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IUSTORIA 2021: LAW AND RELIGION

After the success of the first conference in 2020, this year's Iustoria, which took place between the 25th and 27th of March, continued down the tried and tested path of gathering students from all across the world (Russia, Czech Republic, Brazil, Japan, Serbia, Greece...) with the aim of discussing various topics from legal history related to the broader theme of relations between law and religion. With a subject as wide and inspiring as this, the presentations did not disappoint.¹

The same cannot be said about the way in which the conference was held – unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the decision was made that this forum of scientific exchange should be organized online, over the Webex meeting platform. However, what it lacked in face-to-face contact, the conference made up in its openness, allowing more people to take part in the programme.

Assistant professor Nina Kršljanin opened the conference with a brief summary of its goals and basic information about the program, before giving the floor to other notable speakers from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law.

Full professor Milena Polojac, the chair of the Legal history department at the mentioned faculty, professor of Roman law, proceeded to greet the participants, organizers and keynote speakers. She stressed the international and multidisciplinary nature of the conference, stating that it

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1 The recordings of all sessions and guest lecturers of Iustoria 2021 can be viewed on Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TFe6Q0XA65E&list=PLItU9nuKV9nqI2jNJSEs0rifBrRznzx1Y>.

concerned not only jurists, but also professionals from other social sciences. The second part of her welcome speech detailed the key role of religion in the law of Serbia throughout history, since the Middle Ages until the modern times.

She then noted the importance of religion in the building of Roman secular civil law and the role that the *pontifices* played as the first Roman jurists, as well as the role that Christian thinkers had in continuing Roman legal tradition. These influences framed many of the basic legal concepts known today, such as *pacta sunt servanda*, *culpa*, tort etc. Her summary ended with her stressing the significance of the works of Thomas of Aquinas, the connections between Aristotle's philosophy and Roman law and the works of Hugo Grotius in the shaping of modern legal systems.

Assistant professor Dalibor Đukić, professor of Church law and the member of the organizing committee opened his speech by quoting the German historian Leopold von Ranke, saying that „Church-state relations constitute 2/3 of the world history”. He went on to explain the similarity of law and religion: both of them being hard to define, having ancient roots etc. Finally, he pointed out the tendency of secular societies to view law and religion either separately or in conflict. However, the very concept of law as secular is anachronistic. In fact, the relations between the state and religious organizations were always difficult to separate, especially in premodern times.

These speeches were followed by the award ceremony for the Alan Watson foundation, introduced by Sima Avramović, president of the Foundation, professor emeritus at the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law. He reminded the participants of the scholarly achievements of Alan Watson and his theory of legal transplants, as well as his connections with the University of Belgrade and the work of the Foundation. This year's winner was Milica Ristić, student of the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, with the paper titled: „Halfway between Byzantium and Serbia: marriage provisions of the Žiča charter”.

DAY 1: KEYNOTE LECTURE

Prof. Dr Srđan Šarkić, University of Novi Sad Faculty of Law

„Crimes against the Church and Religion in Medieval Serbian Law”

The professor started by familiarizing the audience with Emperor Dušan's Code. In preparation for the writing of the law code, Serbian jurists were hugely influenced by the codifying works of Rhomaian emperors Justinian, Basil I and Leo VI. The resulting Code itself was, thus,

mostly based on Byzantine influences and Serbian customary law. However, it isn't the only legal monument stemming from the Serbian Emperor's efforts of codification. Two other parts of „Dušan's Tripartite” – Justinian's Law, a short compilation of agrarian norms, and the Shortened Syntagma of Matthew Blastares – a legal compilation of secular and church law (Nomocanon) – also played a great role in establishing the legal order of the short-lived Serbian Empire.

Epanagoge, a Rhomaian law Code, asserts that the Emperor must distinguish himself in Orthodoxy and piousness. A similar declaration can be found in the first article of Dušan's Code. In order to achieve that goal, three crimes against religion are incriminated: heresy, spreading catholic propaganda and maintaining pagan beliefs.

Heresy is a topic covered in detail in the Syntagma, although it is mentioned in earlier Serbian sources such as the „Life of St Simeon”, written by King Stefan the First-Crowned. These heretics were known as „Bogomils” („Dear to God”). Two articles of the Code speak about heresy – on committing heresy and on saying heretical words.

On the second topic of catholic proselytism, professor Šarkić notes an inconsistency in the way Catholics are referred to in the Code – either as false believers, Latins or heretics. A plethora of subjects in reference to this issue are covered in the Code, such as the conversion to Catholicism, the returning of the converted to Orthodoxy and the punishment of the Latin priest that converts Orthodox people. Later in the Code an interesting practice is mentioned, one of selling a Christian into a different faith, which opens the question – was slave trade permitted *tacito consensu* in the Serbian Empire?

Lastly, paganism, which is referred to as Hellenism in the Nomocanon of Saint Sava also poses a threat to the Orthodox world view and is to be persecuted. Striving to rectify those who started following ancient beliefs, the Code prescribes two norms – on the desecration of graves and burning of the dead for magical purposes, and on magicians/poisoners.

SESSION I: LAW AND RELIGION IN EUROPE IN THE ANTIQUITY AND EARLY MIDDLE AGES (IN ENGLISH)

The Role of Jupiter in Argumentation Schemes of Cicero's Orations

Ana Šumenković, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Classics, started her presentation by outlining the political climate near the end of the Roman Republic, as well as the Roman concept of *ius divinum*. Cicero himself firmly believed in this *ius divinum* of the State, and he deemed that the role of the State was to maintain this

proper relationship between its citizens and the deities on whose benevolence their welfare depended.

She proceeds to underline the importance of Jupiter within the argumentation system of Cicero's political and judicial orations, referring to several mentions of Jupiter in most of his speeches, especially in the time of crisis i.e. against Catilina, Mark Anthony, Verres and Quintus Caecilius, supplying interesting quotes from each.

Role of Church Officials in the Survival of Roman Law in the Byzantine Empire

Rihito Watanabe, from the Hitotsubashi University Faculty of Law opened by mentioning several important theologians and jurists, such as Theodore Balsamon and Matthew Blastares, citing the connection between religious officials and legal culture. He then spoke of the evolution of the Roman law in Byzantine Empire and the divide between canon law, which covered topics such as church management, arbitration and marriage law, on one hand, and state law, on the other.

This „job-sharing” was fully authorized and supported by the state. This gave rise to many compilations of secular and church law, appropriately named *Nomocanon*, with Watanabe especially referring to the one by patriarch Photios I. Secondly, this resulted in the institute of Canon „*responsa*” (with reference to I 1. 2. 8), which gave church officials rights similar to those of famous Roman jurists of antiquity to authoritatively interpret matters of church law whenever the need arose. Thirdly, there was the formation of the *Endemousa* court for church affairs.

In conclusion, he states that there was no independence of the church from the state, which made their joint effort in preserving the institutions of classical Roman law all the more fruitful.

Novella XVII in the light of *Lex Iulia De Maiestate*: Hilary of Arles Case Study

Wiktoria Saracyn, from the University of Warsaw Faculty of Law and Administration, first gives the facts about the case that lead to Hilary being accused of behavior „contrary to the majesty of the Emperor and the reverence of the church”. In order to better understand the problem of qualification, the audience is aptly given a look at the provisions of *Lex Iulia de maiestate*, according to which punishable acts include, but are not limited to „leading an armed band, leading an army into war” etc. They are then introduced to the interpretations of this issue by two great Roman jurists – Ulpianus and Marcianus. In the end, even when it comes to

military mobilization Hilary can only be punished for working against the Empire, not the Apostolic See.

The solution of the conflict is of special interest to legal historians, because it brings forth the binding power to the Holy See for anything they sanction, and, indirectly, the supremacy of the church in Rome. The result of the judgment is not relevant *per se*; however, this case led to the defining of relations between the Church and State.

SESSION II: LAW AND RELIGION IN THE ANTIQUITY (IN SERBIAN)

Trial by Ordeal in the Antiquity and Middle Ages

The presentation begins with the author, Bogdan Stojanović, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law analyzing the purpose of the trial by ordeal as an irrational means of evidence, listing several famous examples of ordeals through the centuries, starting with the kingdoms of Mesopotamia and their use of the water ordeals, stressing the contrast between different cultures, especially in the case of Ur-Nammu and Hammurabi's code – whether the accused was cleared of charges by sinking or staying afloat.

The second era that he covered was the Middle Ages – and the Germanic peoples' approach to trial by combat, as well as the notable ordeal „by the cross” in the Frankish state and the „warm ordeals”, consisting of holding smoldering iron or submerging a hand in boiling water.

The question was also raised in the discussion of the purpose of the trial by ordeal, and it was concluded that, although it sometimes brought great physical pain to the accused, its benefit – that is, being acquitted of any charges – far outweighed its inherent negative sides.

Themis and Dike – Justice in Greek Mythology

In the early antiquity, human nature often sought to find a mythological realization of ethics and law, states Isidora Fürst, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law. Consistently, justice was equated with natural law and, more broadly, legality itself. Themis represented the natural, divine law, whereas the people also had *Nomoi* – worldly laws – to guide them. In the early period, Dike signified more of a personal sense of justice, rather than a common principle.

Fürst analyzes the meanings of Themis and Dike in various works of literature (for example in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Hesiod's *Theogony*), philosophy and law, as well as how their meanings evolved through time. For instance, no legal reform could've been

passed without attributing a certain role to justice – Solon’s reforms were based around Dike regulating economic exchange, for instance.

She ends her presentation with mentioning various philosophical works of Heraclites, Plato and Aristotle and briefly postulating what justice (Dike) meant in their systems of thought, before concluding with the ways that the relations between Dike and Themis functioned in ancient Greece.

The Early Church’s Position on Law and the State

The author, Matija Stojanović from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, states that the stance of the early Christian church on positive, secular law is best understood through analyzing several historical sources and practices. For instance, as Stojanović points out, the Jews believed that religious salvation could only come through a worldly empire. On the other hand, Christians separate these two spheres, understanding that the divine empire is „not of this world” and that one needs to respect the state as a worldly entity. He notes that the Romans, despite of everything said, treated Jesus as a political revolutionary, thus inscribing that he is guilty of being „the King of the Jews”.

In the following years and centuries, Christ’s disciples understood that neither justice nor truth are worldly categories, whereas the state and the law are, and they need to be respected as long as they don’t infringe on people’s basic rights and religious pursuits. The conflict between the Roman Empire and the Church only arose due to the Roman practice of deifying their Emperors – by refusing to accept the rulers as gods, in order to preserve the first commandment, early Christians were, in the eyes of the state, committing an act of treason.

The author extrapolates that, from the basic teaching of abidance to state laws, as long as they don’t persecute religious freedom, one can also trace the development of the concepts later to be shaped into various theories of basic human rights.

Celibacy in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages – From a Religious Practice to a Norm

The first of the coauthors (the second being Stefan Milić from the University of Niš Faculty of Law), Strahinja Kostadinović, from the Department of History, University of Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, starts by analyzing the basic elements of the working definition of celibacy, underlining the religious reasons for this practice, differentiating it from sexual abstinence and tying it to a certain age necessary for consciously upholding that behavior.

Many ancient religions didn't favor this concept – in the Fertile Crescent, in societies that knew institutes such as a holy marriage and temple prostitution, sexual activity was partly considered as religious. Similar attitude can be found from Egypt to Ancient Greece and Rome.

Most importantly, the Christian Church didn't impose celibacy as a mandatory practice, remembering the Torah's teachings, but accented the apotheosis of marriage. Celibacy only started to blossom in the fifth and later centuries, with the increase in the number of monks. Its definite triumph came at the Quinisext ecumenical council, where it was determined that only celibate priests can be ordained as bishops. This was followed in the West by a reform that mandated celibacy for the entire clergy. Thus, the authors conclude, celibacy treaded its way from a relatively obscure and even prohibited practice through history to a staple of Christianity.

SESSION 3:
LAW AND THE CHURCH IN MEDIEVAL SERBIA
(IN SERBIAN)

Models of State – Church Relations – Development and
Implementation in Medieval Serbia

This presentation opens with a very broad historical context on the relation between the state and church, beginning with the Roman Empire and the slow path of Christianity from being a *religio illicita* to becoming the official state religion. Next, the author, Nikola Gašparić, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, details the political context of the late 12th and early 13th century Serbia and Byzantium, before analyzing legal monuments that contain provisions on the state-church relations. The first of these is the Typicon of Hilandar, which states that its abot is to be ordained at the monastery, and not by the Emperor in Constantinople, as was the practice for the other monasteries on the Holy Mount of Athos. The Typicon of Studenica serves as a prototype of Serbian autocephality, affirming the theory of symphony of the church and the state.

The most significant codifying effort of 13th-century Serbia – the Nomocanon of Saint Sava, also brings interesting norms that speak of the same issues, such as *Constitutio Iustiniana* number 530 and the certain works of John Scholasticus. However, since some writings of the latter did not fit in with the mentioned theory of symphony, but rather promoted imperial dominance over the church, Saint Sava wisely chose not to include certain rules from it.

Criminal Offences of Roman Catholic Proselytism in Dušan's Code

The presenter, Stefan Stojanović, from the University of Niš Faculty of Law, opens by listing, and, later, analyzing the articles of the Code that protect the Orthodox faith. The most interesting norms are the ones referencing the Law of the Holy Fathers as the source of the sanction for the crimes against religion. But the question remains – which Nomocanon is it?

One of the articles also boasts a retroactive formulation – it speaks on how to punish an already converted Christian. Stojanović proceeds to connect the norms with their models in earlier codifications, such as the Procheiron and the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares, as well as in later legal monuments (Article 8 being the base for Article 20 in the Law on Mines of Despot Stefan Lazarević). Some articles of the Syntagma and the Nomocanon of Saint Sava prescribe both a fine and a corporal punishment, which would make the repetition of this crime in the Code unnecessary. Even though many Catholics were an integral part of the social fabric of the Empire, the author stresses the Emperor's intent to preserve the dominance of Orthodoxy in his state.

Marriage and the Application of Criminal Law in Matrimonial Relations in the Nemanjić State

Milica Petrović, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, starts by mentioning relevant acts for the earliest legal framework, such as the charters of King Radoslav and Stefan the First-Crowned, the latter being known as the Žiča charter. The law sources are quite abundant and detail the majority of significant issues in matrimonial law. She then speaks about the role of engagement and the marriage gift, the dowry, which was, most of the time, the wife's only property, and thereby specifically protected by the provisions of the Law of Emperor Justinian. The property of widows is also under special protection, according to the Banjska charter of King Milutin. If a spouse engages in extramarital relations, they shall be punished according to the provisions of the Nomocanon, the Syntagma and Dušan's Code (Article 54).

There is even a special punishment for perjury in Dušan's Code, which details that the perjurer shall not be trusted, and that they may not marry ever again. In conclusion, the author notes that married life remained strongly under the competence of Orthodox canons, and that the state was eager to perpetuate that, lending its legal mechanisms for sanctioning the crimes against religion.

Some Aspects of the Legal Status of Patrimonial Churches in Medieval Serbian Law

The presentation opens with the author, Đorđe Stepić, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, outlining the legal sources that mention patrimonial churches – Dušan's Code, as well as several charters from the 1340s and onwards. He then defines them as private churches, in which the benefactor keeps greater property rights, with the decreased influence of the church officials. Stepić then compares them with two institutes of church law: *ktetory* and *haristikios* and underlines their similarities and differences in the fields of economic use, property rights etc. He finds that they are often confused, even by seasoned scholars, given their common nature.

The audience is then given an outline of several legal relations that can be constituted around patrimonial churches. The first of these is a contract on the priestly service, which details various economic rights, the possession of religious items, guarantees of independence etc. Another is the act of subjugation to a different church, with which all rights of the benefactor come to an end. Finally, there are other forms of disposition – they can become parts of a dowry, inheritance etc.

The author concludes that patrimonial churches must be understood as a product of their era: with a great influx of wealth to the Serbian empire, a privatization of the *forum externum* of religion and the divvying of property rights between the benefactor and his endowment became commonplace.

Influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church on Interest

The author, Đorđe Gojković, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, underlined that he explored the Church's infringement on interest (rates) present in the Bible and the church tradition. He provides examples from the books of Psalter, Deuteronomy and the works of the prophet Ezekiel. This topic was so provocative that the Council of Nicaea's 17th canon openly prohibits forced charging of interest. Notably, from the later councils, one of the rules of St Basil the Great prohibits the clergy from charging interest on loans they give out. However, in practice, many legal sources remained inconsistent on the issue.

Although no Serbian legal sources are loan contracts, the Archangel's charter of Emperor Dušan mentions a person who made a living out of charging interest on loans given to others, a certain „Kalojan kamatnik”. The practice is also mentioned in the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares.

Following the formation of the modern Serbian states, various legal sources mention interest rates and their limitations. In conclusion, the author points out that the Serbian church adopted a strict position against the charging of interest, which was then relaxed during the time of the Empire, taking into account the new economic environment; however, it maintained a huge influence on the people's mentality, reinforcing negative views on high interest rates.

DAY: 2 KEYNOTE LECTURE

Prof. Dr Wim Decock, University of Louvain/Liege

„The Law and Morality of Business in Early Modern Europe”

The key point of the research for this topic, the lecturer stresses, is to understand that the DNA of European legal culture lies in religion. To that effect, he notes that the Christian religion justifies capitalism, which has, at its core, work for the sake of working, as a moral duty and worship of God. For example, Leonardus Lessius is famous for his justification of the meritocratic spirit. This Flemish Jesuit postulates that working hard is honoring your divine code and that, when a man is occupied by work he will not fall to the temptations and pleasures of this world.

The next part of the lecture concerns the regulation of the market and the evolution of commercial law from contract law, which starts by a systematization of private law. The most notable treatises on these issues are titled *De iustitia et de iure*. In them, a contract is most often defined as a meeting between the offer and the acceptance, with the accent being on a man's free will to enter into a contract. As it can be seen through history, there is a shift between a moral/religious duty of honoring a contract to a legal one, yet the latter is heavily influenced by the former two. The next step in that direction was the formulation of transconfessional contract law, which contrasts contractual faith with religious faith, and keeps the moral values in the said law, such as good faith.

The lecturer then explains several issues of contract law in the light of these ideas, such as the definition of circumstances determining the just price, legal and natural prices – government regulations, promoting common good, fair bargaining, the principle of contractual security, changed circumstances, equity, charity and debt relief. Concluding, the professor stated that the commercial law framework in the modern era is one that looks to the reality – the duality of law/morality and the moral-religious justification of legislation.

SESSION IV:
OLD FAITHS, NEW CHALLENGES (IN ENGLISH)

The Role of the Corrector of the Clergy in the Diocese
of Prague and its Secular Equivalent

Veronika Ondrášková, from Masaryk University's Faculty of Law opens with some general information on the corrector's status as a criminal judge for the clergy. This is followed by a comparison of punishments (fines or imprisonment, rarely excommunication and withdrawal of benefice) for crimes against morality and by giving the *ratio* behind this institute – holding the clergy accountable in front of an impartial power.

When historical sources are concerned, the author analyzes a judicial book, a treasure-trove of case law (*Laurentius de Maioris civitatis Pragensesis*), which details the crimes against morality (breach of celibate, gambling, etc.) and the sanctions against them. One can observe in its pages a rather benevolent approach to sentencing – and, indeed, a great number of breaches of canon law.

For instance, the author notes that the punishments were *de facto* handed out as conditional ones, with recidivists threatened with the full scope of the penalty. That was rarely the case, with most of them still being given lighter sentences or conditional ones, yet again. For example, a priest called Jacobus de Slana, a drunkard and a habitual player of dice, had six encounters with the corrector and was ultimately only given conditional excommunication.

Between Freedom and Duty: How Jewish Law
of Obligations Merged Both

The author, Agata Nawacka from the University of Warsaw's College of Interdisciplinary Individual Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences, first points to the theological origins of law and the Torah as a source of obligations between God and men that always put the accent on duties, not the rights. The acquisition of duties is an important part for a child's coming of age. On that note, in contractual law, an obligation is understood as a debt which must be paid off, whose source is a *kinyan* – a legally binding promise, constituted as a formal act of acquisition.

The author then reminds us of the western idea of contractual law, which can be grossly oversimplified as freedom of contract, not freedom from contract. The former is evidenced relatively early – since the time of Roman law. We are then reminded of the works of the canonists and the

affirmation of principles such as *pacta sunt servanda*, as well as the concept of absolute obligation.

In conclusion, the author reminds us that, in Hebrew law, obligations are caused by existing debts, which can only be formed if they are formally perfect; otherwise, they are null and void.

The Impact of the Merchant's Confession
in the Development of Business Law during the Siglo De Oro:
Tomas De Mercado's and Martin De Azpilcueta's Casuistic
Approach to Commercial Law

The presentation opens with its author, Alexis Audemar from University of Lille's Centre for Forensic History, giving a definition of the confession and the role of the confessor, which is to secure the salvation of the soul of the pennant. We are then pointed towards some casuistic literature, notably, the works of theologians from Salamanca, and given a historical context for the spread of the practice of merchant's confessions – with trade with the New World opening up and the ushering of „the century of gold”, the morality of trade needed to be insured.

The author continues by noting the juridical significance of the confession and the formation of coherent legal practice, where every similar case was to be treated similarly, and the judicial analogy between confession and legal proceedings, which came down to the authority of the judge/confessor to absolve or punish the defendant/pennant. Finally, a confessor has to fulfill some prerequisites in order for his decisions to be binding – he needs to be familiar with secular and canon law, the opinion itself must be logical or supported by great authority etc.

The Legal Status of Non-Converted Indigenous Peoples
in Portuguese America (16th–18th Centuries)

Conversion to Christianity didn't lead to subjugation of the native population of today's Brazil, Sarah Kelly Limão Papa, from the Federal University of Ceará, stresses. In fact, the division between Tupis and Tapuias – the two groups of natives – is dominantly based on linguistic criteria, as well as the geographical one, depending on whether they live on coast/inland.

The author notes that colonial law is an autonomous entity, but dependent on the Portuguese one – she then lists some differences between them, before explaining the mutual influences between the School of Salamanca and the missionaries, especially concerning their world view, with humans and things differentiated by their rational capacity. That brings to our attention the concepts of *dominium rerum* (property of things) and

dominium sui (property of oneself). Hence, if not selling oneself into slavery, any native is to be considered a free man, no matter his religion!

In fact, many of the natives were seen as Portuguese allies, so it would've been counterproductive for them to be forced to accept Christian faith. Thus, as the author points out, forced conversion wasn't a *legal* reality and every native captured by the colonizers needed to be verified as a slave. The presentation ends with the note that distinctions were made between allies and enemies, and that local practices of treating natives varied greatly, as could be expected.

SESSION V: THE EVOLUTION OF SHARIAH LAW (IN ENGLISH)

Transformation of the Zina: The Invention of New Types of Zina

The speaker, Şehriban Imrak, from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Department for History of Africa, the Maghreb and the Middle East, first sets a definition of the act of Zina in the Quran – „Unlawful intercourse either between a man and a woman not married, or in lawful concubinage, based on ownership”. The Zina is mentioned in Suras 17 (Al-Isra) and 24 (Al – Nur). The punishment for this act can be found in the latter and consists of 100 stripes. In order to prove a Zina, the offended party must produce four witnesses that saw it *in flagranti*.

The situation changes drastically in the latter fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) – all witnesses were required to be male. The reason for this can be found in „the despotism of the reader”, given the fact that this rule was formulated by male scholars.

Lastly, the author analyzes the Kanunname – ”secular” sultanic codes. Here, we can find severe penalties, as well as new types of Zina – intended Zina, presence of men and women in the same environment, gossip or slander concerning Zina... The punishment for the perpetrator caught in the act was death. The purpose of such rules and changes, Imrak notes, was to serve as pretext for violence against women and were the result of a historical transformation of Sharia law.

Intestate Succession in Turkey. Law Inspired by Religion or Still Based on its Secular Heritage?

The author, Michał Tutaj from the University of Warsaw Faculty of Law and Administration, points to the work of the leading theorist on

legal transplants, Alan Watson, especially to his postulate that the viability of transplantation is reflecting the social factors of the accepting system, which brings us to the main question of the research – studying the religious context of the changes made to intestate succession in Turkey, through her civil law codes.

Did the legal transplant work? The author sets the ground rules of Sharia law on intestate succession with reserved portions, residual heirs and inheritance tiers. The position of family successors, as opposed to spouses, is much better in Turkish than in Swiss civil law, from which the transplant came. However, the reserved portion is lower than in the Swiss code, which greatly benefits the testator. In short, there is no definitive answer to the researched question and, furthermore, no stable pattern outlined for the fate of the transplant; the author concluded by paraphrasing Watson, saying that the transplants follow their own path.

Sharia Law in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Simo Ilić, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, opens his presentation with the overview of the history of Muslim presence in the Yugoslav lands, dating to the beginning of Ottoman rule. The new Yugoslav state had to allow Muslims to abide to this archaic legal system, as per an international obligation, namely, the peace treaty of Saint Germaine from 1919.

Their private life remained conservative and closely guided by the norms of Sharia law. Islamic customs still regulated most of their civil law relations. The Muslims enjoyed the privilege of having their own system of courts in family and personal matters, with no space for alternative civil law application.

The author gives some attention to marriage law and its proposed secularization, which was ultimately unsuccessful, in no small part due to the resistance of the Islamic community. He then underlines the issues that arose from that fact: that there were effective law barriers in the same state on interreligious marriages, that Sharia law had numerous obsolete and inappropriate institutions– prohibiting adoption of legitimate children, inferior position of women etc. The latter is especially obvious in divorce law – women didn't have the right to divorce. This could lead to an interesting situation that constitutes a form of *fraus legis*. In the end, Ilić states, although there were some attempts of liberalizing this legal system, the Muslims continued to adhere to classical Sharia law during the entire existence of the Kingdom.

SESSION VI: CHANGES IN THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES OF THE BALKANS (IN SERBIAN)

State Church in the Principality and Kingdom of Montenegro

With the notion of the state church often mentioned in the context of the 2019 Law on Religion in Montenegro, Vladimir Džomić, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, wanted to help us better understand the history of the state-church relations there. To that effect, he gives a summary of the Christian presence in these lands with emphasis on the work of Saint Sava. Following the middle ages, the Orthodox Church officials became worldly leaders, even promulgating laws, such as the Stega.

On the other hand, the concept of the state church details that church estates are state property, church schools are financed by the state, along with all of its officials; the Church is a public institution and one under state protection, at that. The author raises the question – does the Serbian Orthodox Church in Montenegro fulfill all of the conditions mentioned above?

Provisions of Danilo's Code of 1855 give the impression that the church and state are separated. Despite that, prince Danilo had great power over religious affairs. Later, all canon authority was passed on to the church, and his successor never questioned the principle that church estates are not state property. This is confirmed by the General Property Code that lists the Church as a subject of law and a property owner. The state even created a system of tax duties and a fund for priestly pays and social care. The author concludes that, even though parallels may be drawn between the Church's position in Montenegro and the positions of the state church in general, the main difference between them still remains – the separation of church and state property.

Legal Status of Religious Communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918

Milica Ristić, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, first chooses the most relevant timeframe for her research, as a revolutionary period in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina – from the beginning of Austrian rule over the region to its end, following WWI. The change in governance between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs created a legal vacuum and opened up many legal issues. In religious affairs, autonomous regulation was prevalent until 1910, with many concessions given to the Islamic community. Ristić analyzes mostly the provisions of the Constitution of 1910 and certain laws, pertaining to religious affairs.

For instance, it is prescribed that the setting up of foundations for educational, religious and other purposes is in the sphere of a religion's internal regulations. A later provision also mandates sharia law as personal Muslim law. Article 22 details the composition of the Sabor of Bosnia and its virilist² members – 5 each from the 3 major religions of the region, which lead to a Jewish boycott of the Sabor in 1910. The presidency of the Sabor was also based on religion.

Both the Law on Societies and the Law on Gatherings for Bosnia and Herzegovina state that they do not apply to religious matters. This shows us the complexity of the political, historical and religious situation in this land and the legal techniques needed to control it, ostensibly, from the outside.

The Governments of Serbia and the Metropolitanate of Belgrade (1878–1889)

The author, Vidan Bogdanović from the University of Priština Faculty of Philosophy (with a temporary center seat in Kosovska Mitrovica) speaks about the issues of the Serbian Metropolitanates in their relations with the state. The former were faced with many difficulties that stemmed from Ottoman rule – with some Christian values lost, the rise of „popular” religion and superstitions etc. In those circumstances, they helped the general population on many fronts, not only in church matters – with the founding of the Red Cross, and holding many civic duties and functions.

The independence of the Church came in 1879. This didn't, by any means, signal that the metropolitanates' troubles were over. Although no longer under the rule of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, they were still under great pressure from state officials. This has even led to the latter committing canonical strikes and the sacking of two metropolitanates in the mentioned period.

In conclusion, the presenter argues that this period is quite significant for the study of state-church relations, for it can serve as a model for other struggles faced by different Churches and states throughout history.

Guilt, Liability, Law and Orthodoxy

Anđela Ristić from the University of Niš Faculty of Law introduces the audience to various elements of the definition of the criminal act, and how their relations changed through different legal philosophies and ideologies, as Serbian criminal law shows.

The author then follows the line of thought: penal law – psychology – orthodoxy, noting that both law and religion recognize certain ethical

2 Virilist members are non-elected, but rather enter an assembly due to holding a specific position.

standards, norms and principles that a free-willed person could choose to adhere to or not, using the example of the two earliest sins mentioned in the Bible, and the external and internal struggles following that behavior – the clash between responsibility and conscience.

In the end, a close connection exists between Orthodoxy and penology, with their aim of preventing criminality, the importance of forgiveness/pardon and even their role in resocialization, with the priests who serve in prison playing a huge part in it.

Legal Status of the Holy Mountain with a Special Focus on the Restriction of Access – Avaton

Adrijana Ilić and Vasilije Mitrovski, both from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, with the latter also from the Faculty of Philology at the same University, open their presentation with introductory remarks on the Holy Mount and its autonomy within Greece as to internal administration. We are then given an overview of Athonite history, starting with the legendary beginnings of monastic life and its administrative system. Organs that govern it are supervisory (Greek) and Athonite ones. Next, they speak of the legal status of Athonite monks and the many consequences stemming from it – for instance, becoming a monk of the Holy Mount automatically grants the person Greek citizenship.

We are then given an explanation for the avaton – the prohibition for certain groups of people, most notably women, to step foot on the Holy Mount – and its legendary origins due to the strict policy of celibacy. This institute is also confirmed in the current legal system, be it in European legislature or the Greek constitution. There have been calls to abandon the avaton as contrary to human rights, but it has firmly maintained its status. The main counterargument is one of private property – since monasteries own the Holy Mount they can, technically, prohibit anyone they wish from entering it. In the end, Athos is acknowledged as a special legal area with dual power of the Greek state and the Athonite administration, leaving many questions for future jurists open.

DAY 3: KEYNOTE LECTURE

Prof. Dr Pietro Lo Iacono, Lumsa University of Rome

„The Roman Catholic Church and Non-Catholic
Denominations in the Italian Constitution”

Professor Lo Iacono starts his lecture with a summary of the history of relations between Italy and the Holy See, which remained quite tense

until the *Pacta Laterana* were concluded in 1929. The most significant consequences of these arrangements are the formation of the independent state of Vatican, the postulation of Catholicism as the state religion in Italy and the acknowledgement of Catholic marriage with civil consequences. The most important changes to the legal position of religion and the Catholic Church came in 1984, with Italy adopting a new concordat and the constitution, with secularism proclaimed a constitutional principal.

Lo Iacono then puts before the audience the most important provisions of the constitution, such as Article 8, Section 1 that states that all religious denominations are equally free before the law. The rights to profession, propaganda and celebration of faith are protected as long as they are not offensive to public morality. On the position of the Catholic Church, the constitution states that the Church and the state are independent and sovereign in their own domains. Numerous issues arose within this constitutional framework, and the speaker points out several, such as the freedom of atheists and issues in defining religious groups and denominations.

The status of other religions is determined in Article 8, Section 2, which guarantees them the right of self-organization, without conflicting with the fundamental principles of Italian law. The following section speaks about agreements between churches and the state (*intesa*). The importance of a religious community having an *Intesa* with the state can be perceived in the favorable status it ensures, on numerous fields – financially, in state assistance, religious administration, presence of religion and religious personnel in schools, hospitals and army.

Modern Italian society rests on multiculturalism and religious pluralism, with secularism being a principle deduced from the constitution. It is a model of separation of church and state in favor of every religion, not against any. Despite this, many problems remain unresolved – there is no clear definition of a religious group; there's a relatively small number of *intesas* concluded, as well as discrimination of religions with and without the *intesa*, among others...

SESSION VII: CHANGES IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY (IN ENGLISH)

Relations of Law and Religion on the Example of Canon Law in Medieval Europe³

The similarity of law and religion lies primarily in their universality, Dmitry Dolgikh, from the Russian State University of Justice Fac-

3 This presentation's topic is set in the Middle Ages and was supposed to be given on the first day, but the author was unable to attend at that time.

ulty of Law, notes. Canon law is the law contained in the ecclesiastical canons – laws published by a religious authority and sanctioned by a secular authority. It, as the speaker postulates, traditionally regulates civil, procedural, and criminal relations with the participation of clergy. Religious crimes were also subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of canon law. This was followed by crimes related to sin (incest, extramarital cohabitation, perjury), which also fell within the jurisdiction of the canon law courts.

A special category of regulation extended to the relationship between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. General crimes also often fell within the scope of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In addition, in the Middle Ages, all legal relations in the marriage and family sphere were regulated by canon law.

Contemporary Roman Catholic Doctrine – 'Only' a Mild Influence on Modern Law, or a Legal System in its Own Right?

This presentation starts with Sofija Lekić from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law and the Faculty Political sciences, at the same University, talking of secularity and the difference between law and religion. Afterwards, the author analyzes various definitions of legal systems. She then focuses on the contemporary Roman Catholic doctrine, established at the First Vatican Council of 1869/1870, as a possible legal system on its own, with references to some special changes made to the said doctrine – Papal primacy being officially recognized, as well as his *ex cathedra* infallibility and the centralization of the church. Following the established criteria, its teachings are subjected to a test of legality, which includes, but is not limited to the study of:

- a) the nature of norms and their inter-relations – this section of the analysis is corroborated by quotes from *Corpus iuris canonici*, b) the validity and authority of origins, stemming from one basic norm or a set of certain self-existent principles; divine origins of the law prove to be enough for believers, and c) elements of a legal system, containing contracts (marriage, lending etc.).

Lekić ends her presentation by concluding that arguments can be made that the Catholic doctrine is a legal system, soundly based on certain criteria, yet requiring a rather creative interpretation in order to be accepted as such.

The Influence of Religion on Private Law: Example of Matrimonial Law in the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939)

The lecture starts with a historical introduction, with Antoni Cypryjański from the University of Warsaw Faculty of Law and Administration speaking on different legal traditions and law codes applicable in the legal areas that latter constituted the territory of the independent Polish state, those being the BGB, AGB, Napoleonic Code and the Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire, as well as Hungarian customary law. Private law remained fragmented even after Poland gained independence. The author then dissects the regulation of matrimonial law in these law codes.

Firstly, the provisions of Napoleon's Code are expanded by the Matrimonial law act of 1836, framing a strictly religious form of marriage, with canon law as the source of matrimonial civil law. ABGB also postulates a religious marriage with civil law effects; however, the judiciary power in these issues is transferred to state courts. The most radical shift comes from the provisions of BGB with the introduction of a civil marriage with secular divorces, accordingly. In conclusion, Cypryjański notes the importance of religious influences on private law, especially in a country whose territory was split in such a manner that worldly legal sources clashed severely.

Legislation and Religion in the Kingdom Of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Kingdom of Yugoslavia

The first point that is underlined by Đorđe Timotijević from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, is the multitude of different traditions and religions in the Yugoslav lands, which made the finding of a clear framework for the coexistence of religious communities paramount. Accordingly, the Vidovdan constitution, following the principles outlined in the Treaty of Saint Germaine, abolishes the state church model.

The author gives us a summary of the most prominent religious communities in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), and their respective autonomous legislations, as well as the state legislation that affects them. What follows is an analysis of various laws detailing their position within the state – starting with the Law on the Serbian Orthodox Church and its Constitution, the acceptance of the Muslim community's guiding principles of Sharia law, the laws on the Evangelical and Reformed Churches as well as the Jewish community, and, finally, the unsuccessful concordat with the Holy See. Each presents a unique look into the varying degree of state interference with their autonomy as well as their internal organization and role in state institutions.

Church, Wartime Slovak State, and Jewish Community in Nitra

In the years before WW2, as Jan Tranžik from the Masaryk University Faculty of Law tells us, the Center of the Jewish community was headed by Rabbi Samuel David Ungar, who made Nitra a hub for Jewish study and culture. The time of troubles began in 1938, with the Munich agreement and its political aftermath, which saw a rapid rise of Slovak anti-Semitism. The head of the new Slovak State was Jozef Tiso, a Catholic priest, who built his ideology around the compatibility of Nazism and Christianity. The provisions of the Constitution that prescribe complete religious freedom were largely ignored. This also saw the adoption of the „Jewish Codex” of 1941.

This was followed by a forcible „aryanization” of Jewish-owned businesses and banning of Jewish students from Slovak schools. However, as the author points out, Yeshiva, a type of Jewish religious school, was preserved thanks to a secret agreement. The persecution continued and, by 1942, there was a series of transportations to concentration camps, which stopped after some time. The Jewish community in Nitra was finally destroyed in 1944, after the Slovak national uprising, in which they took part. In the end, the audience is left with the consequences of this horrendous time – although traces of Jewish historical presence are relatively preserved, only about 50 of them still call this city their home.

SESSION VIII: CONTROVERSIES OF MODERN LAW AND RELIGION (IN ENGLISH)

History of Protection of the Rights of Believers in Russian Legislation

Polina Sergeevna Korobova from the National Research University Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg Faculty of Law researches her topic in three distinct periods.

During the Tsardom, the two entities were inseparable, since the Christianization of Russia in the 10th century. For instance, Orthodoxy was the obligatory religion of the tsars, who were also known as protectors of the (state) Church. In later times, general freedom of religion was declared, but it was very conditional and didn't end various discriminatory practices, such as forcible conversion. The Decree on religious tolerance was passed in 1905, which failed to legalize all religions, although legal sanctions for leaving Orthodoxy were abolished. The author then points out other significant issues of that time, notably the state censorship and the passing of the Criminal code of religious crimes, which shows the state's active role in such matters.

After the October revolution, the ideology of communism replaced religion as the foundation of Russian identity. The period was characterized by the persecution of clergy and, especially until 1939, the policy of eliminating organized religion. Religious societies had to be registered and were barred from participating in education. The new Law on religion was passed in 1990, which protected the rights of believers. However, as the author points out, many issues remained problematic, such as – what is the protected good in these laws; who is to be considered a believer and how the role of Orthodoxy should be reconciled with the concept of a secular state.

Is State Funding of Churches and Religious Associations Appropriate?

The short introductory remarks of Małgorzata Biszczyńska, from the University of Warsaw Faculty of Law and Administration, on taxes and church finances, as well as on the church-state relations open her presentation, which is followed by a short summary of the state's control over the church in the historical context. The author divides church revenues into secular and ecclesiastical ones and comments on the nature of tithing – be it voluntary or compulsory. She proceeds to analyze three existing models of church financing.

In Poland, tithing as a practice appeared almost simultaneously with the state, and was a huge part of Polish history, until the communist era. However, with the recent model of aiding the church, Biszczyńska states, one can be tempted to note that history comes full circle. On the other hand, France accepted the model of hostile separation between the state and the church, formed during the French revolution, which saw the church as a reactionary force in the society.

Germany adopted the principle of religious tolerance, which was overshadowed in a short period by Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. The right of churches to collect their own taxes from believers was proclaimed in the Weimar Constitution of 1919. Thus, churches became autonomous entities that negotiate with the state and get money from collections and activities. This was continued under the GG, with the addition of state aid as a way of financing.

The Importance of Canon Law in the Framing of the Principle of Favor Sexus

Luciana Aleixo from the University of Lisbon Faculty of Law starts with the remark that *fragilitas femina* was, for a long time, considered to be one of the main circumstances that judges should take into account,

and that it oftentimes resulted in a much more favorable treatment of women by the judiciary. For example, women could hope for greater leniency in sentencing than man, most of the times.

Most of the canonists' arguments for this favorable treatment can be summed up in the thesis that females are less rational than men, that their physical and mental weakness should be taken into account both when examining their motivation for criminal acts, as well as while passing the sentence. Even with the new objectives of the penalty and correction considered, various writers continue to question female rationality, some comparing them to animals, while others deduce that women are more prone to temptation, being creatures with less dignity, due in part to biological reasons and the role of Eve in the original sin. The author corroborates her findings by quoting a number of sources of Canon law (such as Gratian's Decree) and references to the Bible, Roman law and other legal texts.

She ends with mentioning that women are mostly referred to as equal to men in the earliest canons, notably in the Bible (the epistles of Saint Paul) itself. The discrimination which sometimes favored them in criminal matters only came through the interpretation by later theologians.

Some Religious and Legal Rules on Assisted Reproductive Technologies: Probability of Convergence in the Republic of Belarus

Arina Alexandrovna Sasova from the Belarusian State Economic University, Faculty of Law, opens her presentation by postulating infertility as a global problem, presenting results of a recent WHO research, followed by a short history of ART and surrogacy. She notes that surrogacy and in vitro fertilization are two of the most common techniques of combating this issue.

The audience is then informed about the role of religion in traditional legal systems, and its generally negative views on ART and surrogacy, since these procedures are considered unnatural and immoral. The questions that are especially problematic are the killing of extra embryos – which is considered sinful in Orthodoxy, but not in Islam. This has to do with the different moments these religions consider as the beginning of life. The solution to this moral issue appears to be rather simple – the number of created embryos mustn't exceed that which can be transferred in one IVF cycle.

The second issue, problematic to most religions, is the perceived interference of a third party in the act of conception, including surrogacy, which is expressly prohibited in Islam. This can be addressed by regulating the relationship between the surrogate and the spouses.

SESSION IX: RELATIONS OF THE MODERN STATE AND CHURCH (IN SERBIAN)

Legal Historical Analysis of Religious Promissory Oaths of Serbian Rulers in the 19th and 20th Century

After a short outline of his research, Miljan Lazović from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law notes that every single Constitution from 1835 until 1931 has some mention of God in a promissory oath taken by the ruler, which is, expectedly, abandoned in the communist ones. The last two Constitutions, promulgated in 1990 and 2006, respectively, introduce a new concept of the oath, which concerns the president's duty to uphold human rights and, in the later one, the state's sovereignty and integrity, including the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija.

The current principle guiding state-church relations is that of secularity. Religious freedom is covered in the provision concerning human rights. Lazović then touches the subject of the mention of God in the Serbian anthem „God of Justice”, postulating that its religious moments do reflect the unity of all citizens, whilst not infringing secularity.

The last segment focuses on the comparative experiences of Greece and Germany. While the former's tradition as a deeply traditional Orthodox nation resulted in the adoption of the state church system, and the mention of God in the oath of office (in the form of the Holy Trinity), the latter is the example of a state using the model of cooperative separation, keeping the promissory clause optional. With those two in mind, the author concludes that a more neutral form of an optional promissory clause „so help me God” is the best solution in the context of not infringing human rights, especially having the *Buscarini vs. San Marino* case in mind.

Orthodoxy in Ukraine: One Faith – Three Ecclesiastical Organizations

Nikolaj Sapsaj, from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, analyzes three religious organizations aspiring to be the mother Orthodox church in Ukraine today – The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kiev Patriarchate and the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Even though the first one has both canonical recognition and most believers adhering to its teachings, the other two still command considerable resources, with OCU even getting limited recognition (confirmed by a thomos) from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek-speaking churches. The conflict of these churches is all the more bitter considering they lay claims to the same historical foundation and compete for the same demographic.

Finally, he stresses that the infringement of rights, and the limitation of the activities of the canonically recognized church organization in Ukraine, under the pretext of forming a „national church”, are not so distant from the struggle of Montenegrin authorities until 2020, concerning the new law on religion, which heavily discriminated the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Law and Religion in Japan – Two Petals of the Cherry Blossom after the Meiji Restauration

Filip Novaković from the University of Banja Luka Faculty of Law states that the Japanese were not great lovers of law – social problems were solved differently, often by following religious and philosophical norms. This was mostly due to the existing mentality and a lack of foreign influences on the culture. He continues by roughly sketching the guiding principles of two dominant religions in Japan – Shintoism and Buddhism. The audience is then given a brief overview of the Meiji restoration of 1867/8, and its most important early law source – the Charter of five articles, with the last two articles detailing modernization in several fields, including law.

The Constitution of 1889 mentions the freedom of religion, framing it as a conditional one – as long as it doesn't limit the subjects' duties towards the state, such as paying taxes and military service, public peace and order. After WW2, the same freedoms are mentioned in the Constitution of 1947. The liberties given are broader and unconditional. Religions are granted no privileges by the state and there are no religious teachings in schools.

The author concludes his analysis by mentioning the state supervision of religious communities and their mandatory registration, underlining the significance of this disparity with previous regulations of the relations between religion and law.

The Pulpit Law – From the Perspective of Legal History, Clerical Law and the Constitution

As soon as the German state united, stress the authors, Vasilije Marković and Marko Romić, both from the Faculty of Law (the former from the University of Belgrade and the latter from Banja Luka), many of its religious issues came into focus. Most notably, the dominance of the protestant Prussia in the state's governance, which helped facilitate a broader anti-Catholic coalition. Bismarck's response was one of general anticlericalism and *Kulturkampf* – in 1872, Catholic Church lost its privileges and in the next two years the state began surveillance on religious schools and the appointment of bishops; civil marriages became mandatory.

The famous *Kanzelparagraf* (pulpit law) is actually Article 131a) of the German penal code, which prescribes that priests who abuse their religious teachings to support a political party will be punished by jail. Ultimately, Bismarck lost *Kulturkampf* and eventually conceded to the Catholic clergy and nobility.

Another point of interest is the transplantation of this legal solution in the Vidovdan constitution in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. However, here only the terminology is the same. Firstly, this so-called „wooden *Kanzelparagraf*“ is in the constitution and the protected good is not the public interest, but the politization of religion.

Church is always in risk when politically stepping out, but it sometimes needs to have a stance on certain social issues. This is also interesting in modern times, since the *Kanzelparagraf* resurfaced in the 2015 draft of the Montenegrin law on religion. It was particularly problematic that it made no difference between party and political activism.

Bioethical Dilemmas of Abortion: The Eugenics Movement in Nazi Germany

This particular research subject, as Tamara Zagorac from the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law points out, always sparked a wide social debate, especially since the 19th century, with the rise of Darwinism and the eugenics movement, particularly the one of Nazi Germany.

Darwinism rests on the core principles of evolution and natural selection, and casts away Christian morality and law. This was built upon by the ideology of race purity. We are then introduced to various names of the eugenics movement like Francis Galton and Leonardo Darwin and their feats, and with various eugenic laws that were passed under their influence.

Nazism built its model of eugenics on two completely opposed concepts: the ethics of birth and the ethics of non-birth. It was considered proper for the people of Aryan descent to procreate as much as possible, whereas the non-Aryans were encouraged to abort pregnancies and were often forcibly sterilized. Nazism and its relations with Christianity were a short, but necessary excursion in the presentation, given its topic and the broad nature of the research, especially on the topic of sanctity of human life. The author concludes that this entire issue can be reduced to different visions of morality.

The final day was closed with the greetings of the moderators, assistant professors Nina Kršljanin and Dalibor Đukić, wishing all the best to the participants, encouraging them to continue their pursuits in legal history, so they could appear at the next conference.

The second Iustoria proved that the interest in legal history shown by students from across the globe is by no means accidental. The fruitful discussions and the interest the presenters and the audience alike have shown on this short, three-day journey through various questions of religious and legal affairs of the past, can only reinforce the organizers' determination in maintaining and improving this platform for academic research and exchange. One can now say that with this conference, Iustoria starts to emerge not as a „one-hit wonder” of the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, but as a welcomed star in the sky of international student conferences, opening many doors for communication, comparison of research results, and cooperation between young and prospective researchers from several continents. And if only a couple of them continue down the path of legal history, then the job done by the organizers can be judged as well done, indeed!

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