CONCLUSION

Balkanism and Re-orientalisation

If 'balkanism', as Todorova phrased it, was quite sufficient after the Balkan Wars to designate an area as being backward and bloodthirsty, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries it was rather re-orientalisation that played the same role. This re-orientalisation of Serbia was simultaneous with the stigmatisation of Macedonia. In this way these two simultaneous processes paved the way for a unique and generalised image of the Balkans after the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Once the Ottoman Empire had almost been expelled from Europe, it appeared no longer to be convenient to re-orientalise the Balkanites. Thus, a new phrase 'balkanisation' was coined. The road to 'balkanisation' was paved by bloody interethnic strife in Macedonia and the bloody assassination in Belgrade. When the Balkan Wars took place, followed by peculiar atrocities, there could be only one image as a result. It was the image of the bloodthirsty and trouble-making Balkans. If Herbert Vivian and Edith Durham can be designated as being among prominent actors of the 'balkanisation' of the Near East, then it is interesting to note that the starting point for both was the May Coup. It was the May Coup that in their opinion brought the regicides and the murderers to power in Serbia starting the reign of terror. For them there was not the slightest doubt that

there was clear continuity between the Belgrade murderers of 1903 and the Sarajevo murderers of 1914.

Speaking about the image of Serbia in Britain, in connection with the Sarajevo Assassination, D. C. Watt noticed that there was 'intense dislike felt for the Serbian Monarchy and system, a dislike shared by all but a small handful... The Serbs were regarded as "orientals," a term which then carried overtones of derogation and contempt'. 1 John Bull even issued a poster, in August 1914, bearing the headline: 'To hell with Serbia!'² However, this image could not prevail for long in Britain. As a consequence of the alliance of Serbia with the Entente powers, the former found powerful and influential Britons defending her cause. Among the defenders of Serbia, during the Great War, were such influential names as Henry Wickham Steed, Sir Arthur Evans, Sir Charles William Chadwick Oman, George Macaulay Trevelyan, Harold Temperley and Robert William Seton-Watson.³ So, paradoxically, judging by Todorova's book Vivian and especially Durham⁴ had more influence on the image of the Balkans than, according to my research, they had on the image of Serbia after the Great War. Yet, in Britain, some references appeared now and then to the May Coup even after the Second World War. Oxford Professor Z. A. B. Zeman, for instance, pointed out: 'The turning-point in the relations between Austria and Serbia was not so much the annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1908, as the brutal military coup in Belgrade five years

D. C. Watt, 'The British Reaction to the Assassination at Sarajevo', *European Studies Review*, vol. 1 (July 1971), p. 237.

² Lena A. Yovitchitch, *The Biography*, p. 302.

³ See Ubavka Ostojić Fejić, 'Akcije za pomoć Srbiji u Velikoj Britaniji tokom prvog svetskog rata', in *Yugoslav-British Relations* (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 191–202.

⁴ Todorova, Imagining the Balkans, pp. 120-121.

earlier...'5 Clearly referring to the May Coup, Adrian Hastings summarised Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century as follows: 'Poor as it was economically and educationally, *addicted as it was to assassinating its rulers*, (my italics) absurd and dangerous as its ambitions could appear to both Austrians and Turks, its character of nation-state, dominated indeed by an intensely single-minded nationalism seems absolutely clear⁶.

Western Perceptions Between 'Construction' and 'Reconstruction'

I would like to clarify my position concerning the constructivist approach that entered historical monographs dealing with Western perception after the publication of Said's book on Orientalism. If some social constructivists 'argue for some extreme but interesting positions, including the notion that there is no such thing as a knowable objective reality', and they rather maintain that 'all knowledge is derived from the mental constructions of the members of a social system', 7 then I, as a historian, feel obliged to explain my positions regarding this approach. One can agree with Said when stating: 'The construction of identity – for identity whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, is finally a construction – involves establishing opposites and "others" whose actuality is always subject to

⁵ Z. A. B. Zeman, 'The Balkans and the Coming War', p. 27.

⁶ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 135.

⁷ Arthur S. Reber, *The Penguin Dictionary of Psychology* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 157, s. v. 'constructivism'.

the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from "us". 8 However, in order to analyse processes of the construction of reality, a historian needs first to accept that there is a knowable reality, and second to conduct research in order to reconstruct the past. Naturally, in reconstructing the past, a historian will unavoidably make some new false constructs. But, without reconstruction one cannot know what is false and what corresponds to historical reality. Said thoroughly criticised Western (British, French and American) perceptions of the 'Orient', especially of the Moslem world, yet in his recent afterward he admits that his book has been read in the Arab world 'as a systematic defence of Islam and the Arabs, even though I say explicitly that I have no interest in it, much less capacity for, showing what the true Orient or Islam really are'. 9 Yet, if one does not know what something is really like then how can he or she argue about the correctness in the perception of the same thing?

British perceptions of the Balkans are not restricted to travellers and writers only. They also include observations made by diplomats, and various scientists (historians, geographers, archaeologists). Western travellers and writers were certainly constructing and inventing the Balkans, throughout the nine-teenth and the twentieth centuries, as some recent scholarly titles imply. ¹⁰ Each Balkan area, religious and ethnic group was subject to this process. But this is not the whole story. They also accumulated knowledge of the area. If they were constructing they were also reconstructing, if they were inventing they were

⁸ Edward Said, Orientalism, p. 332.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 331.

¹⁰ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*. The Imperialism of the Imagination; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*.

also describing the Balkans, often in a very realistic way. This was especially the case when speaking about the observations of scientists and to a certain extent of diplomats as well. When Hogarth wrote his book *The Nearer East*, in 1902, he was able to discuss its area and position, its structure, climate and physical circumstance; its distribution of men, grouping, products, communications and even speculate on 'how this Region will fill in the economy of the greater World?'

If this knowledge was used for imperial purposes, it in no way can negate the fact that sometimes it was knowledge of essentially a scientific kind. Paradoxically British imperial use, or misuse as you like, of the knowledge of the Balkans or the East, testifies more than anything else that it was a real knowledge, based on the rational enquiry of reality. If writers were allowed to imagine and travellers to construct reality, then military men were obliged to have exact knowledge of it. When the First World War started teams of historians and geographers that were employed by the British army to supply it with first hand knowledge of the Balkans, confirmed that Britons interested in the region had diligently accumulated knowledge that was now to be used for military purposes. The precision and accuracy that such purposes demand can clearly tell us that a great job in describing and reconstructing had already been done by British geographers and historians by then. Similarly, when the same Hogarth wrote the history of the Hittites he did not do so in order to construct the history of this people according to some British imperialistic criteria, or at least this was not his primary object. He rather endeavoured to reconstruct the past of an Asian (Near Eastern) people. It was a knowledge that only the Western world with its tradition of learned institutions and rational inquiry was able to conduct at that point of time.

The enormous Western (Euro-Atlantic) scientific and technological advantage over the rest of the world at the beginning of the twentieth century, or even at the end of the same century, is a fact. One can like or dislike it, but to deconstruct the whole Western perception of the Orient, and to claim that it was completely false, as Said did, gives advantage to political arguments over historical facts. The same is the case when the Orientalist discourse is applied to the Balkans. The successive articles analysed from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, perhaps more than anything else, testify to the fact that the British knowledge of Serbia and the Balkans was accumulating throughout the nineteenth century. Similarly, both occidentalisation and Oriental references of the image were often based on real developments. As D. Djordjevic points out, speaking about the Serbian Ottoman heritage: 'In Serbia abandoning the old civilization and espousing the new one required the entire nineteenth century.¹¹

Therefore it seems that the job of a historian, when dealing with the image of the other, is not only to describe what the perceptions of some region or group were, but to confront this with the knowledge that historians have accumulated about the same region or group. In this encounter one will find that a perception is not only a set of false constructs but also sometimes a very good source of facts, otherwise unavailable. This is not to say that the perception of the other does not include false constructs. On the contrary, this thesis largely deals with such constructs. However, this is to say that the perception of the other cannot be reduced to constructs, if one implies by constructs only something false and stereotypical. Or to put this another way as Wendy Bracewell recently did: 'It has been shown that the

¹¹ Dimitrije Djordjevic, 'Ottoman Heritage Versus Modernization: Symbiosis in Serbia during the Nineteenth Century', p. 29.

cleanliness of the inhabitants in South-Eastern Europe was a question subject to manipulative generalization by Westerners in the nineteenth century. Yet however ideologically-motivated or influential such descriptions may have been, they do not render the problem at hand – what was hygiene and sanitation like in 19th century South-Eastern Europe?'12

Serbia between 'Otherness' and 'Inferior Self'

As one can see from the first chapter, British travellers in the nineteenth century used to compare the Serbs with the Scots and Irishmen. Scottish minstrels and Serbian national poetry, Scottish and Serbian highlanders and finally the rebellious spirit of both the Irishmen and the Serbs inspired Britons to make such analogies. Admiration that both the Irishmen and the Serbs (in both Serbia and Montenegro) felt for Gladstone may have been one source of such parallels later in the nineteenth century. In psychological terms, these analogies meant that the Serbs of Serbia, soon after their country gained self-rule, were placed in the category of the 'inferior self.'

It is because of this categorisation that the Serbs were compared with the Scots and Irishmen. These two peoples in English perception belonged to an ambiguous category. Being Britons they were undoubtedly perceived as self, but it was also a kind of inferior self since they were not English at the same time. This was especially pronounced in the Irish case. The cultural characterisation into a kind of the self was followed by

¹² Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, 'South-Eastern Europe: History, Concepts, Boundaries', *Balcanologie*, vol. 3, No. 2 (December 1999), p. 60.

the geographic categorisation of Serbia in Europe which appeared in 1840s in Paton's and Urquhart's works. The steady occidentalisation of Serbia that began in 1840s was never completed in the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the re-orientalisation of the perception of Serbia was sudden and rapid which corresponded to the suddenness of the May Coup. It was only initiated by the scandals at the court in Belgrade, during the reign of the last two Obrenoviches. But, it was the May Coup that really paved the way for the re-orientalisation of Serbia in Britain. The re-orientalisation in describing Serbia placed her in the category of 'otherness', beyond the pale of civilisation and progress. Serbia was back to 'oriental barbarism'. The re-establishment of diplomatic relations automatically initiated re-occidentalisation. The first to endeavour this was Alfred Stead. In his already quoted character sketch of King Peter he remarked that 'the Servian people, like the Swiss, whom they much resemble in many ways, owning their own pieces of land, and being of independent character, have clung to their national ideals'. ¹³ In a later article he compared the two countries: 'Like Switzerland, Servia has no outlet to the sea and like the Swiss, the Servians have struggled and fought unaided for freedom and liberty; these struggles have in both cases broadened and developed the national character, and created a national force of great strength and remarkable cohesion'. ¹⁴ Again Serbia was placed into the category of inferior, but European, self. The edition of The Times, The Historians' History of the World, offered even clearer case of re-occidentalisation. It stated that concerning education in Serbia'a very

¹³ Alfred Stead, 'Character Sketches. King Peter of Servia', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 34 (September 1906), p. 247.

¹⁴ A. Stead, 'The Situation in the Near East', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 81 (1907), p. 704.

great progress is being achieved in this direction; it may be said that this progress has been rapid since the period, not so long ago (1839), when the sovereign himself confessed to not being able to write'. The Serbians had ambition 'to cause the disappearance from their country of anything which could recall the old Moslem domination'. They apply themselves to this task with 'persevering energy', and Belgrade "the Turkish" has ceased to exist'. It was replaced by 'more occidental city like Vienna or Budapest'. Even regarding its spirit 'Servia is more and more breaking away from Turkish fatalism'. The conclusion logically followed: 'Only a short time ago it was a people of the Orient; from now on it belongs to the Western world, by labour and initiative'. 15

It is important to note that re-orientalisation, and especially orientalism, were not the causes of the changed perception of Serbia during the crisis in Anglo-Serbian relations. They were a consequence of the May Coup and its perception in both Britain and Serbia. The Balkans and Serbia were transitory not only in categorisation but in real appearance as well. Therefore it was very easy for foreign observers to emphasise oriental elements of Serbia and place her into the realm of 'other'. What really caused the negative image of Serbia after the May Coup was a direct result of the collision between the British value system and Serbian response to the regicide. Re-orientalisation was a specific kind of British, and more generally European, punishment of Serbia. To place some state into the Orient, and here I agree with Said, meant to challenge its right to have independent development. To be placed in the Orient meant to be perceived as backward and barbarian. Such an entity would need tutelage.

¹⁵ Henry Smith Williams (ed.), *The Historians History of the World*, vol. 24, p. 206.

This reveals why the re-orientalisation of Serbia was very strong in Austria-Hungary.

However, in the British case, political considerations were not very relevant in making a decision to break diplomatic relations. Although the British decision to break diplomatic relations was a clear expression of Victorian mentality, the decision to re-establish diplomatic relations was, on the contrary, a purely political decision, based on British interests. At the time public morality demanded a loud and angry response from British public opinion to the Belgrade regicide in 1903. Three years later political calculations forwarded the calm re-establishment of disrupted relations. If, in 1903, Britain was able to place her morality above political considerations then, in 1906, it was not possible to do so anymore. The ending of traditional British isolationism runs simultaneously with the break-off of relations with Serbia. This meant that Britain could no longer stay aloof from an important Balkan country. The space for moral values was thus reduced, and once again political considerations prevailed.

Serbia, on the other hand, was mostly back to its previous categorisation of 'inferior self'. She was again perceived as an inferior but still a European state. Her esteem, however, was severely challenged and a negative pattern in British perception of Serbia, followed by the set of threatening associations, was maintained for almost another decade. Even in the period afterwards this categorisation re-emerged from time to time. Only the alliance of the Kingdom of Serbia with the United Kingdom during the Great War would be able to substantially change this less than a favourable pattern.

APPENDIX



PRAZNA STRANA (samo ako je parna pre appendixa puna)

(Sledi šest strana sa slikama)

SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. The Review of Reviews, vol. 28 (1903), p. 4.
- 2. Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bourchier* (London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1926), p. 43.
- 3. The Review of Reviews, vol. 28 (1903), p. 121.
- 4. The Review of Reviews, vol. 27 (1903), p. vi
- 5. Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy with some Impressions from Macedonia* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), plate xvii (the picture is placed between pages 252 and 253).
- 6. The Sunday Magazine, June 1902, p. 485.
- 7. Cover page of *The Sunday Magazine*, June 1902.
- 8. The Review of Reviews, vol. 27 (1903), p. 413.
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- 21. The first page of Northesk Wilson, *Belgrade the White City of Death*.
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- 27. Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, inserted photo facing page 148.
- 28. Mrs. Northesk Wilson, *Belgrade the White City of Death*, incorporated between pages 93 and 94.
- 29. Punch, June 24, 1903.
- 30. David George Hogarth, The Nearer East, p, iv.
- 31. David George Hogarth, The Nearer East, p. 172.
- 32. The Review of Reviews. vol. 27 (1903), p. xiv.
- 33. The Review of Reviews, vol. 26 (1902), p. 569.
- 34. The Review of Reviews, vol. 28 (1903), p. 130.
- 35. The Review of Reviews, vol. 28 (1903), p. 130.
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