lit. The Turkish Sultan's goodwill was shown by the fact that the soldier of Serbian origin, Sokolivić, could rise to the highest rank, and by the name of Mehmed Sokollu, converting to Islam, he became the Grand Vizier of Suleiman the Magnificent and helped his Serbian brother, who remained Christian. It was he, the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed, who re-established the Serbian Orthodox Christian Patriarchate in Āpek (Peć) in 1557 and appointed his brother as patriarch. Thus less repression and ruination went by the Turks but much more by the Greeks. Islam never burned books anywhere, because it honored the Peoples of the Book. But, on the other hand, the Greek Orthodox Christian priests burned the Serbian temple books, because they persecuted the Slavs. Serbs fled to the Kingdom of Hungary and were free to practice their religion there. The Serbs bought Slavic liturgical books in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, and by this time they had already acquired them from the Ukrainian territories. The author of the paper is a researcher of the migration of books between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Serbs, thus he studied the situation of the Serbian culture in the Balkan and in the Hungarian Kingdom. (Földvári, 2014, 2022).

Keywords: Serbs, Balkan, Phanariots, Book-culture, Orthodoxes, Ottoman_Empire.

OSMANLI TÜRKÇESİ ALTINDAKİ SIRP ORTODOKS VE YUNAN FANARİOTLARI, 16-18 YÜZYILLARDA BALKANLARI ÖĞRENİYOR

Özet

Sırpın Balkanlardan kaçtığına dair bir yanlış anlama var, çünkü Osmanlı Müslüman işgalcileri Hıristiyan kültürlerini uygulamalarına izin vermediler, ama bu doğru değil. Kilise Slav ayini Yunan Fanariotları tarafından yok edilmedi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, yunan rahipleri dini gücü ellerinde tuttu, çünkü Konstantinopolis patriği tüm Hıristiyanların başıydı. Türk Sultanı onu Hıristiyan “millet” in başına atadı. (Karpat, 1982, 1997) İslami uygulama, “kitap halklarının” uygun vergileri ödedikleri takdirde dinlerini uygulamalarını yasaklamadı. Ama on yedinci yüzyılda, zengin ve eğitilmiş yunan burjuvazisi, adını İstanbul'un Fanar (Deniz Feneri) kısmından almıştır, Osmanlı yönetimi altındaki tüm Hıristiyanlar üzerinde hem ekonomik hem de idari gücü ele geçirdi ve hatta patriği tüm kiliseyle birlikte bozdu. Zengin Yunan Fanariotları Slav halklarından, dolayısıyla Sırpırlardan ve Bulgarlardan nefret ediyordu. Bir Balkan tarihçisi olarak Constantin Jireček monografisinde şunları yazdı, ve İngiliz bilimci Temperley de, Yunan Fanariotları Sırpın Kilise Slav dilini kullanmasına izin vermedi, ama Yunanlıları zorladılar, hatta Slav ayin kitaplarını ve el yazmalarını bile yaktılar. (Temperley, 1917: 123, 163-166. Jireček, 1876. 466-467.) Türk Sultanının iyi niyeti gerçeği ile gösterildi Sırp kökenli asker Sokolović'in en yüksek rütbeye yükselebileceğini, ve Mehmed Sokollu adıyla, İslam'ı kabul ederken, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Sadrazamı oldu, ve Hıristiyan kalan Sırp kardeşine yardım etti. O, Sadrazam Sokollu Mehmet'ti, fahişe-1557'de Peç'de Sırp Ortodoks Hıristiyan Patrikhanesi'ni kurdu ve kardeşini patrik olarak atadı. Ama öte yandan, Yunan Ortodoks Hıristiyan rahipler Sırp tapınak kitaplarını yaktılar, çünkü Slavlara zulmettiler. Sırpın Macaristan Krallığı'na kaçmasının nedenlerinden biri de buydu ve orada dinlerini icra etmekte özgürdüler. Bu nedenle Sırpın, Macaristan Krallığı topraklarında Slav ayin kitapları satın aldı, ve bu zamana kadar zaten Ukrayna topraklarından kitaplar almışlardı. (Földvári, 2014, 2022).

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sırpın, Balkanlar, Fanariotlar, Kitap kültürü, Ortodokslar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE MUSLIM TOLERANCE AND THE AMBIGUOUS ROLE OF PHANARIOTES

There is a common misconception spread widely that the Serbs fled the Balkans because the Ottoman Muslim occupiers did not allow them to practice their Christian culture; albeit it is not true. The Church Slavonic liturgy, understood by Serbian believers, was not destroyed by the Turkish invaders but became impossible with the advent of the elite of the Greek Phanariots. As highlighted in the classic monograph on Serbian history by English scholar Temperley, following the author of Balkan history by Jireček, the rule of Greek Phanariots in monastic schools made it impossible to write the Cyrillic alphabet in Slavic, and they denied the usage of the Church Slavonic Liturgy. (Temperley, 1917: 123, 163-166. Jireček, 1876. 466-467.) In the Ottoman Empire,

Greek priests held ecclesiastical power in their hands, because the patriarch of Constantinople was the head of all Christians. The Turkish Sultan appointed him the head of the Christian “millet”. The millet system is well-known to those who have studied the history of the Ottoman Empire. (Karpát, 1982; Karpát, 1997; Ursinus, 1989.)

Islamic practice did not prohibit the “peoples of the book” from practicing their religion if they paid proper taxes. It was already grounded in the Noble Qur’an as well: *“Say: We believe in Allah, and in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Isma’il, Isaac, Jacob, and the Tribes, and in (the Books) given to Moses, Jesus, and the prophets, from their Lord: We make no distinction between one and another among them, and to Allah do we bow our will (in Islam).”* (Noble Qur’an: Surah 3:84) As a Muslim scholar in the United States, Abdulaziz Sachedina, writing about tolerance in Islam, proved it, the Noble Quran does not give only an exclusivist teaching about the supremacy of Islam, but also a deep love for the neighbor (regardless of the faith) and an inclusive view for all those have got messages from the Lord God (The Merciful) already to some prophets before Muhammad (Peace upon Him), and then Prophet Muhammad got the perfect and best message from Allah. (Sachedina, 2020:167-170) He often highlighted, the Muslims must be tolerated to the Peoples of the Book, if the latter pays the tax (jizyah in Arabic جِزْيَةٌ) and respect the rule of the Muslims.

The Orthodox (Byzantine) church had a well-established administration when the Turks conquered the Balkan peoples. Therefore, it was advantageous that the secular head of the Christian millet became the parochial leader. (Inalcik, 1954). But in the seventeenth century, the wealthy and educated Greek bourgeoisie, named after the Phanar (Lighthouse) part of Istanbul, seized both economic and administrative power over all Christians under Ottoman rule and even corrupted the patriarch together with the entire church. Ecclesiastical positions were the object of sale in the Greek-dominated Balkan clergy, and the largest amount of corruption money had to be paid for the highest rank, that of the patriarch. The rich Greek Phanariotes hated the Slavic peoples, thus the Serbs and Bulgars. As a Balkan historian, Constantin Jireček wrote in his monograph, The Greek Phanariotes did not allow Serbs to use the Church Slavonic language, only Greek, and Slavic liturgical books and manuscripts were even lit. (Jireček, 1876. 466-467.) The Turkish Sultan's goodwill was shown by the fact that the soldier of Serbian origin, Sokolović, could rise to the highest rank, and by the name of Mehmed Sokollu, converting to Islam, he became the Grand Vizier of Suleiman the Magnificent and helped his Serbian brother, who remained Christian. It was he, the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed, who re-established the Serbian Orthodox Christian Patriarchate in Ćpek (Peć) in 1557 and appointed his brother as patriarch. Serbian Grand Vizier, who was the second person after the Sultan, had good opportunities to provide his Christian Serbs. Sulejman the Magnificent is known in Roman Catholic historiography as a Cruel Conqueror, albeit he was a great statesman thus under his reign the great Empire worked by a good administration. Thus, nothing repression and ruination went by the Turks but by the Greeks. Islam never burned books anywhere, because it honored the Peoples of the Book. But, on the other hand,



the Greek Orthodox Christian priests burned the Serbian temple books, because they persecuted the Slavs. This was one of the reasons why Serbs fled to the Kingdom of Hungary and were free to practice their religion there. Therefore, the Serbs bought Slavic liturgical books in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, and by this time they had already acquired them from the Ukrainian territories. The author of the paper is a researcher of the migration of books between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Serbs, thus he studied the situation of the Serbian culture in the Balkan and In the Hungarian Kingdom and has already published several papers about the Serbs purchasing their Slavic books from the Eastern Slavic lands while on the Balkans their situation became sad. (Földvári, 2014, 2022).

2. CAUSES OF SPIRITUAL DECLINE OF THE SERBS: THE RUINATION OF THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE BY THE PHANARIOTES

The Church Slavonic liturgy, which was understood by the Serbian Christian believers, was not destroyed by the Turkish invaders but became impossible with the advent of the elite of the Greek Phanariots. Turkish troops plundered a lot but systematically did not persecute the Serbian language and the Slavic liturgy. What caused the main damage was the rule of the Greek Phanariots. The rule of Greek Phanariots in monastic schools made it impossible to write the Cyrillic alphabet in Slavic, not to mention the cancellation of the Church Slavonic Liturgy (Temperley, 1917:123, 163-166.) In the Ottoman Empire, Greek priests held ecclesiastical power in their hands because the patriarch of Constantinople was the head of all Christians. The Turkish sultan organized his empire in this way. As a Balkan historian, Constantin Jireček wrote in a monograph, The Greek so-called Phanariots did not allow Serbs to use the Church Slavonic language, only Greek, and Slavic liturgical books and manuscripts were even lit. (Jireček, 1876: 466-467) This will be supported by modern literature, too. (Gibb & Bowen, 1957: I/ii:207-261; Runciman, 1968:165-207.)

This led to an incredible cultural decline, when Serbian priests had to learn Greek, although they had difficulties even with Cyrillic script, due to the primitive circumstances of the village's priests. As a result, biased Western, Roman Catholic missionaries condemned the ignorance of the Serbs – in a very cruel, incomprehensible way, without any sympathy. And some of modern historians followed them. Such a morally dubious, scientifically one-sided approach is unfortunately followed in the works of some recognized and well-known authors in international literature. Serbian priests are partially illiterate, people confuse the “Holy Trinity” with the personality of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and the clergymen are depraved, drinking — as it was written by Catholic missionaries and accepted by such historians who do not seek objectivity. (Mylonas, 2003) Some thoughts on the “cultural advantage of the West”, with the Roman Catholic consciousness of Franciscan missionaries, stigmatized Serbian orthodoxy as a worse, more unbeliever Christian — albeit it is not only unscientific but also morally wrong.



Special values of cultural heritage evolved under the repression. Christianity was a popular culture of the oppressed Serbs, which appeared in folk customs and local traditions, in addition to vaguely known evangelical beliefs, sometimes in deviation from the Gospels and in many ways different from the current theological and dogmatic resolutions. This led not only to the emergence of very rich religious folklore but also to the Balkan self-identification itself was conducted through folklore, in which an important value of a person is heroism. Nevertheless, South Slavic folklore is incredibly rich; it is the pearls of humanity, and religious folklore innovations in culture cannot be valued as a “deviation” from Christianity, as some one-track mind Western Catholic missionaries have criticized it. (Alekseiev, 2015; Roth, Wolf-Keller, Helebrant, 1994)

The fact is that Serbs did fall below that cultural standard which was demonstrated by Serbia in the literary, artistic, architectural culture and lifestyle culture of the medieval independent Serbian state and independent Serbian Church, and which was competitive with the then European medieval culture. (Samardžić & Duškov, 1993) This decline cannot be attributed to national Serbian orthodoxy, nor to the Ottoman conquest in the main part. There is no denying that the Turkish conquest was a war, and each caused some damage, albeit it was overdramatized in the first half of the twentieth century, due to the Christian attachment of bourgeois historiography to the Catholic Church, and also a consequence of the nature of Marxist historiography, which in everything sought irreconcilable struggle and antagonistic contradictions. (Mirković, 1965)

3. THE PHANARIOTS ON THE BALKAN PENINSULA

In the background of this cultural decline, it must be seen the damaging effect of the Greek church and, in particular, the dominance of Phanaryotes. The Phanariots got their name from the "Phanar" part of the city with the lighthouse meaning, which denoted the Greek quarter of Constantinople. They were immeasurably rich and won the highest state positions, such as the dragoman of the fleet, who was also Lord of the Greek islands and the coastal mainland, or the dragoman of the Porta, with the power of foreign minister, and so ones. (Schevill, 1991:305-306.) The main positions of diplomacy and the army were thus in non-Turkish and even non-Muslim Hands, which is typical of the Ottoman Empire. (Gibb, & Bowen, 1957:I/ii: 207-261, Runciman, 1968:165-207.) The Turkish sultan made the patriarch of Constantinople the secular head of all Rumelian Christians, thereby not only granting the Christians *dhimmi* status but also utilizing the system of ecclesiastical office inherited from the Byzantine Empire for tax collection and administration. (Jelavich, B. 1983:52-53.)

Christians, as adherents of one religion, were members of the Rumelian Christian *millet*; Jews were organized into the Jewish *millet*; thus, ethnicity was irrelevant and incomprehensible to the Muslim conquerors: they conceived human personal identity based on religious affiliation. (Braude, 1982; Ursinus, 1989) They could not have understood that the Christian *dhimmis* could be so different among themselves that several independent Christian churches existed before the Ottoman conquest. (Karpát, 1982, 1997) The patriarch of Constantinople



was thus given a military escort with two ponytail flags as the head of the Christian millet. (Mitrova & Pandevska, 2019; Strauss, 1995)

And secular Phanariots held in their hands the church positions that could be bought, even the patriarch, because they gave, at least –in principle - borrowed the corruption money necessary for the ambitious candidates for the priesthood to win the office. This corruption could not be contained by any means, since the Phanariots held very high positions in the Ottoman state, so in many cases it would have been the task of a state official of Greek Orthodox origin to expose the actions of the Greek Orthodox economic elite buying political power; this closed the circle. (Roucek, 1946: 370.)

Orthodox Christianity was thus guaranteed a relatively calm existence by the Ottoman Empire, while the main enemy was the Catholic West in the eyes of the Balkan peoples, mainly due to church Union aspirations. (Sherrard, 1959:96-107, Ware, 1964) Anti-Islamic literature was also influenced by the popular slip that there was no distinction between Arab Islam and the subsequent Seljuk-Turkish Islam in the Middle East and the Ottoman Islam that conquered the Balkans; although their political structures, attitudes towards the conquered and imperial structures were also different. (Hasluck, 1982)

4. SERBS IMMIGRATED TO THE HUNGARIAN KINGDOM: BECAME FREE FROM THE GREEK CULTURAL SUPREMACY

Serbs were deployed in the countries of the Hungarian crown in several waves, which should be taken into account, in particular, in regional and local studies. (Szakály, 1990) Already in the 14th and 15th centuries, the Serbs played a significant role in the feudal social life of the Kingdom of Hungary. After the collapse of the Serbian Kingdom in 1371, various states emerged on its territory, so in today's North Macedonia, such as *The Prilep Kingdom* (Serbian: *Prilepsko krajevstvo*, Macedonian: *Prilep kralstvo*), which covered both the city of Ohrid and the entire Lake Ohrid, the former cradle of Slavic Cyrillic culture. The ruler of Prilep was the Serbian military commander Vukasin Mrniavcevic, who was earlier the 'zhupan' of Prilep in 1350. After the death of Tsar Stefan Dusan in 1355, Vukashin supported Tsar Stefan the Weak, who gave him the title of despot. In 1365, King Urosh proclaimed him a co-ruler and Serbian king. Vukashin Mrnyavcevic died in a battle against the Ottoman Turks in 1371, and his eldest son Marko received the crown. (Ćirković, 2004:81-90.) After Marko's death, the Turks took possession of the remains of his "kingdom". Marko's brothers, Andrey and Dimitri, fled to Dubrovnik. From there they went to Hungary to visit King Sigismund. Then the sons of the Serbian king Vukashin, Andrey, and Dmitry, received an estate and service from the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxemburg. Dmitry was in the Hungarian service from 1407. (Fine, 1994) They looked at the far northern kingdom of Hungary with hope, and their expectations were fulfilled higher than they had hoped. In the middle of the 15th century, under the rule of Sigismund of Luxemburg, the Serbian 'despot' (this is his rank), Grigory



Brankovic (Serbian: George Branković) received not only asylum but also property and rank in Hungary. (Radonić, 1911) Then his son Lazarus had a significant estate in Hungary, he was a member of the aristocracy under the Great King Matthias. (Picot, 1873; Palić, 1995; Jireček, 1911)

The population of Serbs on Hungarian lands increased in the middle of the 16th century – in principle, the Serbs came from the Balkans not only because of the Turkish occupation but generally, to improve their situation with their impatient desire to restore their great Serbian Kingdom from the Middle Ages. We studied the fate of the Serbian population of the village of Shoshkut (Sóskút, in the central part of Hungary) when we described the old printed books that were available in the Orthodox parish of this village, those then were put into the Roman Catholic Episcopal Library of Veszprém, in connection with the illegal behavior of the Serbian priest of the village of Shoshkut. We quote ourselves: *“Catholic Croats lived here for only a decade and a half. In 1666 the Turkish landowner of the village of Shoshkut, agha Ruli, adviser to the Pasha of Budda [the capital of Hungary], settled thirty Serbian Orthodox families. The village was located in the zone of the Turkish conquest, where ‘double serfdom’ prevailed, carried out simultaneously by Turkish and Hungarian landlords. This is evidenced by his letter addressed to the Jesuit monastery dated November 26, 1666.”* (Földvári, 1994) Therefore, the population in that village was changed among various Slavs: Catholic Croats were changed by Orthodox Serbs, and then, when the Serbs were expelled, they were changed by Catholic Slovaks, who were settled by Jesuit Monks, thus Roman Catholic Priests, landowners of the village already in the 18th century, when the Turkish government was already replaced by new landowners. Noteworthy, is that Muslim Ottoman landlords preferred Orthodox Slavs as their serfs, and Catholic landlords associated with the Habsburg government preferred Catholic Slavs as their patrimony. — How can say anybody, that the Orthodox Serbs were in fear of the Ottoman Turks, when the Ottoman Turk Pahsa settled on his territory Serbian immigrants, and later the Catholic Jesuit Monks expelled those Serbs?!

Although the fact is that a significant (but not overwhelming!) share of Serbian Orthodox Christians resettled in Hungary in 1690, under the leadership of Patriarch of Ipek (Peć), Arseniy Chernoevich, who with several thousand persons of his people (figures are still disputed) moved to the middle of Hungary. He requested and received privileges from the Habsburg Emperor to preserve the autonomous administration within the framework of the Orthodox parish community system; the patriarch himself sat down in the town of Sentandrea (“Saint Andrew” near Buda) and he appointed this city as his residence. (Popović, 1954) The Serbian Orthodox diocese in Buda has already existed since the middle of the 17th century, under the rule of the Turks, as mentioned above. (Davidov, 1990) Emperor Leopold II guaranteed autonomy in the church and in school business. (Radonić & Kostic, 1954:26-27)



Although the Serbs constantly about their disadvantage compared to the Hungarians and the Catholic population of the Habsburg Empire in general, they enjoyed much more favorable conditions than their brothers in the Balkans. (Picot, 1873; Palić, 1995; Jireček, 1911) This is also reflected in the procurement of liturgical books. In the 17th and 18th centuries: liturgical service books were purchased by the Serbs on the territory of the Habsburg Empire, which was printed on the territory of present-day Ukraine and Belarus, so at that time they basically did not buy or receive the products of the ‘Great Russian’ (Tsarist Imperial) printers from Muscovy. However, the books of earlier editions are basically books printed for Serbs by South Slavic, mainly Venetian printing houses, and Western European ones, such as Paris, and Tubingen. (Földvári, 2011)

Serbs imported their liturgical books from those territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, that were inhabited by East Slavs (predecessors of Ukrainians), who followed the Orthodox Confession, that is, the Byzantine Rite. They were free from the Greek rule of Phanariots, for in the Habsburg Empire (the Hungarian Kingdom was then a part of the Habsburg Empire) Serbs and Greek were equal, even the Serbs enjoyed sometimes more benefits. (Földvári, 2014, 2022, 2023) Serbs were even donated by liturgical books free, from the Ukrainian typographies of the Orthodox Confraternities. (Isayevych, 2006).

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Islamic power never forced Christians who were "the people of the book" to convert to religion if they paid the material and human taxes: the *jizyah* جِزْيَةٌ in Arabic. (Cvijić, 1918:281; Kitromilides, 1999) Moreover, there were cases when members of the Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Albanian military classes were allowed to keep their estates if and as long as they cooperated with the conquerors; they were allowed to fit into the Ottoman system of “timar estates” and served as *spahis* in the Sultan's Army. (Inalcik, 1953; 1954) As highlighted above, in the example of Sokolovi Juped Beglerbeek, then Grand Vizier.

However, the Balkan peoples lost all these relatively favorable opportunities, and their situation immediately worsened and even brought about a state of destruction of their cultural identity when the Greek Phanariots took up politically significant positions. Let us add that the members of the Panariot elite had outstanding West-European education and Italian and German education; albeit they use it not only for the benefit of the Greeks but for the repression of the other Christian peoples. (Jelavich, B. 1983:52-53; Strauss, 1995) Serbian orthodoxy, which had sunk into folklore religiosity, could not compete with this economic, administrative, and cultural Phanariote elite. As for the Serbs, even the primitive overemphasis of national character in defense is quite understandable, even at the expense of the Christian faith. When the Phanariots even opposed the everyday use of the Serbian and Bulgarian languages, with official and ecclesiastical-cultural pushing of the Greek. (Roucek, 1946: 370; Temperley, 1917: 111-113, 123-124.)

Masses of church books and manuscripts kept in monasteries were destroyed by the “Christian” hands of Christian Greek Phanariots, and Greek priests sat in all the leading positions of the clergy, in many cases replacing Serbian village priests. Only the Serbs who settled in the Kingdom of Hungary were exempt from the oppression of the Greek “brethren” in the Balkans, and thus only here was it possible to use the Serbian language for self-government and to perform the Church Slavonic liturgy. These Serbian immigrants imported their liturgical books from Ukrainian typographies. (Földvári, 2014; 2022; 2023.)

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