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# THE REAL AND IMAGINED ENEMY IN THE PROCESS OF SHAPING THE MACEDONIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

ABSTRACT    The article deals with the issues associated with creating the notion of the enemy in the Macedonian territorial area underlining that image of the enemy was closely related to notion of potential threat. It was strengthened by the geopolitical situation after the year 1878, which led to the formation of the modern Macedonian national identity. On the basis of various texts belonging to the Macedonian cultural heritage (including G. Pulevski, K. Misirkov, S. Verković) we can recognize the transfer of the black legend of the Jesuits into the Macedonian territory. In the Macedonian literature at the turn of the 20th century, next to the existing real enemies (Turks, the Greek Church hierarchy (Phanariots)), also appeared an imaginary enemy, represented by the Jesuits. They became the model enemy who was the incarnation of evil fighting against the Orthodoxy and striving for control over the enslaved Slavs by the use of lies, treachery and falsehood. When creating this "enemy" the Macedonian literature used all the elements of the black legend of the Jesuits which existied earlier in Western Europe, and this contributed to the dissolution of the order in 1773. In the article it is noted that the Russian policy towards the Slavic peoples of the Balkans used concepts of the ethnic and religious unity in the Macedonian lands as opposed by the negative image of Catholicism and the "black legend" of the Jesuits, that was already successfully used in other circumstances.

Key-words: Macedonian national identity, the real enemy, the imagined enemy, black legend of the Jesuits

Despite various connotations through additional definitions (e.g. the enemy of the people), the notion of an enemy of the state usually relates to negatively predisposed entities, groups or in general to a given community,[1] and in each context functions as the antonym of a friend.

The German historian Hagen Schulze, who specialises in nineteenth-century comparative European nationalisms, writes that "occupation by an enemy, pillage in the name of another people and a feeling of collective humiliation functioned here as a catalyst for the creation of a unique identity".[2] Relating to nineteenth-century Germany, his statement also has its equivalents in many European countries, including Macedonia. Attempting to understand who was or became an enemy for specific nations or states could lead to the conclusion that each had or has[3] its own enemy-outsider model, and in turn an actual enemy may be differentiated from an imagined enemy. Both models are used by ideologists to achieve specific political goals through convincing the public that the hostility or status of an enemy assigned to a chosen group or phenomenon poses a threat to its independence or various interests. The case of Macedonia is no exception – others/outsiders who used force to impose their rights, who humiliated and oppressed the Slavic and Orthodox population of the lands, became the enemy. The image of the enemy as foreign and viewed as a threat was forged by the geopolitical situation after 1878, leading to the creation of the Macedonian national identity. The constituent factors in this process were religious and ethnic affiliation. It was these that had an effect on the relationships between peoples and cultures, and also on the values of the time and political influences. The development of a feeling of separate identity by the Orthodox Slavic population, which was ruled by the culturally foreign Ottoman Empire, created a Macedonian world view and exerted a decisive impact on the formation of a unique identity. The consolidation of the Macedonian people required their "own" real enemy, a role which, in changing political circumstances, was fulfilled by various groups. Aside from the real threat to Macedonian interests, an imagined enemy was also created.

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[1]    The term "enemy of the people" was used by the revolutionary government during the French Revolution and after 1917 in Soviet Russia as a by-word for political opponents. Initially used as a rhetorical term and subsequently as propaganda, it was sometimes applied as a legal expression through its inclusion in legislation (e.g. criminal law). Through using this term, a political opponent of the revolutionary government became an enemy, posing a threat not just to the government, but to the people as a whole. The revolutionary government usurped the right to defend the people against enemies, usually through using special and harsh means. In this manner the person or group termed an enemy of the people could become the aim of repression from the revolutionary state, applied as a measure to prevent hostile acts.

[2]    H. Schulze, *Państwo i naród w dziejach Europy*, trans. by D. Lachowska, Warszawa 2012, p. 167 (*Kolory Idei*).

[3]    In dealing with the issue of a standard enemy in Macedonian history when national identity was formed, it is worth citing data from the survey carried out by the Dimitrija Čupovski Institute in May 2013. This showed that 82% of ethnic Macedonians (and 72% of Albanians) out of 1050 respondents consider Greece as a hostile country. In the survey of attitudes to neighbouring countries, it was revealed that Serbia is viewed as the most hostile (66%), and to a lesser extent Bulgaria. See: 'Анкета: Грција не е пријателска земја', НОВА, 25 May 2013, at <http://novatv.mk/index.php?navig=8&cat=2&vest=3929>, 28 May 2013.

Macedonians' real historical enemy was formed from groups or entities which were culturally, religiously and politically different. Macedonian literature from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth shows that a real threat was perceived in the actions of both the Turks and Greeks, and in time also the Bulgarian church hierarchy. This was subsequently also transferred to the states among which the territory of Macedonia was divided.

For centuries the Turks remained the enemy of the Orthodox Slavic population of the Macedonian territory.[4] Their stereotypical image as an oppressor perpetrating violent and criminal acts on the Macedonian population did not just prevail during wars and uprisings. As a state which was foreign in terms of civilisation, the Ottoman Empire, which ruled Macedonia after the Congress of Berlin, remained the enemy, hampering Macedonian efforts to improve their situation. Traditions about Turkish hostility were promoted in the nineteenth century by the elite of the period, including Ġorġija Pulevski.[5] It was not just Macedonians themselves, but also Western correspondents who informed the general public of crimes which had been committed by the Turks on the Slavic residents of Macedonia.

Thus an aversion to representatives of the empire, who massacred the local population, comes as no surprise. As Polish correspondent to the Balkans Antoni Piotrowski wrote, residents who were unsure of their fate were forced to change their habits, and Macedonian women were prepared at all times to flee their homes in the wake of a threat from the Turks, taking their entire worldly belongings with them.[6]
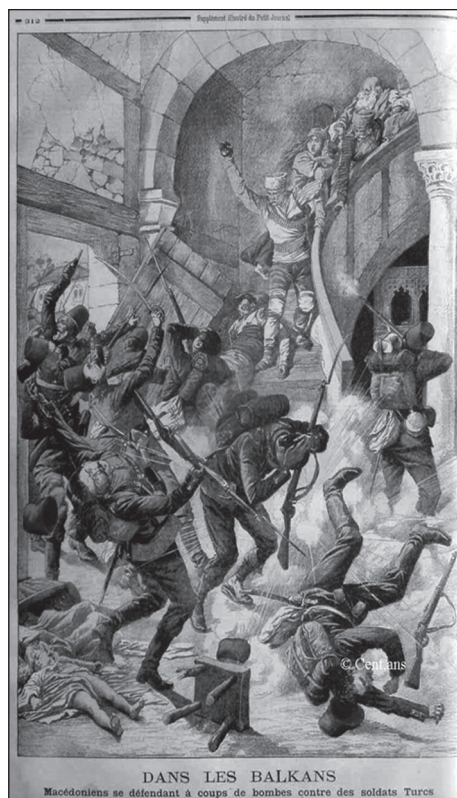


*Le Petit Journal. Supplèment Illustré*, 27 July 1903

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[4]    G. Szwat-Gyłybowa, 'Stereotyp Turka w piśmiennictwie bułgarskim XIX stulecia a grzechy europejskiego orientalizmu' in T. Dąbek-Wirgowa, A.Z. Makowiecki (eds.), *Kategoria narodu w kulturach słowiańskich*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 71-76.

[5]    One example are the poems of Ġ. Pulevski: 'Плачење македонско' and 'Македонцим ув прилог' in Б. Ристовски, *Ѓорѓија М. Пулевски и неговите книшки* Самовила Македонска и Македонска песнарка, Скопје 1973, pp. 47-49.

[6]    A. Piotrowski, 'Macedonia. Z wrażeń naocznego świadka', *Tygodnik Illustrowany*, No. 16 (1903), pp. 305-307.

Bitola 1902, agents of the Turkish police with their trophies, *Македонско движење*, 5 August 1902

The Greeks also remained foreign from a cultural and religious viewpoint, with their entire church hierarchy holding religious sway in the region. This provoked a reaction from the elite of the period, who justified their Slavic and Slavic Orthodox roots in opposition to the Greek Phanariots.[7] The establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which replaced them in controlling the Orthodox Church in Macedonia, led to an additional perception of the Bulgarian church hierarchy as an enemy of Macedonian identity. This is shown by the actions of the young Macedonian elite and a letter sent to the Sultan in 1890, signed by 120 residents of Ochrid, in which demands were made for the creation of an Orthodox Church independent of the Bulgarians.[8] During the later period, the states which after the Balkan wars divided the territory of Macedonia between themselves, thereby abusing Macedonian trust, became enemies in their own right. The hostility against the above is not just reflected in correspondents' individual dispatches, but also in statements by the representatives of the Macedonian Slavs themselves, referring with aversion to their new oppressors.[9] An independent national identity developed with the simultaneous appearance of influences from other Christian churches, i.e. together with Catholic and Protestant missions.

The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was mobilised during the papacy of Pius IX (1846-1878). As early as 1848, in the encyclical *In suprema Petri Apostoli Sede*, he called for all Orthodox Christians to unite with the Catholic Church, demonstrating the existence of only slight dogmatic differences between them. For this reason, on 6 January 1849 he founded the Pro Negotiis Orientalibus commission of cardinals within the Congregation, whose task was to handle religious issues in the parts of

[7]　L. Moroz-Grzelak, G. Szwat-Gyłybowa, 'Fanariota/Fanarioci' in G. Szwat-Gyłybowa (ed.), *Leksykon tradycji bułgarskiej*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 98-100.

[8]　С. Сидоровска-Чуповска, 'Некои реформи на отпор од македонското граѓанство и интелигенција до формирањето на МПО – 1893 година', *Спектар*, No. 52 (2008), pp. 37-46.

[9]　These opinions were preserved in the newspaper *Makedonskij gołos* (Macedonian Voice), published by Macedonian emigrants in St. Petersburg. This is widely covered in my monography: *Bracia Słowianie. Wizje wspólnoty a rzeczywistość*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 258-264.

the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Orthodox Slavs.[10] Despite the prior presence of the Lazarists and the Augustinians of the Assumption, it was after the visit by members of the Congregation of the Resurrection to the Bulgarian and Macedonian lands in 1863 that the Russians' anti-Catholic propaganda was actively increased through the support for the establishment of schools.[11]

In these circumstances the real enemy was supplemented by an imaginary enemy, who was alleged to embody all evil, to pose a threat to the Orthodox faith and to strive to take control of the enslaved Slavs. In the latter half of the nineteenth century Catholics, in the form of Jesuits who to date have not been discerned by researchers, became this enemy. In the process of adopting the methods tried and tested in other cultural fields for creating a real enemy, such as the ethnically and religiously foreign Turks, the Orthodox Christians, and the Greeks with their Liturgy in an alien language, the Jesuits existed independently in the literature of Macedonian writers. Slavic Orthodox writers did not shy away from forming a pejorative image of the Roman Catholic Church, which was reflected in its identification with the Society of Jesus. Awareness of the Macedonian Slavs' membership of the Slavic Orthodox community with Russia strengthened religious antagonism, which induced defence of Christianity and Slavic Orthodoxy against a clearly defined enemy, equated with the Jesuits. The variance between the churches and the increasing aversion to Western Christianity reflected attitudes critical towards Catholicism, which was something foreign in the region. Texts written by Macedonian authors in various periods, be these the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, make mention of their existence, reflecting an Orthodox anti-Catholicism with the "black legend" of the Jesuits at its core. In Western culture, the "black legend" had previously shaped the view of members of the order as regimented automatons controlled through discipline by their leader, with significant capacity to commit despicable crimes in pursuit of their overriding conspiratorial aim to take over the world.

Traces of the "black legend" remained in Macedonian writing, reflecting a trend towards ethnic and religious self-identification among literate inhabitants, and were connected with the existence of opposition between the self and the other, repeating the anti-Western attitudes of the Orthodox Church. These can be found in *Славјанско-маќедонска општа историја*, which is a part of the trend towards mythical histories of the Slavic peoples. In portraying the origins of Macedonian Slavs, its author, Ġorġija M. Pulevski (1822/23-1893), located these within the Slavic world, indicating a significant place for them within European culture. Latin Europe creates a feeling of superiority in the author, since in his belief it is the Orthodox Slavs who combine true ties, unifying these in common action. Pulevski is proud to emphasise that there had been no religious wars in the Slavic part of the continent, as had been the case in Western

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[10]   J. Szaeffer, 'Historia Misji Bułgarskiej Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstańców Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa', *Zeszyty Historyczno-Teologiczne*, No. 4-5 (1999), pp. 159-185.

[11]   J. Iwicki, *Charyzmat zmartwychwstańców. Historia zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego*, trans. by J. Zagórski, Katowice 1990, p. 216.

Europe. In his opinion even the Slavs' opposition to the imposition of Greek in the Liturgy was peaceful in nature. The Orthodox Slavs, he continued, fought in situations where the rights of their people and religion were threatened, and proof of their religious consciousness were the uprisings against the Turks. These constituted a work of "Slavic Orthodox Christians", living in regions dominated by the Turks. The knowledge of the self-taught Pulevski and its basis on primarily Russian sources, created a mode of thought about the Jesuits as an independent, great power influencing the shape of Europe. For centuries, Pulevski claims, Western Europe had seen armed forces fighting for the continuity of religion, entering into conflicts with each other: "А горе речено верско (рельигиско) противенье (буненье) спроти што се правило во Западна Јевропа во продолжуванье некольку стольетии, се бориле со наоружана сила дајма даже се изцепиле: а. католици, б. протестанти, в. језуити и прочи и проч(и)."[12]

In Pulevski's understanding the Jesuits constituted an evil power, independent of Catholicism, having an effect on the spirituality and politics of Europe. Evoking them in situations of religious conflict was aimed at strengthening the prestige of the Orthodox Church and Slavism, and to give their own territory and its population moral values. As he repeated further, there were no religious wars in these regions, setting aside the justified but bloodless uprisings among the Slavic population against the Greek Patriarch or against Islam.



Cartoon from 1758. J.E. Franco, *Le mythe jesuite au Portugal, au Brésil, en Orient et en Europe (XVIᵉ--XXᵉ siècles)*, São Paulo 2008, p. 690

The Macedonian historiographer's reference to the actions of the Jesuits was not an isolated case. How powerful the negative vision of the order was in the region is reflected in the correspondence of Stefan Verković (1827-1893), the unwitting perpetrator of the southern Slavic literary forgery *Веда Словена* (1874, 1881). The two published volumes of songs were alleged to be works of ancient folk art, establishing the distant history of Bulgaria and Macedonia. The publisher of both books, Stefan Verković, announced that the collections of songs published by him confirmed the erroneousness of European academic thought in assigning the primary role in shaping European civilisation to the Greeks. This task was alleged to have been fulfilled by the Slavic inhabitants of Macedonia. When the fraud was uncovered, Verković, in letters to the hoax's

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[12]    Ѓ.М. Пулевски, *Славјанско-македонска општа историја*, Скопје 2003, p. 885.

true perpetrator Jovan Gologanov, stated that challenges to the reliability of the works resulted mainly from plots by Catholics, Protestants and the hierarchy of the Greek Church, aimed at subjugating the Slavic Orthodox populations of the region. In a characteristic manner, Verković's correspondence proves that at the end of the nineteenth century the adjective "Jesuit" was used to define actions connected with deviousness and duplicity: "Когато сакате да изобличите некой си за провинение, правете това явно, а никак по езуитски".[13]

An echo of the negative view of the order and its role in politics was spread several dozen years later by Krste Misirkov (1848-1926), who reached his ideological maturity in St. Petersburg. In the texts collected in his most prominent work, *За македонците работи* of 1903, he pointed towards the feeling of national separateness in relation to neighbouring countries and affiliation to the Slavic and Slavic Orthodox family. He believed that the existence of other faiths in the Macedonian lands was used for the purposes of specific national propaganda. For this reason, he demanded, it was essential to establish a religious law which would exclude advantage being taken of this in political manoeuvring. As support for his demands, he cited the fact that the Jesuits had been expelled from Europe. He believed that this was proof of effective legislation being introduced which enabled the independent development of specific peoples and suppressed the Jesuits' effect on the "exploitation of national awareness": "Слобода на совеста іет признаена на секаде: она іет и ке бидит признаана и каі нас. Експлуатаціата со таіа слободиіа се преследуат на секаде и требит да бидит преследуана и каі нас. Іезуитите сет истерани туку речи, от сите европеіцки земіи, за тоа шчо експлуатіраа со народната совест. [...] Шчо іет било на секаде во Европа, может да бидит и каі нас, во Македониіа."[14]

The Jesuits came to embody the enemy of the Orthodox religion, posing a threat to the existence of an independent Macedonia. For Misirkov, following the example of Europe and introducing an appropriate religious law would serve to unite the Macedonian Slavs and peoples living in the Macedonian lands, leading them to freedom.

A subsequent example of the "black legend" of the Jesuits can again be found in *Македонскій голосъ*, which was published in 1913-1914 in St. Petersburg. As a result of the Treaty of Bucharest, after the end of the Balkan wars the territory of Macedonia was divided up among the warring states – Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. Being unable to reconcile themselves with the situation, Macedonian emigrants sought various means of support to achieve their goal of an independent state. One of the articles published in the newspaper argued that help in solving the problem was sought in the actions of the Catholic and Protestant churches. These political calculations gave rise to objections on the part of the newspaper's pro-Russian authors: "[...] появилось новое средство сохранения македонскаго національнаго лица, новый способ

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[13] Verković's correspondence to Gologanov in Б. Христов (ed.), *Веда Словена*, Vol. 2, София 1997, p. 344.

[14] К.П. Мисирков, *За македонцките работи*, Скопје 1974, pp. 21-22.

получения независимости: пропаганда перемены религіи. Некоторые горячіе македонскіе патріоты призывают народ массам переходить в католичество или в протестанство и этим получить покровительство великих держав: Австріи, Германіи или Англіи. Очень возможно, что измученное, доведенное насиліями 'ослободителей' до отчаянія, населеніе последует такому совету и вступит в унію с Римом. [...] Славянская Россія всегда оберечавшая молодые победы славянской культуры и свободы, не может на этот раз спокойно отнестись к тому, что родственній ей македонскій народ на сильственно денационализируется греками, сербами и болгарами, и спасая свою національную самобытность, готов даже пойти в іезуитскую кабалу. В данном вопросе Россія должна сказать свое решительное слово."[15]

The mere mention of the Jesuits summoned up the negative image of the order, which was allegedly lurking in the background, waiting for its chance to take control over an oppressed people. Despite the fact that other Catholic orders were active in the Macedonian lands (the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ), it was the secretive Jesuits, connected with elements of anti-Semitism, which fulfilled the role of the enemy threatening Macedonian identity. Attempts to take control over Macedonia and conflicts of interest between the Slavic peoples situated closest, led to an ever clearer demonstration of Macedonians' own ethnicity, pointing to the Orthodox faith as the defining characteristic.

This gives rise to the question of how Macedonia came to learn of the "black legend" of an order which had not played a significant role here, since the Jesuits had simply not been present (if we ignore the Jesuit monastery on the Greek island of Tinos as a Catholic enclave among the Greeks, which the Jesuit Marcin Czermiński described in the journal of his travels around the Balkans at the end of the nineteenth century[16]). Exploring the fate of the order after its dissolution in 1773, it can be seen that through spreading anti-Western sentiments in the region, Russia contributed to the formation of this view of an enemy. With specific nations' attempts to introduce their own language in the Orthodox Church and the missionary activities of Western churches, together with a feeling of being isolated from the free world, the Slavic and Slavic Orthodox peoples of Macedonia found bonds with Slavic and Slavic Orthodox Russia, adopting its view of the Church as enemy of its own people through the "black legend" of the Jesuits. Echoes of unfavourable attitudes to the order in connection with the Russian policy implemented in the Balkans undoubtedly also reached the Macedonian lands, where maintaining the appearance of care for the Slavic Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire, the Russians developed their influence.[17]

For this purpose, Russia used calls for an ethnic and religious community with the oppressed peoples of the Balkans. Alongside religious celebrations inspired by Russia,

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[15]  Чаша терпения переполнилась, *Македонскій голосъ*, No. 4 (1913), pp. 58-59.

[16]  M. Czermiński, *Z Grecji i Krety*, Kraków 1902, p. 232.

[17]  Р.П. Гришина, 'Политика России на Балканах во второй половине XIX-начале XX века в свете проблем буржуазной модернизации', *Славяноведение*, No. 5 (2006), pp. 3-8.

Saints Cyril and Methodius, who were born in Slavic Thessaloniki and were adopted as patrons of the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, served to strengthen ties within the Slavic Orthodox Church. Millennial celebrations of the death of St Methodius, held both in St. Petersburg and in individual Slavic countries, served as an opportunity to demonstrate the power and size of the Slavic Orthodox Church. It emerged that there was talk of religious unity during the central celebrations in the Russian capital Petersburg, without the participation of representatives from the Roman Catholic Church. However, it was emphasised that the integration of Roman and Byzantine Christianity could only occur on condition that the Church in Rome return to the Slavic Rite.[18] The millennial celebrations of the death of St Methodius raised awareness of the fact that differences in Christian rites were unconducive to Slavic unity. In contrast, celebrations in 1888 to mark the 900th anniversary of the Christianisation of Kievan Rus' primarily demonstrated the standing of Orthodox Slavic culture, with all-powerful Russia as the guardian of smaller Slavic nations.[19] In this light, religious affiliation enabled assistance to be sought in Russia as the protector and guardian of the Slavs. Moreover, territorial affiliation/primordial rights gave a sense of sovereignty and entitlement to the inhabited lands. Russia's anti-occidental policy consolidated disapproving attitudes to Catholicism, embodied through comments and references to the Jesuits as an enemy power identified with Catholicism, something which was foreign in those lands.

Macedonian statements also show elements known from previous images propagated in Western Europe. As shown by one of the figures in the study by Portuguese cultural historian José Eduardo Franco, four European monarchies – Portugal, France, Spain and the Papal States supported not so much the order as the "religion of the Jesuits", which was to lead to the fall of the monarchies. The Society of Jesus was thus to become a significant force in Europe, affecting both the governing and governed. Making the Jesuits one of the powers of Western Christianity and assigning them the desire for world domination is convergent with the anti-Jesuit propaganda of the Enlightenment, making use of iconography which helped create the "black legend" of the order. The historian notes that this was one of the means of shaping its negative image in Europe. The figures portray grotesque images of the monks and point to the "religion of the Jesuits" as that which allegedly led to the fall of the monarchies.[20]

The actions of Portuguese politicians led to the expulsion of the order from Portugal in 1759, and to its total dissolution in 1773. When, under pressure from France, Portugal and Spain, Pope Clemens XIV signed the *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, a bull suppressing the order, Jesuit missions throughout almost all of Europe were closed. Only Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia refused to accept the docu-

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[18]  J.S., 'Obchody tysiącznej rocznicy zgonu św. Metodego', *Przegląd Powszechny*, No. 6 (1885), pp. 453-561.

[19]  И. Мажовски, in Х. Андонов-Полјански (ed.), *Документи за борба на македонскиот народ за самостојност и за национална држава*, Vol. 1, Скопје 1981, pp. 280-281.

[20]  J.E. Franco, *Le mythe jesuite au Portugal, au Brésil, en Orient et en Europe (XVIᵉ-XXᵉ siècles)*, São Paulo 2008, pp. 690-725.

ment. Contrary to the Papacy, and at the same time demonstrating her independence from the policy of the Bourbons, the Russian Empress allowed the order of Ignatius of Loyola to continue its activities within subordinated territories.

However, after forty years when the decision by Pope Pious VII in 1814 formally returned the order to existence throughout the Catholic world, the situation in Russia began to change. Attempts to expel the Jesuits were taken by the minister of religious affairs and also the minister of education, Alexander Golitsyn (1773-1844), who also held the post of head of the Bible Society. He convinced Tsar Alexander I to sign documents ordering Jesuits to leave the Russian Empire.[21] In the materials prepared by him, he justified actions aimed at completely removing the members of the order from Russia, claiming that it was groundless to maintain the schools run by the Jesuits in Vitebsk, the college in Mohylov and the academy in Polotsk, all the more so since they promoted proselytism, and thus constituted a threat to Russian *raison d'état*. In March 1820, Alexander I ordered members of the Society of Jesus to leave his empire, introducing a law which also banned use of the words missionary/mission, stating in his justification that as a Christian state, Russia was not in need of conversion. As had previously been the case in Europe, the crowning argument forming the basis for expulsion of the order was that the Jesuits constituted a threat to state interests.[22]

For Slavic followers of the Orthodox faith involved in independence issues surrounding the development of a unique national identity, the Jesuits became an independent force which through lies, betrayal and falsehoods posed a risk to their freedom and sovereignty. The negative vision invoked in some texts, augmented by an element with anti-Semitic overtones, points to a double threat in attempts to achieve independence – the policy implemented by foreign states gained the dimension of behind-the--scenes activities, and thus behaviour which had allegedly been typical for Jesuits in the past, who pursued their particularist goals and thus not the goals of an oppressed people. The echoes of the "black legend" of the Jesuits, which had been retained in texts of political significance, maintained the image of the order as an imperious power and summoned a marked image of the Society of Jesus, of an order which it was alleged was striving to control an oppressed people.

The image of the real and imagined enemy in the Macedonian lands was dependent on geopolitical conditions and, predisposed to provoking emotions, was related to a distortion of reality.[23] Despite the fact that other Catholic orders were active in the Macedonian lands, it was the secretive Jesuits, connected with elements of anti-Semitism, which fulfilled the role of the enemy threatening sovereignty. A return to anti-Jesuit sentiments shows not just Orthodox anti-Catholicism, but, as Jonathan Wright points out, in nations' attempts to gain sovereignty, embodied aversion to a supra-national institu-

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[21]  S. Załęski, *Historia zniesienia zakonu jezuitów i jego zachowanie na Białej Rusi*, Vol. 2: *Historia zniesienia jezuitów w Polsce i ich zachowanie na Białej Rusi*, pp. 410-416, 456.

[22]  J.E. Franco, *Le mythe jesuite…*, p. 336.

[23]  W. Wrzesiński, *Sąsiad czy wróg? Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem obrazu Niemca w Polsce w latach 1795--1939*, Wrocław 1992, pp. 14-15.

tion loyal to Rome.[24] In this specific instance the power of Russian policy, in lands where a propaganda war for hearts and minds was taking place, is also proven.

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