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The Study of Byzantine History in Belgrade before and after the First World War

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Abstract: The emergence of academically grounded Byzantine studies in the renewed Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century – marked by the establishment of the Chair and Seminar for Byzantine Studies at the University of Belgrade in 1906 – was connected with efforts to found a scholarly historiography in the restored state with the help of scholars educated at foreign universities. A decisive role in this process was played by Serbian students who had studied at the first Byzantine Studies Chair and Seminar of Professor Karl Krumbacher in Munich – Dragutin Anastasijević, Božidar Prokić, Filaret Granić, and others – who were active during the period of early internationalization of Byzantine studies, on the eve of and following the end of the First World War.

Keywords: Byzantine studies, Belgrade, Dragutin Anastasijević, Božidar Prokić, Filaret Granić

Modern Serbia emerged in the early nineteenth century from the Serb liberation movement in the Sanjak of Smederevo, then part of the Ottoman Empire. This movement combined the efforts to restore the erstwhile medieval state of the Nemanjić dynasty with the desire to implement modern European political ideals. Established in 1830 as an autonomous hereditary principality within the Ottoman Empire, Serbia initially encompassed the territory of the former sanjak. The crucial turning points in its political and territorial development came in 1878, when it was recognized as an independent state at the Congress of Berlin and gained some territorial expansion, and in 1882, when its head of state assumed the royal title and became king. Ideas and knowledge about the past formed an inseparable part of these processes of renewal and modernization efforts. They drew on pre-existing conceptions of national history and were accompanied by

efforts to cultivate a historical consciousness through a rudimentary educational system and an emerging academic life – both of which were closely intertwined with Serbian political life and with the broader national movement of the Serbs.[1]

The introduction of Byzantine studies represents a distinct stage in the development of Serbian scholarly historiography, but the path toward its establishment as an autonomous academic discipline in the Principality and later in the Kingdom of Serbia was far from straightforward. For a considerable period, historical scholarship in Serbia remained rudimentary. It naturally depended on the broader progress of education and learning, the cultivation of erudition, and the organization of systematic research into the nation's past. The collection and publication of sources constituted the primary concern of learned individuals who sought to contribute to the advancement of historical study, particularly those related to the medieval period, which was among the chief preoccupations of the Society of Serbian Letters (Društvo srpske slovesnosti), founded as early as 1841. The Society's prominent members later formed the nucleus of the Serbian Royal Academy (Srpska kraljevska akademija), established in 1886, or joined it in 1892 after the Society merged with the Academy. These heuristic efforts were accompanied by the first attempts at systematic historical scholarship, cultivated through history courses taught at the highest educational institutions – beginning with the Lyceum, founded in 1838, which evolved into the Great School in 1863, serving as the precursor to the University of Belgrade.[2] Both the heuristic work and the teaching of history at these institutions were characterized by limited source criticism and a pronounced trust in various forms of tradition, especially oral and folk traditions – a feature that was reflected in early scholarly publications as well. Over time, proponents of a more critical approach to the sources gained predominance, although the leading figures of both schools of thought – today identified as the Romantic and the Critical schools – formally remained amateurs without proper academic training in historical method.[3] A representative and, in this context, particularly telling example is Stojan Novaković (1842-1915): a polymath and politician who held several high state offices, and a distinguished historian without formal academic training. Although he largely stood outside the conflict between the two historiographical schools, his methodological

[1] A recent survey of the Serbian uprising against the Ottoman Empire in the Smederevo Sanjak and the emergence of modern Serbia is U. Šešum, *Устаничка Србија: народ и земља*, Belgrade, 2024; certain aspects of historical memory during the time of the uprising and the creation of modern Serbia are analysed in id., *Србија и Стара Србија (1804-1839)*, Belgrade, 2017.

[2] For a general overview of the development of educational and academic institutions, as well as historiography in the nineteenth century, see I. Božić, *Постанак и развој у Универзитета у Београду*, Belgrade, 1988; *Универзитет у Београду 1838-1988, Зборник радова*, Belgrade, 1988; *100 година Српске академије наука и уметности (1886–1986)*, Belgrade, 1989; S. Ćirković, "САНУ", in id. (ed.), *Енциклопедија српске историографије*, Belgrade, 1997 (henceforth *ЕСИ*), p. 125-127; R. Mihaljčić, "Филозофски факултет у Београду", in *ЕСИ*, p. 127-130.

[3] S. Ćirković, "Јављање 'критичке историографије' на Великој школи и Универзитету", in *Универзитет у Београду 1838-1988*, p. 645-654.

orientation clearly aligned with the latter.[4] The clashes between these two intellectual camps during the final two decades of the nineteenth century mirrored the broader dilemmas – and eventual resolutions – of Serbia's cultural policy at the time.

A key factor contributing to the formal professionalization of Serbian historiography – and, by extension, of Byzantine studies – was the government's 1875 decision to sponsor students for study at foreign universities under highly favourable conditions. The state covered their travel expenses and tuition fees and granted them an allowance comparable to the salary of a mid-level university lecturer. In the decades that followed, this measure proved to be of great social and political significance, especially for the state administration, which had been its primary intended beneficiary. It also produced lasting benefits for higher education, scholarship, and the sciences, including historiography, medieval studies, and, ultimately, Byzantine studies.[5]

This period also witnessed the first – albeit incomplete – attempt to introduce Byzantine studies into higher education. In 1890, the royal government resolved to establish a Department of Medieval and Byzantine studies at the Great School, but the plan collapsed due to financial constraints. Shortly afterward, reflecting personnel changes at the Great School and the appointment of Božidar Prokić (1859-1922) – educated in Paris – as lecturer in medieval history in 1892, Byzantine history began to be taught, although not yet as an independent subject. The retirement of Pantelija Srećković (1834-1903), the long-serving professor of national history at the Great School and a leading representative of the Romantic conception of national history, and his replacement in 1893 by Ljubomir Kovačević (1848-1918) – his bitter opponent and a distinguished advocate of the critical approach – symbolized a decisive shift in the orientation of Serbian national historiography.[6]

Understandably, the emergence of Byzantinists with formal academic training in Serbia – and of scholars whose education included a component of Byzantine studies – was primarily linked to the renowned Chair of Byzantine studies at the University of Munich, headed by Karl Krumbacher, the world's first such chair, established in 1893.[7]

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[4] Id., "Стојан Новаковић", in *ЕСИ*, p. 540-542. A recent collective volume on his life and work is *Стојан Новаковић: Поводом сто седамдесет пет година од рођења*, Belgrade, 2018.

[5] For a thorough analysis of this phenomenon, see Lj. Trgovčević, *Планирана елита: о студентима из Србије на европским универзитетима у 19. веку*, Belgrade, 2003.

[6] Lj. Maksimović, "Развој византологије", in *Универзитет у Београду 1838-1988*, p. 655-671; R. Mihaljčić, "Филозофски факултет у Београду", in *ЕСИ*, p. 127-128; S. Pirivatrić, "A Case Study in the Emergence of Byzantine Studies: Serbia in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", in P. Stephenson (ed.), *The Byzantine World*, London, 2010, p. 481-490, especially p. 482-483; Lj. Maksimović, "Божидар Прокић", in *ЕСИ*, p. 598-599; A. Veselinović, "Пантелија Срећковић", in *ЕСИ*, p. 644-645; R. Mihaljčić, "Љубомир Ковачевић", in *ЕСИ*, p. 440-441; *Глас САНУ CDXIV, Одељење историјских наука* 15, 2010.

[7] On the establishment of the first Chair of Byzantine studies, see P. Schreiner and E. Vogt (eds.), *Karl Krumbacher: Leben und Werk*, Munich, 2011, especially the chapter by F. Tinnefeld, "Die Begründung der Byzantinistik als wissenschaftlicher Disziplin", p. 27-37. On the Serbian students in Krumbacher's

Stanoje Stanojević (1874-1937), born in Austria-Hungary, studied philology under Vatroslav Jagić and history under Konstantin Jireček at the University of Vienna, where he earned his doctorate in 1896. He subsequently spent time in St Petersburg and Moscow (1897-1898), where he met Alexander Vasiliev, one of the foremost Byzantine scholars of his generation, and later worked as a teacher at the Serbian school in Constantinople and at the Russian Archaeological Institute there (1898-1899), directed by Fyodor Uspensky. Upon returning to Belgrade, Stanojević decided to pursue advanced studies under Karl Krumbacher. He was attached to Krumbacher's Chair when he was appointed docent (assistant professor) of Serbian history at the Great School in 1900. The first among the relatively numerous Serbs taught by Krumbacher, he played a pioneering role in developing a more comprehensive conception of Byzantine research in Serbia. Stanojević undertook the ambitious project of writing a multivolume work titled *Byzantium and the Serbs*, intending to devote the first nine volumes to the political history of Serbo-Byzantine relations and the tenth and final volume to Byzantine cultural influences on the Serbs. Two volumes appeared under this title (1903 and 1906), covering the period of the Slavic settlement in the Balkans. He was promoted to associate professor at the Great School in 1903, and in 1905 became associate professor at the newly established University of Belgrade, as well as a corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy. His scholarly interests largely centred on national history, though often with a pronounced Byzantine component, as seen in his *Studies in Serbian Diplomatics* (a collection of 28 papers published between 1912 and 1936).[8]

In 1905, Dragutin Anastasijević (1877-1950) became the first of Krumbacher's Serbian students to defend a doctoral dissertation under his supervision. The thesis, titled *Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur*, was published in the same year. Anastasijević was born into a Greek-speaking family of Aromanian ancestry originally from Moscopolis; this background, combined with a prolonged stay in Corfu after completing the classics program at the Great School, later proved instrumental in shaping his research on Byzantine letters and literature, as well as on Modern Greek philology. His three-year course of study at Krumbacher's Chair, followed by specialization in palaeography at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, culminated in the successful defence of his dissertation. He also conducted research in libraries across Germany, Austria, Greece, Russia, and Turkey (notably at the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople). During this early phase of his scholarly career, Anastasijević concentrated on collecting diplomatic material – especially that gathered during his research in the archives of Mount Athos, and particularly in the

seminar, see Lj. Maksimović, "Karl Krumbachers serbische Schüler", *Südost-Forschungen* 73.1, 2014, p. 429-443.

[8] M. Spremić, "Станоје Станојевић", in *ECH*, p. 650-651; Lj. Maksimović, "Karl Krumbachers...", p. 438-439.

monasteries of Hilandar and Great Lavra – as well as on exploring specific issues in the history of Serbian-Byzantine relations and the Nemanjić dynasty.[9]

Božidar Prokić (1859-1922) defended his doctoral dissertation, *Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes (Cod. Vindob. hist. gr. LXXIV)*, in 1906, not long after Anastasijević. In examining this exceptionally important source, Prokić continued the line of research he had initiated with his earlier treatise on the beginning of Tsar Samuel's reign (1901). This was followed by studies on John Skylitzes as a source for reconstructing that history (1908), on John, the first archbishop of Ohrid (1910), and on the formation of the Ohrid patriarchate (1912). Around the time he concluded his investigations into the polity commonly known as Samuel's Empire, Prokić was appointed director of the State Archive of Serbia (1911).[10] His dissertation remained a significant scholarly reference until the publication of the critical edition of John Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiōn* in 1973. This dissertation opens a distinct set of questions and arguably warrants discussion in a separate study. Its subject was an important, unpublished manuscript kept in the Imperial Court Library in Vienna (now the Austrian National Library), and entrusting Prokić with the task of studying it may have carried a political dimension. Prokić's scholarly work based on this material occupied a significant place within the contemporary academic debate between Serbian and Bulgarian historians over the history and population of parts of historical Macedonia, particularly Vardar Macedonia, in the pre-modern period. This topic, naturally, attracted attention beyond the Serbian and Bulgarian scholarly milieus, and the debate itself inevitably intersected with contemporary politics.[11] Such an intellectual confrontation could only have served the geopolitical interests of Austria-Hungary and Germany, aligning with their foreign policy objectives in the context of the Eastern Question in Macedonia and in perpetuating or steering Serbo-Bulgarian antagonism.

In the meantime, significant changes took place at the Great School in Belgrade, leading to the establishment of an independent centre for Byzantine studies. In 1905, the Great School was transformed into a university, and early the following year, the Chair and Seminar for Byzantine studies were founded within the Faculty of Philosophy, becoming the third oldest university department of Byzantine studies in Europe. In May 1906, the young Dragutin Anastasijević was appointed as its head, with the rank of associate professor.[12]

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[9] S. Ćirković, "Драгутин Анастасијевић", in *ЕСИ*, p. 260-261; Lj. Maksimović, "Karl Krumbachers...", p. 429-434.

[10] Lj. Maksimović, "Божидар Прокић", in *ЕСИ*, p. 598-599; id., "Karl Krumbachers...", p. 429-434.

[11] For a comprehensive analytical review of the Bulgarian-Serbian historiographical controversies related to this issue, see R. Daskalov, *Историографски спорове за Средновековието: Българо-сръбски, българо-македонски*, Sofia, 2024.

[12] Lj. Maksimović, "Развој византологије", p. 657; S. Pirivatrić, "A Case Study...", p. 483-484; see also I. Đurić, "Свакодневна повест Семинара за византологију Филозофског факултета у Београду", *Зборник Филозофског факултета. Научни скуп поводом стопедесетогодишњице*

Another distinguished figure among Krumbacher's Serbian students was Veselin Čajkanović (1881-1946), who earned his doctorate in 1907 with a dissertation titled *Quaestionum paroemiographicarum capita selecta* (published in Tübingen, 1908). However, despite his Munich training, Byzantine subjects did not occupy a central place in his otherwise stellar academic and teaching career.[13]

Soon after Anastasijević and Prokić, Branko Granić (1883-1948) defended his doctoral dissertation under Krumbacher's supervision. His thesis, entitled *Die Subscriptionen in den datierten griechischen Handschriften des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, was published in 1922. Born in Velika Kikinda in Austria-Hungary, Granić pursued his education first in Novi Sad, then in Vienna, and ultimately completed his doctorate in Munich. Shortly thereafter, in 1912, he took monastic vows at the Hopovo Monastery, and entered the service of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, where he also graduated from the Theological Seminary.[14]

Nikola Radojčić (1882-1964) was another Serbian scholar who spent a period studying under Krumbacher. After pursuing studies in Graz, Zagreb, and Jena, with a focus on history, Radojčić completed his doctorate in 1907 under the supervision of Heinrich Gelzer at the University of Munich. His dissertation, *Die Zwei letzten Komnenen auf dem konstantinopolitanischen Thron*, was published the same year in Serbo-Croatian in Zagreb. While serving as a teacher at the renowned high school in Sremski Karlovci, a post he still held at the outbreak of the First World War, Radojčić published several noteworthy studies in Byzantine history.[15]

Vladimir Ćorović (1885-1941), also a native of Austria-Hungary, studied languages and history in Vienna under Vatroslav Jagić, Milan Rešetar, and Konstantin Jireček, earning his doctorate in 1908. He subsequently attended Krumbacher's seminar for a short period – albeit toward the very end of Krumbacher's life – thus adding Byzantine studies to his already wide-ranging scholarly formation. In his remarkably prolific career, which after the First World War was closely associated with Belgrade, however, Byzantine subjects appeared only rarely.[16]

Vladimir Petković (1874-1956) was likewise among the Serbian students of Karl Krumbacher, although he completed his doctoral studies in Halle in 1905. Petković is regarded as the founder of scholarly art history in Serbia. As a researcher of Serbian and Byzantine art, he produced a substantial body of monographs, surveys, and specialized

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Филозофског факултета, Belgrade 1990, p. 263-270; R. Radić, "Сто година Катедре и Семинара за византологију", *Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик* 56.1, 2008, p. 177-178.

[13] A. Loma, "Веселин Чајкановић", in *ECИ*, p. 709-710.

[14] R. Radić, "Филарет (Бранко) Гранић", in *ECИ*, p. 331-332; Lj. Maksimović, "Karl Krumbachers...", p. 435-437.

[15] S. Ćirković, "Никола Радојчић", in *ECИ*, p. 607-608; Lj. Maksimović, "Karl Krumbachers...", p. 440-442.

[16] R. Mihaljčić, "Владимир Ћоровић", in *ECИ*, p. 688-690; Lj. Maksimović, "Karl Krumbachers...", p. 4389-440.

studies – on Serbian medieval painting, church monuments, and the monasteries of Žiča, Ravanica, Studenica, Kalenić, and Dečani, as well as on topics such as the iconography of the Nemanjić dynastic tree. He also made notable contributions to the study of late antique and early Byzantine archaeology, particularly through his work on major sites such as Stobi and Caričin Grad. Petković was a distinguished professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, the founder of the Seminar for Art History, director of the National Museum, head of the Archaeological Institute, and editor of the journal *Starinar*. His importance as both an art historian and archaeologist – within Serbia and in the wider international scholarly community – is underscored by the dedicated contribution to his work included in this volume.[17]

Although several Byzantinists received formal training in Munich within a relatively short period – and a few others acquired informal specialization – on the eve of the First World War Byzantine research in Serbia remained limited to the Byzantine Studies Department at the University of Belgrade and to the efforts of a single scholar, its head, Dragutin Anastasijević. Yet, as later developments would show, the careers and activities of the other Serbian scholars mentioned above eventually left a significant imprint, in different ways and at different times, on the evolution of Byzantine studies in Serbia – an outcome impossible to foresee at that early stage. Upon his return from Munich, Anastasijević maintained close ties with his mentor, and their correspondence sheds light on the challenges he faced: a lack of students interested in Byzantine studies and insufficient institutional support from the university leadership. During his first years of teaching (1906-1910), he offered courses in medieval and modern Greek and in Greek palaeography; between 1910 and 1914 he taught the history of the Byzantine Empire from 395 to 1025. His practical classes consisted primarily of reading texts and analysing their language and style. Although Anastasijević succeeded in assembling a book collection that would have been a remarkable library by contemporary standards, almost the entire collection was destroyed during the devastation of Belgrade – and of the university building – over the course of the First World War.[18]

The outcomes of the First (1912) and Second Balkan Wars (1913) and of the First World War (1914-1918) drastically transformed the context in which the nascent institutionalized Byzantine studies operated in the Kingdom of Serbia. Serbia's territorial expansion during the Balkan Wars encompassed those areas of the medieval Nemanjić state containing major monuments and material heritage that belonged to the Byzantine cultural sphere – so-called Old and South Serbia, that is, the regions of historical Raška, today's Kosovo and Metohija, and a part of historical Macedonia.[19]

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[17] See D. Preradović's article in this issue; see also ead. (ed.), *Владимир Р. Петковић. Утемељитељ струке и науке*, Belgrade, 2024.

[18] S. Pirivatrić, "A Case Study...", p. 483-484.

[19] For the liberation of Old Serbia from Ottoman rule, see S. Terzić, *Стара Србија (XIX-XX век): драма једне цивилизације: Рашка, Косово и Метохија, Скопско-Тетовска област*, Belgrade, 2012. The term "Old Serbia" was coined in the early nineteenth century to denote the territory of the medieval

Following the First World War, the unification of the Kingdom of Serbia with the Kingdom of Montenegro and with territories belonging to Austria-Hungary to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (the predecessor of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) dramatically increased the volume and diversity of this heritage. These far-reaching political changes inevitably affected the development of Byzantine studies. A number of institutions founded in Skopje after the war – such as the Scientific Society of Skopje, the Faculty of Philosophy, and the Museum of South Serbia – naturally incorporated a substantial Byzantine studies component into their activities.[20]

A particularly valuable contribution to several branches of Byzantine research came from highly educated émigrés from the dissolved Russian Empire, whose presence proved decisive. Among them were Teodor Taranovski (1875-1936), Sergije Troicki (1878-1972), Nikolaj Okunjev (1886-1949), Aleksandar Solovjev (1890-1971), and Vladimir Mošin (1894-1987).[21] More broadly, although the study and cultivation of Byzantine heritage played a role in the cultural policy of the new Yugoslav state, it by no means ranked among its priorities. Seeking a historical framework that could support its ideological and political aspiration, the medieval realm of the House of Kotromanić, with Bosnia as its centre, was considered far more suitable as a historical precedent than the Nemanjić state, whose early seat in Raška later shifted to territories deeply embedded in the Byzantine world. This preference was clearly reflected in the representative historiography of the period.[22] Nevertheless, institutionalised Byzantine studies continued to exist – albeit in the background of academic life, which focused primarily on national themes. After the war, Anastasijević worked to rebuild the Department's devastated library. From 1921 he headed the Department as a non-tenured professor, and for a time remained its sole member, since he had meanwhile taken up a full-time teaching position at the Theological Seminary of the University of Belgrade.[23]

The First International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Bucharest in 1924, inaugurated a new phase of growing internationalization, and the composition

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Serbian state of the Nemanjić dynasty that remained out of the contemporary principality of Serbia; see U. Šešum, *Србија и Стара Србија*, p. 75-92.

[20] S. Pirivatrić, "Гласник скопског научног друштва", in *ЕСИ*, p. 73-74.

[21] A partial insight into the contribution of the aforementioned scholars to post-war Byzantine studies is provided by texts in the volume dedicated to the themes of the Russian émigrés' contribution to Serbian culture, see M. Sibinović, M. Mežinski, and A. Arsenjev (eds.), *Руска емиграција у српској култури XX века*, I-II, Belgrade, 1994. See also the entries of R. Mihaljčić, "Теодор Тарановски", D. Sindik, "Сергије Троицки", S. Avramović, "Александар Соловјев", M. Živojinović, "Владимир Мошин", in *ЕСИ*, p. 669-670, 684-685, 640-642, 523-525; S. Mirković and N. Kršljanin (eds.), *125 година од рођења Александра Васиљевича Соловјева*, Belgrade, 2016.

[22] Characteristic in this regard was the treatment of the history of the Kotromanić state in the surveys of the history of the peoples and regions that became part of the common Yugoslav state – conceived and presented as a master narrative of their time; see V. Ćorović, *Историја Југославије*, Belgrade, 1933.

[23] Lj. Maksimović, "Развој византологије", p. 659; R. Radić, "Сто година Катедре...", p. 292; S. Pirivatrić, "A Case Study...", p. 484-485.

of the delegation sent by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes illustrates the significance attributed to this development. Although Dragutin Anastasijević, the head of the country's only department of Byzantine studies, did not attend for reasons that remain unknown, several scholars affiliated with the University of Belgrade, including some of Krumbacher's former students, took part. Nikola Vulić, professor of ancient history at the University of Belgrade, was the most distinguished member of the delegation, charged with presenting the formal invitation to hold the next congress in Belgrade, a proposal already endorsed by the royal government. Among the active participants in the Bucharest congress was Vladimir Ćorović, by then a university professor and one of the most influential figures in Belgrade's academic milieu during the interwar period, while Filaret Granić and Nikola Radojčić delivered noteworthy papers.[24]

At the final session of the Bucharest Congress on 19 April 1924, the decision was made to designate Belgrade as the host of the next meeting. The Second International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Belgrade from 11 to 16 April 1927, represented an important point in the internationalization of Byzantine studies and highlighted the role played by the Byzantine studies center in Belgrade in that process. The credit for the successful organization of the congress belongs, first and foremost, to Dragutin Anastasijević. In the years that followed, this process was shaped not only by the work of Anastasijević, as well as of Granić, Mošin, and other Belgrade scholars mentioned above but also by the unexpected arrival of George Ostrogorsky (1902-1976), who moved from Breslau to Belgrade in the pivotal year 1933. Ostrogorsky's scholarly activity in Belgrade, which extended for more than four decades, has been examined on numerous occasions.[25] It forms, however, a distinct chapter in the history of Byzantine studies in Belgrade and in Yugoslavia – one that belongs to a fundamentally different historical context, namely the period on the eve and after the Second World War, and for that reason it should be readdressed in another occasion.

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[24] For an account of the participation of scholars from the Kingdom of SHS, see F. Granić, "Prvi međunarodni kongres predstavnika vizantijskih studija u Bukureštu", *Narodna starina* 3, 1924, p. 78-80; see also C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 1924*, Bucharest, 1925.

[25] B. Ferjančić, "Георгије Острогорски (1902-1976)", *Глас Српске академије наука и уметности* 372, *Одељење историјских наука* 8, 1993, p. 57-95.