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Transnational and Transatlantic Perspectives on the Balkans, 1850–1918

Eva Tamara Asboth



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Historical Balkan narratives supported by Felix
Philipp Kanitz, Mary Edith Durham, and Mihailo
Pupin in the transnational public sphere

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Eva Tamara Asboth
Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW)
Institute for Comparative Media and
Communication Studies (CMC)
Vienna, Austria

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To Motz, my love

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Eva Tamara Asboth is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. She studied History and Communication Science. In the past ten years, she was working on different topics related to Southeast Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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CHAPTER 1

The “European Orient”: Forerunner of the Balkans

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Abstract The “European Orient” as a regional designation for Southeast Europe has its origins in the eighteenth century, and became a geographical and political reality for Europeans in the nineteenth century. As the classification suggests, it was located on the European continent; the Orient was already imagined to be located east of Vienna, as noted by American historian Suzanne Marchand, i.e., actually in the middle of Habsburg territory. Today, the European Orient is no longer present in the collective memory of the Western world, even though an “Orientalization” of Eastern and Southeast Europe has taken place in recent media discourse, reviving the imagined division of East and West along with its associated dichotomous notions (backward-civilized). Therefore, studies and research on the Orient, on Orientalism, and on

processes of Orientalization are as current as they are numerous, and are not exclusively located in the field of Oriental Studies. In the introductory chapter of this book, I present the literature on Orientalism and Balkanism as well as my categories of analysis, namely encounter, public sphere, and historical narratives. It ends with a brief overview of the following chapters and the structure of the book.

Keywords Orientalism • Balkanism • Encounter • Public sphere • Historical narratives

American literature professor Edward Said established a new field of study known as *postcolonial studies*. He defines “Orientalization” as those discursively created notions and narratives of the Orient in which the West establishes its hegemonic power over the East: “The Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience,”¹ he explains in the introduction to his book *Orientalism*, published in 1978. The division between the “backward” Orient and the “civilized” Occident is based on ontological and epistemological ideas contained in the form of Oriental images, as seen in the works of Western scientists and artists. Part of an ongoing Oriental discourse since the end of the eighteenth century, this produced a real power structure: “... in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”²

This same power structure is transferred to Southeast Europe by Milica Bakić-Hayden, professor emeritus at the University of Pittsburgh. Using the example of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, the ethnologist from Serbia develops the concept of “nesting Orientalism,”³ where one superior group Orientalizes another group. The further to the west a country positions itself, she notes, the more European and thus superior its inhabitants feel compared to territories further southeast. For Europe, the Balkans were

¹ Said refers to Foucault’s discourse theory; see: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978), 10–11.

² Said, *Orientalism*, 11.

³ Milica Bakić-Hayden, “Nesting Orientalisms. The Case of Former Yugoslavia,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995), 917–931.

imagined as an uncivilized and backward region that needed to be Europeanized. Croatia's membership in the European Union and its affiliation with the Catholic Church reinforce and underline the concept of "nesting Orientalism," while the political actors and general population see themselves as the vanguard of the non-EU member states, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro. Members of the Serbian Orthodox community, in turn, feel more Western than European Muslims in the Balkans, and the latter group Orientalizes Muslims living in Asia. Bosnia and Herzegovina represents the phenomenon of "nesting Orientalism" in a very small area, where many ethnic groups separate themselves from the "others."⁴ The actual geographical location of the countries in Southeast Europe plays a subordinate role; the mindset according to which the environment is organized determines their position on a *mental map*—nonetheless, this provides orientation just like a physical map.⁵

In *Imagining the Balkans*, Maria Todorova continues to explore Europe's relationship to the "Other," namely the Balkans. Europe invented the Balkans, she says. It needs them, because the space called the Balkans serves as a projection area for the uncivilized element that is inherent in Europe. She calls this discourse "Balkanism," which is not to be equated with Orientalism. As Europe's inner darkness, the Balkans are given a bridging function, an intermediate position between West and East. The Balkan images thus draw a semi-Oriental, semi-wild, or semi-civilized peninsula onto Europe's frontiers: the European Orient.⁶

Historical research on metaphorical images of the Orient and the Balkans within the framework of Orientalism and Balkanism has grown significantly.⁷ Vesna Goldsworthy, a well-known scholar in this field,

⁴ See also: Johannes Feichtinger, "Komplexer k.u.k. Orientalismus. Akteure, Institutionen, Diskurse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Österreich," in: *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen, eds. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 54–55.

⁵ Alan K. Henrikson, "The geographical 'Mental Maps' of American foreign policy makers," *International Political Science Review* 1 (1980) 4: 498–499.

⁶ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 194.

⁷ Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, eds., *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017); Nada Boškowska, "Die Entführung der Miss Stone. Der Balkan im Blickfeld der westlichen Welt," *Historische Anthropologie* 16, no. 3 (2013): 420–442; Feichtinger, *Komplexer k.u.k. Orientalismus*,

researches Balkan images and narratives in Great Britain through the entertainment industry. She deconstructs the predicate “Balkan” as meaning not conforming to Western standards, as otherness. It describes conditions that are either attractively repulsive or seductively abrasive to Western observers. Goldsworthy, based at English universities, argues that the main corpus of Balkan images during the nineteenth century came from British travelers. In the twentieth century, the United States disseminated many more of the ideas and stereotypes about the Balkans, based on images produced in Great Britain.⁸ Historian Radmila Pejić emphasizes that correspondents at European newspapers in Vienna, in addition to travelogues, played a key role in the dissemination of reports and knowledge about Serbia, which is why many historical narratives can be colored by Austrian propaganda.⁹ Austrian and British influences on images of the Balkans on the one hand, and American influences on the other, take up a great deal of space in this work, especially in the transnational and transatlantic transfer of historical narratives.

Wolfgang Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006); Božidar Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa. Der Balkan in den Augen westlicher Reisender* (Wien: Böhlau, 2016); Florian Keisinger, “Uncivilised Wars in Civilised Europe? The Perception of the Balkan Wars 1912–1913 in English, German and Irish Newspapers and Journals,” in *The Wars before the Great War. Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 343–358; Andreas Pribersky, “Politische Mythen der k.u.k. Monarchie,” in: *Kakanien Revisited. Das Eigene und das Fremde (in) der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Peter Plener, and Clemens Ruthner, eds. (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 2002), 322–330; Christian Promitzer, Siegfried Gruber, Harald Heppner, eds., *Southeast European Studies in a Globalizing World* (Wien: LIT Verlag, 2014); Andreas Rathberger, “Balkanbilder. Vorstellungen und Klischees über den Balkan in der Habsburgermonarchie im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert,” *Kakanien Revisited*, April 6, 2009, accessed March 11, 2023, <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/ARathberger1.pdf>.

⁸ Vesna Goldsworthy, “Der Imperialismus der Imagination. Konstruktionen Europas und des Balkans,” in *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf*, Karl Kaser, Dagmar Gramshammer-Hohl, and Robert Pichler, eds. (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2003), 272 and 257.

⁹ Radmila Pejić, “Herbert Vivian. A British Traveller in Late Nineteenth-Century Serbia,” *Balkanica* XLIV (2013): 264.

Douglas Little examines American Orientalism after 1945 and reconstructs Oriental stereotypes in relation to the Arab population in the Middle East throughout the second half of the twentieth century. While the Jewish population was first imagined as victims and then, after the Israeli military triumph of 1967, as winners, the Arab population continued to be described as "feckless, reckless, and weak" throughout the discourse.¹⁰ The US historian argues that the stereotypical Oriental image of revenge-driven fanatics found its way into US mass and popular media, such as film and literature, and as a final consequence, into political decisions regarding the Orient.

The US image of the Orient stands in contrast to the Western image of the Balkans after 1945. Art historian and literary scholar Tanja Zimmermann shows how Tito's Yugoslavia succeeded in positioning itself as a country in the middle, thus shedding its Oriental associations. My own research also indicates that positive Balkan narratives dominated the media discourse in Austria between the end of the Second World War and Tito's death, thus establishing good political relations with the neighboring country.¹¹

The influence of Balkan and Oriental images on politics was already clear in nineteenth-century Europe. However, Edward Said had proven his Orientalization thesis primarily with sources from French and British Encounters and then applied it to the colonies of the two major Western European powers. According to ethnology professor Roman Loimeier, there were no alternative findings for the United States and German-speaking Central Europe with regard to the image of the exotic and uncivilized imagined Orient. This raises the question of whether the Orient and the Oriental Balkans truly evoked a homogeneous image in the West. Since the publication of the work *Orientalism*, imagined superiority has always been the central strand in the discourse on Orient and Occident, regardless of the Western country and where the scholar's point of research begins.¹²

¹⁰ Douglas Little, *American Orientalism. The United States and the Middle East Since 1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 32.

¹¹ Tanja Zimmermann, *Der Balkan zwischen Ost und West. Mediale Bilder und kulturpolitische Prägungen* (Köln: Böhlau, 2016), Chapter V; Eva Tamara Asboth and Silvia Nadjivan, "Gute Freunde—beste Feinde. Die (Um-)Deutung einstiger Selbst- und Fremdbilder in Wien und Belgrad nach 1945," *Der Donauraum* 53, no. 2 (2013): 267–286.

¹² Roman Loimeier, "Edward Said und der Deutschsprachige Orientalismus. Eine kritische Würdigung, Stichproben," *Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* 2, no. 1 (2001) 1, 80–81.

This is not the only strand of discourse that has formed since the nineteenth century, counters US historian Suzanne Marchand. Within the field of German-speaking Oriental Studies, a circle formed that admired the authenticity and resilience of the Orient vis-à-vis the bourgeois Western world. In this field, knowledge about the Orient was improved by studying writings from Persia, India, and Assyria, leading to a better understanding of the new cultures, while the biblical Christian world was increasingly doubted. In this way, “German Orientalism” helped to weaken the notion of Western superiority, according to Marchand’s finding, which is central to my work.¹³

In her research, Marchand takes up points of criticism from the debate surrounding Said’s book: as already mentioned, he refrains from using German-language sources in *Orientalism* and bases his thesis on the study of the former colonial states of Great Britain and France. He argues that these countries developed Orientalism, and that the German-speaking world built on this.¹⁴ Loimeier and Marchand take complementary approaches to Germany and Austria; both explain that despite the lack of colonies in each country, German-language Orientalism has made great achievements. In my view, Vienna in particular is of great importance as a cultural hub for the geographic territories that were perceived to be Oriental. In the nineteenth century, numerous academic institutions were founded in the capital of the Habsburg Empire that dealt with nearer as well as more distant neighboring areas.

Much stronger is the criticism of Said’s *Orientalism*, according to which the Orient–Occident dichotomy leads to imperialist relations and creates a hopeless situation; there are no fluid processes, but rather a fixed relationship to which everything is subordinated. This prevents the observation of Transfers from one region to another.¹⁵ Transfers are understood as experienced encounters (with a lower-case “e,” an action or situation) that the Encounters (capital “E,” a person), who come with their own

¹³ Marchand, *German Orientalism and the Decline of the West*, 472–473.

¹⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 24–26.

¹⁵ Kerstin S. Jobst, “Orientalism. E. W. Said und die Osteuropäische Geschichte,” *Saeculum* 51, no. 2 (2000): 250–266; Thomas Schmidinger, “Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus. Zur Einführung in die Begrifflichkeiten und die Debatte,” *University of Vienna*, March 27, 2009, accessed March 11, 2023, https://homepage.univie.ac.at/thomas.schmidinger/php/lehre/orientalismus_okzidentalismus.pdf.

expectations and worldviews, contributed to the Balkan discourse, thus circulating in a transnational public sphere, and influencing it. Therefore, I have focused on the perspectives of Encounters instead: travelers who encountered the Orient and who were influenced by their experiences and contacts with the local population.

The first Encounter perspective that is researched and presented is one from the Austro-Hungary monarchy. Felix Philipp Kanitz, who was famous at the time of his work, whose books on Serbia were sold out, and whose ethnographical research was heard at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, has now been forgotten. I say “forgotten,” because his experiences as an Encounter have received little attention in scholarly analyses.¹⁶ However, his work has gained more attention in recent scholarly discussions.¹⁷ Kanitz’s sources form the main corpus in this book, as he was already traveling continuously in Southeast Europe from the late 1850s until the 1890s, i.e., during a major phase of the discovery and transformation of the European Orient, which later became the Balkans (Chaps. 3, 4, 5, and 6).

His British colleague, Mary Edith Durham, is still a familiar name, appearing as a figure in literature and journalism in recent years. Durham managed to travel to regions of the Balkans that Kanitz was not able to visit. Among her favorite destinations were present-day Kosovo, Albania, and North Macedonia. Durham began her travels in the Balkans just as Kanitz was ending his, and she made it her goal to intensively influence European policy in the Balkans even after she was no longer able to travel for health reasons (Chap. 7). Both “Balkan discoverers” are presented and treated in this book as knowledge producers as well as intermediaries because of their important interface and transfer function.

At the chronological end of my analysis and the book, I concentrate on transatlantic transfers, specifically the Serbian migrant community in the United States, by looking at Mihajlo Pupin and one of his organizations,

¹⁶The Institute for Balkan Studies at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade has devoted the most attention to Felix Philipp Kanitz in recent years; in 2014, a tribute to the Balkan scholar was published on their homepage, on the 100th anniversary of his death, accessed March 11, 2023; see: <https://www.balkaninstitut.com/srp/vesti/4/510/home-a-felix-kanitz.html>.

¹⁷International Conference June 10–11, 2021, University of Zurich/online via Zoom: Knowledge Systems and Ottoman-European Encounters. Spatial and Social Dynamics.

the Serbian National Defense League of America. He used organizations like this one to orchestrate the transfer of historical narratives from the Balkans into the US public sphere. Pupin and the Serbian immigrants are also considered Encounters because they travel from their hometown into the United States, where they build a network of knowledge that transfers Oriental and Balkan images from one continent to another (Chap. 8). The Encounters, as intermediaries, made a significant contribution to shaping and negotiating images and historical narratives of the Orient and the Balkans.¹⁸ But when, historically, did the notion of a “European Orient” emerge to begin with?

HISTORICAL DEFINITIONS OF THE CONCEPTS OF ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

The imagined division of Europe into West and East goes hand in hand with numerous historical events that were ultimately absorbed into the narrative of a progressive Western and backward Eastern Europe, beginning in the eighteenth century. A major rupture was seen in the partition of the *Imperium Romanum* in 395, which divided the Roman Empire into a Western and an Eastern half with both a Western and an Eastern Roman Emperor. The administrative line between the two halves of the Empire ran through the middle of the Balkans (the meridian of Shkodra/Skutari).¹⁹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a prominent contemporary historian, Leopold Ranke, from Prussia, located the Balkan Peninsula in the Orient: “Since the Slavs did not succeed in overpowering the Oriental Empire, they could not accomplish a rejuvenation of the old tribe in the same way as the Germanic tribes did. They could not live their lives fully, nor assert their nature in the state.”²⁰ In other words, ever since

¹⁸ Vesna Goldsworthy, “Der Imperialismus der Imagination”; Pejić, “Herbert Vivian”; Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa*; Andrew Hammond, “Memoirs of conflict. British women travelers in the Balkans,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 14 (Feb. 2010): 57–75; Barbara Jelavich, “The British Traveller in the Balkans. The Abuses of Ottoman Administration in the Slavonic Provinces,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 33, no. 81 (1955): 396–413.

¹⁹ Holm Sundhaussen, “Europa balcanica. Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 25, no. 4 (1999): 641.

²⁰ Leopold Ranke, *The Serbian Revolution. Aus serbischen Papieren und Mittheilungen* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1829), 2. Original: “Da es den Slawen nicht gelang, das orientalische Kaiserthum zu überwältigen, so konnten sie eine Verjüngung des alten Stammes nicht in der

the partition of the *Imperium Romanum*, the "Slavs" were considered part of the Orient. Ranke's monograph, published in Hamburg in 1829,²¹ may be the first historiographical account of the recent history of Serbia. In any case, it was the first that was recognized in Western scientific circles, solidifying the notion that the Balkans have been located in the Orient since the rise of the Occident. Consequently, they were perceived as the "European Orient."

The next major change was the schism of 1054, which divided Christianity into the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches.²² Medieval Serbia crystallized from Raška around 1170 under the Nemanjid dynasty, orienting itself toward the Byzantine Orthodox Church.²³ The ongoing development of differences between the Byzantine and the Western Roman Church became visible, including the Byzantine use of older languages, like Ancient Greek and Church Slavonic, as well as following the Julian calendar. The envisaged unification of the Western and Eastern Churches, which was pursued for centuries, never occurred (Oriental Schism). The Western Church, with Rome as its center, insisted on the Pope as the successor of Jesus Christ and head of both Christian churches, placed above the Emperor. In contrast, the Eastern Church saw itself represented by the leadership of the five Patriarchs, who sat in Constantinople under the Eastern Roman Emperor.²⁴

Above all, the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire in 1453 posed an entirely new challenge for both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, and is considered a significant departure in the history of Europe. Under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, large areas of Europe were conquered. Furthermore, with the advancement of Ottoman troops into Western Europe, the idea of a threatening East mutated into a comprehensive and centuries-long narrative that further consolidated the

Weise vollbringen, wie ihrerseits die Germanen. Sie konnten sich nicht völlig ausleben, noch ihre Natur im Staate geltend machen."

²¹ It was not until 1843 that David Urquhart's English-language work *A fragment of the history of Servia* on "modern Servia" followed; see: Pejić, "Herbert Vivian," 257–258.

²² Axel Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2004), 203.

²³ Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.-21. Jahrhundert* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), 28.

²⁴ Reinhard Pohanka, *Das Byzantinische Reich. Die Geschichte einer der größten Zivilisationen der Welt (324–1453)* (Wiesbaden: Marixverlag, 2013), 103–106.

division of Occident and Orient.²⁵ This not only created a spatial-geographical division between East and West, but also described the two halves as a pair of opposites with contrasting attributes and stereotypes. Due to Ottoman sovereignty in Southeast Europe, Leopold Ranke was not the only one who considered the Balkans to be part of the Orient, at least since the late Middle Ages.

The fall of the Byzantine imperial capital in 1453 was the climax of the upheaval in Europe, but the most devastating turning point in the history of Serbia happened in 1389. On June 28 (June 15 according to the Julian calendar), the battle on the *Kosovo polje* (Field of Blackbirds) was lost to the Ottoman army—this event is the foundation for the creation of the Serbian national myth at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which has been constantly updated to the present day. The Serbian Prince Lazar, who ruled over central Serbia and parts of Kosovo, was killed in this battle. He was canonized and declared a follower of Jesus Christ in texts written shortly after the battle. Later, the “Kosovo myth” developed further. It was said that Lazar had sacrificed himself, renouncing the earthly kingdom. The Serbian people saw themselves as a heavenly people, with Kosovo depicted as the promised land, finding its sacred place in the master narrative. The Kosovo myth preserved a kind of Western or non-Ottoman heritage with the aid of the Serbian-Christian culture and tradition. However, Holm Sundhaussen reconstructed the uncertain outcome of the 1389 battle. Besides June 28, 1389, he sees the dissolution of the medieval Serbian Empire under Stefan Uroš V in 1371 as another important date. The feudal lords, such as Lazar Hrebeljanović and Vuk Branković, divided the country among themselves. After the Kosovo battle, their lands became vassal principalities, and after the Second Battle on Kosovo polje in 1448 they were placed under Ottoman suzerainty. In 1459, the northern part of Serbia was annexed by the Ottoman Empire. The “White Fortress” in Belgrade (in Serbian, *Beograd*; “*beo*” means white and “*grad*” means city), which was under Hungarian rule at the time, was eventually conquered in 1521. Nevertheless, the 15th or 28th of June, respectively, was mythically transfigured as *Vidovdan*, and the legendary battle was preserved in Serbian cultural memory as the beginning of

²⁵ Marlene Kurz, “Istanbul,” in *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 2. Das Haus Europa*, Pim den Boer, Heinz Duchhardt, Georg Kreis, and Wolfgang Schmale, eds. (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), 299–305.

Ottoman "foreign rule." In the nineteenth century, the founding narrative of the Ottoman army's victory over Christianity was revived by Serbian elites as an argument connecting Southeast Europe to the rest of Europe.²⁶

As previously stated, the Kosovo myth circulated in the nineteenth century, not only in Southeast Europe, but also in Western historiography from 1829 onwards.²⁷ It served as an epoch-describing division according to the Western model of historiography and also explained the diverging historical courses of Southeast Europe and Western Europe.²⁸ There is no question that the beginning of Ottoman rule represented a turning point both in Serbian history and in Serbian–Western European relations. It should be noted that the historiographical, handed-down notion of a rigid demarcation between the Occident and the Orient triggered the memory of the Battle of Kosovo centuries later. Belgrade-born literary scholar Zoran Konstantinović, who influenced his discipline as a professor both in Austria and in his home country, wrote in 1960: "In the last quarter of the

²⁶Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 43–44; Spasić explains that the Second Kosovo Battle (1448) is not, or rarely, mentioned within Serbian scholarly discourse on the Kosovo myth, as the mythical narrative is built on the figures of the First Battle; see: Ivana Spasić, "The Trauma of Kosovo in Serbian National Narratives," in *Narrating Trauma. On the Impact of Collective Suffering*, Ron Eyerman et al., eds. (London: Routledge, 2011), 84. Spasić's bibliography lists almost exclusively English-language articles on the Kosovo myth, mostly published in the US space. Also, Milica Cimeša's Master's thesis primarily drew on Holm Sundhaussen's arguments on the Kosovo myth; see: Milica Cimeša, *Serbia's Long Memory. The Significance of the Middle Ages in the Collective Memory of the Serbian People* (Vienna: Unpublished Master's thesis, 2013). The second battle is mentioned by nineteenth-century travelers such as Felix Philipp Kanitz and Georg Hahn (*Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 133), but the number of references declines over time. The historian Hans Georg Majer contradicted the narrative of the brutal incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire. Religious freedom prevailed, he said, and the non-Muslim religious leaders had great influence on the shaping of the community, including its jurisdiction. Officially, for example, no new churches were allowed to be built, but it happened nevertheless; see: Hans Georg Majer, "Südosteuropa im Osmanischen Reich. Einige Grundgegebenheiten," in: Reinhard Lauer et al., *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 22.

²⁷Ranke, *The Serbian Revolution*.

²⁸In this book, I use the terms the "West" (including Northern America) and "Western Europe" to describe these entities as dominating the global hierarchy, but readers should be aware of their constructed character and the differences within them. I am also aware of the constructed nature of their commonality, and hence want to move away from this lumping together and present the differences within the West or Western Europe by focusing on contra-hegemonial narratives and divergent perspectives.

fourteenth century, the Balkans struggled terribly, forcing them out of the European family of nations and subjecting them to Turkish foreign rule.”²⁹

The metaphor of the “European family of nations,” whose members come from different “peoples” but are all Christian, pushes the East-West narrative further: Europe as a whole was not shaken by the Ottoman conquest; from the seventeenth century onwards, the Enlightenment heralded the rise of the West as a world power, as US professor Charles Kupchan argues.³⁰ Only a part of Europe, which reappeared in the Western mental map as a largely unknown European Orient, was severed.

The idea of an Oriental, exotic, fascinating, but also dangerous and backward Eastern Europe or East is contrasted with European narratives of progress, civilization, and peaceful union. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Europe was imagined not only as a continent but also as a political power. After the Congress of Vienna in 1814/1815, the metaphor of the “European concert” dominated, which included the idea of European unity. After the Napoleonic Wars, the primary goal of the European Great Powers was to secure peace through a balance of power. The war with France contributed significantly to the development of a British nation and identity, which had been built up since the beginning of the eighteenth century.³¹

Following the European “saddle period” at the end of the eighteenth century, which encompassed a reinterpretation of political, cultural, and social life in the emerging nation-states in Europe, the idea of political, economic, social, and cultural European integration gained more and more momentum. Individual national character was of course dominant within the countries; however, the nation-states had no choice but to cooperate, and were forced to develop a system of European integration,

²⁹ Zoran Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1960), 15. Original: “Im letzten Viertel des 14. Jh.s beginnt auf dem Balkan jener fürchterliche Kampf, welcher dann das serbische Volk für Jahrhunderte aus der europäischen Völkerfamilie herausdrängen und unter türkische Fremdherrschaft bringen wird.”

³⁰ Charles A. Kupchan, *No One's World. The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Chapter 2: The Rise of the West.

³¹ John Storey, “The ‘Roots’ and ‘Routes’ of British Identity,” in: *Mapping Identity and Identification Processes. Approaches from Cultural Studies*, Eduardo de Gregorio-Godeo and Ángel Mateos-Aparicio Martin-Albo, eds. (Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 2013), 276.

as they were dependent on each other's foreign politics.³² It must be emphasized that not all countries or monarchies in this system were seen as equal partners. Only a few Great Powers played an active part in European politics and economy and were allowed to participate during the Congress of Vienna.

The Great Powers—Britain, Prussia, Russia, France, and Austria—established a system of international law, which also included the concept of solidarity among the Great Powers.³³ Thus, European affairs were regulated through joint diplomacy. The Austrian foreign minister and later chancellor, Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, was considered the leading figure on the international stage of the Congress of Vienna as well as in the plans to conquer the Balkan countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his role as ambassador and foreign minister, he aimed to integrate Serbia and Montenegro into the Habsburg monarchy by creating the notion of a "cultural region" along the Empire's southwest border. As a result of the uprisings in the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire, he deemed his mission a failure in 1810. Later on, he never tired of emphasizing that the rebellious (former cultural) regions would soon become a European problem.³⁴

While Britain, France, and Russia actively sided with the rebels during the Balkan uprisings, Austria and Prussia—due to the balance of power created in 1815—considered an intervention to be dangerous for internal European stability. They tried to uphold a neutral position toward the Balkans in order to avoid weakening the Ottoman Empire. As long as the Ottoman Empire was in control of the Balkans, they believed, Russia had no claim, and the borders would be stable. However, this strategy turned out to be disadvantageous for the Habsburgs; it turned them into an unimportant political player on this issue in the long term. Combined

³² Guido Thieme, *Europäische Integration. Motive, Prozesse, Strukturen* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 29.

³³ The Union had a dynamic character; Italy played a major role in the confederation after 1870, while the Habsburg monarchy had lost relevance by the second half of the nineteenth century; see: Thieme, *Europäische Integration*, 30–38.

³⁴ Ulrike Tischler, *Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822. Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?* (München: Oldenbourg, 2000), 375–376.

with additional internal problems, the Habsburg monarchy lost their equal status with England and France, the dominant countries in Europe.³⁵

There are two master narratives that shaped the notion of Europe during the nineteenth century³⁶: first, during the Congress of Vienna, the European Great Powers endeavored to make the balance of Europe their highest negotiation goal, which established the metaphor of the “European concert,” as has already been mentioned. Although, as French historian Thierry Lentz showed, each diplomat primarily and foremost wanted to assert the interests of their own country, the metaphor propagated the idea of the Union of Europe as a continental protector and peacekeeper.³⁷ The Ottoman Empire was excluded from the “concert,” which led to a political discourse around the “inclusion in and exclusion from an exclusive [European] community of values that now operated with the word civilization,” argues Haider-Wilson.³⁸ At the same time, this dividing line between Orient and Occident reinforced the image of Europe as a Christian-dominated “European family,” no matter if it were Catholic, or Protestant, or Orthodox.³⁹ Both historical narratives are reflected in the first article of the “Holy Alliance,” which was signed on September 26, 1815, by Russia, Austria, and Prussia as an expression of symbolic power. Based on “Christian values,” the monarchs of the three Great Powers confirmed the continuation of their brotherhood. They were in any case related through the prevailing marriage politics. All three styled themselves as “fathers” of their Empires and the Armies.⁴⁰

Both historical narratives are part of the European worldview of European integration, which is completed by the narrative of European progressive thinking and the associated sense of cultural superiority. The

³⁵ Haider-Wilson and Graf, “Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten,” 28.

³⁶ Thiemeyer, *Europäische Integration*, 36.

³⁷ Thierry Lentz, 1815. *Der Wiener Kongress und die Neugründung Europas* (Munich: Siedler, 2014 [Paris 2013]).

³⁸ Barbara Haider-Wilson, “Tanzimat Revisited. On the Influence of the Relationship between Orient and Occident on the International Legal Status of the Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth century,” in *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, eds. (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 410–411.

³⁹ See also the quote about the “europäische Völkerfamilie” by Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*, 29.

⁴⁰ Thiemeyer, *Europäische Integration*, 36.

fear of future North American dominance, which can be traced back to the economic influence from overseas since the 1870s, served as a driving force for a common economic and political European stance. The fear of a loss of European significance was counteracted by strengthening the awareness of Europe’s uniqueness—a thought that found much resonance.⁴¹ Both the idea of superiority at a cultural level, which the Great Powers alleged on the basis of their shared Christian history, and the idea of representing the most civilized and advanced region in the world, breathed life into the historical narrative of “Western Europe” and the Occidental myth.

Born into and raised in this environment, travel writer and illustrator Felix Philipp Kanitz observed the land and people of Serbia. Kanitz sometimes even made fun of habits in the European Orient that were different from his own. Once, he wrote in a letter to a journalist colleague, “When you visit someone in the Orient on the most burning matter, custom requires that you first talk about all conceivable things and only at the very end touch upon the object that is close to us.—But we do not live in the ‘morning’ land”⁴²

ENCOUNTERS AND “PUBLICITY”

Felix Philipp Kanitz, who always claimed to research objectively, did not question the prevailing worldview. He always interpreted his research results in relation to the imagined Western Europe.⁴³ Nevertheless, it can

⁴¹ Thiemeyer, *Europäische Integration*, 37; Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* (Wien: Böhlau, 2000), 91–92.

⁴² Kanitz, Letter to Valdek-Wagner (Feb. 24, 1868), Autogr. 278/41–3 Han, correspondences, Briefnachlaß Rudolf Valdek-Wagner, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Austrian National Library. Original: “Wenn man im Orient jemanden in der brennendsten Angelegenheit besucht, verlangt es die Sitte, daß man zuerst von allen denkbaren Dingen spricht und ganz zuletzt erst rein zufällig das Objekt berührt, daß uns naheliegt.—Wir leben aber nicht im ‘Morgen’-Lande”

⁴³ Dragana R. Mašović illustrates in her contribution that the travelers to Southeast Europe in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries confirmed the historical narratives of the exotic and semi-civilized Balkans, which led to everything Western becoming the standard. “The travelling ‘I’ or ‘we’ is an accomplished fact. It is constructed as a superior (home) culture and a norm ... In a word, where the West is the norm, the East is a deviation from it”; see: Dragana R. Mašović, “Earliest Travel Writings about Southeast Serbia and Their Characteristics,” in *The Balkans in Travel Writing*, ed., Marija Krivokapić (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 25.

be observed that Felix Philipp Kanitz as well as Mary Edith Durham created narratives and images of the Balkans that tell neither of backwardness nor of the Balkans' dependence on Europe or the West. As Encounters, both of the long-time travelers and researchers immerse themselves in a region that is undefined for them, and thus find themselves in an intermediate position and an intermediate sphere. The same is true for the Serbian immigrants in the United States. They all appropriate a space through experiences and exchange that they then convey—partly consciously and intentionally, partly unconsciously and unintentionally. They all use their position and perspective as an Encounter to deliver messages from one constructed region to another and vice versa.

By *encounter* I mean not only *people* (“Encounters”) who explore unknown or foreign cultures, but also *situations* (“encounters”) in which knowledge transfers take place. Therefore, besides the biography of the selected Encounters and institutional affiliations (people), their individual and collective experiences and transfer processes (situations) are also the subject of the investigation. In addition, Encounters can involve a group that has similar experiences in different cultures and that communicate these in the public space. Encounters therefore have not only a mediation function, but also a selection function regarding the content they transfer to the public. In this sense, they fulfill similar purposes to journalists, who as “gatekeepers” for their media platforms select the news from a flood of possibilities.⁴⁴ Encounters shape the perception of the foreign with which they come into contact, by placing their knowledge in the public sphere.

It was not easy for Encounters to deliver a comprehensive and compatible image of the European Orient or the Balkans to the public sphere, as historian Larry Wolff notes: “The Slavic languages, to say nothing of Albanian, ... required very particular training and expertise for anyone born outside those particular language communities, and the voices of Eastern Europe, in order to make themselves heard, had to be comprehensible and therefore translatable.”⁴⁵ Encounters also participated in Orientalization and Balkanization processes through their translation

⁴⁴Rudolf Stöber, “Kommentar zur Miszelle von Holger Böning,” *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 20 (2018): 180.

⁴⁵Larry Wolff, “The Western Representation of Eastern Europe on the Eve of World War I. Mediated Encounters and Intellectual Expertise in Dalmatia, Albania, and Macedonia,” *The Journal of Modern History* 86, no. 2 (2014): 407.

function, which they needed in order to communicate their experiences into the public sphere of their interest.

Within the field of global and transnational history, the public sphere as an area of analysis is gaining more and more interest. To study transnational publics, I rely on theories from the fields of global history and communication science. A three-layer model of transnational publics includes perspectives of the Encounters on the micro level, which form the basis and will be explained first. At the top are the dynamics of publics at the macro level. In the middle, the historical narratives represent the meso level, accompanied by temporal dimensions.

The micro level depicts the Encounters' expectations and experiences. I follow the lead of Angelika Epple, a historian who argues that researching globally or transnationally requires a focus on the relational history of entities (such as Orient or Occident). In other words, the object of research needs to be the relation between macro- and microdynamics, which she defines as ties or entanglements, rather than something stable—as the term "dynamics" suggests.⁴⁶ These dynamics, she argues, are the ones that reveal collective movements and that can lead to the understanding and reconstruction of a comprehensive narrative on the macro and/or transnational level. She argues that the actions of actors are what form the center of global history, and, I would add, of transnational public spheres. The Encounters on the micro level form a relation with bigger communities, societies, entities, or counterpublics that are established by the macrodynamics. As Epple convincingly argues, "changes, innovations, and contradictions—but also general developments—cannot be explained without recourse to the smallest historical unit, and ... this unit is the actions of actors."⁴⁷ Epple suggests considering different levels of intentionality when analyzing the micro level—in my case, the Encounter's perspective: "Embodied cognition, monitoring of action, self-reflexivity, intentions-in-action, the affordance of the objects, intentional relations between actors and objects, as well as intentions in respect to imaginary objects and other concepts of intentionality should be considered."⁴⁸ I would add the transfers of knowledge that happen especially within a (transnational) public sphere. The analysis of the selected Encounters

⁴⁶ Angelika Epple, "Calling for a Practice Turn in Global History. Practices as Drivers of Globalization/s," *History and Theory* 57, no. 3 (2018): 390–407.

⁴⁷ Epple, "Calling for a Practice Turn in Global History," 396.

⁴⁸ Epple, "Calling for a Practice Turn in Global History," 406.

follows this line of reasoning. In agreement with Kerstin Jobst, a German historian studying Eastern Europe, I believe it is important to focus on the Transfers that Encounters bring from the unknown spaces into their homelands and vice versa. In addition, possible collaborations by indigenous elites with empires and Great Powers must be included. In the complex network of relations between the Encounters and the concepts Occident and Orient, not only political but also economic and military aspects must be interpreted in the analysis⁴⁹; this is the link to the macro level, as Eppler further reveals.

Her focus on microdynamics aims to first explore the heterogenetic micro level; the actions of individuals that become repeating patterns (“routinized repetition of actions”), and eventually a commonality of different individual actions, are consolidated into (narrative) practices. Practices are defined as social structures and “mediate the micro level of individual actions with the macro level of social systems,” in other words a meso level. Once microdynamics reach the meso level, the practices—in my case narrative practices—can lead to continual change at the macro level. Then, homogenization dynamics produce more stable entities, but through the bottom-up perspective, counterpublics or at least multiperspectivity also appears. Fundamentally, Eppler demonstrates the interplay of individual actions with their newly established shared narrative practices, and their consequences for and in society, leading to the decision to analyze or “monitor” the actions of actors that have been put on display.⁵⁰ Hence, my point of departure is the Encounter’s perspective, contextualized with macrodynamics in order to illuminate the established historical narratives on the Balkans within a transnational sphere.

Neither Kanitz nor Durham nor Pupin depicted a one-way street in their works, and they certainly had a more complex notion of the people and countries of the Balkans due to their experience. Another historian, Fiona Jenkins, argues that we should look for different origins of a master narrative. She especially focuses on those that are disconnected from Western historiography, thus powerfully disrupting traditional narratives. She argues that the sources analyzed in the field of transnational or even postcolonial entanglements must be questioned in terms of their potentials and plurality. The traditional or master narrative, or political myth, as it is called by Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, is only one version out of all the

⁴⁹ Jobst, “Orientalism,” 254–255.

⁵⁰ Eppler, “Calling for a Practice Turn in Global History,” 402.

other competing versions. The competing versions are constitutive for the version that is dominant.⁵¹ Jenkins also raises awareness about the specific terms used: “periphery,” for example, hinders such an analysis because it evokes a specific notion; but these imagined non-places are populated, she argues, and they are also traversed by people such as consuls, explorers, tradesmen, and post carriers,⁵² and are crucial to colonial politics.⁵³ Jenkins as well as Eppe stressed that the relationality of the people toward a borderland is what needs to be placed in the focus of research.

Based on the approaches of Eppe, Jobst, and Jenkins, I want to reconstruct how the notion of the Balkans arises from the territory once called the European Orient. Therefore, I aim to pursue several questions: Which alternative narratives on the Balkans emerged from the in-between position of the Encounters (Kanitz, Durham, and Pupin) in contrast to the East–West dichotomy? What possible courses of action were offered to them in their in-between position? Which narratives about the Balkans were transferred out of their in-between position into their country of origin/into the Western public? More importantly for Jenkins, how were they translated into their new normative system? These processes of negotiation, both on the spot and at home, dealing with and thinking about the Encounters’ own culture in a foreign country, the transfer and translation process, as well as the dissemination of meaning production through Encounters, are at the core of my research.⁵⁴ I am especially interested in the narratives of counter-hegemony and counterpublics regarding the notion of the European Orient and Balkans.⁵⁵ At what point did the traditional narratives “overflow” and exceed the narratives of

⁵¹ Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, “Mythos und Politik—(nicht Nur) in der Antike. Anregungen und Angebote der neuen ‘historischen Politikforschung,’” *Historische Zeitschrift* 288, no. 1 (2009): 18, <https://doi.org/10.1524/hzhz.2009.0001>.

⁵² See, for example, Harald Heppner, ed., *Der Weg führt über Österreich... Zur Geschichte des Nachrichtenwesens von und nach Südosteuropa. 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Wien: Böhlau, 1996), Chapter 1–4.

⁵³ Fiona Jenkins, “Whoever are histories for? Pluralization, border thinking, and potential Histories,” in: *History and Theory* 60, no. 4 (2021): 108.

⁵⁴ See also: Stefan Rohdewald, Albrecht Fuess, and Stephan Conermann, *Transottomanica*, “Eastern European-Ottoman-Persian Mobility Dynamics,” in: *Diyâr. Zeitschrift für Osmanistik, Türkei- und Nahostforschung* 2, no. 1 (2021): 10.

⁵⁵ Niklas Venema, *Counterpublics and Structural Change in Media and Politics: A Theoretical Framework on Transformations Within a Long-Term Historical Perspective*, *Javnost, The Public* 31, no. 2 (2024): 231–252, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2024.2342216>

counter-hegemony and counterpublics, and help determine “what has been adhered to memory or reinforced by the violence at the borders”?⁵⁶ In other words, at what point did the epistemological dominance of the West surface?

The selected Encounters did share their experience and knowledge in the public sphere. They published books, newspaper articles, scientific articles, and pamphlets; they gained a voice in “subpublics” (German: *Teilöffentlichkeiten*) and counterpublics as members of social and scientific organizations. However, we must consider that not all of their published and distributed sources have survived or been digitalized.⁵⁷ The reconstruction of the actions of the actors is limited, which must be reflected methodologically as part of the source criticism and contextualization. Another question that needs contextualization and clarification is the form and reach of distribution and reception. Therefore, the theories on public sphere from the fields of communication science and historical communication research are implemented. The public sphere as an intermediary space gained momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century, when freedom of the press and expression of opinion were initially enshrined in law. This development led to an explosive increase in newspapers, which were considered the leading media at the time. The age of mass media had started.⁵⁸

With mass media, the notion of a public sphere that enables political participation and democratic processes arose. The public sphere as an analytical framework has been extensively discussed, especially after the work of Jürgen Habermas. Due to the mostly national legal and social frameworks and national audiences from which the public sphere stems,

⁵⁶ Jenkins, “Whoever are histories for?” 117.

⁵⁷ Lara Putnam, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,” in: *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (2016), 386. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/121.2.377>.

⁵⁸ Gabriele Melischek and Josef Seethaler, “Öffentlichkeit und Presse in der Habsburgermonarchie,” in: *Aufklärungsdiskurse in der deutschsprachigen Regionalpresse Zentraleuropas, 1800–1920/L’héritage des Lumières dans la presse de langue allemande en Europe centrale, 1800–1920*, Thomas Nicklas and Matjaž Birk, eds. (Reims: Le Comptoir: 2022), 26.

analyzing a global public appears challenging⁵⁹; thus the theories of the public (sphere) are continuously being further adapted.⁶⁰

To study the powers and the limits of global publics, scholars can use three different approaches, as pointed out by historians Valeska Huber and Jürgen Osterhammel: they can examine technologies of global information transfer, common idioms of global communication, or publicity campaigns and global activism. Global publics as a plural concept empower at least the transnational flow of information and knowledge, which is my point of contact. Their scope is limited due to forms of communication control (censorship, interception, powerful private enterprises, or governments).

[G]lobal publics appear not as neutral arenas for the dissemination of quantifiable pieces of information, but as spaces conflicting normative claims and as a boundless field for the instrumental employment of words, images, and numbers. ... How such communication beyond borders ... is structured, who steers it, and who has a right to speak and take the initiative are questions which are just beginning to be addressed.⁶¹

How to analyze a public sphere that is considered to extend across more than one country and that is divided into several (global, national, counter-) publics? I rely on the approach of Markus Arnold that is central to transnational historical research, because his theory of the public sphere includes the connection between the macro and micro levels. On the micro level, Arnold depicts the actors, or, as he calls them, “public narrators.” These are individuals who contribute to the publics by communicating their social expectations and their own intentions; they pursue their narrative strategies, they address their target group(s), and they act according to the instructions of their clients or sending institutions. Within a discourse, imagined as a social space of communication and referred to as the “public,” the negotiation of rules and social roles is reflected; this has consequences for the micro- and macrodynamics. By engaging with the micro level, a certain discourse or public (or public discourse) executes

⁵⁹Valeska Huber and Jürgen Osterhammel, “Introduction. Global Publics,” in *Global Publics. Their Power and Their Limits, 1870–1990*, Valeska Huber and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 8–9.

⁶⁰Nick Couldry, “What and Where is the Transnationalized Public Sphere?,” in: *Transnationalizing the Public Sphere*, Kate Nash, ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 44.

⁶¹Huber and Osterhammel, “Introduction,” 3.

taboos, power relations, and hierarchies, but also gives meaning to mental maps, metaphors, and historical narratives. How a discourse develops depends on the one hand on participating narrators; on the other hand, the narrators' narrations depend on what kind of public exists, which in turn is regulated by the macrodynamics. On the macro level, a variety of factors must be considered: first and foremost, the society itself. Arnold shares insights into what he means by society; he names the "public regimes" as an outcome of what is negotiated within the discourse, as well as the "infrastructure of the public." With the latter, he broadens the idea of a media infrastructure, like a publishing house and its entities, and names other structures and concepts that influence the work of the media: besides media laws and political affiliation, he draws attention to society's trust in science and in other authorities that could impact public discourse. This is quite similar to Epple's concept of macrodynamics. As mentioned, not only the infrastructures of the public, but also the available public regimes play a role in the discourse, establishing themselves in the negotiation process (or in a "narrative discourse") between narrators and society.⁶²

From the approach described by Arnold, two thoughts are important for a transnational model of the public sphere. First, according to his theoretical concept, I found that distinguishing between public sphere and public(s) is fruitful for a transnational analysis. The public is not only dictating from the macro level, but is in constant exchange with either a meso level (historical narratives) or microdynamics. The actors or public narrators are operating in a certain public, they choose and shape their public with their (narrative) practices. Also, a certain public discourse is interpreted by actors differently. However, i.e. mass media or academia (scientific discourse) are considered as professionalized publics, in which rules and norms apply that participating actors must consider. This makes it possible to include the idea of multiple and different publics, counterpublics, and subpublics (*Teilöffentlichkeiten*), including their narratives, that exist at the same time under the roof of one transnational or global public sphere. While the public sphere as the outcome of interconnecting public regimes, infrastructures, discourses, and narrations (or actions) allows for

⁶² Markus Arnold, "Erzählen. Die ethisch-politische Funktion narrative Diskurse," in: *Erzählungen im Öffentlichen. Über die Wirkung narrativer Diskurse*, Markus Arnold, Gert Dressel, and Willy Viehöver, eds. (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2012), 54; Markus Arnold, "Öffentlichkeitsregime. Über Macht, Wissen und narrative Diskurse," in: *Erzählungen im Öffentlichen. Über die Wirkung narrativer Diskurse*, Markus Arnold, Gert Dressel, and Willy Viehöver, eds. (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2012), 385.

several publics or public discourses, the public narrators on the micro level can contribute according to their expectations and experiences, willingly or unwillingly, to the process of establishing and solidifying a public discourse.

Secondly, acknowledging several publics as well as several historical narratives ensures that the national frame is included, but does not hinder the transnational perspectives. On the opposite side, the model of the transnational public sphere highlights a bottom-up actor-oriented perspective that enters into several discourses, influences discourses, and is influenced by discourses, which are in turn influenced by national public regimes and public infrastructures. It reconstructs the path of a historical narrative from the public narrators through the national “assessment” to the transnational application. In doing so, it observes counterpublics that arise along this path, as well as the national and transnational power strategies for silencing them.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

In my analysis of the transfers of Orient or Balkan images by Encounters, I use the term “historical narratives.”⁶³ Historical narratives transport notions of the Orient and the Balkans, and they contain narrations about the population’s history and fragments of knowledge about their past events and empires. As such, they are comparable to political myths, because they follow a political goal or legitimate contemporary actions (e.g., building railways). Just like political myths,⁶⁴ historical narratives fulfill several functions for the society in which they are distributed. Historical narratives, which are present in the collective memory, can have a mobilizing and legitimizing effect by creating realities and providing

⁶³I rely on the concept of *Geschichtsbilder*; see: Karl-Ernst Jeismann, “Geschichtsbilder. Zeitdeutung und Zukunftsperspektive,” in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 51–52 (2002): 13–22.

⁶⁴The conceptual framing of the historical narratives is in addition to the basic approaches of Jeismann, which are supported by theoretical insights from historical myth research. Historical narratives like myths are constructed realities that explain the past; they provide orientation and legitimate actions, and they appropriate time horizons and spatial concepts for their purposes; see: Heidi Hein-Kircher, “Krisen in der Erinnerung—Erinnerung in Krisen: Die Bedeutung politischer Mythen für das Geschichtsbewusstsein und zur Krisenbewältigung,” in: *Handbuch Krisenforschung*, Frank Bösch, Nicole Deitelhoff, and Stefan Kroll eds. (Wiesbaden: Springer 2020), 80–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-28571-5_5.

orientation. The historical narratives create an integrating effect by excluding others; they reflect a self-image by measuring one's own reality against others', as historical communication research has explored.⁶⁵ Communication scientists refer to national master narratives in history using the term "historical narratives,"⁶⁶ but my research was not limited by this definition. I found a set of historical narratives, and I aimed to show their plurality, or rather the most robust one.

The aim in investigating historical narratives is to reconstruct their action and power in the public sphere and to break up their dichotomous network of relationships (Europe and the Balkans/West and East).⁶⁷ My overarching research question is therefore: What historical narratives of the European Orient and the Balkans emerge from selected Encounters in the course of the nineteenth century, and in what forms and ways are they carried forward in the (transnational) public sphere?

In order to analyze the formation and dissemination mechanisms for historical narratives of the European Orient, and to interpret their power of action and effect, the concept of *mental maps* must be considered. According to Alan K. Henrikson, a US historian of diplomatic history, "maps in the mind" depict an ordered structure for individuals according to how they imagine their geographical environment, which in turn influences how they think or act. The imagined order is perceptual and thus changeable, and it is not oriented toward actual locations: "A mental map is as much a *temporal* cross-section as a *spatial* one. At any moment, an individual's mental map is a composite of past experiences, present observations, and further expectations. Memory and imagination inform it, as well as current realities."⁶⁸ The European Orient represents an object par excellence for a mental map. Without concrete boundaries,⁶⁹ the region

⁶⁵ Maria Löblich, "Collective Identity and the History of Communication Studies," *History of Media Studies* 1 (2021), 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid.; Gabriele Balbi and Juraj Kittler, "One-to-One and One-to-Many Dichotomy. Grand Theories, Periodization, and Historical Narratives in Communication Studies," *International Journal of Communication* 10 (2016): 1972; Emanuel Kulczycki, "Writing a History of Communication Models. Modes of Historical Narrative," in *Models of Communication. Theoretical and Philosophical Approaches*, Mats Bergman, Kęstas Kirtiklis, and Johan Siebers, eds. (New York-London: Routledge, 2020), 97–112.

⁶⁷ Balbi and Kittler, "One-to-One and One-to-Many Dichotomy."

⁶⁸ Henrikson, "The geographical 'Mental Maps,'" 505.

⁶⁹ Wolfgang Geier, "Ami Boué in der Südosteuropa-Kunde des 19. Jahrhunderts," in: *Eduard Suess und die Entwicklung der Erdwissenschaften zwischen Biedermeier und Sezession*, ed. Johannes Seidl (Wien: Vienna University Press, 2009), 236.

has been outlined based on historical events, such as the Ottoman conquest, as well as along the lines of the Slavic language family. Historian Larry Wolff argues that in French sources, where the regional designation *l'orient de l'Europe* first appeared in the mid-eighteenth century, the European Orient includes Russia and Poland in addition to southeastern Europe, which was under Ottoman rule. Thus, in French writings from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, *l'orient de l'Europe* meant Eastern Europe. The creation and notion of Eastern Europe as a concept contributed to the identity of Western Europe.⁷⁰ The Orient and Eastern Europe was a region that was fluid and thought of in relation to or in distinction from Western Europe, but not one that was marked out on a map.

The mental map fulfills an important function; in the same way that a metaphor functions in language, it sorts and structures the narratives inherent within it.⁷¹ While a historical narrative can contain numerous, even contradictory narrations, prevalent metaphors in the media are logically structured and thus comprehensible—they serve as simple communication devices. Metaphors are characterized by their simple surface structure, which can be received quickly. Behind it lies a complex deep structure, which logically sorts and builds up a master narrative, like a map. Behind the mental maps and metaphors lies a comprehensible narrative network,⁷² in other words, how and according to what plan a “spoken image” is constructed. By contrast, historical narratives “do not merge into a concrete ‘text’, but are simultaneously more and less than that, namely a kind of substratum,” according to Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, who analyzed suggestions and offerings from a new “historical political research.” He notes that historical narratives are open for new figuration within the discourse.⁷³ Nevertheless, they have the effect of creating reality and meaning.

Hölkeskamp further explains that important tools for political myths and historical narratives are visual representations. Therefore it strengthens my methodological approach to include metaphors (spoken images)

⁷⁰ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 6–15.

⁷¹ George Lakoff, “Metaphor and War. The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf,” *Peace Research* 23, no. 2/3 (May 1991), 25, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23609916>.

⁷² Annette Kosakowski, *Sprachliche Konstruktionen nationaler Identität im postsowjetischen Belarus. Nominations- und Metaphernanalyse am Material belarussischer Staats- und Oppositionszeitungen (1990 bis 2001)* (Munich: Sagner, 2013), 317.

⁷³ Hölkeskamp, “Mythos und Politik,” 8, 17, and 20.

and pictures (visualizations) in my analysis. For the reconstruction of historical narratives within the transnational public sphere, I consider metaphors and mental maps to be elements of the Oriental and/or Balkan discourse that appear in textual and pictorial form. Thus, I have incorporated methodological steps from political iconography and iconology,⁷⁴ serial image analysis,⁷⁵ and metaphor analysis⁷⁶ into my discourse analysis of these transnational perspectives on the Balkans.

⁷⁴The works around the German art historian Martin Warnke had the greatest influence on the development of Political Iconography and Iconology as a method. The methodological goal is to investigate the relationship between *Abbild* und *Denkbild*; see: Marion G. Müller and Stephanie Geise, *Grundlagen der Visuellen Kommunikation*, 2nd edition (Konstanz: UVK-Verlag, 2015), 196; Marion G. Müller, "Ikonomie und Ikonologie, visuelle Kontextanalyse, visuelles Framing," in *Die Entschlüsselung der Bilder. Methoden zur Erforschung visueller Kommunikation. Ein Handbuch*, Thomas Petersen and Clemens Schwender, eds. (Köln: Halem, 2011), 38. For the interpretation of patterns of political symbols, see the *Handbuch der Politischen Ikonographie* (*Handbook of Political Iconography*), which includes a lexically prepared collection. The first volume begins with the iconographic description of "Abdankung" ("abdication") and ends with "Huldigung" ("homage"); the second covers "Imperator" ("emperor") to "Zwerg" ("dwarf"); see: Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke, and Hendrik Ziegler, eds., *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie. Vol. 1 and 2* (München: Fleck, 2011).

⁷⁵Based on Political Iconography and Iconology, I also used a serial analysis for the illustrations, which allowed an interpretation of the entire pictorial source corpus. Continuities and discontinuities are observed over the entire period, and recurring and changing motifs are determined. The goal is sensitization to frequently occurring themes; one result can be the enforcement of a certain image pattern; see: Ulrike Pilarczyk and Ulrike Mietzner, *Das reflektierte Bild. Die seriell-ikonografische Fotoanalyse in den Erziehungs- und Sozialwissenschaften* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2005), 131–146.

⁷⁶Metaphors are not understood as stylistic devices, but as an instrument with which communication is interpreted and understood; see: Constanze Spieß, "Diskurslinguistische Metaphernanalyse," in *Methoden der Metaphernforschung und -analyse*, ed. Matthias Junge (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2014), 31–58. The American linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson explain that metaphors can only be read as a whole, that is, in relation to their context. The metaphor alone says little; only in interaction with the context in which the metaphor appears as a figure does it become receivable. In this process, different meanings can be highlighted (highlighting), hidden (hiding), or even mixed (blending) for the same target term (= metaphor). Thus, metaphors can always take on new meanings and are often only deconstructed by observing their metaphorization process, by discovering a concept behind the metaphors; see: George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, London [1980] 2003; quoted from: Spieß, "Diskurslinguistische Metaphernanalyse," 36–37.

THE REGION WITHOUT A NAME

In addition to public spheres as communication spaces, metaphors as memory spaces, and mental maps as spaces of imagination,⁷⁷ there is the aspect of territoriality as political space in relation to regional designations. It is accompanied by political-etymological and political-denominational assumptions and reflects the uncertain geographical determination of the Balkans. Across which countries does the Balkan region stretch? Not answering this question seems to be the best way to avoid political incorrectness. In the absence of this option, the term Southeast Europe is favored, especially within the scientific community.

A glimpse at the literature from recent years shows that the discussion is far from over. Literary scholar Boris Previšić edited the book *The Balkans Do Not Exist*, explaining the title in its introduction: What is meant is that the Balkans do not exist in the singular and with geographically fixed borders, but that they represent a complex cultural object that is subject to processes of change.⁷⁸ Philosopher Mirjana Stošić highlights the idea that the Balkans, which are already an established construct within our reality, cannot simply be withdrawn from a discourse about them.⁷⁹ The result of this unresolved debate is often intentional avoidance of the term Balkans by the social sciences, which does not help in dealing with the issue. It would be more efficient to address its (historical) challenges, and to actively discuss the narratives it carries.

This policy of avoidance is reflected in the creation of a new term for political usage, without directly questioning the concept of the Balkans. In 2014, during the course of the Berlin Process, the European Union issued the designation "Western Balkan states," from which the so-called WB6—Western Balkans Six—was developed, admittedly without using the term "countries" because Kosovo is not recognized as a country by all five of

⁷⁷Alexander C. T. Geppert, Uffa Jensen, and Jörn Weinhold, "Verräumlichung: Kommunikative Praktiken in historischer Perspektive, 1840–1930," in: *Ortsgespräche. Raum und Kommunikation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Alexander C. T. Geppert, Uffa Jensen, and Jörn Weinhold, eds. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005), 16–49; Christoph Nübel, "Was ist neu am 'spatial turn'? Potenziale und Grenzen deutscher geschichtswissenschaftlicher Raumkonzepte vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute," *Historische Mitteilungen* 27 (2015), 160–185.

⁷⁸Martina Baleva and Boris Previšić, "Les Balkans n'existent pas! Plurale Erbschaften und interdisziplinäre Herausforderungen," in: "*Den Balkan gibt es nicht*." *Erbschaften im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Boris Previšić (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 7–24.

⁷⁹Mirjana Stošić, "Being-with(out) Balkan. Eulogy for the Excess," in: *Medien & Zeit* 31, no. 1 (2016): 5–11.

the states. At the political level, the EU thus found a way to capture the Balkans linguistically, without touching its legacy: the term WB6 is as value-free as it is technocratic.⁸⁰ At the everyday level, the now-problematic term Balkans has been replaced by the term *region*. In academic publications, the term *region* can be found as a synonym for Southeast Europe. This consequently produces communication barriers, for example when someone is asked: What do you call the language spoken in this *region*? During my fieldwork, I was told that it is simply called *our language*, *naš jezik*. It is not Serbo-Croatian, nor is it BHSM (Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian-Montenegrin/bosanski-hrvatsko-srpsko-crnogorski), but simply *our language*. The term *our language* prevails in the *region*, which includes only a part of the Balkans, namely the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The prefix “jugo,” often used in the diaspora communities, is not a satisfying option given their divided past.

The (regional) designations Balkans, Yugoslavia, ex-Yugoslavia, and Serbo-Croatia, which are freighted with narratives from the past, bring historical images to the surface that need to be handled sensitively. The term *Southeast Europe* seems to be an attempt at neutralization,⁸¹ and the term *region* sounds more like a declaration of surrender, given the futility of finding a consensus. Does the academic community prefer the term *region* because it is not tied up with historical implications? Does a nameless *region* simultaneously become a less historic one?

In my work, I investigated this classification, which had been commonly used in Europe since the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, in the media as well as in political and academic circles. At that time, Europe called the region the European Orient. This term contained centuries of history, and I am aiming to present the effect of it until the present day, in media and political discourse, in the concluding chapter.⁸²

⁸⁰ The linguist Pål Kolstø draws attention to the introduction and political intention of the term “Western Balkans” by the European Union since the 1990s. The naming of spaces is also accompanied by political “power games”; see: Pål Kolstø, “‘Western Balkans’ as the New Balkans: Regional Names as Tools for Stigmatisation and Exclusion,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 7 (2016): 1261.

⁸¹ Kolstø, “‘Western Balkans’ as the New Balkans,” 1253.

⁸² The attribute “Oriental” has hardly lost its topicality—Kolstø uses it in his survey of Southeast Europe (Kolstø, “‘Western Balkans’ as the New Balkans,” 1258), while the regional designation European Orient has been replaced by other terms (Balkans, Balkan Peninsula, Southeast Europe, etc.) since the late nineteenth century and has fallen into oblivion. Nevertheless, this example shows the aftermath of the space discovered as the European Orient by Encounters, as the book states.

In scholarly papers, historian Holm Sundhaussen and his colleague, Maria Todorova, debated the geographical classification and delimitation of the Balkans, which later replaced the European Orient as an imagined region. The Ottoman neologism "Balkans" only became established toward the end of the nineteenth century, as the influence from Constantinople was waning—metaphorically speaking, as the Orient withdrew from Europe. These two experts on Southeast Europe, however, disagreed on whether the Balkans as a space constituted a category of analysis. While Sundhaussen advocates for *area studies*, such as the geographical area of the Balkans, Todorova links the countries of the Balkans to her elaborate analytical category of "historical legacies," which methodologically embraces the Balkans as a concept through shared past cultures. In his article "Europa balcanica," Sundhaussen encounters an "empirically based cluster of features"⁸³ that shapes the Balkans as a space *sui generis*, although it must be borne in mind that these features are not treated as separable.⁸⁴ He fills the space with shared characteristics. Todorova emphasizes that the Balkans cannot be grasped spatially, but instead through a temporal category, or more precisely, through the dominant Ottoman legacy that has accompanied the Southeastern European territory for centuries. Ottoman rule is the most temporally extended continuous feature of Southeast Europe; this centuries-long affiliation resulted in the "Balkans" in a cultural sense,⁸⁵ which—also due to their Ottoman affiliation—were initially thought of as the European Orient.

I build on this argument—in the Western European imagination, the territory southeast of the Habsburg Empire has been associated with the Orient ever since it was dominated by another (Oriental) sphere of

⁸³ Holm Sundhaussen, "Europa balcanica," 651.

⁸⁴ Ibid.; Holm Sundhaussen, "Der 'wilde' Balkan. Imagination und Realität einer europäischen Konfliktregion," *Ost- West. Europäische Perspektiven* 1, no. 1 (2000), 3–15; Maria Todorova, "Spacing Europe. What is a Historical Region?," *East Central Europe* 32, no. 1/2 (2005): 59–78; Maria Todorova, "Historische Vermächtnisse als Analysekategorie. Der Fall Südosteuropa," in *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf*, Karl Kaser, Dagmar Gramshammer-Hohl, and Robert Pichler, eds. (Klagenfurt et al.: Wieser, 2003), 227–252; Stefan Troebst, "'Geschichtsregion'. Historisch-mesoregionale Konzeptionen in den Kulturwissenschaften," *Europäische Geschichte Online* (2010), accessed March 11, 2023, <http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/crossroads/geschichtsregion>; Previšić, *Literatur topographiert. Der Balkan und die postjugoslawischen Kriege im Fadenkreuz des Erzählens* (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2014), 54–56.

⁸⁵ Previšić, *Literatur topographiert*, 16–17.

influence in the late Middle Ages, with the fall of the “Great Serbian Empire,”⁸⁶ the largest power in Southeast Europe at that time. The geographical location of the European Orient, namely on the continent of Europe, led to the designation of the European Orient, which resulted in a “mental” separation of the Ottoman-ruled Balkans on the mental map of Western Europe; this fits into the history of the East and West discourse. Sundhaussen as well as Todorova emphasize that the exclusion of the Balkans from Europe at the end of the Middle Ages is arbitrary because their history was always inextricably linked to Europe. But the prevailing mental map played a major role in the Western and Central European worldview of East-West and Orient-Occident.

Based on these approaches, I pursue the question of the construction and deconstruction of the European Orient, or the Balkans, in a threefold manner: 1) Sending institutions: What is the interplay between science and Orientalization in the nineteenth century, given that this was the founding period of numerous scientific institutions? What purpose did the variety of social functions in the Orientalization, or, as Todorova reminds us, the Balkanization of Southeast Europe, have for both the West and the Balkans? 2) Encounters: How much power did the Encounter have to influence the discourse on Orientalization? How did the Encounters manage to merge their own expectations with their experience on the ground? How much of the Orient did the Encounters discover in (Western) Europe, and how much of the West did they find in the Balkans? When, where, and why does this composition change? 3) Collecting institutions: How should the role of media and Orientalization be evaluated? Which processes of Orientalization had long-term effects and how were they preserved (in public)? My focus is on the analysis of historical narratives of the Balkans influenced by Encounters and distributed in the West, especially the image of the Serbs who dispersed and settled throughout the European Orient, against the backdrop of their political and economic agency. I reconstructed the process of how the European Orient became the Balkans, ending with the formation of Yugoslavia.

⁸⁶The English newspapers refer to the “Servian Empire”; see: Serbia, *Daily Telegraph*, 9.10.1908, 4.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

After discussing the literature about Balkan images and notions of the Orient and Occident, as well as presenting my research questions and theoretical approaches in Chap. 1, I introduce the Encounters in Chap. 2.

For the following chapters, the "Columbus of the Balkans," Felix Philipp Kanitz, is the most important source. In Chap. 3, I show how Western cartographers and travelers researched the borders and areas of the European Orient in order to map uncharted territories. From a Western perspective, these territories were interpreted as unclaimed and uncharted ground, and therefore adaptable. Chap. 4 reconstructs the notion of the heterogeneous populated spaces within the European Orient, which were transformed into national peoples on an ethnographic map by Western ethnographers, like Kanitz. Chapter 5 shows how Kanitz and other travelers perceived the living environment of the Serbs in the European Orient, their traditions, and their beliefs, and Chap. 6 shows how they perceived the process of rapprochement with Europe.

Chap. 7 presents and discusses a new Encounter and her travel sources: in the first two decades of the twentieth century, Mary Edith Durham travels through the European Orient, which is now known as the Balkans. The main topics found in Durham's sources are the oppressed Albanian population in Kosovo and Serbia's guilt relating to the First World War. These topics seem to be independent from each other, but they are closely interwoven, developing an image of the unstable Serbian state and system that reflects badly on the Balkans as a whole.

The last chapter, Chap. 8, focuses on the transatlantic perspective and places the Serbian immigrant community in the United States at its center. The transatlantic narratives created by this community aim to support the formation of Yugoslavia, promoting its foundation with a guarantee of peace.

The European Orient became the Balkans, and in 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later renamed Yugoslavia, was the country at the center of Southeast Europe. This book aims to highlight the constant exchange that the history and historiography of Southeast Europe (Oriental Europe) had with the West (Occident). The two imagined, divided spaces formed a consensus around the historiography of the European Orient that had disappeared by around 1900. At this point an "Americanization" of the Balkans began, which again shapes the public

sphere at the end of the twentieth century, as discussed in the final considerations.

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CHAPTER 2

The Gateway to Another World: Oriental Studies in the Nineteenth Century

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Abstract For Europe, the Southeast part of the continent, ruled by the Ottoman Empire, was forgotten for centuries. Under the concept of “European Turkey” or “European Orient”, it came to the attention of European policymakers when Serbia’s aspirations for independence began to be noticed in 1804. Felix Philipp Kanitz, a renowned 19th-century Balkan scholar, published extensively on Serbian and Balkan history. His lavishly illustrated ethnographic works shaped Western narratives, especially in the German-speaking world. His voluminous documentation of Serbian lands helped to integrate the Southeast into the image of the “Danube Monarchy”, presenting the region as historically and culturally rich and considering his work as a collaboration with the local population. His extended posthumous edition of Serbia from 1868 further enhanced

his influence and provided an invaluable insight into the growing political interest in the Balkans at the turn of the century. At that time, Mary Edith Durham was a prominent explorer of the Balkans. Like Kanitz before her, she used her artistic skills and ethnographic observations to document life in Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Albania, making her work accessible and influential in the English-speaking world.

Keywords Travel writers • Travelogues • European Orient • European Turkey • Central Europe • Danube region

Although interest in the European Orient increased following the arguments about the “Oriental Adriatic question,” the idea of it was vague in nineteenth-century Europe. There had been few points of contact with areas south of the Danube, on the border between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires. The Habsburgs established a territory called the military border that lies directly next to the Danube and Sava rivers, which formed a seemingly impenetrable barrier. Of course people living in the border areas could cross it, which is why these peoples have similar traditions. However, Western travelers and researchers described the entrance to Southeast Europe as a gateway to another world, one that was not so easy to reach until the establishment of steamboat navigation (1829) and train routes (mid-nineteenth century), based on their prefabricated assumptions about a place called the Orient. The Oriental world needed to be different from what they knew, because othering as well as belonging are human conditions, and this otherness needed to be explained for themselves and for the audience at home.¹ The travel writer Felix Philipp Kanitz, who was born in Budapest and lived in Vienna, drafted a narrative that helped explain the disconnect between the two places, while also satisfying the Western expectations of exoticism. His publications, written in the second half of the nineteenth century, mention on numerous occasions that the people living there had sunk into an “enchanted sleep” (German: *Zauberschlaf*), from which they had just awoken.

In the former territories of Turkey, however, the five hundred years of Islamic rule meant a standstill in all fields of culture. The great inventions and advances, which had given the Occident its present physiognomy, had

¹Christoph Wulf, “Towards a Historical and Cultural Anthropology,” *Dialogue and Universalism* 4 (2018): 114.

passed through these lands without a trace, since they were hermetically sealed off from it by frontier and plague cordons. With the planting of the blood banner, these territories sank into a magical, sleep-like trance, with young Serbia's awakening happening a few decades prior. It is there where the unprejudiced traveler must appreciate every germ of progress, even the slightest progress, as the indisputable hope for the future.²

"The morning of the awakening"³ is another metaphor he used for the beginning of the Serbian uprisings, which lasted from 1804 to 1813 and became widespread again from 1815 until the independence of the Serbian principality in 1817. Felix Philipp Kanitz had already adopted the time frame of a "five-hundred-year rule of Islam" from the local Kosovo mythology. Five centuries probably suited the narrative better than the actual three and a half.⁴ Of course, he was not the first to be fascinated by the centuries of Ottoman rule (Fig. 2.1).

Even before the nineteenth century, which was marked by revolts and uprisings against Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, travelers and researchers tried to describe the European Orient as well as the more distant unknown territories. Early examples from the seventeenth century were devoted to larger journeys, such as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Les Six Voyages de J.B. Tavernier* (1st edition Paris 1675) to India, Persia, and Turkey, or Jacob Spons and Georgius Wheler's *Italian, Dalmatian, Greek, and Oriental Travel Descriptions. In which all sorts of strange antiquities, formerly unknown in Europe, are contained, which ... in the years 1675 and 1676 travelled through, diligently*

²Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Erster Band: Land und Bevölkerung* (Leipzig: Meyer, 1904), 253. This quotation, like many others, is already found almost identically in Kanitz's first monograph on Serbia; see: Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Serbien. Historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859–1868* (Leipzig: Fries, 1868), 15. Original: "In den ehemaligen Gebieten der Türkei jedoch bezeichnet die fünfhundertjährige Herrschaft des Islams ein gleich langes Stillstehen auf allen Gebieten der Kultur. Die grossartigen Erfindungen und Fortschritte, welche dem Occident seine heutige Physiognomie aufgedrückt haben, gingen an diesem von ihm durch Grenz- und Pestkordone hermetisch abgeschlossenen gewesenen Ländern spurlos vorüber. Mit der Aufpflanzung des Blutbanners versanken diese Territorien in eine Art Zauberschlaf, und auch für das junge Serbien ist erst seit wenigen Jahrzehnten der Morgen des Erwachens angebrochen. Dort muss der vorurteilsfreie Reisende jeden Keim, auch den geringsten Fortschritt als Bürgschaften einer hoffnungsvollen Zukunft würdigen."

³Kanitz, *Serbien*, 15; Original: "Morgen des Erwachens."

⁴Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 35.

N 1297. 9. Mai 1868.]

Illustrierte Zeitung.



Fig. 2.1 Traveling by boat on the Danube to Serbia. (In *Illustrierte Zeitung*, May 9, 1868, 333. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

collected, and conveyed to the world, for useful news, into print (title of the German edition of 1681). Due to a lack of other testimonies, the travelogue of a British physician, Edward Brown, who traveled from Vienna through Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Greece but also through Austria, Styria, Carinthia, parts of Slovenia, and northern Italy, is one of the most popular writings cited by explorers and researchers.

Budapest was the entrance to a new, completely different world compared to the West, said Brown.⁵

Historian Larry Wolff interpreted the border separating the Habsburg monarchy and Hungary from Eastern Europe as a portal: travelers would have discovered Eastern Europe on the other side of it.⁶ Alongside the imagined border between East and West was the physical military border. In its longest iteration, beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, this border extended along the Adriatic to what is now Western Ukraine and served as a protective wall against the Ottoman Empire.⁷ Behind it lay (South) Eastern Europe.

Wolff argues in his monograph *Inventing Eastern Europe* that the region of Eastern Europe was invented in the eighteenth century, particularly before the context of the notion of progress that “related the idea of civilization to a model of development.” At that time, Encounters, such as diplomats, cartographers, natural scientists, philosophers, merchants, and their accompanying wives who needed to travel to Constantinople or St Petersburg, linked their experience to this emerging notion of “European civilization” and “Western Europe” and described their travel encounters against this background. They gave a region called Eastern Europe, located largely on Habsburg’s east and southeast borders, the status of being at development scale rather than solely describing its way of life as barbarism.⁸ It was the epoch of Enlightenment, which in global historical

⁵ Edward Brown, *A brief account of some travels in divers parts of Europe, viz. Hyngaria, Servia, Bvlgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Avstria, Styria, Carinthia, Corniola, and Frivli, through a great part of Germany, and the Low-Countries, through Marca Trevisana, and Lombardy on both sides the Po* (London: Tooke, 1685), 46. The testimonies of Edward Brown were also known to Felix Philipp Kanitz. He described Brown as an English physician who traveled to these countries in 1669 on behalf of the London academic society; see: Kanitz, *Servia*, 267. Also well known to Kanitz was Lady Montagu’s travelogue. Both travelers provided him with a good source for Serbia: Ibid, 516.

⁶ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, 26–39.

⁷ Daniela Angetter, “Die Militärgrenze: Von der Sicherheits- und Pufferzone zur neuen EU-Außengrenze,” in *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, eds. (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 208.

⁸ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 12–13.

terms was an epoch⁹ that fully awakened Europeans' interest in the border areas in the East and Southeast.

[It] was Eastern Europe's location within Europe, though not fully European, which caused the notions of backwardness and development to mediate between the poles of civilization and barbarism. In fact, Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century provided Western Europe with its first model of underdevelopment – a concept that we now apply all over the globe.¹⁰

A travelogue by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, from 1717, reported on Southeastern European countries, which, in her view, were attached to Europe but did not quite belong to it. She traveled from Vienna to Constantinople to visit her husband, the English ambassador. Lady Mary cited another point of entry to Eastern Europe: Serbia. Zemun, now part of Belgrade, was within the Habsburg monarchy. When she reached the Serbian part of Belgrade, she found that Oriental and Arab culture dominated, although the population belonged to the Orthodox "Greek Church," as she additionally noted.¹¹

The portal leading to "European Turkey"¹² was located in the easternmost empire of Western Europe, the Habsburg monarchy. Its eastern and southern borders represented the entrance to another world, which was imagined as different, Oriental, fascinating, and worth discovering. From its cultural and administrative center of Vienna, numerous journeys were made to the (South) Eastern and at the same time Oriental neighboring states, as far as present-day Turkey and Russia.

The more the Ottoman Empire proved to be unstable, while the Russian Empire gained strength, the greater the European interest in Southeast Europe became. A flood of travel literature, including reports on study trips and expeditions, was published in the course of the

⁹Jürgen Osterhammel, "Welten des Kolonialismus im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," in *Das Europa der Aufklärung und die aussereuropäische koloniale Welt*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 20.

¹⁰Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 9.

¹¹Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 38–42.

¹²In his brief self-testimony from around 1863, Kanitz still speaks of "European Turkey," but beginning in his work *Serbia* from 1868 he supported the idea that this young country could be part of Europe, which had an effect on his choice of terms. See: Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie* [self-testimony], n.d. (about 1863), H.I.N.-25564, Nachlass Constantin von Wurzbach, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [Vienna City Library].

nineteenth century. Apart from British travelogues,¹³ it was mainly German and Austrian travelers who sought to explore the countries not yet charted. Serbia itself, the land from the Danube and Sava to the Timok, was literally “terra incognita,” concluded Konstantinović, and according to his thesis, the “German Romantics” (meaning travelers from Germany and Austria or later Austria-Hungary) opened up the country south of the Danube, and its people, to Europeans.¹⁴ Radmila Pejić states that the “Serbian lands” were considered “terra incognita” for British travelers until the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁵ At the very least, crossing the Sava was seen as leaving the comfort zone or crossing a cultural demarcation line and was experienced as a shock, as noted by British literary scholar Andrew Hammond.¹⁶

Still, the appeal of such a journey may not have been purely the desire to experience an adventure in the fascinating and exotic area along the borders of Europe.¹⁷ In keeping with the Romantic literary period, which lasted roughly from 1790 to 1840,¹⁸ the telling of myths and fairy tales may have inspired travel literature from the Orient. At the same time, the reception of these myths and fairy tales, which also found expression in paintings by traveling artists from the West,¹⁹ served as a window to the

¹³ Andrew Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans. Themes and contexts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi 2010), 72.

¹⁴ Zoran Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1960), 48–49.

¹⁵ Radmila Pejić, “Herbert Vivian. A British Traveller in Late Nineteenth-Century Serbia,” *Balkanica* XLIV (2013): 257.

¹⁶ Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans*, 20.

¹⁷ Gabriella Schubert, “Imaginäre Geografien der Peripherie. Der ‘Balkan’ im Spannungsfeld europäischer Paradigmen,” in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Ursula Reber, and Clemens Ruthner, eds. (Tübingen-Basel: Francke, 2006), 45.

¹⁸ N. N., *Metzler Lexikon Literatur*, Dieter Burdorf, Christoph Fasbender, and Burkhard Moennighoff, eds., 3rd edition (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2007), 664.

¹⁹ Erika Oehring, “Der Orient als Bildmotiv. Leopold Carl Müller und die österreichische Orientmalerei nach 1870,” in *Orient & Okzident. Österreichische Maler des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Reisen*, Agnes Husslein-Arco and Sabine Grabner, eds. (Munich Vienna: Hirmer Belvedere, 2012), 48. In Austria, the genre of “Oriental painting” took shape only from the middle of the nineteenth century, while it was already flourishing in England and France; see: Ibid, 32. According to Sabine Grabner, curator of the 2012 exhibition *Orient & Occident* at the Belvedere, the motivations for travel painters to the Orient included challenge, new motifs, and capturing “exotic living conditions.” Their travels were in most cases financed by patrons who traveled with them and also determined the destination; see: Sabine Grabner,

Oriental edge of Europe for non-travelers. One early popular researcher and knowledge producer on the subject of the Orient is Josef Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), who is considered a pioneer of Viennese Oriental Studies and a central figure in the knowledge transfer. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, he translated stories by Shamseddin Mohammad Hafiz from Persian into German, which had an influence on Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Around the same time, Lord Byron's tales of the uprisings in Greece in the 1820s found a response and reverberation in painting.²⁰ The enthusiasm for exotic impressions corresponded to the desire for freedom and originality, argued Erika Oehring in her article on Oriental painting after 1870. The imagination of Europeans, she writes, developed an image of the Orient reduced to a cliché, often devoid of any reality.²¹ Vesna Goldsworthy used the metaphor "Ruritania," which had been in circulation since the early decades of the nineteenth century, to summarize the European Orient as a space where Europeanness, though permanently visible on the horizon, remained out of reach.²²

Alongside Goldsworthy, Radmila Pejić, at the Institute for Balkan Studies, researches the accounts and publications of British travelers. She highlights the fact that throughout the nineteenth century, the British public was not informed about the Balkans, or about the medieval or modern history of Serbia. Books about the Serbs within the European Orient or Habsburg territory were not only rarely written, but were also available only in limited editions. Andrew Archibald Paton's 1845 travelogue was a sensation in its time. It influenced not only the British public's image of Serbia, but also Paton's professional career: he was appointed British Consul for Dubrovnik in 1862.²³ It was not until 1863 that Vladimir Jovanović published *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question*

"Orient und Okzident. Eine Einstimmung," in *Orient & Okzident. Österreichische Maler des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Reisen*, Agnes Husslein-Arco and Sabine Grabner, eds. (Munich Vienna: Hirmer Belvedere, 2012), 9–13.

²⁰ Oehring, "Der Orient als Bildmotiv," 29.

²¹ Oehring, "Der Orient als Bildmotiv," 31.

²² Vesna Goldsworthy, "Der Imperialismus der Imagination. Konstruktionen Europas und des Balkans," in: *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf*, Karl Kaser, Dagmar Gramshammer-Hohl, and Robert Pichler, eds. (Klagenfurt et al.: Wieser Verlag, 2003), 273.

²³ Pejić, "Herbert Vivian," 257–258. The 1843 work *A fragment of the History of Servia* by David Urquhart was the first book on the history of "modern Servia" in English. Leopold Ranke's first work on the contemporary history of Serbia, *Die serbische Revolution*, by comparison, appeared as early as 1829.

in London and gained the attention of the British public for Serbian political aspirations.²⁴

Scattered throughout the European Orient, the Serbs inhabited territories of Southeast Europe under Ottoman rule, but they were not perceived as different from other population groups there.

The complete isolation of the Serbian heartland from the center of Europe, to such an extent that Serbia and the Serbs were not present in European historiography and memory, was the result of plagues and new trade routes across the Atlantic. This leads Konstantinović to the assumption that Serbia was among the least-known countries in Europe:

As of the first Turkish aggression, safe travel had ceased. The Turks tore down old monuments and ravaged the land. Not only did Turkish rule make it impossible to further develop medieval Serbia as an independent state entity, but it also suppressed all cultural activity.²⁵

The *Vojna Krajina* (military border) was installed as a security and buffer zone between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire; Serbs used to settle here to escape their disliked rulers. While living in this military border region, farmers were obliged to participate in military service in times of Ottoman attacks. In the eighteenth century, they were tasked with guarding the borders in times of epidemics. According to Austrian historian Daniela Angetter, quarantine facilities were established to prevent the introduction and spread of epidemics, such as bubonic plague, cholera, and spotted fever. For this purpose, wherever there were no natural barriers such as rivers or rocky slopes, the border against the Ottoman Empire was secured with fences, entrenchments, and deep ditches to stop hostile or potentially infectious invaders. Traveling to the Habsburg territory's eastern and southeastern border regions was considered dangerous and unsafe, not least because of the fear of disease.²⁶ The use of the inhabitants at the military border to block enemy aggression

²⁴ Pejić, "Herbert Vivian," 263.

²⁵ Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*, 15. Original: "Schon mit den ersten Türkenstürmen hatte jede Sicherheit des Reisens aufgehört. Die Türken reißen die alten Denkmäler nieder und verwüsten das Land. Nicht nur daß die Türkenherrschaft jede weitere Entwicklung des mittelalterlichen Serbiens als selbstständigen Staatsgebildes unmöglich gemacht hätte, sondern sie unterband auch jede kulturelle Tätigkeit." For other explanations, see also p. 22 and 26.

²⁶ Daniela Angetter, "Die Militärgrenze," 240. She also refers to the plague on page 227.

and disease outbreaks only furthered the disconnection from the Balkan peninsula. This in turn contributed to the erased European historiography of the Serbian Empire and its people, at least until Leopold Rankes' publication.²⁷

In addition to the Orientalization of Southeast Europe, the European powers believed it was important to secure the continued existence of the Holy Roman Empire under Christian domination. At the end of the eighteenth century, the notion of Orient and Occident as a pair of cultural opposites was identified, and was used by Europe long into the twentieth century. German historian Jürgen Osterhammel defines the terms Orient and Occident not as spatial categories, but based on the prevailing European sense of superiority, as a hierarchization of power relations.²⁸ These were charged with stereotypes such as *wild*, *insecure* ("*Türkenstürme*"/"*Turkish aggression*"), as well as with dichotomies such as *progressive-backward* ("*tore down old monuments*," "*suppressed all cultural activity*"),²⁹ thus following Said's concept of Orientalization.

The editors of the volume *Orient & Occident*, Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, see this hierarchically structured perception as a result of the closer relations since the end of the eighteenth century, and especially in the nineteenth century, due to European research and travel activities around the Orient. In geographic terms, it was perceived similarly to the mythical "Orient" of previous centuries, but due to military and conflict-filled events as well as European economic ambitions in the Ottoman Empire, it seemed to be closer and spatially more concrete. "European Turkey" and the "European Orient" were European designations for the Balkans under Ottoman rule, which can be read as an intended "process of demarcation" of the Balkans from the Orient or the Ottoman Empire.³⁰ The countries were to be integrated into Europe, which

²⁷ Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*, 15.

²⁸ Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, "Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten. Zur neuzeitlichen Beziehungsgeschichte von Orient und Okzident," in *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, eds. (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 10; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens. Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 2010), 381.

²⁹ Quotes see: Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*, 15.

³⁰ Haider-Wilson and Graf, "Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen," 2–3, 13–14, and 30. The term "European Turkey" was used beginning in the mid-eighteenth century and is very common in the works of Ami Boué and Felix Kanitz, while Johann Georg Hahn preferred

corresponded, above all, to the Habsburgs' interest in territorial expansion. On the one hand, it was quite useful to them to represent the "Turks" as aliens outside European civilization.³¹ On the other hand, as Wolfgang Schmale points out, the narratives of the "Turkish danger" and its military threat at the Austrian borders (*Türkenstürme*) motivated European empires and republics to innovate and organize over the centuries by its sheer existence.³² In a way, it served to further strengthen the narrative of Western European progress and innovation, which in turn further reinforced the notion of a mental border between East and West. The narrative of progress, which touched on areas such as the economy, technology, and the understanding of democracy, science, and trade, implemented the idea of the cultured Occident vis-à-vis the non-modern and non-industrialized Orient. It was assumed, from a Western perspective, that the Ottoman refusal of reforms and technical innovations influenced the Western perception of the European Orient. Because of these expectations, the number of Encounters from Europe, particularly diplomats, researchers, journalists, and adventurers, took off.

"Southeast Europe"; see: Wolfgang Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006); 131–135.

³¹ Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger, "Der Orient als Metapher. Wie Österreichs Osten vor, während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg vorgestellt wurde," in: *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, eds. (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 75.

³² Wolfgang Schmale, "Die Türkei braucht die Europäische Union," *Mein Europa*, March 19, 2016, accessed March 3, 2023, <http://wolfgangschmale.eu/tuerkei>. Original: "bewusst machen, wie sehr dieses große Reich 'im Südosten' Europas über Jahrhunderte durch seine schiere Existenz und—ja, natürlich, militärische Bedrohung—die europäischen Reiche und Republiken zu Innovation und Organisation angetrieben hat."

GERMAN ORIENTAL STUDIES: FELIX PHILIPP KANITZ
AS A “PATHFINDER IN THE ORIENT”³³

“My cradle stood on the banks of the same [Danube] stream whose course I followed in my wanderings of recent years. I was born in Pesth on August 2, 1829.”³⁴ Born in the city of Budapest to a Jewish German-speaking family in 1829, Felix Philipp Kanitz traveled through Southeast Europe for five decades (from 1858 to 1897). During his lifetime, he was one of the most famous authors of Balkan travelogues, especially about Serbia and Bulgaria.³⁵ By the time of Felix Philipp Kanitz’s departure, the term “Western Europe” symbolized the division between “West” and “East”; the latter included Russia on the one hand and European Turkey on the other—and thus also the Balkans.³⁶

The opening quotation was one of the first sentences in his short self-testimony, handwritten circa 1863, before he had finished his travels and reports, and it was indeed true. His travels followed the river Danube toward Southeast Europe. Felix Philipp Kanitz’s first comprehensive work, *Serbia: Historical-Ethnographic Travel Studies* (1868), was already out of stock by the 1880s,³⁷ presumably because of its good marketing in German-language newspapers³⁸ and its large number of illustrations. Illustrated travel works of this kind existed throughout Europe, but not for Serbia; hence Kanitz gained the attention of the Serbian government. For the young principality, the 700-page book served as an important element of foreign policy representation, and the printing was even

³³Friedrich Hellwald, Kanitz’s neueste Forschungen, quoted in: Edit Király, “*Die Donau ist die Form*”. *Strom-Diskurse in Texten und Bildern des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna Munich: Böhlau, 2017), 183.

³⁴Felix Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*. Original: “Meine Wiege stand an den Ufern desselben Stromes dessen Lauf ich auf meinen Wanderungen der letzten Jahre so oft verfolgen sollte. Ich wurde in Pesth am 2. August 1829 geboren.”

³⁵Đorđe S. Kostić, “Jeder Reisende sehnt sich nach Stärkung und Erquickung,” in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 39.

³⁶Schmale, *Geschichte Europas*, 93.

³⁷Spiridion Gopčević, *Serbien und die Serben. Das Land, 1. Volume* (Leipzig: Elischer, 1888), V.

³⁸In a newspaper, two booksellers competed on the same page with advertisements for Kanitz’s *Serbia*, namely “Tendler & Comp. am Graben” and “Gerold & Comp. am Stephansplatz”; see: *Die Presse*, May 19, 1868, 11.

financially supported by the Serbian government.³⁹ In addition to Kanitz, other travelers were given an audience at the Serbian royal and government headquarters. Serbian politicians found it crucial for British travelers to take home a positive impression of the principality and to promote their aspirations.⁴⁰

Kanitz, who was able to communicate in Serbian and Bulgarian, was always accompanied by officials and was received by mudirs, kmets, popes, and high-ranking military officers, which was not typical for foreign travelers.⁴¹ Tatjana Cvjetićanin, the former director of the Serbian National Museum, also emphasizes his travelogues and reports in the mass media alongside only a few others, and highlights his role in the distribution of knowledge about Serbia and the Serbs in the nineteenth century. Kanitz attracted interest and also provided formal and informal channels with information and visualizations about the European Orient.⁴²

The eleven pages of his brief self-testimony served as the template for the entry under Felix Philipp Kanitz in the *Biographische Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, a lexicon composed of sixty volumes. These volumes collected short biographies of memorable persons who were born in the Austrian Empire after 1750 or who lived and worked there.⁴³ The entry for Kanitz was published in 1863, in the 10th volume. His handwritten self-testimony, which provided the content for this entry, ended with his preliminary publication list. The list closes with *Über alt- und neuerbische Kirchenbaukunst*, a study that he presented at the Imperial Academy of Sciences in May 1863. Thus, it is likely that the undated self-testimony was created in 1863.

In his self-testimony, Kanitz reported on his first travels to the Balkans, in 1858. He made his final trip in 1889. Kanitz died in 1904 before

³⁹ Miroslav Timotijević, "Visuelle Darstellung Serbiens in Werken von Felix Kanitz," in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 101 and 110.

⁴⁰ Pejić, "Herbert Vivian," 262.

⁴¹ Kostić, "Jeder Reisende," 48; According to Krause, Kanitz spoke fluent Serbian; see: Friedhilde Krause, "Das Montenegrobild aus dem Jahr 1858/Anfang 1859 von Felix Philipp Kanitz in der Leipziger 'Illustrierten Zeitung,'" *Südost Forschungen* 52, no. 1 (1993): 71.

⁴² Tatjana Cvjetićanin, "Felix Kanitz und das antike Erbe in Serbien," in: *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 148 and 152.

⁴³ Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich. Jablonowski—Karolina, Volume 10* (Wien: Verlag der Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von L. C. Zamarski, 1863).

completing his last book project, which was a revised work of his monograph on Serbia published in 1868, supplemented by various Balkan travels until 1889. German writer Wilhelm Ruland and the retired director of the Royal Serbian Statistical Office, Bogoljub Jovanović, completed Kanitz's project on his behalf and published it in 1904, 1909, and 1914 as three extensive volumes with the title *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk* (*The Kingdom of Serbia and the Serbian People*). The uniqueness of Kanitz's travel experiences, descriptions, and drawings is evident in the revision and republication of a forty-year-old book at the beginning of the twentieth century. Paragraphs and pages from his first monograph were copied and adopted in this revision, so the original 700-page book was expanded to around 2000 pages. His article on "The Zinzaren," published in 1863 in the *Mittheilungen der kaiserlich-königlichen (k. k.) Geographischen Gesellschaft* (*Journal of the Imperial and Royal Geographical Society*), was included in almost identical form in the third volume of *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*.⁴⁴ In the preface of this last volume, the publishing house emphasized the topicality of the book, noting the unceasing efforts of the author as well as the editor to correct centuries-old misconceptions about the Balkans, to improve inaccurate older material, and to complete the work on Serbia up to the present day. The name Felix Philipp Kanitz was still associated with the "famous Balkan researcher" with "almost half a century" of research and travel experience. In other words, Kanitz was an extraordinary personality with widely appreciated expertise. "Kanitz and Serbia have long since become two inseparable terms in science and literature" was still the publisher's message in 1914.⁴⁵

Felix Philipp Kanitz described himself as an ethnographer and artist, and he was acknowledged as expert on the Balkans⁴⁶ with both Serbian and Bulgarian language skills. As such, he indisputably had a great influence on the Balkan image perpetuated in Austria-Hungary, in Germany, and probably all over Europe.⁴⁷ Kanitz's books about Serbia, especially

⁴⁴Max Demeter Peyfuss, "Felix Kanitz und die Aromunen," *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 7, no. 2 (1985): 65.

⁴⁵Preface by the publisher, in: Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Staat und Gesellschaft, Volume 3* (Leipzig: Meyer, 1914), VII. Original: "Kanitz und Serbien sind in Wissenschaft und Literatur längst zwei unzertrennliche Begriffe geworden."

⁴⁶Kostić, "Jeder Reisende," 39.

⁴⁷Zoltán Hajdú, "Hungarian Researches on the Southeast-European Space (the Balkans)," in: *Southeast-Europe. State Borders, Cross-border Relations, Spatial Structures*, Zoltán Hajdú, Iván Illés, and Zoltán Raffay, eds. (Pécs: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2007), 14.

Serbia, from 1868, became established as the works that every traveler to Southeast Europe had to study as part of his travel preparations,⁴⁸ concludes Đorđe S. Kostić from the Belgrade Balkan Institute, editor of the volume published in 2011 and curator of the exhibition on *Balkan Images by Felix Kanitz*. Due to his network, which extended across the academic, political, newspaper, and magazine communities, Kanitz's narratives on Serbia and the Serbs reached a broad audience.⁴⁹ Although the texts did not always directly influence the German-speaking and European population, they were read in certain circles that were involved in the dissemination, further construction, and instrumentalization of historical narratives. After Kanitz's publication of *Serbia* in 1868, he was able to secure a financial grant from Emperor Franz Joseph for his research trip along the "Bulgarian Danube."⁵⁰ Another trip was supported by the Foreign Ministry of Austria-Hungary in order to develop a political strategy beneficial to the Habsburg monarchy.

From 1870 to 1873 he was to research "Old Serbia" and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, but his expertise submitted to the ministry primarily dealt with the urgency of recognizing the Bulgarian national church and the Serbian-Bulgarian relationship. There would be no union, Kanitz believed; rather, Bulgaria was striving to form an independent nation-state. No written reports about Bosnia-Herzegovina are available, but a verbal exchange of information between Kanitz and the k. u. k. [Imperial and Royal] Foreign Minister Gyula Andrassy is very likely. As the historian Imre Ress discovered, Andrassy, to whom Kanitz had already reported on his research trips during his term as Hungarian Prime Minister, wanted to avoid too much attention on the neighboring country.⁵¹ Andrassy had long opposed the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Habsburg monarchy, as did his Hungarian compatriot, Consul General in Belgrade and later k. u. k. Minister of Finance Benjámín Kállay. Both feared a weakening of the Hungarian half of the empire if Bosnia-Herzegovina joined

⁴⁸ Kostić, "Jeder Reisende," 40.

⁴⁹ Dejan Medaković, "Felix Kanitz und die Serben," *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 7, no. 2 (1985): 84.

⁵⁰ Kanitz, Letter to Folliot de Crenneville-Poutet, June 1, 1868, Autogr. 462/8-1 Han., correspondences, Sammlung August Miller-Aichholz, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Austrian National Library.

⁵¹ Imre Ress, "Felix Kanitz: Ansichten zur Balkanpolitik der Donaumonarchie nach dem Ausgleich," *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 7, no. 2 (1985): 28–34.

the Austrian half. Nevertheless, they needed to communicate with Serbia in order to minimize Russian influence in the Balkans.⁵² In addition to Andrassy, Kanitz also regularly communicated with Kállay. In September 1868 they undertook a trip to the Serbian-Bulgarian border area.⁵³ Beginning in 1882, as k. u. k. Minister of Finance, Kállay also held the position of Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been under Austro-Hungarian administration since the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Johann Asbóth, a member of the k. u. k. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Hungarian Parliament, wrote about Kállay's travels and intervention policies. Together they traveled through Bosnia and Herzegovina; Asbóth observed the culture of the country and came to conclusions similar to Kanitz's about Serbia. Asbóth, like Kanitz, published his travel experiences and tried to frame them as a study of the country through numbers, statistics, and interpretations of Bosnian historical legacies. Asbóth's "Studies" granted the country a connection to "Western Europe," which it had lost as of the time of Ottoman rule.⁵⁴ Asbóth and Kanitz shaped the positive historical narrative of the "Bosniaks" (in Bosnian: *Bošnjaci*); under Kállay, this narrative regulated the Habsburg monarchy's relationship to the Balkans.⁵⁵ While Asbóth was considered a close member of the Hungarian political circle, Kanitz enjoyed a reputation as a recognized ethnographer and royal Hungarian consul.⁵⁶

In addition to his contacts with the two Hungarian politicians, Felix Philipp Kanitz maintained relationships with journalists and writers. His proximity to the *Illustrierte Zeitung* and his friendship with the publisher of this weekly, Johann Jakob Weber, demonstrate his long-term commitment there. Besides his illustrations and articles in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, it should be mentioned that he published texts in the *Illustrated London News* and *L'Illustration* about the Balkans, as well as in the far-reaching

⁵² Ian D. Armour, *Apple of Discord. The "Hungarian Factor" in Austro-Serbian Relations, 1867–1881* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2014), 121–123.

⁵³ Ress, "Felix Kanitz," 29.

⁵⁴ Johann Asbóth, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina. Reisebilder und Studien* (Wien: A. Hölder, 1888). Asbóth traveled together with Benjámín Kállay through Bosnia and Herzegovina for many years, as stated in his preface.

⁵⁵ Johannes Feichtinger, "Komplexer k.u.k. Orientalismus. Akteure, Institutionen, Diskurse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Österreich," in *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen, eds. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 57.

⁵⁶ Kleine Chronik, *Wiener Zeitung*, January 9, 1904, 3.

daily newspaper *Augsburger Allgemeine*.⁵⁷ In Vienna, he contributed to the illustrated magazine called *Die Heimat*, which appeared beginning in 1867. The first issue of *Die Heimat* included texts by Ferdinand von Saar, Ludwig Anzengruber, and Felix Philipp Kanitz, the latter describing the Defilé and a city (called Braca) in the Balkans, along with an illustration.⁵⁸ In addition, Kanitz's travel reports were discussed in the feuilleton of the daily newspaper *Die Presse* by a Mr Churkovics, in the period from 1877 to 1879.⁵⁹ The reason for this was the uprisings in the Balkans, which led to the intervention of the European Great Powers and finally to the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

An advertisement for the new "family paper" *Die Heimat* was published in the *Wiener Zeitung*, to which Kanitz probably had the best connections. He penned numerous articles for the feuilleton, dealing with the Balkans, Serbia, and Bulgaria.⁶⁰ In one such article, Kanitz reviewed the work of Johann Roskiewicz, a k. k. Major, who wrote a book about his research trips to develop the cartography of Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁶¹ Kanitz criticized the book harshly, and naturally Roskiewicz responded publicly via the same channel.⁶² A week later, Kanitz's reply followed.⁶³ Kanitz then turned to his friend Rudolph (Valdek) Wagner. He wrote Wagner a letter, requesting that Wagner publicly support him and use the materials attached. After all, wrote Kanitz, Roskiewicz should have known "that I have earned a legitimate reputation as an expert on European Turkey through 10 years of studies, and that men like Viquesnel, Boué, Kiepert,

⁵⁷ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*.

⁵⁸ "Die Heimat," *Wiener Zeitung*, April 4, 1876, 2.

⁵⁹ Churkovics, *Die Presse*, February 17, 1877, 1–2; July 4, 1877, 1–2; January 6, 1878, 1–2; January 24, 1879, 1–2.

⁶⁰ See a selection of Kanitz's articles in the *Wiener Zeitung*: "Consul v. Hahns Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Vardar (Eine Fortsetzungsserie)," September 5, 1867; September 6, 1867; January 18, 1868, 189; January 21, 1868, 223; *Wiener Abendpost*: "Balkan-Reise im Sommer" 1872, February 24, 1873, 357; "Ein Besuch in der Carenstadt am Balkan," December 14, 1874, 2285; "Die Kunstindustrie der Bulgaren des Balkans," January 15, 1873, 84; "Zwischen Tirnowo und Elena," *Beilage zur Wiener Abendpost*, September 6, 1877, 817.

⁶¹ Felix Kanitz, "Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina," *Wiener Zeitung*, February 1, 1868, 363.

⁶² Johann Roskiewicz, "Zu den 'Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina'" *Wiener Zeitung*, February 13, 1868, 510.

⁶³ Felix Kanitz, "Zu den 'Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina,'" *Wiener Zeitung*, February 19, 1868, 583.

Hahn acknowledged this.”⁶⁴ In letters like this, the power struggle and structures among contemporary geographers and cartographers become visible. A researcher who was perceived as contributing to scientific progress wanted to be recognized and praised for it. Kanitz did not have a university degree, but he had built a large network in the fields of politics, science, and the media; he earned his reputation as an autodidact. His greatest sphere of influence during his lifetime was among scholars, and he had most of his contacts in the field of science, which seemed important to him.

The scientific network of Felix Philipp Kanitz ranged from contacts with Austrian, German, French, and Serbian geographers and cartographers to relationships with renowned members of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, within the *Natural Science-Mathematical Class* as well as the *Philosophical-Historical Class*. He had active memberships in scientific communities,⁶⁵ and was active in the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien* (Anthropological Society in Vienna), the *kaiserlich-königliche Geographische Gesellschaft* (Imperial and Royal Geographical Society), and the *Orientalisches Museum* (Oriental Museum). Not without reason, he had numerous works displayed at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1878 as part of the Austrian anthropological-ethnographic exhibition. His exhibited objects included, on the one hand, his two major works *Serbia* and *Danube-Bulgaria*, and on the other hand statistics on “nationalities” in the Balkans (*Statistische Tabellen für die einzelnen Nationalitäten sämtlicher Orte Donau-Bulgariens und des Balkans* (Manuskript). – *Volkstypen von Bulgaren, Serben, Montenegrinern, Bosniern, Hercegovinern, Macedo-Vlachen, Tscherkessen und Türken in Originalzeichnungen. — Abbildungen bulgarisch-serbisch-cincarisch-türkischen Industriebetriebes und bulgarischen Landlebens in Originalzeichnungen*) as well as

⁶⁴ Kanitz, Letter to Valdek-Wagner, February 24, 1868, Autogr. 278/41–3 Han, correspondences, Briefnachlaß Rudolf Valdek-Wagner, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Austrian National Library. Original: “daß ich [Kanitz] mir durch 10jährige Studien einen legitimen Ruf als Kenner der europäischen Türkei erworben habe, daß Männer wie Viquesnel, Boué, Kiepert, Hahn dies anerkannten.”

⁶⁵ Committee member at the *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft*, and also a delegate of the Orientalistic Museum during the festivities of the *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft*: “Festversammlung der k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft,” *Wiener Zeitung*, December 22, 1881, 5; Angelika Heinrich, “Vom Museum der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien zur Prähistorischen Sammlung im k.k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum (1870–1876–1889–1895),” *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (MAGW) 125/126 (1995/96): 41–42.

ethnographic maps of European Turkey.⁶⁶ The range of exhibition objects and his memberships show his diversity of interests and activities. His manifold interests is evident in his monographs *Serbien*, *Donau-Bulgarien*, and *Das Königreich Serbien*. Serbian art historian and former president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti*), Dejan Medaković, noted, “But all this diversity serves a single, unified basic concept: to provide the reader with as complete a picture as possible of the people and the country, for which he manifested an unveiled sympathy from the beginning.”⁶⁷

Kanitz’s sympathies toward Serbia resonated with many scholars in the principality. In addition to members and the president of the scholarly society in Belgrade (*Gelehrten-gesellschaft in Belgrad*), Pavel Šafařík,⁶⁸ Vuk Karadžić was among his friends. Medaković pointed out that it was Vuk Karadžić who gave Kanitz the incentive for his travel plans in Serbia and the Balkans.⁶⁹ Through Karadžić’s influence and the advocacy of the Serbian Scholarly Society, Kanitz received subsidies from the Serbian government in 1864 and 1868, and Vuk Karadžić paved the way for him to meet the Serbian political leadership and cultural elite.⁷⁰ In his self-testimony, Kanitz acknowledged his connections to the Serbian scholars: “Prince and Senate and the Serbian scientific circles paid the most encouraging recognition to my work.” As already mentioned, Kanitz, as a non-academic, seemed to be particularly proud of such recognition.⁷¹

⁶⁶ “Pariser Weltausstellung,” *Epoche*, August 14, 1878, 3.

⁶⁷ Medaković, “Felix Kanitz und die Serben,” 84. Original: “All diese Verschiedenartigkeit dient aber einem einzigen, einheitlichen Grundkonzept: dem Leser ein möglichst komplettes Bild von Volk und Land zu bieten, für welche er von Anfang an eine unverhüllte Sympathie manifestierte.”

⁶⁸ Šafařík checked the spelling of the villages and mountain regions that Kanitz charted in his maps because Kanitz was using the “Serbo-Croatian” language and letters in it; see: Felix Philipp Kanitz (1863): “Beiträge zur Kartographie des Fürstenthums Serbien, gesammelt auf seinen Reisen in den Jahren 1859, 1860, 1861,” *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse* 47: 84. Šafařík, a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, was a supporter of the panslavistic movement. In 1842 he published an ethnographic map of Southeast Europe, in which he marked all Slavic-speaking countries; see: James Krokav, “Constant Desjardins, Peripatetic Cartographer,” *Imago Mundi* 67, no. 1 (2015): 40–41.

⁶⁹ Medaković, “Felix Kanitz und die Serben,” 79.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 85; Timotijević, “Visuelle Darstellung Serbiens,” 97.

⁷¹ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*. Original: “Fürst und Senat und die serbischen wissenschaftlichen Kreise zollten meiner Arbeit die ermüthigendste Anerkennung.”

He also received recognition in Vienna, where he was successful in the circle of natural scientists and Orientalists.⁷² His point of departure was art history, based on his education as an illustrator. Then his path as a Balkan researcher led him into the *Geographical*, on the one hand, and on the other into the *Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, which were established during the period of his activities. Both communities published their own professional journal, the *Mittheilungen der k. k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* (beginning in 1857) and the *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (beginning in 1871), in which Kanitz published pieces. At the constituting meeting of the *Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* on February 13, 1870, Kanitz was appointed as the curator of the associated museum. The collection was housed on the premises of the *k.k. Geologische Reichsanstalt* (Imperial Royal Geological Institute), whose director, Franz von Hauer, ensured that it received an exhibition space at the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873. Kanitz resigned his post as museum curator in 1874, as he was again on travels.⁷³

The *Anthropologischen Gesellschaft's* proximity to natural science subjects came from the overlap in its fields of activity. Previously unknown countries were documented both geographically and anthropologically. The best example of a merging of the disciplines are the “ethnographic maps” that, in addition to country borders, listed the corresponding “peoples” or “nations.” The museum of the *Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* was ultimately incorporated into the *k.k. Naturhistorische Hofmuseum* (Museum of Natural History) seven years after its foundation.⁷⁴

On the other hand, the discipline of ethnology and anthropology was just emerging, and it gained a higher status within the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which was founded in 1847, partly due to the influence of the pioneer of Oriental Studies, Joseph Hammer-Purgstall.⁷⁵ Kanitz and Hammer-Purgstall probably did not know each other, as the latter died before Kanitz's first Balkan trip in 1856. Connections with representatives

⁷² In 1868, Felix Philipp Kanitz's scientific art history and ethnographic work was honored with the “Ritterkreuz des Franz-Josephs-Ordens”; see: *Wiener Zeitung*, June 6, 1868, 1.

⁷³ Heinrich, “Vom Museum der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft,” 14–15.

⁷⁴ Heinrich, “Vom Museum der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft,” 25–26.

⁷⁵ Tugba Ismailoglu Kacir, “Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall und seine Rezeption in der Geschichtsschreibung über das Osmanische Reich,” PhD diss. (University of Vienna, 2015), 69–71.

of Slavic studies, linguistics, Oriental Studies, and ethnology⁷⁶ within the Philosophical-Historical Class of the Austrian Academy of Sciences likely played a role in Kanitz's involvement in the *Anthropologischen Gesellschaft* and his later commitment to the Oriental Museum. The goals of the Oriental Museum are not comparable to those of Oriental Studies at the university. While the latter dedicated itself to the "Oriental languages" and their translation, the museum aimed to intensify Austria-Hungary's trade and cultural relations with the Orient and followed a missionary mandate.⁷⁷ The Oriental Museum began publishing the journal *Oesterreichische Monatszeitschrift für den Orient* in 1876, in which Kanitz is mentioned for his "special contribution."⁷⁸ The articles that Kanitz wrote for this journal were also advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung*.⁷⁹

Felix Philipp Kanitz published a large number of scholarly articles in various scientific journals, not only within Austria-Hungary but also internationally.⁸⁰ Due to his relationship with German geographer and cartographer Heinrich Kiepert, he was able to publish articles in the renowned *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* (*Journal for General Geography*). His contributions to the *Sitzungsberichte* (*Proceedings*) of the Mathematical-Natural Science Class and the Philosophical-Historical Class should be mentioned here, as these were sometimes printed as separate publications by the Austrian Academy of Sciences.⁸¹ This institution also contributed to

⁷⁶ Kanitz was acquainted with Franz Xaver Miklosich and Moritz Eisler: Kanitz, Letter to Miklosich, May 4, 1882; Autogr. 135/76–2 Han., correspondences, Nachlass Franz Miklosich, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Austrian National Library; Kanitz, Letter to Karrer, April. 22, n.d., Autogr. 1068/5–2 Han., correspondences, Teilnachlass Felix Karrer 1, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Austrian National Library.

⁷⁷ Feichtinger, "Komplexer k.u.k. Orientalismus," 43.

⁷⁸ *Oesterreichische Monatszeitschrift für den Orient*, issues from the years 1876–1884. In 1885, the magazine stopped naming the members on the title page.

⁷⁹ "Monatsschrift für den Orient," *Wiener Zeitung*, May 17, 1881, 4; "Orientalisches Museum," *Wiener Zeitung*, February 18., 1883, 3.

⁸⁰ For example in: *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 16 (1864); Kanitz's records from his travels to Serbia in 1860 were recognized in: Auguste Viquesnel, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe par A. Viquesnel* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1868).

⁸¹ Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Über alt- und neuerbische Kirchenbaukunst. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864); Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Die römischen Funde in Serbien* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1861).

the financing of Kanitz's research trips.⁸² In addition, Kanitz was quoted in other articles that were included in the *Proceedings*.⁸³

However, Kanitz's articles and books also found their way into larger works, such as D. v. Cölln's *Serbien und die Serben*, which appeared in 1865 and was a German adaptation of William Denton's *Servia and the Servians* (1862). Cölln's additions are taken entirely from Kanitz's writings, mainly the two art history works (1862 and 1864).⁸⁴ In addition, Spiridion Gopčević relied on Kanitz's findings in his work *Serbien und die Serben* (First volume: The Land, Leipzig 1888). Gopčević writes in his preface that since Kanitz's *Servia*, no other monographs on the young kingdom have appeared. Travel writers also made use of his works, either copying from Kanitz directly or simply retelling the texts.⁸⁵ In preparation for his trip to Serbia, the British traveler Herbert Vivian read, among others, the writings of Felix Philipp Kanitz.⁸⁶

As has already been shown, Kanitz's work encompasses both texts and illustrations in scientific journals and (illustrated) newspapers, as well as monographs on Bulgaria and Serbia. It has also already been argued that Kanitz's work significantly shaped and formed the historical narratives about Serbia, if not in all of Europe, then certainly in the German-speaking world. Particularly exciting is the reissue and massive expansion of Kanitz's main work *Servia. Historical-ethnographic travel studies from the years 1859–1868*. The book, which was already published in 1868, was expanded to three volumes decades later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the author had already passed away.

The preface of the first volume gives a hint as to why these volumes were published at this time. Balkan experts, including the author of the preface, Ruland, see a time of upheaval in the European Orient due to the "awakened principle of nationality." No one could help understand and explain the looming "Balkan turmoil" better than the "proven" Balkan researcher with his "44 years of bee-like diligence": Felix Philipp Kanitz, who wrote the history of the "Christian Balkan peoples" for "genuine

⁸² *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 58 (1868): 331.

⁸³ See, for example, the contribution of the Orientalist Wilhelm Tomaschek: *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 60 (1868): 398; 128 (1893): 81; 130 (1894): 60–61; 131 (1894): 62 and 80.

⁸⁴ Medaković, "Felix Kanitz und die Serben," 85.

⁸⁵ Kostić, "Jeder Reisende," 40.

⁸⁶ Pejić, "Herbert Vivian," 266.

politicians and diplomats ... all circles of the educated ... men of commerce, technology and industry.” “For future events, which are already casting their shadows ahead, they may become a welcome guide for many.”⁸⁷ Kanitz’s work seemed more current and important than ever in 1904, when Ruland wrote the preface.

The printing of three posthumously published volumes can also be understood through their contemporary reception. As the *Neue Wiener Abendblatt* wrote in 1904 about the recently deceased “Balkan researcher,” the first volume “justif[ies] in every respect the world fame of the departed great traveler as the most distinguished and solid expert of the Slavic parts of the Balkan Peninsula.” The volume is an “artistic whole,” and also gives a preview of volumes two and three. The work “offers everyone the opportunity to acquire a solid knowledge of the country and its people, which one cannot acquire even after months of staying in the country as a foreigner.”⁸⁸ The magazine *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Buchhändler-Correspondenz* offered a whole advertising page for the recently published first volume. Kanitz’s book was advertised as a “centenary edition for the centenary of the political rebirth of Serbia” (“Jubiläumsausgabe zur Hundertjahrfeier der politischen Wiedergeburt Serbiens”).⁸⁹ It can thus be assumed that Serbia was strongly associated with the name Felix Philipp Kanitz in the German-speaking world around the turn of the century.

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE DANUBE REGION

A major goal of Felix Philipp Kanitz and his colleagues at the *kaiserlich-königliche geographische Gesellschaft* (Imperial and Royal Geographical Society) in Vienna was the exchange, collection, preservation, and publication of field reports, measurements, and other records that travelers

⁸⁷ “Geleitwort des Herausgebers” by Wilhelm Ruland, in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, Vol. 1, VII–VIII. Original: Felix Kanitz, “der bewährte Balkanforscher in 44jährigem Bienenfleiss, ... Für künftige Ereignisse, die schon jetzt ihre Schatten vorauswerfen, dürften sie manchem ein willkommener Handweiser werden.”

⁸⁸ “Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk,” *Neues Wiener Abendblatt*, March 3, 1904, 4. Original: “rechtfertig[e] in jeder Hinsicht den Weltruf des dahingeschiedenen großen Reisenden als vornehmsten und gediegensten Kenner der slavischen Teile der Balkanhalbinsel. ... [The work] bietet jedermann Gelegenheit, sich eine gediegene Kenntnis von Land und Leuten zu erwerben, wie man solche selbst nach monatelangen Aufenthalten im Lande als Ausländer sich nicht zu eigen machen kann.”

⁸⁹ “Felix Kanitz’ Lebenswerk,” *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Buchhändler-Correspondenz*, January 20, 1904, 36.

from the Habsburg Monarchy brought home. Wilhelm Haidinger, who was the president of this Geographical Society, argued that all efforts had to be concentrated in Vienna, as a center of collection and discussion, in order to compete with England, France, Russia, and North America. Areas that had been known for their insufficient documentation, whether in terms of climate, topography, or minerals, were of interest, especially those around the borders of the Habsburg monarchy.⁹⁰ In addition to the areas that were centrally located and well mapped out by Germany and France, cartographers at the beginning of the nineteenth century saw it as their task to visit areas of Europe that were perceived as geographically peripheral, in other words, less popular destinations among researchers.⁹¹ This was the phase of the Orientalization of the Balkans.⁹²

The curiosity that attracted Felix Philipp Kanitz to the southeastern Austrian-Hungarian border was mainly about the people who lived there and their culture. He learned their language, enjoyed listening to their stories, immersed himself in their history, and acquainted himself with their customs. He repeated in several of his texts that the geographical coverage of European Turkey was insufficient and needed immediate research, which is why Kanitz took on the task of spatial surveying as well as art history and ethnological studies. Due to his notes and meticulous research, cataloguing unknown streets and street names, residential settlements, mountains and rivers, he was able to make a name for himself at the meetings at the Viennese *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft* (kkGG).⁹³ On the basis of his precisely mapped itinerary, he was able to share the location of unmarked or incorrectly marked settlements, of roads suitable for a fast ride or for crossing a mountain. He gathered knowledge for the Royal Geographical Society by measuring the height of mountains and the

⁹⁰ Address by Wilhelm Haidinger at the first meeting of the Association on December 1, 1855; see: *Mittheilungen der k. k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* 1. (1857): 3–5.

⁹¹ Iris Schröder, *Das Wissen von der ganzen Welt. Globale Geographien und räumliche Ordnungen Afrikas und Europas 1790–1870* (Paderborn et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 208–210.

⁹² Tanja Zimmermann, “Wenn noch irgendein ‘Balkan’ im früheren Sinne dieses Wortes existiert, so bestimmt nicht hier auf dem Balkan.” Archaisierung und Antikisierung im Kampf gegen den Orientalismus, in “*Den Balkan gibt es nicht.*” *Erbschaften im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Boris Previšić (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 121–141.

⁹³ Lectures or Reports on Serbia held at the kkGG: “Die Zinzaren. Eine ethnographische Studie von F. Kanitz,” held on February 24, 1863; Versammlung [Meeting] on December 22, 1863; Versammlung [Meeting] on May 9, 1865; “Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet,” held on December 4, 1867; “Das Eiserne Thor,” held on January 27, 1874. Lectures on Bulgaria followed in 1872, 1873, 1876, and 1877.

temperatures of certain places. He charted the mountains climbed, valleys sighted, rivers and wooded areas explored to the north, south, east, and west.⁹⁴

In addition to Kanitz's reputation as an explorer who actively participated in the progress of his own country, his motivation for geographical recording was similar to the scientific methods of the time. The adventurous, risk-taking explorer aspired to succeed in the scientific community. Kanitz's first travel experiences were as a newspaper reporter and illustrator, so he knew how to sell his willingness and curiosity to travel the European Orient to the public, within scientific circles, and at the political level. The collection of topographical, climatic, and mineralogical records not only provided good trading routes, favorable areas for cultivation, and new sales markets, but also the locations of rich material sources. This knowledge was increasingly aggregated within the monarchy⁹⁵ in order to turn Austria-Hungary into a Central Europe ("Mitteleuropa"⁹⁶) whose radius of action could be extended to and strengthened by the integration of the southeastern regions. Therefore, Kanitz saw a chance to leverage his reputation as an explorer and scientist to become a political player. Accordingly, he had many expectations for himself and his homeland regarding his travels, all of which influenced his depictions of the Balkans.

Kanitz held lectures at the Society's meetings from the early 1860s onwards and actively contributed to its project of mapping unknown territories with articles from his journal, *Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*. He defended his focus on Southeast Europe due to the region's proximity to and economic opportunities for the Habsburg monarchy.

⁹⁴ "Kleine Nachrichten. F. Kanitz über die Länder der europäischen Türkei," *Globus* 33 (1863), 285; "Beiträge zur Kartographie des Fürstenthums Serbien, gesammelt auf seinen Reisen in den Jahren 1869, 1860, 1861," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse* 47 (1863), 80–85.

⁹⁵ The "Kronprinzenwerk," an encyclopaedia on the crown lands, pointed in the same direction; see: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, 24 Volumes, published in Vienna in the years 1886–1902. Each volume on a crown land concludes with a chapter on its national economy including future prospects; see: Hans Petschar, "Über die Konstruktion von Identitäten. Vergangenheit und Zukunft im Kronprinzenwerk," in *Migration und Innovation um 1900. Perspektiven auf das Wien der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Elisabeth Röhrlich (Wien Köln Weimar: Böhlau), 338.

⁹⁶ In the German-speaking area the term "Mitteleuropa" refers to a concept of power in which Austria and especially Vienna holds the strings. Thus, nowadays the term "Zentraleuropa," which might have been derived from the English "Central Europe," is used in academic and politic discourse.

If we look at the history of all the great nations in the past and present, we always observe their striving to subjugate their political influence on far less cultivated regions and transform them into profitable markets for their overproduction. What their colonies are for England and France, what Central Asia is for Russia, the Illyrian peninsula would naturally become for Austria considering the geographical conditions.⁹⁷

At that time, the Balkans were not yet established as a regional designation; in addition to “Balkan Peninsula,” the terms “European Orient,” “European Turkey,” and “Illyrian Peninsula” were in circulation. This not only referred to the pre-Ottoman and pre-medieval heritage of the Greco-Roman world, but also created a reference to the Kingdom of Illyria. In ancient times, Illyrians populated the Balkans, until the region was seized by the *Imperium Romanum* during the age of Ancient Rome. The Kingdom of Illyria existed as a part of the Austrian monarchy; beginning in 1849, it was allotted to the crown lands of Carinthia (Kärnten), Krain und Küstenland.⁹⁸ Because of the Habsburg monarchy’s close connection to the Balkans through language, geography (rivers), and territory, Kanitz believed that the two were also closely linked in terms of their culture and customs.⁹⁹ Hence, his emphasis on geographical proximity and cultural affinity provided good arguments for the spatial construction of “Central Europe” and its enlargement toward the Southeast. In his monograph, *Serbia*, Kanitz directly provided proof of how worthwhile the expansion would be for Austria-Hungary. One of the twenty illustrations, which he described at length in the book, shows a modern and new-looking mine.¹⁰⁰ Besides the cultural connections, he also emphasized the economic

⁹⁷Felix Philipp Kanitz, “Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet,” 49. Original: “Blicken wir auf die Geschichte großer Völker in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, so begegnen wir stets dem Streben, ihrem politischen Einflusse weit weniger cultivierte Gebiete zu unterwerfen und sie allmählich in lohnende Märkte für ihre Ueberproduction umzuwandeln. Was für England und Frankreich deren Colonien, was für Russland Central-Asien, das müßte naturgemäß bei auch nur oberflächlicher Betrachtung der geographischen Verhältnisse die illyrische Halbinsel für Oesterreich werden.” The term “Illyrian Peninsula” was used as a synonym for “Balkan Peninsula.”

⁹⁸Politics in Croatia and Slovenia also incorporated Illyrian heritage into their nation-building at the same time, and the “Illyrian movement” propagated the unification of the Southern Slavs and secession from the Habsburg monarchy in the nineteenth century.

⁹⁹Lecture by Felix Kanitz at the Versammlung [Meeting] on May 9, 1865; see: *Mittheilungen der k.k. geographischen Gesellschaft* IX. (1865): 76.

¹⁰⁰“Bergwerk [Mine] Maidanpek”; see: Kanitz, *Serbia*, plate inserted between pages 376 and 377.

prosperity of a common “Danube region” or “Danube monarchy” in “Central Europe.”

The concept of “Central Europe” was created around 1800, and was instrumentalized in political discourses.¹⁰¹ Firstly, Central Europe had to be mapped out geographically. The *Wiener Zeitung* of August 7, 1813, contained an advertisement for a “Karte der Preussischen Staaten, nebst den angränzenden (sic!) Ländern” (Map of the Prussian States, together with the adjoining countries), which at that time was understood as a “complete” map of Central Europe.¹⁰² In 1821, a “Vollständiges Handbuch der neuesten Erdbeschreibung” was announced in the *Leipziger Zeitung*, in which Europe was divided into “Western Europe” with Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands; “Northern and Eastern Europe” with Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; the “European Russia and Poland”; and “Central Europe” with Austria and Germany. Central Europe was thus, at first glance, not coincidentally dominated by the “German nation.”¹⁰³ The k.k. Consul for Greece, Georg Hahn, argued that Austria was the “heart state of Europe, and the imperial city, Vienna, its natural center.”¹⁰⁴

In order to connect Central Europe with Southeast Europe, scholars and traders envisaged connecting the European Orient through the construction of railway lines. As the “natural center of our part of the world,” Vienna was “destined by nature” to become the “center of European traffic.” Georg Hahn set out on a journey financed by the Austrian Imperial Academy of Sciences to assess possible rail routes shortly after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878.¹⁰⁵ From the perspective of Felix Philipp Kanitz, who supported the project, the railway would remedy the “badly neglected conditions” in the European Orient.¹⁰⁶ The railway, connecting Southeast Europe with (Central) Europe, would have the

¹⁰¹ Schubert, “Imaginäre Geografien,” 43–44.

¹⁰² “Karte der Preussischen Staaten,” *Wiener Zeitung*, August 7, 1813, 216.

¹⁰³ “Vollständiges Handbuch der neuesten Erdbeschreibung,” *Leipziger Zeitung*, February 14, 1821, 366.

¹⁰⁴ Johann Georg Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik nebst vier Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte des Morawagebietes*, 2nd edition (Vienna: Tender & Comp., 1868), 5. Original: “Herzstaat von Europa und die Kaiserstadt dessen natürliches Centrum.”

¹⁰⁵ Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 7. Original: “natürliche[r] Mittelpunkte unseres Welttheiles” sei Wien “von der Natur bestimmt,” das “Centrum des europäischen Verkehrs zu werden.”

¹⁰⁶ Kanitz, *Serbia*, 583; Kanitz annotated Hahn’s book *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, and thus some texts are marked with F.K.; see: Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 32. Original: “arg vernachlässigten materiellen Verhältnisse.”

advantage of being linked to the network of transnational economy, trade exchange, and transport of people and goods. At the same time, it would also accelerate the European integration of the unknown, and above all else, of the territory still perceived as “unused” (*unbenützt*). One can see in these quotes that Kanitz had a personal perspective on the Balkans: he feels an obligation to the population of the European Orient, and it is this closeness that does not allow him to act as a mere traveler with a political agenda. He hopes to see the gradual assimilation of the Southeast into Europe, and the building of its infrastructure and institutions according to the Western model. He is convinced that, based on the narrative of progress, the living conditions of the population will improve when the regions are connected under the roof of a “Central Europe” and “Danube region.”

Kanitz saw the construction of the Belgrade-Constantinople and Belgrade-Saloniki routes as a symbolic link between the Occident and the Orient, indispensable for the economic interests of Central Europe, but also for the living standards of the Serbian and Slavic population in European Turkey.¹⁰⁷

With the completion of the great Belgrade-Salonik and Belgrade-Constantinople railways, and the side lines that will eventually be necessary, a new era should dawn for the Sultan’s Empire ... only through the railways can the once-isolated Turkey, which got into that position because of plagues and border controls, become more accessible to Occidental influences. The emancipation of the Christian subjects of the Porte, despite all treatises (even until the present day), will become a reality. Ten million people, wonderfully gifted by nature, and one of the most blessed countries in our part of the world, will simultaneously be practically regained.¹⁰⁸

Kanitz’s honest interest in the Serbian and Slavic population was a part of his perspective that he was less successful at implementing in political affairs and mass media in the German language. This aspect of his

¹⁰⁷ Kanitz, *Serbia*, 583.

¹⁰⁸ Lecture by Felix Philipp Kanitz at the Meeting on May 9, 1865; see: *Mittheilungen der k.k. geographischen Gesellschaft* IX. (1865): 76. Original: “Mit der Vollendung der grossen Schienenstrassen Belgrad-Salonik, Belgrad-Constantinopel und der später nothwendig hinzutretenden Seitenlinien dürfte aber für des Sultans Reich eine neue Ära anbrechen ... erst mit dem Momente, in welchem die durch Pest- und Grenz-Cordon bisher isolierte Türkei durch Eisenstrassen abendländischen Einflüssen zugänglicher, die trotz aller Traktate bis heute vergebens erstrebte Emancipation der christlichen Unterthanen der Pforte eine Wahrheit werden. Zehn Millionen von Natur herrlich begabter Menschen und eines der gesegnetsten Länder unserer Erdtheils werden aber diesem zugleich so gut wie neu gewonnen sein.”

perspective was pushed back, while the glorified integration of Southeast Europe was a legitimizing reason for the Habsburg monarchy to interfere with the infrastructure. It was clear that with the construction of the railway, Austria-Hungary's economic interest, and the expansion of its own sphere of action, was in the foreground. In addition, the contrast between progressive Central Europe and the backward East, as well as between Western Christianity and Southeast Orthodoxy, was another way to validate the intervention in the economic and political situation in the Balkans.¹⁰⁹ The expansion to the South gave the Habsburg monarchy access to business with Turkey, with the associated customs benefits, as well as to the regions in Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina that were rich in raw materials. The annexation of the Balkans, in terms of economic policy, was a unique opportunity to better compete in world trade. Kanitz, in his position as an intermediary, especially as a mediator of data, was convinced that both sides would benefit from this expansion. However, his idealistic perspective of a win-win situation for Habsburg and Serbia did not survive as a narrative—neither within the myth of the “Danube monarchy” nor in the Kosovo myth (Chap. 3).

The opportunity to control imports and exports to and from the East/Southeast as well as controlling the conditions for the import of raw materials was an important goal for Austria-Hungary in the era of the first globalization. Thus, another region was created: the Danube monarchy, with Vienna as its center, which was symbolically charged with positive trade effects for all countries that were a part of it.

However, the Danube also flows through Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria before it flows into the Black Sea. Particularly troubling was the Serbian-Romanian border, known as the “Iron Gate” (Fig. 2.2), where there is a narrowing that caused difficulties for the passage of steamships and restricted access to the East. In the pictorial representations by Kanitz, the water strait appears very dangerous between steeply towering rocks, where few people ventured because the footpath was arduous.¹¹⁰ The designation “Iron Gate” referred to a hazardous zone that represented an actual danger to the lives of passersby. The Iron Gate also metaphorically meant

¹⁰⁹ Schubert, “Imaginäre Geografien,” 43.

¹¹⁰ Kanitz, *Serbia*, 348; the same picture in: Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Zweiter Band: Land und Bevölkerung*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Meyer, 1909), 521; for more pictures of the “Eisernes Thor” [“Iron Gate”] see: Kanitz, *Das Königreich*, Vol. 2, 498 and 499.



Trajanstraße im Eisernen Thor an der untern Donau.

Fig. 2.2 The “Iron Gate.” (In *Illustrirte Zeitung*, May 9, 1868, 333. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

a threat to the planned Austro-Hungarian development of territory, due to the route’s alarmingly slow pace that prevented the exchange of goods and the transfer of passengers. Kanitz advocated for a structural solution at the Iron Gate that would allow the full development of commercial traffic. As a result of this expansion and in accordance with Kanitz’s wishful thinking, other Danubian countries would soon flourish within this

common economic region. He expanded the region of Central Europe to include Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria, to support the emergence of a Danube monarchy dominated by Central Europe and particularly Vienna. Along with the premise of making common economic profit from navigating the Danube, the construction of the Danube region was also presented as a peace project. Once the obstacles at the Iron Gate were solved, Kanitz believed, the fruitful future development of Central European trade and traffic would ensure a “peaceful” development of the East. Once again, he included the fate of the people in his perspective and account.¹¹¹ The example of the Iron Gate served as a metaphor for the demarcation of (South)Eastern Europe from Western and Central Europe. If this area could be made safely navigable for steamships, an iron wall between the European regions would be broken down.

The Danube, which flowed through various countries within the Habsburg Empire, served as a spatial metaphor for a Danube monarchy; it was presented as the unifying river.¹¹² In addition to the established notion of a community of peace, the narrative of a pragmatic as well as symbolic integration of Southeast Europe was spread within the Danube monarchy, with the aim of making the Habsburg Empire’s own values universally applicable. Similar strategies were undertaken to conceal the imperial and colonial policy of the Great Power toward the young principality or kingdom of Serbia, as in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Austria-Hungary publicly communicated a missionary task.¹¹³

The powerful development of the imperial state in the scientific and industrial fields, with its great national and commercial traditions, entitle and oblige it to co-operate in solutions for the task of civilization. Some fields, e.g., geography, ethnography and archaeology, are pursued to this day by distant France, Russia and England with great sacrifices in the countries of Turkey that are related to Austria.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Kanitz, “Das Eiserne Thor,” 57–58.

¹¹² Schubert, “Imaginäre Geografien,” 252.

¹¹³ Schubert, “Imaginäre Geografien,” 250–252.

¹¹⁴ Kanitz, “Beiträge zur Kartographie des Fürstenthums Serbien,” 85. Original: “Der mächtige Aufschwung des Kaiserstaates auf wissenschaftlichem und industriellem Gebiete, seine grossen nationalen und handelspolitischen Traditionen berechtigen und verpflichten es an der Lösung der civilisatorischen Aufgaben mitzuarbeiten, die auf manchen Gebieten, z.B. der Geographie, Ethnographie und Archäologie bis auf den heutigen Tag von dem viel entfernten Frankreich, Russland und England mit grossen Opfern in den, Österreich stammverwandten Ländern der Türkei verfolgt werden.”

With these words, Felix Philipp Kanitz ended one of his first reports on the cartography of Serbia, presented at a meeting and printed in the *Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences* in 1863. In the following decades, he filled the imagined empty spaces along the southeastern borders of the Habsburg monarchy with people, traditions, and centuries of history¹¹⁵; this was evidence of Kanitz's perspective of rapprochement and alignment, rather than exploitation. After all, Kanitz was only able to discover and define new territories with the help of the local population; undertaking the long and arduous journeys together made him part of their culture, their history, and their future. He was not only a carrier and bearer of (cartographic) research results; with the railway and the integration of the Danube region, he was also jointly responsible for the fate of these people. In my view, Kanitz firmly believed in the opportunity that was offered to the people of the European Orient, whose integration was made possible by the cartographic mapping of their territories.

THE BRITISH BALKAN RESEARCHER MARY EDITH DURHAM: "ALBANIA'S MOUNTAIN QUEEN"

In the English-speaking world, Mary Edith Durham was one of the most influential Balkan researchers of the early twentieth century, for reasons similar to those that made Felix Philipp Kanitz so special among his colleagues in Central Europe. Both enjoyed an artistic education and used their drawing skills in addition to written representations. Durham even took photographs on later trips, primarily to better show the countries of Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Albania to an English-speaking audience. Her main concern, similar to Kanitz, was not to bring home media sensations; instead, she endeavored to collect Balkan-specific traditions, expressions, and ways of life. This is particularly evident in her illustrations, in which she sketches the population in their typical clothing and during their daily work.¹¹⁶ Durham also had no university degree; she was not socialized in the academic world, and yet she made a name for herself in scientific circles due to her ethnological records. Durham was a member

¹¹⁵ Edit Király, "Die Zärtlichkeiten des Kartografen. Die Reiseberichte von Felix Kanitz," in: *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Ursula Reber, and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen-Basel: Francke, 2006), 239–240, 245 and 253.

¹¹⁶ Mary Edith Durham, "My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I., Primitive Implements. Boats. Hearths. Buildings in Various Balkan Districts. SERBIA," Mary Edith Durham "Collection" MS 41, Archives and Manuscripts, Royal Anthropological Institute.

of the Royal Institute for International Affairs and the Folklore Society as well as the Royal Anthropological Institute, where parts of her estate are located. She handed over the items in 1940 with the following dedication: "I give these three books of drawings, photographs + notes to the Royal Anthropological Institute with the hope that, in the future, they may be of interest as a record of very primitive conditions in East Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century."¹¹⁷

The middle-class Mary Edith Durham, like Felix Philipp Kanitz, traveled through Southeast Europe for several decades. Like her predecessor, she published her travel reports in book form, including self-drawn and painted illustrations. Durham was trained as a painter at Bedford College and the Royal Academy of Arts; she used her artistic knowledge and skills, like Kanitz, to provide an accurate and detailed representation of her view of the Balkans. Until the outbreak of the First World War, she traveled to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Serbia for several months each year. Her first trip took her to Montenegro in 1901. Like Kanitz, Durham learned Serbian and even Albanian. These language skills gave authenticity to her reports and records on the Balkan population in the sense of a collection of works equipped with insider knowledge.

The works of Mary Edith Durham, created before the First World War, were published in 1904 under the title *Through the Lands of the Serb*. In 1905 there followed *The Burden of the Balkans*, then in 1909 *High Albania*, and in 1914 *The Struggle for Scutari*. The stylistic device that the writer used in her works is a diary-like narrative. Similar to Felix Philipp Kanitz's works, her monographs follow her travel chronology and contain detailed travel routes and adventure stories. Similarly, she uses her books to share political messages and recommendations. This becomes especially clear in *The Struggle for Scutari* and in her post-war works *Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle* and *The Serajevo Crime*. These books were written when she could no longer travel due to health reasons, but they reflected and contextualized her former travels and experiences and embedded them in the current political situations.

The local population was, as Durham describes, initially very surprised that a woman from abroad dared to make the arduous and uncomfortable journeys to remote mountain villages of the Balkans. She must have done

¹¹⁷ Durham, "My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I.," MS 41.

justice to her nickname “Albania’s Mountain Queen,”¹¹⁸ taking long rides and arduous footpaths and naturally staying in the same houses as the local population. After all, there were neither hotels nor cozy guest rooms; guests from Europe were not expected during this time. “Look at her well; perhaps you will never see another”¹¹⁹ was often the reaction upon her arrival. In her Notebook, she notes that she was allowed to draw the houses only after the woman had tidied them up and sent the children outside. Over time, some people allowed her to include them in the illustrations.¹²⁰ In one of her earliest books, she relates that she was asked several times why she was unmarried, and received dozens of marriage proposals. The suitors believed that marrying her would bring them prosperity and probably the opportunity for a trip abroad.¹²¹ As an unaccompanied female traveler, and as one of the first female war correspondents directly at the front in 1912, Durham must have always caused a great stir upon her arrival.

Her research activities and travels made her well known in Europe and overseas as well as in the Balkans. Furthermore, Durham’s works were not only received in Europe, but were also picked up and reviewed by the American media. As mentioned, Durham, like Kanitz, had no university degree and yet was a valued person in the scientific community for her own country and language area. Her expertise found its way into political

¹¹⁸ Marcus Tanner, *Albania’s Mountain Queen. Edith Durham and the Balkans* (London New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014); the reasons for the title “Queen” given to Durham are also described in: Larry Wolff, “The Western Representation of Eastern Europe on the Eve of World War I. Mediated Encounters and Intellectual Expertise in Dalmatia, Albania, and Macedonia,” *The Journal of Modern History* 86, no. 2 (2014): 392 and 403. On December 13, 1916, Mary Edith Durham gave a lecture in favor of the sovereignty of Albania in the “Central Asian Society” in London. One of the guests was a man from Albania, who was invited by the Society to speak about the future of his country. However, the man only talked about Durham and honored her for her initiatives in the Albanian cause. He called her “Queen of Albania,” *ibid.*, 403.

¹¹⁹ Mary Edith Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), 259. It seems that one such encounter really happened in Ivanjica (Serbia) in 1902, when a man, who had brought his children, told them to look at the English woman, as they might never have another chance to see one. Durham recorded this encounter in her Notebook alongside the illustration of a small grocery store in Ivanjica; see: Durham, “My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I.,” MS 41.

¹²⁰ Durham, “My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I.,” MS 41.

¹²¹ Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 200.

and diplomatic circles.¹²² Therefore, her works, along with those by Felix Philipp Kanitz, were used as another source of possible knowledge about the European Orient and/or the Balkans.

Along with other contemporary and like-minded Balkan travelers from Great Britain, Durham agreed that the Oriental question was more an expression of European oppression of the emerging Southeastern European states than of a restless and rumbling region.¹²³ Even the term “Oriental question” itself became a metaphor for an opaque complex of Balkan internal disputes over territory, power, and independence. Mary Edith Durham was determined to expose the opposite, namely the European colonial aspirations in the Balkans, and dedicated her second work *The Burden of the Balkans*, following her sixth Balkan journey, to explaining the local conditions. A conversation with a “Balkan man” was probably the reason for this internal drive. He is not named, but the conversation is quoted. “‘Explain us,’ he said, ‘to the new Consul. He does not understand us’ ... ‘If Europe only understood,’ he says.” No further details about the “Balkan man” are revealed to the reading public, only his hope in Durham. Not even his country of origin is given. Even more than Kanitz, Mary Edith Durham saw herself as a translator of the concerns of the population in the Balkans for Europe, or at least for Great Britain.¹²⁴

Durham emerged as an advocate for Albanian concerns and aspirations in the twentieth century, after initially taking sides with the majority

¹²² Her expertise seems to be overshadowed only by the works of Seton-Watson: David Kaufman, “The ‘One Guilty Nation’ Myth: Edith Durham, R.W. Seton-Watson and a Footnote in the History of the Outbreak of the First World War,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 25, no. 3 (2023): 297–298, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2022.2143839>.

¹²³ Florian Keisinger, “Uncivilised Wars in Civilised Europe? The Perception of the Balkan Wars 1912–1913 in English, German and Irish Newspapers and Journals,” in *The Wars before the Great War. Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 348.

¹²⁴ In the course of her Balkan travels, she became an advocate for the Albanian population. At the beginning of the twentieth century, educated Britons obtained their information about Central and Southeast Europe from journalists instead of foreign politicians. For Albania, the expert was Mary Edith Durham, for the Balkans and Russia it was Emile J. Dillon, and for Austria-Hungary it was Robert Seton-Watson; see: Andreas Rose, “From ‘Illusion’ and ‘Angellism’ to Détente—British Radicals and the Balkan Wars,” in *The Wars before the Great War. Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 323–324.

population in Kosovo during a pro-Serbian phase.¹²⁵ During the period of her travels, she moved away from a pro-Serbian perspective and instead supported the (Kosovo) Albanian side. There, she is still known and celebrated as a heroine. A British writer and NGO founder in Kosovo, Elizabeth Gowing, published her autobiographical travel experience in 2013, in which she follows in the footsteps of Mary Edith Durham. Gowing, who lives in Kosovo, Albania, and Great Britain, felt, after she learned about Durham, immediately connected with her. Her opening passage illustrates their similarities. Gowing asked a girl in Albania why the men there wore “little domed white felt hats.” The girl replied to her: “There’s no reason really. What are you, AyDIT DourHAM?”¹²⁶ In her book *Edith and I*, she says that she went through the same experiences as the woman who soon became her role model: finding that the Albanian culture and tradition were unjustly suppressed and that the potential of the local population for Europe must finally be recognized.

In addition to Elizabeth Gowing, Marcus Tanner, a British journalist, former Belgrade correspondent, and reporter during the Yugoslav wars of secession, wrote a book about Durham that was published in 2014. He too acknowledged her commitment to and her extensive knowledge about Kosovo and Albania. He even adopted phrases from Durham’s works to describe his own position regarding Kosovo. He portrayed the divided city of Mitrovica and included a quote from Durham: “[T]he town is still a piece of tinder waiting for a spark.” She published these words in 1909 in her most popular work *High Albania*, in which the “Mountain Queen” first explained: “But Mitrovitza, though it looked so peaceful, is tinder waiting for a spark.” She also referred to the predominantly Albanian population, which had already been subjected to more “racial” than religious persecution during Dušan’s time.¹²⁷

Tanner was surprised at the extensive expertise of “possibly [the] first female war correspondent”¹²⁸ regarding the Balkans, specifically the Albanian population. He found in her not only a source of information on the history of the Balkans, but also a supporter of his perspective that the Albanian population, regardless of the borders in which they live(d),

¹²⁵ Durham’s changed attitude toward the Serbs is described in: Pejić, “Herbert Vivan,” 279.

¹²⁶ Elizabeth Gowing, *Edith and I. On the Trail of an Edwardian Traveller in Kosovo* (Cornwall: Elbow Publishing, 2013), 13.

¹²⁷ Mary Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 294–295.

¹²⁸ Tanner, *Albania’s Mountain Queen*, 6.

should be given the right to make decisions for themselves. In 1998, he applied Durham's words about Mitrovica to the southern Serbian land, predominantly populated by Albanians and seized by Serbia in 1912: "Kosovo, ... [a] tinder waiting for a spark."¹²⁹ The British journalist followed Durham's expertise on the Kosovo issue in his reports, and shared her concern about the freedom of the Kosovo-Albanian population, from the beginning of his career in the Balkans in the late 1980s.

The continuity with the Yugoslavia founded in 1918 that Slobodan Milošević wanted to claim seemed invented and artificial, the British journalist stated, just as Durham understood the first Yugoslavia to be an artificial construct.¹³⁰ Durham had already advocated for the self-determination rights of Albanians in Kosovo after the First World War by trying to present their "positive qualities" to the British public. Her efforts were in vain, however, as the Kosovo-Albanian population soon found themselves in the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs again.¹³¹

Mary Edith Durham referred to the expulsion and murder of ethnic population groups in Southeast Europe half a century earlier as "Balkan birth control." The city of Andrijevica was in the administrative area of the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and the majority of the population was Albanian. "When as a result of the Balkan war of 1912–13 the Montenegrins acquired ... territory they massacred the bulk of the Albanians. And when as a result of the Great War the Serbs acquired Montenegro they massacred all Montenegrins [sic!] who resisted."¹³²

The question of whether the Albanians were the only large minority in Serbia was answered by Tanner in the newspaper *Independent*. He argued that no more than thirty percent of the population of Serbia (not the Serbian population!) belonged to a minority without adequate rights.¹³³ In this case, too, Tanner followed the argumentation of Durham, who had already noted in the nineteenth century that Kosovo, the cradle of the Serbian nation, was predominantly Albanian. Nevertheless, it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbia after the Balkan Wars of 1912/1913, and the mistake was not corrected even after the First World War. "The

¹²⁹ Tanner, *Albania's Mountain Queen*, 4; Original in: Durham, *High Albania*, 294–295.

¹³⁰ In her records, Durham writes that many former Turkish territories would now be part of Yugoslavia without justification. However, the Serbs "have failed to Serbize them" (the Bulgarian and Albanian population); see: Durham, "My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I.," MS 41.

¹³¹ Tanner, *Albania's Mountain Queen*, 223.

¹³² Durham, "My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I.," MS 41.

¹³³ Marcus Tanner, "War in the Balkans: The Balkan Question—Key Issues behind the War Explained," *The Independent*, May 17, 1999, 4.

Kosovo vilayet was a most important part of the great Servian Empire of the Middle Ages,” Durham wrote. “The Serb of to-day looks at it as part of his birthright, and of its recapture the young men see visions and the old men dream dreams.” However, she concluded that these dreams were distractions. In Prizren, Durham found little to recall that this had once been the seat of a famous Serbian ruler. The legendary “white castle of Tsar Lazar was but a dream in the night of the past,” she wrote. “Around us in the daylight was the Albanian population, waiting under arms to defend the land that had been theirs in the beginning of the time.”¹³⁴

After the First World War, Durham made it her mission to prove Belgrade’s guilt in the murder of Franz Ferdinand and his wife. In numerous conversations with politicians, diplomats, journalists, and possible masterminds, she sought evidence and a convincing argument, which she presents in her work *The Serajevo Crime* (1925). Her most popular and biggest opponent was pro-Yugoslav scholar Robert Seton-Watson, who also published articles in the *New York Times* on Balkan issues.

Durham, who died in 1944, had hoped that Josip Broz Tito, who was from Croatia, would liberate the non-Serbian ethnic groups from the “Belgrade tyranny” during her lifetime. Tanner commented that Durham and many other British people only discovered that Tito was a communist when it was too late to stop him from ruling Yugoslavia.¹³⁵

In reading Marcus Tanner’s and Elizabeth Gowing’s books, one might get the impression that Durham already described much of what still applies today: the unjustly treated and disadvantaged regions and populations in the Balkans were and still are not sufficiently supported by the West, although there is great potential for them to subscribe to the European idea. The cultural and historical heritage of the Albanian population in Kosovo is also European. Thus, Mary Edith Durham comes to the same conclusion as Felix Philipp Kanitz: the European Orient must be reintegrated into the continent. Durham sees the Oriental attribute as a charming peculiarity that needs to be preserved.

She cannot escape the prevailing worldview in Great Britain about the dominance of the West, however, and takes over already-established

¹³⁴ Tanner, *Albania’s Mountain Queen*, 132; he partly quoted this passage from: Mary Edith Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928), 275.

¹³⁵ Tanner, *Albania’s Mountain Queen*, 237.

narratives about the European Orient and/or the Balkans.¹³⁶ Durham picks up the metaphor of the “magic sleep” that Kanitz liked to spread, and she also relies on the narrative that the Serbs had slept through times of progress during Ottoman rule. Since their awakening in the nineteenth century, they have had a lot to catch up on in order to be considered not as the European Orient, but as Europeans. And that was just how the aforementioned “Balkan man” felt, according to Durham: like someone who had only woken up recently to join Europe. Nevertheless, the awakening seemed to be a hard blow for the inhabitants of the Balkans, as Durham explains:

When after that long night they awoke ... they found the face of the world had changed ... Internally, there were the problems of the fourteenth century still unsolved. Externally, they were faced with those of the twentieth century, Western and insistent.¹³⁷

The twentieth century belonged to the West. Standards and values were developed, discussed, and decided there, although the West, broken down into its components, i.e., the states, by no means appeared as a homogeneous power. What was considered Western in Great Britain, Germany, and Austria-Hungary was possibly undemocratic because of the aristocratic and monarchist power structures that the people had not voted for; ergo, it was contra-Western from the perspective of the United States. Nevertheless, then as now, the West did not shy away from positioning Western standards and values as the highest good, and measuring the actions of the (South)East, the Orient, or Asia against them.¹³⁸ Based on such measurements, the narratives suggested that the Kingdom of Serbia and the West were developing at different speeds, and this was even substantiated by Balkan researcher Mary Edith Durham. Unlike her colleagues, she seemed to feel comfortable, secure, and authentic in the region perceived as backward, and upon returning to Britain, she took refuge in the processing of her research. Durham may have felt like many

¹³⁶ Charles A. Kupchan, *No One's World. The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

¹³⁷ Mary Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 4–5.

¹³⁸ Patrick Kupper and Bernhard C. Schäler, “Moderne Gegenwelten, *Ein mikrohistorischer Beitrag zur europäischen Globalgeschichte*,” in *Ränder der Moderne: Neue Perspektiven auf die Europäische Geschichte (1800–1930)*, Christof Dejung and Martin Lengwiler, eds. (Köln: Böhlau, 2015), 93.

people in Western Europe around the turn of the century who found the New World too fast and could not find their place in it.¹³⁹

Durham projected this feeling of comfort in the (South)East, and of being rushed in the West, onto her metaphors of the *Old World—New World*. She divided the European space into two chronological and cultural spheres. At the turn of the century, with the increasing loss of power of the Ottoman Empire, the formula *Old World—New World* served as another level of differentiation within the concept of Orient-Occident. Paradoxically, Durham claimed that the *Old World* still had to solve its dormant problems from the fourteenth century; she thus agreed in constructing the narrative of ethnic hatred in the Balkans, while the European community in the *New World* slowly broke apart and the Great Powers “sleepwalked” into the First World War.¹⁴⁰

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¹³⁹ Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität. Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (München: Hanser 2000).

¹⁴⁰ Kaufman, “The ‘One Guilty Nation’ Myth,” 298; Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (UK: Penguin Books Limited: 2012).

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CHAPTER 3

“Illuminating the Darkness”: Surveying the European Orient and Localizing the Balkans

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Abstract Where to find the Balkans? Who has the power to name its (national) states and define its borders? In his works, travel writer Felix Philipp Kanitz uses the metaphor of “illumination” (“Aufhellung”) in the context of the Balkans. When he writes about “illuminating” the unknown past of the Balkan people, he does not mean only knowledge acquisition; he also uses the term to refer to the displacement of the “Oriental” influence, because of the Ottoman Empire’s withdrawal and Europe’s growing (cultural) penetration into the Balkans. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Kanitz and his colleagues sought to fill in the perceived “blind spots” on the map and to define Serbia’s borders. In the early twentieth century, Western media publics still offered contrasting views of Balkan territorial belonging, with the Anglo-American press framing Serbia’s ambitions as national unification, while Austro-Hungarian and German narratives portrayed them as an imperialist threat under the term

“Greater Serbia”. This chapter examines how such divergent representations, shaped by geopolitical interests, influenced US perceptions of Serbia’s territorial gains from the Balkan Wars and its sovereignty.

Keywords Terra incognita • Felix Philipp Kanitz • Mental maps and symbolic geography • US media public • Geographical knowledge transfer • k.u.k. colonialism

The Kopaonik mountain range nowadays connects the south of Serbia with Kosovo. The spatial mapping of areas without precise geographical information, due to what was available in Europe at the time, was a major task of research and science in the nineteenth century. Felix Philipp Kanitz’s predecessors—Ami Boué, who climbed to the summit of Kopaonik in 1836, and Archibald Paton, who did the same in 1843—had already begun the cartographic exploration of the areas they looked down upon.¹ Kanitz followed in their footsteps, and undertook the tasks of measuring heights, registering streets and villages, and recording the population and their dwellings while climbing up the Kopaonik’s ridges. He also gathered information on the history of these localities.

Inevitably, the travelers who were given this task realized they were exploring the foreign: the journey created a distance from home, and the Encounters left their familiar terrain and culture to go to new territories and perceive what was “outside” of Europe. Upon their return, this distance and the process of leaving, arriving, being there, and leaving again affected the notion of the “discovered foreign.” It was shaped by the separation from and return to the “heartland,” using a term from colonial history and a metaphor for the center of civilization.² Thus, a relationship was created between the outside and the inside.³

¹Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Zweiter Band: Land und Bevölkerung*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Meyer, 1909), 61.

²Clemens Ruthner, “K.u.k. ‘Kolonialismus’ als Befund, Befindlichkeit und Metapher. Versuch einer weiteren Klärung,” *Kakanien Revisited*, 3, January 29, 2003, accessed February 14, 2024, <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/MDimic1.pdf>. The article also makes it clear that older works use the term “motherland.” Both terms point to the perception of the colonializing states that they are the center, while the colonies as peripheries are located far outside the heartland or motherland.

³Adapted from the article by Ulrich Timme Kragh and his reference to Russian literary critic Mikhail M. Bakhtin; see: Ulrich Timme Kragh, “The Possibility of an Outside: Theoretical Preamble,” *History and Theory* 60, no. 4 (Dec. 2021): 3.

The relationship between Felix Philipp Kanitz and the European Orient was strengthened with each journey, and the narratives he constructed of this region emerged through the exchange of his experiences in the Balkans and in his homeland. Subsequently, a web of relationships developed between the acquaintances he made in Southeast Europe and the scholarly, political, and media circles in which he resided. Within these circles, the insights Kanitz and others brought with them were discussed, and the results were transmitted to the Western publics in the form of a map, which also formed a *mental map*.

The narratives that Kanitz distributed about the European Orient in the media and the academic public are by no means stringent or coherent, but instead contradictory and often emotionally charged, which is why a logical arrangement such as maps or metaphors was needed. This chapter refers to Kanitz's geographic-cartographic work, deconstructing the metaphors and the mental maps he used. The underlying concepts started from what was their "Own" (Central Europe, heartland, West) and created further regions to delineate this, with names that explicitly expressed their relationship to Europe: the "border region" of Serbia, "Oriental Serbia," and the "Balkan powder keg."

TERRA INCOGNITA: SERBIA AS A BORDER REGION

In his lecture in Vienna entitled "The Serbian-Turkish Kopavnik region," held in 1876, Felix Philipp Kanitz addressed an unknown region that extends over present-day southern Serbia and northern Kosovo. Since 1868, he had encouraged people to learn more about this region, which he said was interesting for historians as well as for politicians. Historically, the Kosovo battle in the fourteenth century took place on this piece of land; politically, he said, this battle was still important for the nation-building process of a Balkan country called Serbia.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Serbia and the European Orient as a whole were not differentiated linguistically or territorially. The name "Serbia" had long since disappeared, while Bosnia and Herzegovina described administrative regions within the European Orient, although national independence was not spoken about for a long time.⁴ Ottoman rule caused the history of the former medieval kingdoms in Southeast

⁴Sima Ćirković, "Serbien und Montenegro. Historische Geografie," in *Österreichische Osthefte* 47, no. 1–4 (2006): 131.

Europe to be forgotten, but the Kosovo myth with the story of the lost battle against the Ottomans was transferred into the West. Travelers initially relied on regional markers that were largely determined by mountains and rivers, such as the “Serbian-Turkish Kopavnik region.” The division or subdivision of European Turkey was only carried out step by step, often with reference to historically documented regions or centers. Although Western scholars were striving to reduce geographical and topographical gaps in far more accessible parts of European Turkey, as Kanitz mentioned in his paper, he decided to research the Kopaonik region. Kanitz considered it “important terrain,” which is why he found it incomprehensible that nothing had been done to improve the knowledge about it, even in his own day.⁵

The Kopaonik mountain range is located in southern Serbia and extends to Mitrovica (Kosovo). In his subsequent years of travel, Kanitz’s goal was to explore this area. Kopaonik, or Kopavnik, is a region that up until the Balkan wars was part of “European Turkey,”⁶ which is why access to it was complicated, with challenging, long ascents. The penetration into “Turkish” territories was slow until the Ottoman rule was pushed back, making it faster to survey unknown areas.

Starting from the imagined space of European Turkey or the European Orient, Western travelers such as Auguste Viquesnel, Ami Boué, and Johann Georg Hahn tasked themselves with charting this unknown territory in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷ Through the metaphor of “new territory” or “terra incognita,” the white spots on the map were filled in with a Western perspective that symbolically showed the taking possession of and the making available of the southeastern territory, to benefit Austrian and/or European interests.⁸

The division of the population according to language and religion, which was not carried out under Ottoman rule, seemed particularly important to the West. Censuses did exist in the Croatian-Slavonian military border region, which was considered multicultural and

⁵ Kanitz, “Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet,” 58.

⁶ European Turkey is a synonym for the European Orient and was preferred by Felix Philipp Kanitz.

⁷ Felix Philipp Kanitz, “Beiträge zur Kartographie des Fürstenthums Serbien,” 79.

⁸ See, for example, Hahn, who describes the importance of expanding the railway network in Southeast Europe in order to position Vienna as a transportation and trade center: Johann Georg Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik nebst vier Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte des Morawagebietes*, 2nd edition (Vienna: Tender & Comp., 1868), 3.

multiconfessional,⁹ but not in the European Orient. The Balkan researchers had their hands full with this project. The first map dividing the Balkan population into "Slavs," "Albanians," "Wallachians," "Greeks," and "Ottomans" was published by Ami Boué in 1847. In 1864, Kanitz stated in a meeting of the *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft* that "much remains to be done in regard to the physical-geographical and topographical exploration of European Turkey." The "best general map of Turkey" (1853) would come from German geographer and cartographer Heinrich Kiepert, who promised his colleague, Kanitz, that he would include Kanitz's "Contributions to the cartography of the Principality of Serbia" ("Beiträge zur Kartographie des Fürstenthumes Serbien") in the next edition of the map.¹⁰ In his 1868 monograph, *Serbia*, Kanitz once more stated that cartography in the European Orient was far from being finished and was not an easy task to fulfill. It was only recently that Western scholars had "shed some light on the darkest parts of the Balkan countries through painstaking work" in order to be able to draw "at least an approximate picture of this hitherto terra incognita." He stated that their knowledge about this country, the Principality of Serbia, was "only of a very fragmentary nature," which thankfully came from Boué's work, "La Turquie d'Europe" (Paris 1840).¹¹ Thus, he said, it was now time to proceed "with the elucidation of the darkness."¹²

The metaphors of the "brightening of the darkness," like those of the "morning of awakening," conveyed the upheaval in Europe that resulted from the weakening of the Ottoman Empire. With the Serbian uprisings at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the continuous unrest and incipient nationalization movements, Western (travel) writers were inspired to recount the glorious past of the medieval kingdoms and empires in the Balkans.¹³ Here, too, the use of "darkness" seems to make

⁹ Daniela Angetter, "Die Militärgrenze: Von der Sicherheits- und Pufferzone zur neuen EU-Außengrenze," in *Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf, eds. (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 234.

¹⁰ "Versammlung [Meeting] am 22. Dezember 1863," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geographischen Gesellschaft* VIII. (1864): 67; see also: Kanitz, *Serbien*, 220.

¹¹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 455.

¹² Kanitz, *Serbien*, 220.

¹³ See, for example, Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family or, A Residence in Belgrade and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the years 1843 and 1844* (London: Longmans Brown, 1845); Carl Zehden, "Bosnien und die Hercegovina im Jahre 1886," in *Mittheilungen der k.k. geographischen Gesellschaft*

sense; after all, Serbia had ceased to exist since the Middle Ages, and was now picking up where the dark period had left off, highlighting the question of a legitimate continuation of the empires. For example, the emerging elites in Serbia and Bulgaria saw the “foreign rule”¹⁴ as an interruption of medieval empires.

The idea of this continuous rule, which was soon charged with imported national ideas, was heightened by the Austrian as well as the Russian idea of natural expansion toward the south. The pan-Slavic orientation of members of the Serbian government fueled the fears of all the major European powers, since they felt this solution foreshadowed Russian supremacy in the East. The Ottoman reign would merely be replaced by another. None of the great European powers wanted the Russian Tsarist Empire to be strengthened so soon after the victory over the Napoleonic French Empire. The official Balkan policy of Britain and Austria was to mediate between the Principality of Serbia and the High Porte in Constantinople—in order to keep the Ottoman Empire alive and Serbia small. To this end, the Serbian elite was supported in its desire for sovereignty by Austria or Austria-Hungary, whose ulterior motive was to control and direct Serbia’s territorial expansion plans as well as to study its historical borders and spaces, from which a claim to legitimacy was often derived.¹⁵

The illustrative depiction of empty spaces and borders was a frequent motif in Kanitz’s work.¹⁶ In numerous drawings, the untouched nature of the mountainous landscape and its vastness dominated. On the one hand, the places seemed remote, deserted, and isolated. On the other hand, they suggested a mystical-romantic atmosphere. Not surprisingly, Kostic commented on Serbia’s late industrialization: the water in the mountain

XXX (1887): 198–199; Božidar Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa. Der Balkan in den Augen westlicher Reisender* (Wien: Böhlau, 2016).

¹⁴Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 84–85 and 116.

¹⁵On Austria’s Balkan policy, see: Ulrike Tischler, *Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822. Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?* (München: Oldenbourg, 2000).

¹⁶About a third of his drawings, which were included in the serial analysis, depicted either an empty, expansive landscape or a border space situation, marked as such by a lonely border house in the middle of an empty landscape, by a single border guard, or both. If a border space situation was busier, it was also perceived as more dangerous. Few border space situations were busy, but were rather uninhabited, deserted, and chilly. Border houses, if pictured, were in desolate condition. The serial analysis included Kanitz’s illustrations in his books and in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*. His scientific publications were not illustrated.

streams, for example, was still clear and pure.¹⁷ It is not always clear what message the ethnographer Kanitz wanted to convey with these illustrations; on the one hand, he may have been depicting the beautiful landscape, but on the other hand, the large number of pictures showing empty and vast areas invites us to interpret them as cultivable land.

Soon, regions and geographical elements were cast in notions of symbolically charged spaces, borders, and even nations. The "Black Mountains" became a metaphor for a Montenegrin state.¹⁸ Rivers served as practicable demarcations of borders. Above all, the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers in Belgrade was seen as a symbolic line of division between Europe and the European Orient, with the Danube quickly assuming a significant role as a connecting element (as previously addressed in the concept of the Danube monarchy) and the Sava as a border river.

Mountains divide, rivers unite!—Three decades ago, this was true of no river in the world less than the Sava, which formed a 145 km border between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. As if it were a stream of fiercely guarded liquid fire, whose escape was feared daily.¹⁹

This passage is included in two of Kanitz's texts: *Serbien* in 1868, as well as *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk* in 1904, a three-volume work published at the beginning of the twentieth century that reproduced a large part of his findings from the 1860s in largely unreflective and uncommented form. In 1833, more than thirty years before the book *Serbien* (*Serbia*) was published, an independent principality of Serbia was established. From this date on, Kanitz saw the dismantling of borders between Orient and Occident, but also between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. In 1904, when *Das Königreich Serbien* (*The Kingdom of Serbia*) was published, the rapprochement was no longer evident; the Customs War soon followed in 1906, rekindling the fire between the neighboring monarchies. Only two years later, in the midst of the Bosnian crisis, the leakage of the metaphorical liquid fire became likely, though war between

¹⁷ Kostić, "Jeder Reisende," 49.

¹⁸ Knežević and Minić refer to six travelogues from the 1840s and 1850s, in which the population is described with attributes such as "rugged," "steep," "lonely," "naked," and "blackly melancholic"; see: Jelena Knežević and Ana Minić, Montenegro als exotischer Raum in deutschsprachigen Reiseberichten in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, in *Ars & Humanitas* 13, no. 2 (2019): 148 and 155.

¹⁹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 63; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 341.

Austria-Hungary and Serbia was still averted at this point.²⁰ Back to the nineteenth century: the Sava, the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and, together with the Danube, the border between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, divided entire worlds in the Western perception.

North of the border rivers, the Danube and the Sava, lay another border region within the Habsburg Empire, the Banat military border. In addition to the Croatian and Slavonian frontiers, the Banat military frontier of 1742 was also intended to protect against the invasion of the Ottoman forces into the “lands of Central Europe” as a “defense against the Turks,” who supplied “the frontier security by delivering cannons, war materials, ships and provisions.”²¹ The military border region was settled by so-called military farmers or frontier soldiers, who undertook military service for the emperor during times of war, then farmed the land as peasants during times of peace. They were not only granted remission of taxes and land for cultivation, but they also lived self-sufficiently in terms of free religious practice (many were Orthodox) and had an independent form of social organization, namely the house communion, or *zadruga*, with partially independent jurisdiction. The military court regulated every part of a soldier’s life, except for their lives together within a house communion. The way of life of the frontiersmen of the *Vojna Krajina* (military border) was very similar to that of the Serbians living in the Ottoman Empire, which is why the population in this frontier area was able to change sides depending on the conditions. In general, there was a great deal of looting around the *Vojna Krajina*, and Hajdukism was strongly represented.²² Especially in Bosnia, which “stuck out like a wedge into the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy,” there was a “constant petty war” between the people living along the military border and the Bosnians.²³

Along with the Danube-Sava line, the Drina was an important border river between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia.²⁴ The former had been under Austro-Hungarian administrative sovereignty since 1878, although it was still part of the Ottoman Empire until 1908. Nevertheless, the Drina drew a symbolic border between the still-oppressed Serbian

²⁰ Dušan A. Lončarević, “Jugoslaviens Entstehung,” (Zürich Leipzig Wien: Amalthea, 1929), 281–282.

²¹ Angetter, “Die Militärgrenze,” 217; today, Slavonia is part of Croatia and is different from Slovenia.

²² Angetter, “Die Militärgrenze,” 219, 235, and 239.

²³ Angetter, “Die Militärgrenze,” 226.

²⁴ Paton, *Servia*, 127.

population in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the already-liberated one in the principality or kingdom. For Kanitz, it formed the boundary between one country where Western travelers and Western progress were welcome, and another that was held back from progress by Ottoman rule and Islamic culture.

In the "Kronprinzenwerk" (*Crown Prince's Work*), the Drina was described as the main river connecting Austria-Hungary with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The *Kronprinzenwerk* was a book project with the title *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (*The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Pictures*) initiated by Crown Prince Rudolf. After his death, his wife Stephanie Lónyay took over as sponsor of the project, which aimed to depict every crown land of Austria-Hungary with one volume dedicated to each. The crown lands were regions of the Habsburg territory, which stretched over Central Europe, and the volume for each region highlighted the crown land's customs, nature, and regional specialties. Since 1878, the Habsburg monarchy had been responsible for the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although this region did not have the status of a crown land, a volume on Bosnia-Herzegovina was also created and published in 1901. This work pointed out that the Drina's side rivers served as important transportation routes.

The Drina is described as the most important tributary of the Sava, in which not only Bosnia has a share, but also Montenegro, Turkey, and of course Serbia, "against which the Drina ... forms the border." Austria-Hungary's interest in this border river was particularly strong, since it was navigable by smaller steamboats and represented an important connection not only to Bosnia, but particularly also to the other bordering countries. In 1901, even before the annexation in 1908, the *Kronprinzenwerk* noted that "Only the Drina" performs "the important service ... of culture" for Bosnia-Herzegovina.²⁵ The effort put into the volumes on Galicia, Bukovina, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the peripheries of Austria-Hungary was enormous compared to the other Crown Lands editions. "Artists, photographers, and local authors traveled to even the most remote areas," according to Hans Petschar, head of the Austrian National Library's image archive. The volumes focused on these countries were intended to show readers the missionary task that the Habsburg monarchy

²⁵ *Bosnien und Hercegovina, Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901), 14.

was undertaking there. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian administration was presented as a success story.²⁶

Nevertheless, Kanitz's illustrations bear witness to the fact that the area around the Drina was mainly perceived as a border region, a marker between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. Figure 3.1 depicts a typical border region in the middle of nowhere with a border cottage, as often found in Kanitz's work. The villages of Radalj and Zvornik are separated by the Drina River. Radalj is on the Serbian side, as it was during Kanitz's travels, and Zvornik is on the Bosnian side. This illustration introduces a new chapter in the three-volume edition of *The Kingdom of Serbia*, and accordingly has symbolic value. Very few chapters were accompanied by a pictorial illustration; in fact, only three chapters in the entire three-volume work included an illustration. The same drawing had already been used in Kanitz's *Serbia* as the title page for the chapter "Between the Sava, Drina and Kolubara." The large number of illustrations of border areas of this kind that are found in all of Kanitz's books and articles reflects the task of exploring territories that were still empty, which was entirely in keeping with the k.u.k.'s colonialism efforts. Figure 3.2 shows border guards at one of the outposts on the Drina. In the foreground is a "Buljukbasha" (Commander); the guards in the background were called pandures. The first publication of this drawing was in 1861 in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, when Kanitz published his "Reiseskizzen aus Bosnien und Serbien." The same image was used in 1909 in the second volume, *Das Königreich Serbien*, to illustrate the border between southern Serbia and Turkey, underlining the arbitrariness and interchangeability of border depictions.²⁷

Besides the Drina, the Morava was another important border river that demarcated Serbia to the east of its neighbors, Bulgaria and Romania. Kanitz describes this river as an "ethnographic dividing line,"²⁸ since the Bulgarian and Romanian populations were considered a separate nation in contrast to the Serbian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his first major monograph, *Serbia*, Kanitz attempted to sketch the "shape of Serbia" with the help of border rivers and mountains. To the south, the largest mountain range in present-day Serbia, the Kopaonik

²⁶ Hans Petschar, "Über die Konstruktion von Identitäten. Vergangenheit und Zukunft im Kronprinzenwerk," in *Migration und Innovation um 1900. Perspektiven auf das Wien der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Elisabeth Röhrlich (Wien Köln Weimar: Böhlau), 352.

²⁷ "Buljukbaša" by "Suvo Rudište"; see: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 65.

²⁸ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 517.

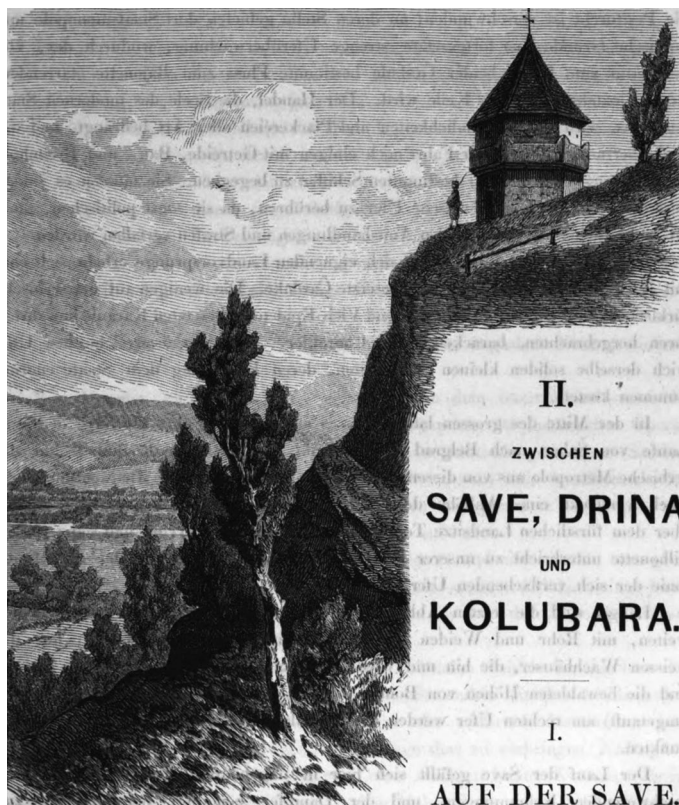


Fig. 3.1 Border on the Drina. (In *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 377. Public Domain)

Mountains, formed the border to “Old Serbia” or “Turkish-Serbia” (Fig. 3.3). To the east, the Timok River and the most northwestern point of the Balkan Mountains, Mount Vrashka Chuka, formed an approximate border with Bulgaria. In the west, the Drina River was the clear division line between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. To the north, the Principality of Serbia was separated from the territory of the Habsburg

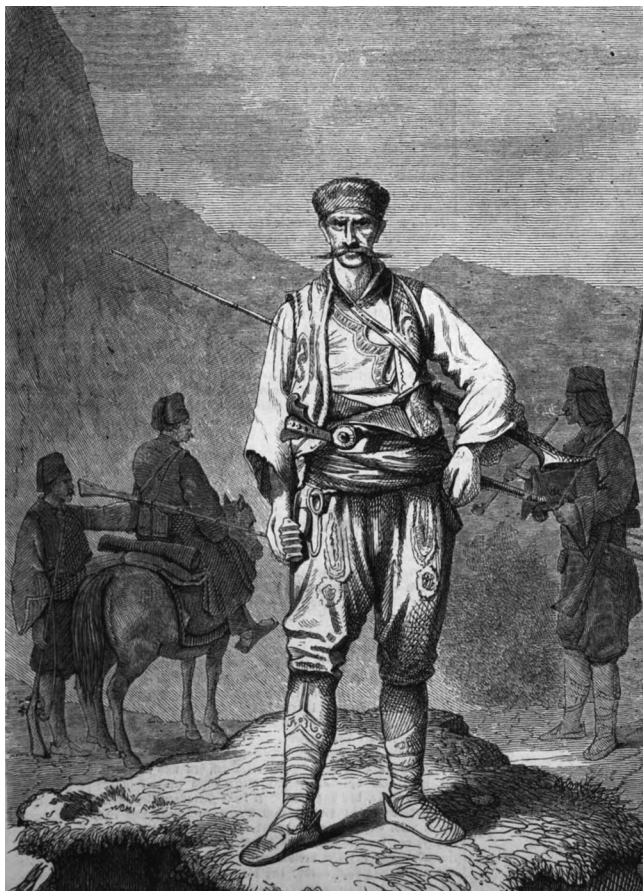


Fig. 3.2 Outpost on the Drina. (In *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Sept. 9., 1861, 200. (The same illustration is published in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 65.) Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)



Fig. 3.3 Map by Felix Philipp Kanitz, in which he marked the routes he traveled in the years 1859–1867. (In *Serbien* at the end of the book a map to fold out. Source: ÖNB digital/Austrian National Library)

monarchy by the Sava and Danube rivers.²⁹ The Danube-Sava line, which Serbian and Yugoslav geographer Jovan Cvijić extended further from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea, marked the border between the “Balkan Peninsula” and “Central Europe.”³⁰

²⁹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 457.

³⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *La Péninsule Balkanique: géographie humaine* (Paris: Colin, 1918) [including numerous maps showing Cvijić’s delimitation of the Balkan Peninsula]; Wolfgang Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 25 and 131. One pioneer in the geographical mapping of Southeast Europe and the Balkan Peninsula was the Berlin geographer Johann August Geograf Zeune at the beginning of the nineteenth century; see also: Holm Sundhaussen, “Europa balcanica. Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 25, no. 4 (1999): 633–635.

Although Kanitz continued his travels until the late 1880s and explored “new” areas of Serbia around Niš, he never made it to Kosovo.³¹

However, the pictorial messages in Kanitz’s illustrations testify that he scouted out these “blind spots.” His drive to find clarity about the borders of the principality or kingdom of Serbia can be read in his drawings. Numerous drawings depict a border situation, such as the illustrations depicting the loading and unloading of ships at border rivers³² and interactions at the border and customs offices (*log-house*³³), although more often than not, the dreary scene depicts a small abandoned³⁴ house in the middle of nowhere. Kanitz also offered a glimpse into a *karaula*, a guard house near the Bosnian border. The inside of the cottage is just as dreary as the view from the outside. Only the most necessary items can be seen inside: a few utensils, a fireplace, and two benches. The desolation that is also easy to see in the exterior depictions of border rooms is mirrored inside the *karaula*.³⁵ The *karaula* in the Kopaonik mountain range between Serbia and Kosovo made a particularly disastrous impression on Kanitz.

³¹ Maximilian Harthmut, “Vienna and the Art Historical ‘Discovery’ of the Balkans,” in *Orientalism in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen, eds. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 144.

³² In this case, the Danube at Smederevo on the border with the Habsburg Monarchy; see: Kanitz, *Serbien*, plate inserted between pages 10 and 11; and: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 137.

³³ Paton describes the Serbian-Bulgarian border situation at the Timok River as similarly bleak: “The only habitation in the place was a log-house for the Turkish custom-house officer”; see: Paton, *Servia*, 36.

³⁴ See, e.g., the picture of Turkish and Serbian customs officials in Raška and the one showing the quarantine station from the outside, as well as the picture of the Katun border post, both on the border with the Ottoman Empire, in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 42, 39 and 135; the quarantine station illustration was published in Serbia as early as 1868, in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, plate inserted between pages 198 and 199; “Sopoćani. Church and Turkish Border Post in Old Serbia,” in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 49; further, e.g., the picture of a border post on the Serbian-Bulgarian border, in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 267; and pictures of the Bosnian-Serbian border, in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 559, 562, and 391; “Kozeljokuš-Karaula,” in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 197; “Serbian Border Post at Mala Zvornik Opposite Bosnian Drina Riverbank. After a drawing by F. Kanitz,” in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, November 2, 1861, 312; “Reiseskizzen aus Bosnien und Serbien nach Zeichnungen von F. Kanitz,” in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, September 21, 1861, 200 (the same picture in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 397).

³⁵ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 563.



Fig. 3.4 "Night's lodging for the Orient traveler Felix Kanitz in the Serbian-Turkish border region, at the Kapaunik mountain." (In *Illustrierte Zeitung*, March 16, 1872, 188)

Wrapped in my cloak ... near the border ... [I] remembered the great changes that the Turkish regiment had brought about in these mountains. They were still desolate, so poor in people and culture.³⁶

This was the highest karaula in southwestern Serbia, on the border with the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and for Kanitz, it not only stood for desolation and abandonment, but also offered a view of *Kosovo polje*, and thus a symbol of the loss Serbia had suffered. Besides his rough descriptions of the Kopaonik mountain region, one of Kanitz' illustrations, which was published in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, gave the reader insight into the life of an "Orient traveler" (Fig. 3.4) It depicted a pleasant atmosphere, a gathering around a fire, food, and a full moon. According to the image caption, they

³⁶ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 63.

stood on the “Serbian-Turkish border.” Southwestern Serbia is bounded by the Sandžak of Novi Pazar (Turkish territory), where Kosovo is located.

ORIENTAL SERBIA: FROM RAŠKA TO KOSOVO

The border to the north of Serbia was clearly marked out by the Danube-Sava line, but Western travelers had great difficulty in determining the territory to the south. The gaps and inconsistencies in the maps of Kiepert and Viquesnel, with regard to the south of Serbia, urgently needed to be corrected from the Austrian perspective, especially in order to start the railway project, which was supposed to be a communication line from Vienna to Egypt and India.³⁷ Kanitz described what was then the southernmost point of Serbia on the border with the Ottoman Empire, in a meeting of the *k.k. Geographical Society*, as follows:

The south showed ... profiles of the Balkan chain... Gloomy on this old Serbian stretch of land, on its once proud Caren city Prizzen, ... neighbor to Priština, where the last two powerful, spiritual rulers of Eastern Europe, Cantacucenos [note: Kantakuzenos, despot of the Peloponnese] and the Serbian Caran Dušan, met to conclude a covenant of friendship. There lies ... the Plain of Kossovo, the “Field of Blackbirds.”³⁸

The fact that the “Field of Blackbirds,” known in the media discourse as “Kossovo,”³⁹ gained notoriety in the West is due to the widely collocated and received historical event of the 1389 battle there. From an English perspective, the Battle of “Kossovo” was a logical consequence of European history.⁴⁰ The Field of Blackbirds initially served as a container for the territory for the south of Serbia that had not yet been explored, and therefore did not allow for accurate cartography. However, it was not the only territorial designation of the Ottoman regions (without clear borders) bordering Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro that circulated in Western discourse. Other regions perceived as partly or even entirely identical to

³⁷ Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 2–3, 42, and 51. Hahn was challenged by several problems; for instance, he was puzzled that despite diligent inquiries, no one from Niš could name the three peaks of the mountain range; see: *Ibid*, 33.

³⁸ Felix Philipp Kanitz, “Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet,” 56.

³⁹ In the nineteenth century, Kosovo was often written with a double s, even in English. In Serbian it is “Kosovo polje,” and *polje* means field.

⁴⁰ Paton, *Servia*, 211–212.

the Blackbird Field were the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, Rascien or Raška, Old Serbia or Stara Srbija, and "Kosovo and Metohija."

The buffer region between Serbia and Montenegro was called the Sandžak of Novi Pazar. It was an administrative territory of the Ottoman Empire until the 1913 Treaty of London.⁴¹ This area, which today includes the northeastern part of Montenegro with the towns of Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Berane, and Rožaje and the southwestern part of Serbia with the towns of Priboj, Nova Varoš, Sjenica, Novi Pazar, and Mitrovica/Kosovska Mitrovica, had its borders confirmed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and existed until the Balkan Wars. The aim of maintaining the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was to prevent Serbia from uniting with Montenegro.⁴²

Austria-Hungary was granted the right to station military troops there, despite its formally being Turkish property. The territory was a bargaining chip. The Great Powers were convinced at the Congress that the Ottoman Empire would be too weakened to deal with the challenges in the country, so Austria-Hungary was more than willing to take over an administrative function and occupy it.⁴³ The fact that the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was not part of the Principality of Serbia caused great resentment among some Serbian nationalist politicians, who in the mid-nineteenth century wanted the expansion of the Serbian territory to follow the lines of medieval Serbia.

After all, they reasoned, the Kingdom of Raška, under the Nemanjid dynasty, had formed a Serbian state entity in about 1170 and was territorially partly identical to the Sandžak of Novi Pazar,⁴⁴ explained Felix Philipp Kanitz.

Well, first of all, there was a great desire to explore Raška, the very seat of the Serbs. The river Raška and the landscape gave the Tsarist Empire its oldest name, 'Rascije,' and the Serbs the name 'Rascijani,' in medieval Latin Rassiani, Hungarian 'Rácok,' German Ratzen or Raitzen.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Peter Bartl, "Sandschak von Novi Pazar," in *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, Holm Sundhaussen and Konrad Clewing, eds. (Vienna Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 813.

⁴² Hahn, Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 123.

⁴³ Marie-Janine Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2019), 31–33.

⁴⁴ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 28. The town of Ras was considered the center of Raška; today it is the town of Novi Pazar; see: Peter Bartl, "Raszen," in *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, Holm Sundhaussen and Konrad Clewing, eds. (Vienna Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 753.

⁴⁵ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 37.

According to Kanitz, the kingdom of Raška would have been the eponym for this Serbian territory until the end of the eighteenth century, while the Serbian part of Belgrade would have been known as “Raizenstadt” in the Austrian Empire.⁴⁶ At least at the beginning of the century, the Serbian inhabitants were called “Rascians” by English-speaking travelers and “Raizen” by German-speaking ones, and were not associated with a state called Serbia. The fact that the Serbian population living around Belgrade was called Raizen,⁴⁷ although the historical kingdom of Raška originated in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar,⁴⁸ is a further indication of a forgotten or overshadowed Serbian history.

Due to this historical significance, Kanitz wanted to visit and precisely determine the location of the “Raškadefilee” at the rivers Raška and Ibar, which his “old friend Ami Boué had been trying to find in vain for about twenty years.” His goal was to “finally ... to see that narrow stretch of land, which is only six hours wide, separating Montenegro’s high rocky walls, wedge-like, from southwestern Serbia.”⁴⁹ Kanitz regarded himself as an explorer, and this would have reinforced or established his reputation as the “Columbus of the Balkans.”⁵⁰

It is difficult to separate Raška and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar since they are often used indistinctly or synonymously in various texts, not only in Kanitz’s. While Stefan Dušan’s kingdom from 1331 to 1355 encompassed the southern Adriatic coast (Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, and northern Greece), the empire lost territory as a result of wars and the expansion of Ottoman rule. The remaining northern Serbian state was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in 1459. Serbia ceased to exist, not only on the map but also in the European collective memory. While “Bosnia” and “Herzegovina” remained in use as administrative designations within the Ottoman Empire, the name “Serbia,” which was also rarely used before, was not adopted. Latin sources mainly listed “Rascia” and “Rassia,”⁵¹ designations that Kanitz argued were associated with the “origin” and “seat

⁴⁶ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 37.

⁴⁷ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 42.

⁴⁸ Bartl, in *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, 735 and 813.

⁴⁹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 37.

⁵⁰ Fehér Géza, *Kanitz Fülöp Félix: “A Balkán Kolumbusa.” Élete és Munkássága 1829–1904* (Budapest: Franklin, 1932); Mihajlović, Vladimir V. “Frontier Gentlemen’s Club,” in *Communities and Knowledge Production in Archaeology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 188. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526134561.00017>.

⁵¹ Ćirković, “Serbien und Montenegro,” 131.

of the Serbs." He expresses regret that "the cradle of the Serbian Empire" in particular, namely Rasciani or Raizen, had been "overrun by the Albanese."⁵² In 1843/1844, the English traveler Andrew Archibald Paton observed something similar in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, where the Albanian language was displacing the Serbian or Bosnian language.⁵³ "By this addition," Georg Hahn stated in 1868, "the ethnographic frontier of Albania is pushed half a degree further north, so the Albanian population has become ... the direct neighbor of the Serbs."⁵⁴ Based on the names of towns located in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, Kanitz was certain that these were "Old Serbian landscapes."⁵⁵ On his journey from Belgrade to Salonika, which served to scout a suitable railway route between the two cities, k.k. Consul Hahn stated:

The name Rascia, however, seems to have died out in this area, surviving only among the Germans and Hungarians, who call the Serbian immigrants in the Banate 'Raizen'. The Serbs have substituted the name Old Serbia (Stara Srbia) but we could not be sure to what extent this name was given. Apart from the plains mentioned [Blackbird Field, Plain of the White Drin (Metoja)], the cauldron of Nowi Pazar was also part it.⁵⁶

⁵² Kanitz, *Serbien*, 516.

⁵³ Paton, *Servia*, 204.

⁵⁴ Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 45. Original: "Durch diesen Zuwachs," argues Georg Hahn in 1868, "wird die ethnographische Grenze Albaniens um einen halben Grad weiter gegen Norden vorgeschoben und der Albanese ... unmittelbare[r] Grenznachbar des Serbenstammes."

⁵⁵ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 516.

⁵⁶ Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 120; Original: "Der Name Rascien scheint aber hier Landes ausgestorben zu sein und sich nur noch bei den Deutschen und Ungarn erhalten zu haben, welche die in dem Banate sitzenden serbischen Einwanderer Raizen nennen. Die Serben haben ihm den Namen Alt-Serbien (Stara Srbia) substituiert, doch konnten wir über die Ausdehnung, welche sie diesem Namen geben, nicht klar werden. Ausser den genannten Ebenen [Amselfeld, Ebene der weissen Drin (Metoja)] gehört jedoch auch der Kessel von Nowi Pazar sicher zu demselben." Hahn divides the Field of Blackbirds into two valleys: the "famous" battlefield of Kosovo would be in the eastern valley, and he does not describe the western part. He describes the plain of the "weisse Drin" ["white Drin"] or "Metoja" to the east of the Field of Blackbirds; Metohija, however, which was certainly meant, is in the western part of present-day Kosovo. One of the aims of his journey was to scout out the exact area of "Metoja," but he did not succeed in doing so. For him, the center of Rascia is located at the Field of Blackbirds; see: Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 119–120 and 133.

This explains why the name Old Serbia became established as a further synonym for the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, which was largely populated by Albanians, and replaced the medieval name, Raška. Not only did Kanitz know about Stara-Srbija (Old Serbia), but contemporary Western travelers and Serbian scholars did as well. The latter in particular expressed Serbia's claim to the territory to which Serbia's golden age clung.⁵⁷ Old Serbia must be considered as a political territorial designation, which was taken up not only by Kanitz but also by the media. Kanitz even substantiated the territorial claim hidden in it by equating the ancient geographical area of Moesia with "Stara-Srbie," and describes the latter as a "period of splendor of Serbian activity in the field of architecture," which the "pious and splendour-loving Nemanjids had founded."⁵⁸

The history and existence of Serbia as a nation and as a state once again became part of the media discourse of Europe in the nineteenth century. Thanks to the Serbian uprisings, which revived the Serbian medieval kingdom or empire, anyone who was interested in the Principality of Serbia knew its past up until the Battle of the Field of Blackbirds, which lives on in the present day as the Kosovo myth. The *Illustrirte Zeitung*, which warned against a "South Slav Empire," summarized the situation in 1862:

The important memories of the Serbian people that were passed down were of the most brilliant period, which began in 1217 with the royal coronation of Stephen I, its climax under Stephen Dushan, who assumed the title of emperor after the conquest of Macedonia in 1345, and ended with the defeat of Emperor Lazar in 1398 (sic) against the Turks at Cassova.⁵⁹

If Turkey were to dissolve, which was assumed would happen in either the near or distant future, an independent state of Serbia would emerge together with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and "Turkish Serbia," according to an article published in the "Wochenschau" section of the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, presumably written by the editors of the weekly newspaper. "In this case, a South Slavic empire of about four million people ... would arise, which ... would be a constant threat to Austria through the more dangerous sympathies in Russia."⁶⁰ These warning lines were printed in 1858, when the uprisings in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro

⁵⁷ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 120.

⁵⁸ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 730.

⁵⁹ "Die Ereignisse in Serbien," *Illustrirte Zeitung*, June 12, 1862, 31.

⁶⁰ "Die Verhältnisse Bosniens," *Illustrirte Zeitung*, August 7, 1858, 83.

were in full swing and Kanitz was first visiting the Balkans. This would also have meant the Balkans would continue to belong to the Orient.

The Kosovo myth was part of Western reports on Serbia in the second half of the nineteenth century. While in the German-speaking countries Old Serbia was used as a standing term, as an actual territorial name, the term Kosovo was used for the same space in other contexts. When there was talk of Kosovo, mentioning "Kosovo" ensured that the narratives of the Kosovo myth were upheld. Questioning the use of the terms Old Serbia, Raška, the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and Kosovo for a region, namely the Albanian-dominated region built on a Serbian foundation, contributes to the understanding of country names and territorial designations. Depending on one's perspective, the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was necessary to prevent the unification of Serbia and Montenegro. Despite or perhaps because of the unstable Ottoman Empire, the Sandžak was maintained as an administrative unit with Western support leading up to the Balkan Wars of 1913. Whenever the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was mentioned in newspaper articles (or generally in the media discourse), it meant a concrete geographical territory that had its own administration and that was conquered by war and partitioned by Serbia and Montenegro in 1913. Raška and Kosovo, on the other hand, were abstract. There was neither a governing area by that name nor a concrete territory with borders.

Kanitz's pictorial representations of Raška, Old Serbia, and Kosovo do not come in the form of maps, but as illustrations of medieval castles and fortresses. *Old Serbia*—building on its medieval heritage—contained Serbia's claim, which was fully revealed in *Kosovo* through the narrative of the battle in the myth.

In his work *Serbia*, Kanitz wrote a chapter entitled "At the Cradle of Serbian Freedom."⁶¹ The narrative about the Battle of Kosovo, between the "Cross and the Crescent," served as a starting point. Then, after a leap in time, Kanitz told about an uprising of the Serbs in 1815 that aimed to avenge the "ignominy of Kossovo" of 1389.⁶² In an 1867 lecture on the disputed "Serbian-Turkish" territory, Kanitz explained to the members of the k.u.k. Geographical Society that "this field of misfortune represents

⁶¹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 55.

⁶² Kanitz, *Serbien*, 56. On Palm Sunday in 1815, the revolt under the leadership of "Knez Miloš" (Milos Obrenovic), in which battles all over the country were fought, Serbia finally gained a status of a vassal state. Though it was not fully independent of the Ottoman Empire, it got a big date in Serbian historiography.

the cradle of the Oriental question, which threatens us badly.” Kosovo not only became a central narrative for the Serbian national movement, it was also perceived by Felix Philipp Kanitz as a part of the European, Western integration narrative. He tended to describe the “originally Serbian region” of Kosovo, with the cities Mitrovica/Kosovska Mitrovica, Pristina, and Prizren, as a space of foreign infiltration. He warned about the observed trend of the Serbs being usurped by the Albanian population, because he defined it as a threat to Central Europe. Kanitz reported that Kosovo, or Old Serbia, was once inhabited almost exclusively by Serbs. Later, he explained, the “Albanian element” inserted itself into the large gap created here by the Serbs’ emigration to Austria.⁶³

The Balkans were for Europe what Greater Serbia was for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and what Old Serbia or, more correctly, Kosovo was for the Kingdom of Serbia: the idea of a space from a specific perspective, charged with imperatives and self-projections. The notion of “Old Serbia” had as many different and competing narratives as the Balkans themselves, as exemplified by the myth of Kosovo (the Field of Blackbirds), which later provided the name for the independent Republic of Kosova/Kosovo in 2008.⁶⁴

At the beginning of the twentieth century, concepts of space similar to those that Kanitz recorded and described in his travelogues circulated in the Western press. These were not clearly defined spaces, or at least they were not perceived as such by the West. They were used to help define regions with prevailing multi-ethnic conflicts.

The US press agreed that the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, “Old Servia,” should go to Serbia, while Bulgaria would receive the territory of Macedonia. After the turn of the twentieth century, the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was often called Novi Pazar, which was more correct at the time. Sandžak was a former administrative district within the Ottoman Empire, which no longer applied, since Austria-Hungary had been the administrative force since 1878. Referring to Sandžak Novi Pazar was nevertheless useful in media discourse, because Novi Pazar was also the name of the largest city within this former Sandžak. The Sandžak Novi Pazar was thus kept in some cases and was used to mean the former territory of the Ottoman administrative district, while the US media public, which might

⁶³ Kanitz, “Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet,” 56.

⁶⁴ The author uses Kosovo instead of Kosova, not because of political motives, but according to the English translation.

not have been familiar with the city of the same name, preferred to use Novi Pazar.

The Sandžak of Novi Pazar was not identical to Old Serbia, yet the terms were used synonymously, or rather journalists were unable to correctly classify either one geographically.⁶⁵ While Felix Philipp Kanitz speaks of the "Serbian-Turkish" region, the spatial term "Oriental Serbia" is used in the media. "Oriental Serbia" is another synonym for Old Serbia, or the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, which later becomes known as Kosovo. The territorial designation of Kosovo was increasingly used in the Western press due to the Balkan Wars of 1912/1913, which received a great deal of coverage. The end of the wars brought territorial gains for members of the Balkan League and a better understanding of the borders in Southeast Europe for Western observers.

THE REAL IMPACT OF BORDERS: EUROPEAN AND US POLICY IN THE BALKANS

The Balkan Wars were a hot topic not only in the European but also in the US press. Walter Littlefield, a Boston-born foreign editor of the *New York Times*, dealt extensively with the European Balkan policy as early as October 1912. The newspaper provided portraits of the politicians, Littlefield considered central international players: the foreign ministers of Russia, Great Britain, France, and Austria-Hungary. Above them were portraits of the main Balkan actors: the Montenegrin, Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian kings. Between the two rows of portraits was a picture of the border of the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier, symbolically underlining the struggle for territory and the ousting of Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Littlefield held the aforementioned foreign ministers responsible for the turmoil in the Balkans. They had irresponsibly pursued their own competing interests, he argued; thus, Turkey could not be forced to make the reforms that would be necessary in his eyes to prevent Ottoman rule. He warned that the European and American population did not know enough about the areas under Turkish rule, including the "small strip of land running from east to west between Serbia and Montenegro." When Austria-Hungary withdrew its troops from the Sandžak of Novi

⁶⁵ In order to distinguish between city and district, the author uses the Sandžak of Novi Pazar for the district, although, as mentioned, this region lost its status as a Sandžak in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Pazar in 1908, the “strip of land” was easy prey for Turkish troops coming from the south. This invasion could have been prevented if only the Great Powers had not put their own power and political interests first.⁶⁶ The German ambassador to the United States, Johann Heinrich Graf von Bernstorff, who had been in Europe shortly before that, explained the situation around the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, too. He was able to feed the *New York Times* first-hand information from a high-ranking German military officer. His contact officer confirmed that the Sandžak of Novi Pazar represented a flashpoint of political interests for Serbia, but also for Austria-Hungary. Should the Balkan League succeed, Germany and Austria-Hungary would expect the area to be cleared of Serbian troops, he said; otherwise a European war could develop.⁶⁷

Further information about the unknown area was provided by an American traveler to the Balkans, whose name was not given. He confirmed the narrative that the Balkan people were constantly prepared for war. The Albanian, but also Montenegrin, women appeared much older because of their strenuous way of life, he reported, while their men did not work because they claimed to be soldiers. The “people still retain a trace of barbarism,” the American observer said.⁶⁸

The Sandžak of Novi Pazar became the crucial battlefield, as Montenegro and Serbia planned to divide this area between themselves. The “Queen of Albania”⁶⁹ and “well-known English painter and writer,” Mary Edith Durham, spent some time on the Montenegrin front, where she was allowed to move freely, unlike the official war correspondents. She experienced the Battle of Dečić: “the clouds lifted suddenly from Detchich Mountain ... Through my glasses I could see that a flag was flying on the summit, and that it was not the crescent.”⁷⁰ Later in the war, she witnessed Montenegro holding thousands of Turkish prisoners of war in Podgorica,

⁶⁶Walter Littlefield, “Great Powers to Blame for Balkan Demonstration,” *The New York Times*, October 6, 1912, Magazine Section Part XI.

⁶⁷“Fear a European War. Germany and Austria Pessimistic-Gen. Imhoff Tells of the Peril. Special Cable to the New York Times,” *The New York Times*, October 26, 1912, 2.

⁶⁸“Saw Warlike Tribes in Balkan Tours,” *The New York Times*, October 23, 1912, 2.

⁶⁹The news item about the “Queen of Albania” was published in the *Daily Mail*, July 11, 1912, i.e., before the outbreak of the First Balkan War. It argued that the British government had demanded Durham’s departure from the Balkans because her ambitions toward the Albanian population were straining Turkish-British relations of friendship.

⁷⁰“London. Special Cable to The New York Times,” *The New York Times*, October 12, 1912, 5.

the headquarters of the Montenegrin army. However, this would not be an occasion for triumphant celebrations, as extra rations would have to be provided, she concluded.⁷¹

The "small strip of land," which in the Western press was known as the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, was to be only partially annexed to Serbia, bringing the term "Old Serbia" into play. The *Daily Telegraph* tried to grasp Old Serbia geographically, based on Serbian information:

It is claimed that Old Servia's boundaries run from the Bosnian-Servian frontier to the Bulgarian frontier, this included the watersheds of the rivers, Zletovska and Bregalnitzza, from the river of Bregalnitzza to the Vardar Mountain, to Babuna and the town of Prilep to Lake Ochrid, along the river of Black Drin to the mountain of Golobdo, and then west to the Gulf of Durrazzo and the watershed of the rivers, Shkumba and Arsen.⁷²

The basis for Old Serbia's territorial claim was provided by Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić, who was quoted in both the London *Times* and the *New York Times*:

Old Servia has 1,050,000 inhabitants, 700,000 of whom are Servians and 350,000 Albanians, among them 150,000 Servians who have been terrorized into becoming Albanians during the last forty years. ... The new head ... must be a Christian Governor who shares the same faith as the population.⁷³

The years 1912/1913 were marked in the Western daily newspapers by the idea that Turkey was finally withdrawing from Europe. The prevailing worldview was that of a declining Ottoman Empire: "the old order has changed, giving place to the new,"⁷⁴ proclaimed the *New York Times* after the first victories of the Balkan League.

While Austria-Hungary tried to prevent the establishment of the nation-states of Montenegro and Serbia, the United States was supportive. The Serbian Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, together with his wife

⁷¹ "War Gains: Turkish Men and a Gun Captured by Montenegrins," *Illustrated London News*, 26.10.1912, 595.

⁷² "Our Own Correspondent, Servian Claims," *Daily Telegraph*, October 15, 1912, 11.

⁷³ "Balkan States press demands," *The New York Times*, October 6, 1912, 1.

⁷⁴ "See doom of Turkey sounded, Europe Staggered by the Balkan States' Success, Special Cable to The New York Times, London," *The New York Times*, October 27, 1912, 2.

Eleanor, published *The Servian People*⁷⁵ in New York and was interviewed by the *New York Times* about the ongoing Balkan War in early November 1912.⁷⁶ The daily newspaper paid him great respect since he was also a soldier, a traveler, and conversant in virtually all European and Oriental languages. By way of introduction, the paper mentioned that the prince vehemently advocated the unification of the “Serbian races” in the Balkans into a “Greater Serbian state.” Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich stressed that the “Serbian Plateau,” with Novi Pazar as its center, represented a territory from which the Balkans could be ruled. “[I]t would give that power the dominance over the connecting link between the East and West.” He claimed that the Serbians (Serbs) had been called by God to govern the Balkan peninsula. If the Serbian Plateau or Novi Pazar or Old Serbia were under Serbian leadership, peace would no longer be threatened, or literally: “We would know Europe as the old lady who had lost her asthma.” Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich knew how to gain public sympathy. First, he joked about the European problem child, the Balkans, then defamed the Muslim form of government by claiming their theocratic state knew neither constitutionalism nor parliamentarism. He also added that Islamic rule, which had swept the entire Balkans by the fifteenth century, forced dissenters into slavery. Their position as “Rayah,”⁷⁷ he said, ought to gain the Serbian population the sympathy of every American man and woman, because those people are not free like Americans are. The territory outside the Kingdom of Serbia, where Serbian inhabitants lived, had been settled by Serbs in the year 600, giving the Kingdom the “right to own” those lands, he explained.

At the end of the interview, the Princess Eleanor Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, an American citizen from a well-to-do family, reassured American investors in the Balkans that the victorious Serbian army would soon be outside Salonika and that victory over the Ottoman Empire would by no means mean the end of economic exchanges with the United States;

⁷⁵ Stephan and Eleanor Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, *The Servian people, their past glory and their destiny* (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1910).

⁷⁶ Edward Marshall, “A New Balkan Nation May Save Europe's Peace. Prince Lazarovich Hrebelianovich, Well-known Servian Authority, Says the Defeat of Turkey Would Restore Quiet on What Has Been a Battle Ground for Centuries,” *The New York Times*, November 3, 1912, 2.

⁷⁷ Marshall explained “Rayah” as “herd,” meaning that Serbs would be part of a flock, never the shepherd; see: Marshall, “A New Balkan Nation May Save Europe's Peace,” *The New York Times*, November 3, 1912, 2.

the new national governments would see to that.⁷⁸ Thus, the pact between the United States and Serbia remained on track.

With the end of the Balkan Wars, Old Serbia and thus the Vilayet Kosovo became part of the Kingdom, along with Vardar Macedonia and part of the former administrative region of the Sandžak of Novi Pazar.⁷⁹ Belgrade now ruled over Albanian populations in the southeastern part of the Serbian territory.

The question of the fair distribution of the former Turkish territory was disputed not only among the Balkan states, but also among the major European powers. In 1912, the *Daily Mail* announced in the middle of the Adriatic crisis, "We [the Servians] are a Power, and not a Vassal State,"⁸⁰ which was not the reality. The "European Concert" was actively involved in the allocation and distribution of the conquered territories. Austria-Hungary had an essential role to play because the Habsburg monarchy was very afraid of a strong South Slavic neighbor who could dispute its sovereignty in Southern Hungary, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thus, the "Oriental question," and more specifically the Adriatic or Albanian question, was overshadowed, in many reports, by disagreements among the major European powers.

The Albanian Adriatic question dealt with Serbia's demand for territory with sea access, which Austria-Hungary impeded. Even before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, Serbian troops occupied parts of the Adriatic coast where the majority of the population was Albanian. It was the only way for Serbia to get access to the sea and to a port for commerce, and therefore to strengthen their autonomy. The Habsburg monarchy's aim was to keep Serbia dependent, so the official channels supported recognizing Albania's independence, which became a reality in 1913. The Austrian press promoted the narrative of a need for cohesion, for it was only through Europe's solidarity that it would be possible to ensure the "localization" of the war,⁸¹ although another narrative, that of the "European Concert," had begun to crack:

⁷⁸ Marshall, "A New Balkan Nation May Save Europe's Peace," *The New York Times*, November 3, 1912, 2.

⁷⁹ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 14–15.

⁸⁰ G. Valentine Williams, "Austria and Servia. Grave Crisis," *Daily Mail*, November 8, 1912, 9.

⁸¹ "Vorgänge am Balkan," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, October 20, 1912, 1.

As to the future of the Balkans, a very sharp line divides Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy from France, Russia, and Great Britain. Public opinion in Great Britain, France and Russia argue that the allies should have the territory which they have conquered,⁸²

reported the *New York Times*, based on information from London. The narratives in the transnational public sphere, which were the sources for the *New York Times*, were contradictory and had to be selected and organized. In Europe, the political interest in and the perception of the Balkans were clearer, and hence some newspapers presented a straightforward scope of action.

The London *Daily Mail* reproduced the official views of Great Britain. The Empire, as Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith pointed out, had no interest in territorial reorganization in the Balkans anyway—in other words, precisely opposite to Austria-Hungary. The victorious and growing Serbian nation alarmed the “modern”⁸³ multi-ethnic state. Europe’s unanimous opinion, according to Asquith, would be that “the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which have cost them so dear.” However, the disagreements between Serbia and Austria grew into a conflict that prompted the *Daily Mail* to conclude that this conflict could lead to a European “Armageddon” between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance.⁸⁴ (An interesting comparison: the “Armageddon” of the Balkans would be “Kosovo.”)⁸⁵ The preservation of world peace had political priority in those days, with the US media demanding a common stance from the major European powers.

The London *Daily Telegraph* firmly replied that no one feared a war would break out because of the Austro-Serbian discord. One of the newspaper’s correspondents suggested that the Balkan alliance represented a new, additional Great Power in Europe, with whom it would be just as difficult to negotiate diplomatically. The journalist was based in Paris, which could have influenced his perspective on the conflict, because France stood behind the Balkan League and its aim to free their nations from Ottoman rule. Britain, too, had a completely different approach when it

⁸² “London,” *The New York Times*, November 6, 1912, 10.

⁸³ Eva Tamara Asboth and Silvia Nadjivan, “Im Dienst des Krieges. Der Habsburger- und Kosovo-Mythos,” ed. Mitteleuropazentrum an der Andrassy Universität Budapest, *Jahrbuch für Mitteleuropäische Studien 2014/2015* (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2016), 184.

⁸⁴ “The Attitude of Britain,” *Daily Mail*, November 11, 1912, 9.

⁸⁵ “The New War in the Balkans,” *The Times*, July 8, 1913, 9.

came to the Balkan League's role within Europe. Europe would have to secure its own allegiance to the successful parties in this conflict, which was why the "dark Austrian designs upon Serbia" were completely out of place in the Austro-Hungarian press as viewed by the *Telegraph*.⁸⁶ The lines of conflict along the Entente and the Central Powers crystallized particularly around the Adriatic question, and the master narrative of the "European concert" was cautiously questioned more than once.⁸⁷

Britain saw the function of the Great Powers as recognizing and protecting the rights of the autonomous states, thereby securing peace. Like the United States, Britain insisted that Serbia had a right to political and economic independence, a view that was happily accepted in Belgrade.⁸⁸ The Washington correspondent reported that US sympathies were on the side of the Balkan League.⁸⁹ What was undesirable, as the *New York Times* noted, would be the enlargement of territories or the extension of influence over Southeast Europe in favor of Austria-Hungary and Russia. The camps were clearly divided, which is why the editorial ended with a message to Germany: "We are confident that German enlightenment and humanity will range that great and powerful nation on the right side."⁹⁰

⁸⁶ "Our Own Correspondent (Paris), Peace of Europe and the Balkan League," *Daily Telegraph*, 8.11.1912, 14.

⁸⁷ "Danger Spot of Europe," *The New York Times*, October 1, 1912, 3.

⁸⁸ The two *New York Times* editorials almost certainly came from the same source; see: "The Peace of Europe," *The New York Times*, October 28, 1912, 10; "The Chances of Peace," *The New York Times*, November 4, 1912, 10; "Our Own Correspondent (Belgrade), Serbia's Pretensions," *Daily Telegraph*, November 13, 1912, 14. Keisinger came to similar conclusions, holding that the conservative British newspapers had chosen to align with Germany, but that the liberal dailies, such as the *Manchester Guardian*, were intensely in favor of the rights of the new Balkan nations and put pressure on the conservative side; see: Florian Keisinger, "Uncivilised Wars in Civilised Europe? The Perception of the Balkan Wars 1912–1913 in English, German and Irish Newspapers and Journals," in *The Wars before the Great War. Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 358. Similarly, Andreas Rose held that radical political circles in Britain had been advocating self-determination for the Balkan nations since 1908. Likewise, Foreign Secretary Edward Grey raised hopes of support in the Bosnian crisis among the Serb population; see: Andreas Rose, "From 'Illusion' and 'Angellism' to Détente – British Radicals and the Balkan Wars," in *The Wars before the Great War. Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 237 and 340.

⁸⁹ "Our Own Correspondent (Washington), Views at Washington," *Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 11, 1912, 12.

⁹⁰ "The Chances of Peace," *The New York Times*, November 4, 1912, 10.

This quote refers to their common Western cultural background in order to put pressure on Germans to change their views about the states they imagined as uncivilized. In the future, Europe would have to get along with Slavic and Greek rather than Turkish populations, the *New York Times* suggested.⁹¹

This was in contrast to Germany's official attitude as noted in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, when it emphasized that world peace "would have been difficult to achieve without the prudent restraint of Austria-Hungary." The tone of the German press⁹² was that Austria-Hungary, together with Germany, was the guarantor of peace. "Germany does not ... want a war and, true to the Bismarckian tradition, will not risk the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier because of the Balkans."⁹³

In the context of the Adriatic question, *The Observer's* star British journalist, James Louis Garvin, recalled the Bosnian crisis and underscored Austria-Hungary's fairly insensitive ongoing diplomatic relations with Serbia. While Serbia's demands might have been excessive, Garvin conceded in his *New York Times* article that Serbia had taken the usual diplomatic approach.

The Servian Kingdom is landlocked, not naturally like Switzerland, but artificially by statecraft. Now that its area must be enlarged, its economic and political disability from being cut-off to the sea, will make the task of international order and development more difficult. The Servians regard it, therefore, as a matter of life and death -to obtain an independent maritime opening on the historic shore of its race, the Adriatic.⁹⁴

In other words, the borders of the Kingdom of Serbia were being drawn in a foreign-determined manner. In the case of new border shifts, the Great Powers had to consider the survivability of the country, which had

⁹¹ "The Peace of Europe," *The New York Times*, October 28, 1912, 10.

⁹² Paul Michaelis, "Politische Wochenschau," *Berliner Tageblatt, Morgen-Ausgabe*, May 4, 1913, 1; "Die Türkei bittet um Frieden," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung*, November 4, 1912, 1.

⁹³ "Die Türkei bittet um Frieden," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung*, November 4, 1912, 1. Reference was often made to Bismarck and his passive, even "aversive" Balkan policy; see: "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, November 30, 1912, 1; "Die Türkei und wir," *Berliner Tageblatt, Morgen-Ausgabe*, October 19, 1908, 1.

⁹⁴ J. L. Garvin, "Peace of Europe Hangs on Pin Point. Veto of Servian Ambition for a Seaport Means General War, Says J. L. Garvin. Gravest Crisis in Years. Austria's Greed Blamed for the Situation-Russia Certain to Interfere," *The New York Times*, November 10, 1912, 2.

gained territory after the recent armed conflicts, in order to secure peace. This attitude was echoed by the London press, which also believed that a port was essential to the existence of the Kingdom of Serbia. Moreover, a very different argumentation arose about the status of the Serbian kingdom in 1912 in comparison to 1908: when the young country took on the neighboring superpower in 1908 during the annexation crisis, it was

Full of feverish ambitions for a Greater Servia and a hysterical revolt against Austro-Hungarian influence. ... 1912 is not 1908. The Servia of to-day is a regenerate Servia: her army is victorious and has avenged the defeat that happened 600 years ago. Once again, she holds the ancient Servian town of Uskub, and will undoubtedly keep it. She speaks now with a voice that must be heard, ...⁹⁵

The *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* also described Serbia's territorial claims as having been "increased to an excessive degree."⁹⁶ Based on the model of Austria-Hungary, the German press questioned Serbia's advance toward the Adriatic. Sea access, which Garvin considered vital for Serbia's survival, was prevented by Austria-Hungary's political tactics in creating an independent Albania. The Adriatic question not only deepened the cracks in the image of the European Concert, but also produced opposing worldviews in which the Great Powers would collide.⁹⁷

In the Anglo-American press, neither the Adriatic question nor Serbia's territories conquered during the war were associated with the term Greater Serbia (or Greater Bulgaria). Garvin, for example, dubbed it the "enlarged Servian Kingdom."⁹⁸ Only passages from the German-speaking world contained the defamatory narrative toward Serbia that went hand in hand with Greater Serbian ambitions, as the quotation from a German general shows: "Servia longs for south and west expansion. She seeks the recreation of the Old Servian Empire."⁹⁹ Even though the US media public was well aware of what was meant by the old Serbian Empire, alarm bells

⁹⁵ "Our Own Correspondent (Paris), Balkan League and the Peace of Europe. Opinion in Paris. Problem of Servia," *Daily Telegraph*, November 11, 1912, 12.

⁹⁶ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 3, 1912, 1.

⁹⁷ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 6, 1912, 1.

⁹⁸ Garvin, "Peace of Europe Hangs on Pin Point," *The New York Times*, November 10, 1912, 2.

⁹⁹ "Fear a European War. Germany and Austria Pessimistic-Gen. Imhoff Tells of the Peril. Special Cable to the New York Times," *The New York Times*, October 28, 1912, 2.

hardly rang. British travel writers did not see Greater Serbia as aggressive in its territorial ambitions, but more as desiring to extend a Serbian nation.¹⁰⁰ This stance was described quite differently in the Austro-Hungarian dailies, where the threat narrative, inherent in the use of the term Greater Serbia, provoked excitement to the point of defaming the neighboring country and negating its state sovereignty. For instance, the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* printed an article that reappeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, about the advancement of Serbia to Durres:

No one knows who would defend Medua or Durazzo if the Serbs should come; no one has full certainty about whether the Serbian government is in truth only Serbian, and whether the story of the Trojan horse would repeat itself. Serbia will have to ... define its policy and say whether it is only Serbian without serving foreign purposes.¹⁰¹

German reporting took the same stance when it came to the “whip-persnapper” (German: “Gernegroß”)¹⁰² Bulgaria and its “megalomania” (German: “Größenwahn”).¹⁰³ The *Times* was equally surprised as German newspapers had been at the advance of Serbian troops toward the Adriatic coast, and deeply regretted that the country that had won the sympathy and admiration of Europe was proceeding so unwisely. On the one hand, Albania’s ethnic pretensions were met with sympathy in the West; on the other hand, a rail link to the coast would have to be established, which would be a comparatively difficult undertaking because of the mountainous conditions. However, the article’s title “Inquiry into Serbian Claims” suggested that it was an objective account of the facts.¹⁰⁴ The European Great Powers decided, according to their public statements, to support an independent state of Albania. Consequently, the expansion of Greater Serbia toward the Adriatic was shut down.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Hammond, “Memoirs of conflict. British women travelers in the Balkans,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 14 (Feb. 2010): 64.

¹⁰¹ “Der Balkankrieg,” *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 6, 1912, 1.

¹⁰² “Poincarés Konferenz-Idee und die Vorgänge am Balkan,” *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, October 17, 1912, 1.

¹⁰³ “Der Frieden von Bukarest,” *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, August 8, 1913, 1.

¹⁰⁴ “From Our Special Correspondent (Belgrade), Examination Of Servian Claims,” *The Times*, November 15, 1912, 5.

In the end, as mentioned above, the entente collapsed under pressure from Austria-Hungary, strengthened by Germany,¹⁰⁵ and the independent state of Albania was created, an act that was euphorically proclaimed in the German-speaking world as the "will of all powers to unity."¹⁰⁶ The German press concluded that for Albania, Serbian "national motives" would not apply anyway since the area was inhabited "exclusively by Albanians."¹⁰⁷ This argument was transferred to the area called "Kosovo" that Serbia claimed for itself, with the author rhetorically questioning whether the Albanian population there wanted Serbian superiority.¹⁰⁸ From the German and Austro-Hungarian point of view, representatives from Central Europe were the ones working for world peace on the diplomatic floor. The *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* sarcastically questioned the truthfulness of the Kingdom of Serbia's declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire. The declaration stated that Serbia would liberate its "tribesmen" with war and that this would be done in the name of "law, justice and human culture." The paper mocked this remark, saying that it could "not quite imagine the Serbs as bearers of culture."¹⁰⁹ The *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* said it would only believe in the "cultural ability" of the Balkan states when it was accompanied by corresponding deeds, and it certainly did not believe in their proclamation of "unity"; this remained to be seen once "the distribution of the spoils was underway."¹¹⁰ After the conclusion of the peace treaty, the daily paper commented:

If [the Balkan states] are serious about spreading culture and about paving the way for economic recovery, then mutual interests will make antipathies disappear, or at least subdue them.¹¹¹

From the German and Austro-Hungarian perspective, "the Greater Serbian question" was clearly not among the narratives that described

¹⁰⁵ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 6, 1912, 1.

¹⁰⁶ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, November 4, 1912, 1.

¹⁰⁷ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, November 4, 1912, 1; see also: "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 6, 1912, 1.

¹⁰⁸ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 3, 1912, 1.

¹⁰⁹ "Vorgänge am Balkan," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 19, 1912, 1.

¹¹⁰ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, December 1, 1912, 1.

¹¹¹ "Der Frieden von Bukarest," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, August 8, 1913, 1.

Serbia as a nation of culture and progress.¹¹² At this point in time, the manifold perspectives of Kanitz went missing from the Austrian media's Balkan discourse. His legacy of counter-narratives was no longer applicable for the official Austrian position, although his research results were still used for legitimizing expansion toward the Southeast. In contrast, readers of the British and US press received the impression that the concept of Greater Serbia did not imply anything negative, but merely represented legitimate territorial claims. "The Servian leadership dream of a day when the Servian empire of the Middle Ages shall be reconstituted and all men of the Servian race would be united under one banner."¹¹³

"Greater Serbia" provided an imagined space for the Great Powers. Depending on their political goals, they described this space with the narratives that fit best for them. The current political circumstances did not allow for diverse perspectives by the Encounters anymore, but required a clear position toward Serbia and Serbian aspirations. These strong positions increased within the daily press at the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Daily Telegraph* even asked former Serbian foreign minister, scholar, and author Čedomilj (Chedo) Mijatović to speak on the Greater Serbia question. As King Milan's foreign minister, he had signed a secret agreement with Austria in 1881 in which the Habsburg monarchy recognized the Serbian nation's right to Old Serbia and the Vardar region in Macedonia. In the interview, Mijatović avoided the negative sides of this agreement, but affirmed that Austria did not oppose the annexation of "Kosovo" to the Kingdom of Serbia. He even denied the rumors from other newspapers claiming that Austria-Hungary would agree to a Greater Serbia only if a customs union with the Habsburg monarchy were established.¹¹⁴ The Balkan Web (the web of tangled ethnicities and/or interests in the Balkans) was a mirror image of European politics and diplomacy before the outbreak of the First World War.

Mijatović explained that the concept of Greater Serbia included the Kingdom of Serbia plus the "Kosovo Vilayet" or Old Serbia, which also contained the Sandžak of Novi Pazar.¹¹⁵ This raises the question of where

¹¹² "Die großserbische Frage," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung*, November 8, 1912, 1.

¹¹³ "Prof. George C. Howland (University of Chicago), Servian Dream of Great Empire," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1903, 2.

¹¹⁴ Chedo Mijatovich, "Austria-Hungary and the Greater Servia," *Daily Telegraph*, November 2, 1912, 13.

¹¹⁵ Miroslav Svirčević, "New Territories of Serbia after the Balkan Wars. The Establishment of the First Local Authorities," *Balkanica* XLIV (2013): 288.

these areas are geographically located. Until now, readers had been under the impression that Old Serbia was part of the Sandžak of Novi Pazar. However, the Vilayet Novi Pazar was dissolved in 1877, and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was incorporated into the newly created Vilayet Kosovo. In 1880, the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was reorganized and renamed, leaving only the Kaza of Novi Pazar, which was the smallest organizational unit after the Vilayet and the Sandžak. Nevertheless, the term Novi Pazar lived on after the Balkan Wars, meaning an area that united several Sandžaks. Subsequently, it was replaced by Kosovo, as was Old Serbia.¹¹⁶

In the English-language press, "modern Serbia" referred to the Kingdom of Serbia with its 1878 borders, while the "great Servian Empire" indicated the medieval kingdom in which Montenegro was integrated. The fact that the borders of these territories were neither retrievable nor immovable in the minds and imaginations of readers proved their indifferent treatment in English and German-language mass media public. However, each designation offered its own perception about Serbia and the Serbians, from which political actions were then derived.

THE BALKANS GET A PLACE ON THE (MENTAL) MAP

In the years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War, the perception of the Balkans as a (crisis) region, and as a counterpart to a united Europe, was consolidated.

By the Balkan Wars of 1912/1913 (at the latest), the peninsula was on the one hand seen as part of Europe, whose past and future fate was a common one, but on the other hand, as a self-contained area that carried the notion of a "powder keg" or narratives of "Balkanwirren" ("Balkan confusions").

The narrative of the "Balkan turmoil" appeared metaphorically as the "Balkan Web" in the *New York Times*, as mentioned above.¹¹⁷ US historian Albert Bushnell Hart used the term in an attempt to describe the confusing situation in the Balkans after visiting the region. He pointed out that the many different nationalities were responsible for the turmoil among themselves because there were minorities of other nationalities in every country.

¹¹⁶ Svirčević, "New Territories," 288.

¹¹⁷ "The Balkan Web," *The New York Times*, August 18, 1913.

The New York Times counted Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia among the Balkan states, Balkan nations, or Balkan peoples. At the beginning of the First Balkan War, portraits of the rulers of these Balkan states were printed in the *New York Times*,¹¹⁸ as well as a drawing that symbolically represented the division between Europe and the Balkans. Europe is seen as a large, caring, and welcoming woman, while the Balkan League, ready to fight, seizes its chance and is determined to oust Turkey with a “punch.” The drawing contains further dichotomies, such as civilized and barbaric, graceful and primitive, and warlike vs. peaceful.¹¹⁹

In the interest of European peace, it seems desirable that the Turkish question should now be settled indefinitely. The interests of the cultural world demand this of European diplomacy, so that the prevention of new complications in the Balkans may be achieved.¹²⁰

In the column variously entitled “Am Balkan,” “Vorgänge am Balkan,” “Der Balkankrieg,” and then “Vom Balkan,” the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* regularly summarized the news from the perceived Balkan region. The Balkans were sketched in the German-language newspapers as a trouble spot and powder keg from which problems and crises emerged. In 1912, the *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* was hardly surprised when the “Balkan fire ... was unleashed.”¹²¹ The British press contained similar “playing-with-fire” metaphors, saying that Serbia should not play with fire (1908) or that the Bosnian crisis could “set fire” to the entire Balkans.¹²²

The *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* expressed little faith in the veracity of war news, since each side was reporting victories even though the “witnesses of battles, the war correspondents of the newspapers, are not being admitted to the respective headquarters for the time being.”¹²³ This kind of mistrust in war reporting from the Balkans was not uncommon, according

¹¹⁸ Portraits of: “The King of Montenegro,” “King George of Greece,” in the middle “King Peter of Servia,” “King Ferdinand of Bulgaria,” and “The King of Roumania.” Opposite these were portraits of the Russian, British, French, and Austro-Hungarian foreign ministers; see: Walter Littlefield, “Great Powers to Blame for Balkan Demonstration,” *The New York Times*, October 6, 1912, 1.

¹¹⁹ “No Prizes,” *The New York Times*, November 3, 1912, C5.

¹²⁰ “Der Balkankrieg,” *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 7, 1912, 1.

¹²¹ “Der brennende Balkan,” *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 19, 1912, 1.

¹²² “Reuter, Austria,” *Daily Mail*, October 10, 1908, 7.

¹²³ “Der brennende Balkan,” *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 19, 1912, 1.

to the paper.¹²⁴ Ironically, two years prior, major European powers had adopted similar and harsher censorship as well as propaganda measures. The *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* warned against "exaggerations in the official battle reports" and against "megalomaniac reports" by the "hot-blooded Balkan peoples," even before the first battle was won.¹²⁵ Serbia in particular fell on hard times, as both the Austro-Hungarian and parts of the German press positioned themselves against the kingdom. Again, the supposedly untrue and embellished Serbian war reporting was to blame for the displeasure of the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*,¹²⁶ which led to its comment that "the Serbs are not 'heroes.'"¹²⁷ Between the lines, the German press was not happy about the victories of the Balkan League. It meant that Germany finally needed to deal with the uncomfortable question of reorganizing territories in the Balkans. Briton Alfred Mosely even suggested that it would be easiest for Europe if Turkey emerged victorious from the Balkan War.¹²⁸ However, the Oriental question could not go unanswered any longer, as the events of the early twentieth century show.

Since the events of 1908, whenever the Balkans were the subject of US daily newspapers, they were suspected of starting a war that could spread to all of Europe. On October 1, 1912, the headline "Danger Spot of Europe" in the *New York Times* was accompanied by the subtitle "An Outbreak in the Balkans Has Been Feared for Many Years," which can equally be seen as an interpretation of the Oriental question adopted from Europe. The article stated that the "southeastern corner of Europe" was on the brink of war.¹²⁹

One month later, an extensive article appeared by British publicist and jurist Alfred Mosely, warning of a European war that would also affect the United States, at least economically. Mosely, who had in mind both the pan-European context and Britain's geopolitical position within Europe, spoke of the crisis area of Central Europe. In Central Europe, Mosely said,

¹²⁴ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 3, 1912, 1.

¹²⁵ "Krieg auf der ganzen Linie," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 17, 912, 1.

¹²⁶ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 23, 1912, 1; "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 22, 1912, 1; "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, November 6, 1912, 1.

¹²⁷ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, October 23, 1912, 1.

¹²⁸ Alfred Mosely, "Best thing for Europe would be the triumph of Turkey," *The New York Times*, November 3, 1912, 1.

¹²⁹ "Danger Spot of Europe," *The New York Times*, October 1, 1912, 3.

there were numerous “second-rate states” with “mixed populations” in terms of nationality and religious affiliation. In addition to states such as Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, he considered Austria-Hungary and its ally Germany to be among these states following the breach of the Berlin Treaty and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹³⁰ Mosely was the only publisher who reported on a crisis area in Central Europe instead of Southeast Europe or the Balkans, and his rendition serves as an example of a divergent geographical pattern of perception because he was in favor of a continuing Ottoman presence in the Balkans.

Mosely had close economic connections in the United States, and his article also presented the Balkan affairs from an economic perspective. For this reason, he came up with the provocative headline “Best thing for Europe would be the triumph of Turkey,” since a victory would otherwise mean the impending danger of war in Europe—with all the financial burdens that a war would entail. Mosely also warned that the United States, though miles away from the trouble spot, would feel the economic effects of a war.

American statesmen have a sound grasp of the affairs of the world, but the masses know little of what is going on outside their own territory. They do not realize the European problems, which are brought home daily by those who see the European nations with their navies, parading up and down the narrow channels, and who hear the stomping of soldiers on their frontiers.¹³¹

In addition to the actual belligerent states, Mosley also observed the war armaments of the major European powers. The narrative that a much larger conflict could ensue from disagreements in the Balkans due to divergent interests among the major European powers was widely circulated and debated in Western newspapers.¹³²

Maps of Southeast Europe were printed in US daily newspapers with the intention of illustrating where Europe’s crisis area would be found. The differences between how the borders and regions were drawn are depicted in such maps in 1903. These were made in response to the events surrounding the Serbian regicide as it gained the attention of the US media

¹³⁰ Alfred Mosely, “Best thing for Europe would be the triumph of Turkey,” *The New York Times*, November 11, 1912, 1.

¹³¹ Alfred Mosely, “Best thing for Europe would be the triumph of Turkey,” *The New York Times*, November 3, 1912, 1.

¹³² Keisinger, “Uncivilised wars in civilised Europe?” 351.



Fig. 3.5 "Map of Serbia and Neighboring States." (In *New-York Tribune*, June 12, 1903, 2. Source: *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspaper*. Library of Congress)

public. The map of Southeast Europe that appeared in the *New-York Tribune* suggested that Turkey had already been pushed out of Europe. The Balkan Peninsula was divided into Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Eastern Romania, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, and Greece. Only a narrow strip, in which Constantinople was marked, belonged to Turkey. The Sandžak of Novi Pazar, which separated Serbia from Montenegro, was omitted (see Fig. 3.5). In contrast, a map published in the *New York Herald* left a very different perception of Southeast Europe among its readership. The Balkans seem to have been divided between Austria-Hungary and Turkey, with only Serbia and its capital, Belgrade, indicated.

Nevertheless, the variety of maps and representations of territories illustrates the arbitrary treatment of spaces and borders in Southeast Europe. It was easier to perceive the Balkans as a space where Christian populations encountered Muslims, which could be used to explain the problems and unrest in media terms. Before the outbreak of the First World War, the problem child of the West was not Belgrade or Serbia; rather, the Balkan countries and Balkan cities were deemed the trouble spots, full of backwardness—with the 1912/1913 prophecy of a local Balkan war coming true.

Again, the concept of a local war indicated the perception of the Balkans as a shared and closed region. Once war broke out, this gradually allowed for more differentiations within the Balkan region. The main topic was the division of Turkish territory among the rising Balkan nations or “co-nationalists,”¹³³ or, according to a summary by *New York Times*,¹³⁴ the redrawing of the map of Southeast Europe: “Now, it is evident that the end of Ottoman rule in Europe has come, and the only thing left to see is the division of territory possessed by the followers of the Crescent.” A former Serbian minister, who was in London, was quoted in the US paper: “This is a Turk and Christian war. ... This is a territorial war, and the people of the Balkans are fighting for territory.”¹³⁵

The Ottoman legacy was a constant presence in the Balkans, yet so was the Byzantine one. The division of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire was followed by the splitting of the Church into national Orthodox churches (Greek Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox, Bulgarian Orthodox). As early as November 1912, the *New York Times* noted that the division of the conquered Turkish territory did not “represent an easy matter,” and war broke out just a few months later between Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia.

Since the Balkan region and the Balkan states were not familiar to the US mass media public, the US daily newspapers attempted to explain certain regions and terms, as shown by the map in Fig. 3.5, at the latest at the beginning of the Balkan Wars. In the midst of the First Balkan War, the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* noted that there were “names buzzing through the air that one has never heard before and that are often impossible to

¹³³ “Servia’s King Belligerent,” *The New York Times*, October 6, 1912, 4.

¹³⁴ “Italy Deeply Interested, Sentiment in Rome Not Averse to Servia Getting a Seaport, Special Cable to The New York Times,” *The New York Times*, November 9, 1912, 2.

¹³⁵ “See Doom of Turkey Sounded, Europe Staggered by the Balkan States’ Success, Special Cable to The New York Times, London,” *The New York Times*, October 27, 1912, 2.

find on maps, since the places in question usually had two names, one Turkish and one Slavic."¹³⁶ In addition to the uncertain geographic space, the different languages, such as Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian, and Turkish, with their pronunciation and spelling, turned out to be problematic for readers.

In the *New York Times*, a "List of Useful Terms" was contrived to "shed light on words in Balkan news," which were primarily military terms in the different languages.¹³⁷ The different maps circulating in the United States about the Balkans were made by different cartographers, as mentioned in the article. It was further explained that most of the maps that made their way to the United States came from Austria, as well as from Russia and France. These are most likely "ethnographic maps" (see Chap. 4), since the article discusses the differences in the maps relating to the borders of the Balkan states, rather than the division of the Balkans into different linguistic areas. Montenegro was thus identified as a separate nation, with Montenegrin as its language, one that most closely resembled Russian. However, Serbian, with its Russian roots, was spoken not only in the Kingdom of Serbia but also in Southern Hungary, in (the Sandžak of) Novi Pazar, in Herzegovina, in Bosnia, and in Western Macedonia.¹³⁸ The narrative of the "Serbs" as unequal to the "Servians"¹³⁹ was fundamentally promoted because the Serbian people were found both inside and outside the Kingdom of Serbia, which led to their aspiration for territorial expansion.

The situation quickly turned out to be more complicated than previously expected, even for experts, as the article entitled "Balkan Web" by Albert Bushnell Hart, a Harvard history professor, reveals:

The surface of the peninsula is covered with a curiously woven web of differing nationalities, whose jealousy and animosity towards each other are intensified by religious prejudice and fanaticism. Each of the four States ... has within its borders a considerable number of races dominating the other

¹³⁶ "Der Balkankrieg," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, October 23, 1912, 1.

¹³⁷ "Light on Words in the Balkan News," *The New York Times*, November 4, 1912, 3.

¹³⁸ "Light on words in the Balkan news," *The New York Times*, November 4, 1912, 3.

¹³⁹ See, for example, an article on the independence of Albania that dealt with an official note from Belgrade in which the "Servians" spoke out against the new state. The article originated in London, which again indicates that the distinction between "Serbs" and "Servians" was widespread in the English-speaking West and had started in Britain; see: *The New York Times*, November 6, 1912, 10.

States, and has also a considerable number of its own race within the borders of other States. ... There are Serbs... in Bulgaria. There are Bulgarians and Greeks in Servia and its new territory. The area allotted to Greece at Bucharest contains many ... Serbs. ... Thus, we have a web in which no one fiber of nationality prevails and in which the number and mixture of the fibers make any combination exceedingly difficult ... almost impossible.¹⁴⁰

Hart, as a “specially qualified American observer [who] present[s his] view of the shambles of Europe,” published a series of articles in the *New York Times*. He wanted to reach those readers who were not interested in a one-sided interpretation of the overseas “slaughter” in the Balkans.¹⁴¹

To prevent such a one-sided interpretation, the United States became visibly active in foreign policy in the Balkans for the first time. The United States government suggested an additional clause in the Bucharest Peace Treaty (1913) that would guarantee the “full liberty and civil and religious rights of the populations inhabiting the territory which might be ceded or annexed.” However, the remaining representatives of the conference agreed that an additional clause would be superfluous.¹⁴² Professor Hart, in one of his articles, sharply criticized this attitude. “The States of the Balkans have made a serious mistake in refusing to consider the friendly representations we have made to the Peace Conference.”¹⁴³ He said that precautions had to be taken to ensure that human rights and religious freedom were valid everywhere. After all, the Balkan states had gained the sympathy of the “civilized world” because of the Turkish-Muslim atrocities against Christians, but the hostilities between Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia would soon earn the Balkan states the reputation of “half savages.” Opposite the “half-wild” Balkan states and Turkey, which was perceived as backward, stood the “world,” meaning the Western world, of which Hart considered himself a part.

With the end of the Balkan War and the new map of southeastern Europe, US interest in the region was renewed. Hart endeavored to educate the reading public about the Balkans in a comprehensive and entertaining manner. The Harvard history professor judged the Balkans in the following terms:

¹⁴⁰ “The Balkan Web [based on the findings of Prof. Brian Hart],” *The New York Times*, August 18, 1913, 8.

¹⁴¹ “Prof. Hart on the Balkans,” *The New York Times*, August 7, 1913, 6.

¹⁴² “An American Suggestion,” *The Times*, August 6, 1913, 6.

¹⁴³ “A Bad Beginning,” *The New York Times*, August 7, 1913, 6.

Within this mountain district, about 400 miles by 200 miles, 'the Balkans' meant the stadium for the most fascinating of sports, the chase and the slaughter of men. For about 3,000 years they have been trying to find out what is the dominant race, the final political power, in the peninsula ... The physical character of the Balkans has much to do with the history of the region.¹⁴⁴

He concluded that the Balkans were not one continuous mountain range, but several smaller mountain ranges. Although he differentiated between the individual states, he came to the following conclusion: the Balkans are a "web," a network of several Balkan states, which before and after the war faced the problem that neither a tsar nor a Hague tribunal could divide them into national groups. Moreover, industrialization would have to continue since there were not enough factories in any one Balkan state, and roads and railways would still have to be developed. The Balkan population primarily worked in agriculture because of the lack of raw materials, which could be the reason for the "hunger for land," regardless of whether it was Turkish territory or belonged to a neighboring country. According to Hart, land was the most important asset for any Balkan state, just as the United States had its stocks, bonds, and bank deposits.¹⁴⁵ This comparison illustrates the Balkans' place in the worldview of the US media public—it was not a very influential one. The images accompanying the article, which appear to be reprinted photographs, symbolically identify the Balkans as a land of peasant structures, and bear a strong resemblance to the Felix Philipp Kanitz's illustrations. They show wide, untouched landscapes and a backward timber merchant, visibly lagging behind modern achievements because he is selling branches and transporting them on a donkey. The "Iron Gate" also symbolizes the *Old World*.

The readership of the *New York Times* acquired a clear, if not particularly nuanced, historical perception of the Balkans through Hart and his metaphor of the "Balkan web," along with the perception of an obscure structure of "nations." A *New York Times* editorial writer echoed the same sentiment.

¹⁴⁴ "Prof. Hart of Harvard sees Balkans at close range," *The New York Times*, August 10, 1913, 1.

¹⁴⁵ "Prof. Hart of Harvard sees Balkans at close range," *The New York Times*, August 10, 1913, 1.

This is the Balkan question, in a few simple sentences: There is no one race or people that is predominant in the Balkans and has a right to look forward to taking possession of the whole country. Nor is the area divided into distinct parts, each with its own population.¹⁴⁶

The introduction jokingly mentioned that the “American race” was also represented in the Balkans, which suggests that the editorial was written by Professor Hart himself, or was at least based on his research results. The editorial continued by mentioning the different “races” in the United States, although they were not in religious competition with each other as seen in the Balkans. The Ottoman Empire had left the Balkans, but the problems that could lead to another war remained.¹⁴⁷ The link between territory and time made the ethnic rivalry appear inherited from the Middle Ages, although many empires had fought together against the Ottoman army and lost.

In this way, the US newspapers shared many German views about the historical picture of the Balkans. Prior to the beginning of the Serbian-Bulgarian War in 1886, the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* doubted that the Peace Treaty of Bucharest would “create lasting conditions,” and pinned its hopes on the pioneering role of the European balance of powers. The daily paper described the “establishment of a territorial balance among the Balkan states” as the main goal for maintaining peace.¹⁴⁸

Despite the end of the war, “Balkan confusion” remained a standing term in the German-speaking world¹⁴⁹ that was also transferred to the English-speaking world. Similar to the “Balkan confusion,” Hart used the metaphor of the “Balkan web” to create a narrative about the Balkan region that showed the competing population groups had always lived there. He believed that the region could only be explored or viewed as a whole, as its nationalities spanned the space like a web.

¹⁴⁶ “Tit for Tat,” *The New York Times*, August 17, 1913, 5.

¹⁴⁷ “Tit for Tat,” *The New York Times*, August 17, 1913, 5.

¹⁴⁸ “Der Frieden von Bukarest,” *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, August, 1913, 1.

¹⁴⁹ “Was soll Oesterreich tun?,” *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, August 9, 1913, 1; “Deutschland und die Balkanwirren,” *Berliner Volks-Zeitung*, October 7, 1908, 1; or also “Die Wirren auf der Balkanhalbinsel,” *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31.5.1913, July 1 and 2, 1913, 1.

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CHAPTER 4

Painted by Numbers: Ethnographic Maps

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Abstract The division of the population according to language and religion was not carried out under Ottoman rule, but seemed particularly important to Europe. European scholars tried to define these divisions even though the region itself did not use them. Censuses did exist in the Croatian-Slavonian military border, which was considered multicultural and multi-confessional, but not in the European Orient. In their perspective, Balkan researchers had their hands full with this project. This chapter, which refers to Kanitz's ethnological studies, shows the narratives about the population that he transferred to (Central) Europe, the “characteristics” with which he equipped them, and the political roles he ascribed to

them. Who were these people who had been hidden in “darkness” from the eyes of the West for centuries? Which of their stories and cultures does Kanitz capture to present them in the academic and mass media publics of Europe?

Keywords Ethnography • Ethnographic maps • Rayah • Rebels • Transfer of national identities

The division of the population according to language and religion was not carried out under Ottoman rule, but seemed particularly important to Europe. European scholars tried to define these divisions even though the region itself did not use them. Censuses did exist in the Croatian-Slavonian military border, which was considered multicultural and multi-confessional¹, but not in the European Orient. In their perspective, Balkan researchers had their hands full with this project. This chapter, which refers to Kanitz’s ethnological studies, shows the narratives about the population that he transferred to (Central) Europe, the “characteristics” with which he equipped them, and the political roles he ascribed to them. Who were these people who had been hidden in “darkness” from the eyes of the West for centuries? Which of their stories and cultures does Kanitz capture to present them in the academic and mass media publics scientific circles and mass media of Europe?

From the peak of the Kopaonik mountain, Felix Philipp Kanitz looked down on an “unknown world,” which he was eager to explore geographically. However, surveying only the territories was not enough to discover the European Orient; the population living there was another object of his studies. The first map dividing the Balkan population into “Slavs,” “Albanians,” “Wallachians,” “Greeks,” and “Ottomans” was published by Ami Boué in 1847. Following Boué’s footsteps, Kanitz described himself as an ethnographer, and as such, he had to solve numerous problems, because the European Orient

is inhabited by peoples whose origin is often still to be clarified [*German*: “*aufzuhellen*”]. The etymologists have succeeded in bringing some light

¹ Daniela Angetter, “Die Militärgrenze: Von der Sicherheits- und Pufferzone zur neuen EU -Außengrenze, in Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten,” eds., Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 234.

into the language confusion of the European East; ... and yet the origin of the Albanians, that of the Macedo-Vlachs, and others, is still unknown. The solution of such tasks coincides with the lifting of the darkness that still rests on the oldest history of these countries.²

This quote from his book *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk* (*The Kingdom of Serbia and the Serbian People*), published posthumously in 1909, demonstrates that Kanitz worked diligently on these three volumes during his lifetime. Kanitz (or the editors of this volume) incorporated his journey from 1888 into this paragraph, and it corrects his version from the monograph *Serbien*, which was published in 1868. Although the cartographers were not yet finished with the survey of the Kopaonik area that was located between Serbia and Kosovo, some errors had already been corrected. The cartographic “illumination of the darkness” was therefore already in progress in 1888; the ethnographic one was still to come.³

The idea of comparable measurements by which heights and depths, lengths and widths, temperatures, distances, and boundaries could be determined also influenced the study of humans. Not only was the scientifically oriented research approach negotiated in the nineteenth century in terms of its standards, but the humanities also established themselves in the West as a firmly anchored science.⁴ In 1847, the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* (*Imperial Academy of Sciences*) was founded in Vienna, following the London and Parisian model. Its first president was the Orientalist Joseph Hammer-Purgstall. To this day, the *Austrian Academy*

²Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Zweiter Band: Land und Bevölkerung*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Meyer, 1909), 59–60. The quote continues: “and there also awaits the archaeologist much grateful work, so much remains to be done regarding the physical-geographical and topographical exploration of these areas.” (Original: “... und harret dort auch des Archäologen manche dankenswerte Arbeit, so bleibt gleichviel bezüglich der physikalisch-geographischen und topographischen Erforschung dieser Gebiete noch zu geschehen.”) A comparison of this quote with the quote in Kanitz’s book *Serbien* reveals the editing probably by Jovanović, see: Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Serbien. Historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859–1868* (Leipzig: Fries, 1868), 200.

³Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 61.

⁴Ulrich Timme Kragh, “The Possibility of an Outside: Theoretical Preamble,” *History and Theory* 60, no. 4 (Dec. 2021): 5.

of *Sciences* is divided into the mathematical-natural science class and the philosophical-historical class, reflecting the two scientific directions of thought at the time of its foundation. The first issue of the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe* (*Proceedings of the Philosophical-Historical Class*) discusses the future research goals: no less than “the complete knowledge of the destinies of countries and peoples,” which “encompasses a circle of knowledge, the boundaries of which are truly enormous,” and would include not only political, but also cultural history.⁵

Not only were the scientific standards developed in the West considered universal, the Asian scholar Ulrich Timme Kragh emphasizes not uncritically that “[a]s the roots of the humanities have historically grown from the soil of the Occident, the result has been a Western dominance of humanist theory.”⁶ Timme Kragh, whose research focus is the history of science in East and West and the history of epistemology, explains that the humanities discipline developed the method of source criticism as a universal standard beginning in the nineteenth century. Its representatives included Leopold Ranke, who in 1829 published probably the first historiographical work on Serbia (*The Serbian Revolution. From Serbian papers and communications*).

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Felix Kanitz, fully committed to the scientific standards of his culture of origin, embarked on arduous and dangerous travel routes to explore the European Orient “ethnographically.”⁷ For ethnographic research, the population was spatially located, equipped with certain characteristics, and categorized according to them. This classification was originally carried out during the nineteenth century and then continuously refined and corrected as necessary. In Kanitz’s understanding, he combined ethnological studies with scientific methods of cartography. He relied on the study of the history and culture of the inhabitants of the European Orient, looking for assignment characteristics in order to definitively categorize the cultures that were found. The categories were intended to enable sharp distinctions between the cultures; they were depicted as “peoples” or “nations” in maps.

⁵ *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 1 (1848), 4. Original: “die vollständige Kunde der Länder- und Völker-Schicksale, [die] einen Kreis des Wissens umfasst, dessen Grenzen wirklich ungeheuer sind.”

⁶ Ulrich Timme Kragh, *The Possibility of an Outside*, 5.

⁷ Philipp Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie* [self-testimony], n.d. (about 1863), H.I.N.-25564, Nachlass Constantin von Wurzbach, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [Vienna City Library].

As Felix Kanitz, in his decades-long research work, only glimpsed Kosovo from the summit of the Kopaonik mountain, he could not conduct ethnological studies there. His results referred to the Principality and later Kingdom of Serbia, the Principality of Montenegro, and the Vilayet of Bosnia. His works from these regions contain records of traditions and rites, observations about the prevailing gender roles, excursions into church history, information on population density and the number of houses, schools, and other important institutions, economic arguments, and discussions of current political issues. In addition to ethnological representations, they contain historiographical chapters and art historical studies. In this sense, his interests were universal; he did not commit himself to any scientific discipline, but tried to capture a complete picture of the European Orient, unknown from a Western perspective, as neutrally as possible in the service of scientific quality assurance—as Kanitz would have argued, objectively. Holm Sundhaussen therefore not unjustifiably called him a sober observer,⁸ although his historical-political and scientific statements were understood and written in the style and worldview of Western historiography. They contain master narratives, follow a European-chronological division of history, and orient themselves towards progress or civilization processes (e.g. the introduction of a parliament).

FELIX KANITZ'S ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES AND THEIR RECEPTION

In contemporary media, Felix Kanitz was known as the “Columbus of the Balkans,”⁹ which seems understandable due to the sparse research literature on the European Orient. Before Kanitz published his works about Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia, interested parties turned to Ami Boué's famous work *La Turquie d'Europe*, published in Paris in 1840, in which regions of Southeast Europe were described from an ethnographic and cartographic perspective.¹⁰ Boué traveled through

⁸Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.–21. Jahrhundert* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), 152.

⁹Fehér Géza, *Kanitz Fülöp Félix: “A Balkán Kolumbusa.” Élete és Munkássága 1829–1904* (Budapest: Franklin, 1932); Mihajlović, Vladimir V. “Frontier Gentlemen's Club,” in *Communities and Knowledge Production in Archaeology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 188. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526134561.00017>.

¹⁰Zoran Konstantinović, “Der Balkan in der deutschen Reisebeschreibung in Wort und Bild bei Felix Philipp Kanitz,” *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich*

Southeast Europe from 1836 to 1838 and, according to Kanitz, urged others to fill the gaps he had left behind. Hence, Kanitz explained that he started his excursions from Požarevac in 1860 because his friend Ami Boué had suggested this point of departure to depict the Serbian mountain range.¹¹ Elsewhere, Kanitz again said that he was continuing the work of Ami Boué, namely the survey of the Raškadefilee, a “narrow strip of land” that, “only six hours wide, separates Montenegro’s high mountains wedge-like from southwestern Serbia.”¹²

In her article from 2006, Edit Király refutes the argument that Kanitz had made pioneering achievements, precisely because Ami Boué had already published ethnographic studies before him.¹³ Boué’s Balkan travels extended over a comparatively short period of time, and the scope of his travel descriptions about Serbia is much smaller than that of Kanitz, although Boué’s achievement should not be diminished. Kanitz’s contemporary, geologist Franz Toula, highlights his elaborate and time-consuming travels compared to Boué’s:

Dr. Ami Boué, who had already crisscrossed the country in the thirties, only crossed the Balkans four times ... Officers of the Russian and Austrian General Staff then did a lot of cartographic work in the country. Nevertheless, it remained for the enterprising and enthusiastic ethnographer and topographer Mr. Felix Kanitz ... to clarify a large number of highly interesting

7, no. 2 (1985): 15; Konstantinović provides a detailed overview of mainly German travel descriptions and mentions the non-scientific works about Serbia by Herder, Goethe, Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Karl August von Varnhagen, Clemens Brentano and Miss Talvj, which are strongly influenced by the Romantic literature period. A work written in the style of a travel description comes from Prussian officer Otto Pirch, who recorded his adventure in 1829 in two volumes.

¹¹ Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Erster Band: Land und Bevölkerung*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Meyer, 1904), 169–170.

¹² Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Staat und Gesellschaft*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig: Meyer, 1914), 37. Original: “endlich wollte ich jenes schmalen Landstrichs ansichtig werden, der, nur sechs Stunden breit, Montenegros hohe Felsenmauern keilartig vom südwestlichen Serbien trennt.”

¹³ Edit Király, “Die Zärtlichkeiten des Kartografen. Die Reiseberichte von Felix Kanitz,” in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, eds. Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Ursula Reber & Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen-Basel: Francke, 2006), 244.

questions. His travels took him on 18 different routes over the mountains themselves, and on numerous paths through the northern foothills.¹⁴

Without a doubt, Felix Kanitz was a recognized personality in scientific circles, as the entry in the *Biographische Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (*Biographical Lexicon of the Empire of Austria*) suggests. In addition, there were only a “handful of Balkan researchers,” as historian Bernard Lory wrote,¹⁵ including Ami Boué, Georg von Hahn, Heinrich Barth, and Guillaume Lejean. Still, the main focus of these travel writers was the Ottoman Empire and not Southeast Europe. Felix Kanitz mainly felt responsible for describing and illustrating—or illuminating, as he would have said—the countries of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and their populations since the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶ How little was known about the neighboring countries southeast of Austria-Hungary is made clear by the metaphor “new territory” (Chapt. 2). Felix Kanitz noted in his self-testimony after his first trip, which he undertook in 1858 to Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina, that he had found how much the descriptions of the political-social conditions, the ethnography and cartography of Turkey, needed to be supplemented. “My decision matured to help fill these gaps as much as possible; and to dedicate myself to this task with the pencil and the pen,” he wrote.¹⁷

The illustrations that Felix Kanitz brought back home with him from his travels were indeed able to fill some gaps in the imagination of European

¹⁴Franz Toula, “Reiseskizzen aus dem westlichen Balkan,” in *Mittheilungen der k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* (new series 15) 25 (1882), 104. Original: “Dr. Ami Boué, der schon in den Dreissiger-Jahren das Land kreuz und quer durchzog, hat den Balkan nur viermal überschritten ... Officiere des russischen und österreichischen Generalstabes haben dann kartographisch viel im Lande gearbeitet. Trotzdem war es aber dem unternehmenden und begeisterten Ethno- und Topographen Herrn Felix Kanitz ... vorbehalten, eine grosse Menge von hochinteressanten Fragen beantwortend aufzuhellen. Seine Reisen führten ihn auf 18 verschiedene Routen über das Gebirge selbst, und auf zahlreichen Wegen durch das nördliche Vorland.”

¹⁵Bernard Lory, “Felix Kanitz und Guillaume Lejean. Kollegen oder Rivale?,” in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 71.

¹⁶Tatjana Cvjetičanin, “Felix Kanitz und das antike Erbe in Serbien,” in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 148.

¹⁷Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*. Original: “Es reifte mein Entschluß, diese Lücken nach Möglichkeit mitauszufüllen zu helfen; und mit dem Griffel und der Feder mich dieser Aufgabe zu widmen.”

recipients about the population of the European Orient and the Balkans. Kanitz's oeuvre of illustrations is a valuable source for historians, art historians, ethnographers, and cultural scientists who deal with Southeast Europe. So far, many historians who have dealt with the construction of Balkan images have mentioned Felix Kanitz,¹⁸ but there is still no analysis of his entire writings on the Balkans. His works on Serbia are often taken up by art historians, as Kanitz documented the architectural design and layout of churches and monasteries on his travels, and his textual and visual records represent a unique source.¹⁹ Always in search of Western influences in the European Orient, he argued in 1862 that Serbia's geographic location at the edge of Europe offered the most interesting monuments, which had never been studied in the discipline of art history.²⁰

With this work, I tried not only to fill a gap in the history of art; but to acquaint the civilized world with the ancient culture of a people whose development has been hindered for centuries and to bring this people closer to the unknown value of their venerable, stylish monuments.²¹

Maximilian Hartmuth, in his article "Vienna and the Art Historical 'Discovery' of the Balkans," affirms the extraordinary achievement of Felix Kanitz in advancing art-history research on monuments in the Balkans in the mid-nineteenth century. However, he does not fail to mention that Kanitz's research trips were guided by the interests of the

¹⁸ Andreas Rathberger, "Balkanbilder. Vorstellungen und Klischees über den Balkan in der Habsburgermonarchie im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," *Kakanien Revisited*, April 6, 2009, accessed March 11, 2023, <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/ARathberger1.pdf>.

¹⁹ Maximilian Hartmuth, "Vienna and the Art Historical 'Discovery' of the Balkans," in *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, eds. Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 111; Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Die römischen Funde in Serbien* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1861); Felix Kanitz, *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente*, (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1862); Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Über alt- und neuerbische Kirchenbaukunst. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864).

²⁰ Kanitz, *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente*, 6.

²¹ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*. Original: "Ich versuchte mit diesem Werke nicht nur eine Lücke der Kunstgeschichte auszufüllen; sondern die civilisierte Welt mit der alten Kultur eines durch Jahrhunderte in seiner Entwicklung gehemmten Volkes bekannt zu machen und dieses selbst den nicht gekannten Werth seiner ehrwürdigen stylvollen Denkmale nahe zu legen."

Habsburg monarchy, and that his ethnographic studies were intended to prepare for the economic stimulation of the region.²²

There is so far one biography about Felix Kanitz, but it is in Hungarian.²³ An exhibition about Felix Kanitz was designed by Đorđe S. Kostić, who has studied the Balkan researcher extensively. He is the author of the book *Dunavski limes Feliksa Kanica* (2011) and editor of the collection *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz* (bilingual edition: *Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, 2011), which offers many points of connection with the present book.

Kanitz's works on Bulgaria, or Danube-Bulgaria, receive more attention in the scientific field.²⁴ Maria Todorova, in her work *Imagining the Balkans*, refers at two points to Kanitz's monograph on Danube-Bulgaria. In addition, Wolfgang Geier pays him tribute on several pages of the book *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen* (*Perceptions of Southeast Europe*) for the same work. An entire volume of the series *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* (*Announcements of the Bulgarian Research Institute in Austria*) was published in 1985 about Kanitz's research trips to Bulgaria, based on a previous conference titled "Felix Philipp Kanitz (1829–1904). His research on Bulgaria and the Balkan countries." Hungarian historian Imre Röss asks in an article what influence the research results of Felix Kanitz, whose travels were often financially supported by the government, had on the Oriental policy of the k. u. k. monarchy, using the example of Bulgaria. He concludes that Kanitz's work has at least made the existence and the goals of the Bulgarian national movement known to the k. u. k. Foreign Office. Kanitz's proximity to the then-Consul General in Belgrade and later Finance Minister of Austria-Hungary, Benjámín von Kállay, was reflected in a pro-Bulgarian attitude, which the historian Röss finds in the beginnings of the Bulgaro-centric foreign policy of the k. u. k. monarchy starting in the 1880s. Austria-Hungary was not the only country eager to learn about the ethnic variety and political objectives of the nationalistic movements, so it was no surprise that behind travel writers there were quite often foreign offices financing those travels. According to Röss, much of the travel literature

²² Hartmuth, "Vienna and the Art Historical 'Discovery'," 111–112.

²³ Géza, *Kanitz Fülöp Félix*.

²⁴ See for example: Friedhilde Krause, "Zur Prägung des Bulgarienbildes während des Russisch-türkischen Krieges durch die Leipziger 'Illustrierte Zeitung'. Johann Jakob Weber und Felix Philipp Kanitz," in *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 37, no. 3 (1992): 321–329.

was politically motivated, and the writers used the predominant Western or European category of “people” or “nation” in their descriptions, as Kanitz did with his ethnographic studies.²⁵

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES AS AN OBJECTIVE RESEARCH APPROACH TO NATIONALITY

In addition to his geographic and cartographic records (Chap. 2), Felix Kanitz followed another research trend practiced among the Great Powers in Europe. The territorial survey of unknown areas was one research focus of travelers, and registering the population by language was another.²⁶ “Ethnographic maps” were created, showing which “peoples” would populate the areas to be developed. The authors of such maps neatly divided the European Orient into regions with supposedly homogeneous population structures, and conveniently stamped some areas with a national label. “[M]aking the maps meant controlling the discourse,”²⁷ confirms Larry Wolff.

The prevailing *zeitgeist* can be seen from the ethnographic maps of the European Orient by Boué (1847), Lejean, Kanitz & de Czoernig (1876), Kiepert (1876), and Sax (1877), who all drew borders according to national criteria.²⁸ Statistics on religious and language groups served as “factories of objectivity of the national”²⁹ and went hand in hand with the production of corresponding maps, as German historian Siegfried Weichlein noted. The goal in forming nation-states was to achieve

²⁵ Imre Ress, “Felix Kanitz: Ansichten zur Balkanpolitik der Donaumonarchie nach dem Ausgleich,” *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 7, no. 2 (1985): 34–35.

²⁶ Iris Schröder, *Das Wissen von der ganzen Welt. Globale Geographien und räumliche Ordnungen Afrikas und Europas 1790–1870* (Paderborn et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 222–223.

²⁷ Larry Wolff, “The Western Representation of Eastern Europe on the Eve of World War I. Mediated Encounters and Intellectual Expertise in Dalmatia, Albania, and Macedonia,” *The Journal of Modern History* 86, no. 2 (2014): 401.

²⁸ Schröder, *Das Wissen von der ganzen Welt*, 222–223.

²⁹ Siegfried Weichlein, “Zählen und Ordnen. Der Blick auf die Ränder der Nationen im späten 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Ränder der Moderne: Neue Perspektiven auf die Europäische Geschichte (1800–1930)*, eds. Christof Dejung and Martin Lengwiler (Köln: Böhlau, 2015), 116. Original: “Objektivitätsfabriken des Nationalen.”

congruence of language and spatial areas.³⁰ This task was also undertaken by Georg Hahn, who primarily traveled south of the Serbian-Turkish border and inspected this area for the construction of railway lines. The region around “Toplitza” was “massively populated by Albanians,” he noted, something that had been represented incorrectly in previous ethnographic maps. He provided insight into the working methods of cartographers and reported that the most trusted police soldiers in this area, the Mudir, were commissioned to ask the people in the surrounding villages about their nationality.³¹ Felix Kanitz also reported on the retreat of Christian people from the area of the Toplica, which he located between the Kopaonik mountains and the Morava river, and said that the Albanian population group was dominant there. Due to the Albanians’ settlement and the autonomous form of government that they were granted, the defenseless Christian people migrated out, explained Kanitz. Those who remained hoped for the liberation of this region by Kara Đorđe, the leader of the Serbian uprisings. Kanitz heard these accounts from the mayor (Kmet) of the city of Prokuplje, which is located in present-day southern Serbia. In 1877, the “long-awaited hour of liberation,” as Kanitz put it, came, and the Ottoman population in Prokuplje was attacked by Serbian troops. Many Muslim families left the city. Before that, there were “620 Arnaut-Circassian, 50 Turkish ... alongside 325 Serbian and 3 Jewish families,” also according to information from the city’s mayor.³²

The creation of an ethnographic map often involved a compilation of surveys from various research travelers who provided their studies in the service of ethnography. There was by no means one correct version, as the location of homogeneous cultures was highly political. The *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft* in Vienna offered a platform for the presentation of and discussion around ethnographic maps, emphasizing the influence of numbers and measurability, which comes from the natural sciences, in cultural history—objectivity and validity became the quality criteria for ethnographic research. Their results, the maps, were presented and discussed at meetings, and the society’s own journal also printed them. Felix

³⁰Weichlein, “Zählen und Ordnen,” 116, 125–127. A difficult task for the multicultural Austria-Hungary.

³¹Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 45.

³²Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 289–290. Original: “620 arnautisch-tscherkessische, 50 türkische ... neben 325 serbischen und 3 jüdischen Familien.”

Kanitz was not only the co-author of a map, but also influenced its creation and change process through his travel reports.

It is not uncommon to read in Kanitz, or in scientific articles of the *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft*, that the Ottoman administration did not conduct systematic censuses, and that if it did, only the male population was recorded. In fact, the Muslim inhabitants were counted for military purposes, as well as the Christian inhabitants who had to pay a tax instead of military service.³³ Before Serbia's independence, a census was carried out in 1830/31 in Ottoman-ruled territory in the Balkans that was based on religious communities, and not on ethnicity or nationality. Due to the difficulties with the first census in 1830/31, the next census for the Ottoman-ruled territories was not carried out until 1904/06.³⁴ The approach was not precise enough for Kanitz and his colleagues anyway; besides counting the inhabitants, they also wanted to know their "nationality" and the languages spoken, and thus suggested following the model of Western European patterns.

The first step was depicting the territorial distribution of the different "ethnicities" on a map, because for ethnographers and cartographers it had grown difficult to determine nationality solely by language. Carl Sax, author of the 1877 published *Ethnographische Karte der Europäischen Türkei* (*Ethnographic Map of European Turkey*) was intensively involved in the exploration of the different nationalities in the Balkans. It was important to him to know the nationality of these people, "who shed their blood for this concept and put the world in turmoil," as he wrote in the *Mittheilungen der k. k. Geographischen Gesellschaft*. Carl Sax criticized the representation by his predecessors, who had chosen language as the fundamental element of ethnic affiliation. His map was created according to a different system. In addition to language, which would represent only one of the various characteristics of nationality, Sax also included religion and the group's own national consciousness.³⁵ Ethnicity was equated with nation(ality). Years before, Sax wrote in the *Mittheilungen*:

³³ Božidar Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa. Der Balkan in den Augen westlicher Reisender* (Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 162.

³⁴ Florian Bieber, "The Construction of National Identity and its Challenges in Post-Yugoslav Censuses," in *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2015), 880.

³⁵ Carl Sax, "Ethnographische Karte der europäischen Türkei und ihrer Dependenz zur Zeit des Kriegausbruches im Jahre 1877," in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* (new series 11) 21 (1878): 177. Original: "welche für diesen Begriff ihr Blut vergossen und die Welt in Aufruhr versetzten."

As in the Orient in general, the concepts of nation and religious community are confused with each other, so specifically the South Slavic nation in Turkey, according to religious confession, is divided into three strictly separated “nationalities” which do not want to have any community with each other, namely: The Serbs (Srbi), i.e. Greek Orthodox Christians, the Latins (Latini), i.e. Roman Catholic Christians, and the Turks (Turci), i.e. Muslims.³⁶

The “Bosnian Muslims” with their Serbian mother tongue had never been allowed to call themselves Serbs, but “Turks,” he added. Accordingly, the “Muslim Serbo-Croats/Bosnian Turks” are mapped in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and in Southeast Serbia on Sax’s ethnographic map (Fig. 4.1). Another ethnographic map by Guillaume Lejean, Felix Kanitz, and Karl von Czoernik became widespread in the public sphere and was entitled *Populations de la Turquie d’Europe*. It was created only a year before Sax’s map and shows a different distribution of the population in the Balkans, and it seems to be based on Lejean’s map from 1861 (Fig. 4.2). South of the Habsburg Empire is a large, green region, in which the “Serbo-Croats” would live. This marked territory even crosses the borders of Austria-Hungary in the areas of Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Croatia. Lejean’s map represents a blueprint for a Greater Serbian Empire, while in Sax’s map the Principality of Serbia is colored separately from Bosnia-Herzegovina and from Montenegro. The political significance behind the younger Sax’s map is unmistakable: not to give the Serbian political elites any confirmation of the plans they had aimed for since the mid-nineteenth century, namely the unification of all South Slavs. Sax’s quote can be seen as an attempt to impose different nationalities on them, in order to prevent the feeling of a Pan-Slavic union from arising in the first place. A pan-Slavic orientation fueled the fears of all the European Great Powers, since this solution foreshadowed Russian supremacy in the East. The Ottoman reign would merely be passed over to another power. None of the European Great Powers wanted the Russian

³⁶ Carl Sax, “Skizzen über die Bewohner Bosniens, mit einer geographischen Einleitung,” *Mittheilungen der k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* 7 (1863), 97. Original: “Wie im Orient überhaupt die Begriffe Nation und Religions-Genossenschaft mit einander verwechselt werden, so ist namentlich die südslavische Nation in der Türkei, dem Religions-Bekenntnisse nach, in drei streng abgesonderte ‘Nationalitäten’ geschieden, welche unter einander keine Gemeinschaft haben wollen, nämlich: Die Serben (Srbi), d.h. griechisch-orthodoxe Christen, die Lateiner (Latini), d.h. römisch-katholische Christen, und die Türken (Turci), d.h. Mohammedaner.”



Fig. 4.1 Ethnographic Map of European Turkey (1878) by Carl Sax. (In Carl Sax, *Ethnographische Karte der Türkei und ihrer Dependenzien zur Zeit des Kriegausbruches im Jahre 1877*, eds. k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft, Vienna. Source: GeoPortOst, IOS Regensburg, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-ubr16678-7>)

Empire to be strengthened shortly after the victory over the Napoleonic French Empire; they wanted to keep the European balance of power. For the nineteenth century, the official Balkan policy for Great Britain and Austria was to mediate between the Principality and later Kingdom of Serbia and the High Porte in Constantinople in order to keep the Ottoman Empire alive and Serbia small. To this end, the Serbian elite was supported in its desire for sovereignty by Austria, or Austria-Hungary, whose ulterior motive was to control and direct the territorial expansion plans. Thus, the Habsburgs organized the study of the borders and spaces in Southeast Europe.³⁷

³⁷ Ulrike Tischler, *Die habsburgische Politik gegenüber den Serben und Montenegrinern 1791–1822. Förderung oder Vereinnahmung?* (München: Oldenbourg, 2000).

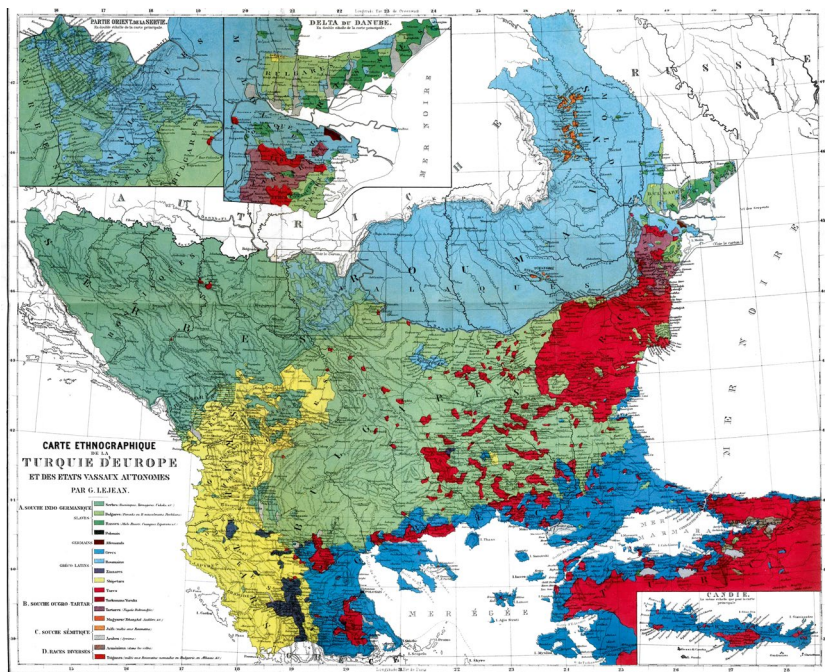


Fig. 4.2 Ethnographic Map of European Turkey (1861) by Guillaume Lejean. (Public Domain, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobruja#/media/File:Balkans-ethnic_\(1861\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dobruja#/media/File:Balkans-ethnic_(1861).jpg))

Against this background, Eastern and Southeastern European historian Edgar Hösch referred to the Balkans as a “playground” and “experimental field” for Europe in the nineteenth century, into which fundamental nation-state concepts such as ethnic and linguistic nationalism were exported.³⁸ James Kroker, a professor in Chicago, analyzed historical (ethnographic) maps of Europe during the same period. The historian sees the Austrian cartographers as pioneers of measuring the European Orient, and he states, not uncritically, “Ethnographic mapping of the Balkans was an

³⁸ Edgar Hösch, “Deutschland, Europa und der Balkan,” in *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* 42, no. 4 (2002): 53.

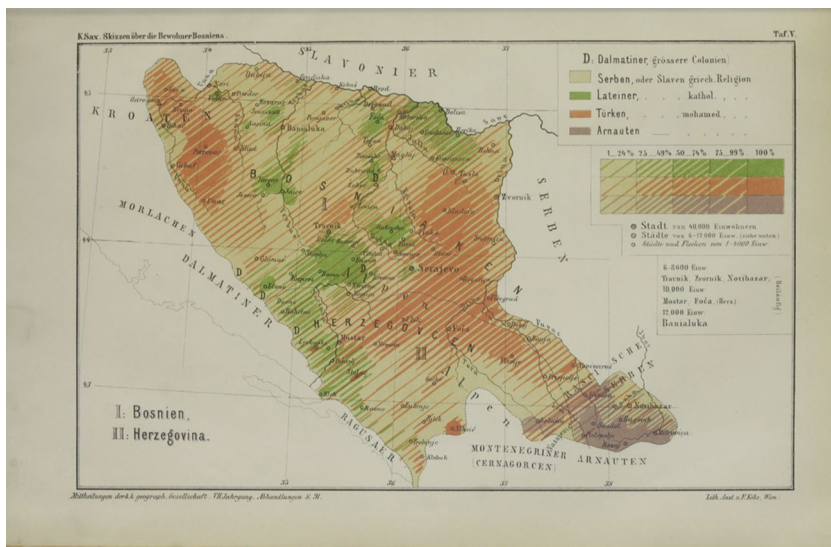


Fig. 4.3 “Sketches on the Inhabitants of Bosnia” by Carl Sax. (In *Mittheilungen der k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* 7 (1863), Image plate V. o. S. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

Austrian specialty.”³⁹ The cartographic recording of the European Orient was a scientific cornerstone for Austria-Hungary’s expansion to the south; the second cornerstone was the creation of ethnological studies about the “new land” vital for the monarchy.

Sax’s map lists the group of “Lateinisch katholische Serbokroaten” (“Latin Catholic Serbo-Croatians”) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The largest Catholic population area borders on the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the western part of Bosnia-Herzegovina (and to a small extent in the north), conveniently located in the coastal area of Dalmatia. The largest area in which “Turkish” people were depicted was at the border to the Serbian Kingdom (see Fig. 4.3). A year after the map was published, Bosnia-Herzegovina was placed under the administrative sovereignty of the Habsburg monarchy by a decision of the Berlin Congress. As part of Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina was given its own volume in the

³⁹ James Krok, “Constant Desjardins, Peripatetic Cartographer,” *Imago Mundi* 67, no. 1 (2105): 40.

“Kronprinzenwerk” (“Crown Prince’s Work”), which was published in 1901. In this volume, the nationality of the inhabitants was determined to be mostly “South Slavic,”⁴⁰ which reflects the different realities that were projected onto Southeast Europe.

The Serbian government had little to say about those maps. They commissioned their own cartographer in the 1850s, but a completely independent survey of the data was only achieved after 1878. French cartographer Constant Desjardins (1787–1876) began compiling material for Serbian schools in 1853, including wall maps and atlases depicting Serbia and its neighboring countries, Europe and “European Turkey,” as well as the world. Desjardins spent most of his career in Vienna, where innovations in book and map printing had been driven forward since the 1830s and, unlike in Paris, lithography already had a firm place in map production. There was an explosive increase in lithographed maps for the commercial market in the nineteenth century.⁴¹ “Desjardins’ hiring makes some sense in light of Serbia’s need to escape from the Habsburg Empire’s cultural shadow,”⁴² argues James Krokár. The US historian refers to Desjardins’ linguistic map or ethnographic map *Srbija i zemle u kojima se srbskii govori* [translated: “Serbia and the countries where Serbian is spoken”]. The map could be read as a political calculation; after all, the area in question included Habsburg’s territory of Croatia, the Ottoman-administered Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo. The British consul in Belgrade sent the map to the British Foreign Office, but without consequence.⁴³ However, this serves as further evidence that the categorization of population groups by numbers was developed as an important tool for the European Great Powers, and not for the Serbian kingdom.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the tradition of the ethnographic map was neither obsolete nor outdated, but still undermined national claims. After World War I, when the national borders were drawn against the background of the proclaimed right of self-determination, these maps lost their purpose entirely. Meanwhile, the ethnographic map had made its way into the US public as a legitimization for drawing borders in Central and Southeast Europe. The sociologist Herbert A. Miller laid

⁴⁰ *Bosnien und Hercegovina, Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901), 4.

⁴¹ Krokár, “Constant Desjardins,” 36–39.

⁴² Krokár, “Constant Desjardins,” 40.

⁴³ Krokár, “Constant Desjardins,” 41.

the groundwork for this with his “Language Map” published in the *New York Times*, by drawing the map based on linguistic regions. He pointed out the many strongly mixed regions that could not possibly be represented cartographically, but “[g]enerally speaking, the language map is a correct indication of the extent of nationalities. ... this map, based on the distribution of languages, presents a roughly accurate picture of the distribution of races” in “Central and Southeast Europe.” Like the maps made by Sax, Kanitz, and Desjardins, this map had a political purpose. It served as evidence that in Austria-Hungary, “three-fifths of the total population” had a nationality other than German. It also presented the locations of those “nationalities” that were hostile to Austria-Hungary and Germany and could therefore act on the side of the Entente. A “language map” remained a political instrument until 1918, and the primary explanatory model for the division of territories by the Entente, who proclaimed national sovereignty after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. The creation of new ethnographic maps from the perspective of the Entente ultimately led to different maps than those originally envisaged by Central Europe. In Miller’s “Language Map,” the territory of this population group can already be recognized by the color highlighting of the “Yugoslavs.”⁴⁴

WHO ARE THE SOUTH SLAVS IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAPS?

The year 1833 is considered the foundation year for the country of Serbia, which had been waging wars of independence against Ottoman rule since 1804; from this point on, it was recognized as the Principality of Serbia by the High Porte in Constantinople.⁴⁵ Due to further military conflicts between the population of the European Orient and the Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Serbia was established at the Berlin Congress in 1878. The war, however, was not yet over. From Serbia’s perspective, the Ottoman displacement from its historical territories was achieved only with the Balkan Wars of 1912/13.

The view, treated as scientific fact, that there were “South Slavic” or “Serbo-Croatian” population groups outside the Principality of Serbia,

⁴⁴ “Slavs as our Allies. Suggestion That Men of Small Slavic Nations Be Organized into Armies to Fight Germany,” *The New York Times*, 16.06.1918, 34.

⁴⁵ In 1833, the Sultan officially recognized the borders of Serbia, see: Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 69.

was not changed by Sax's map, which defines Serbia much more narrowly than other maps. However, he did not put all of the people identified as "South Slavic" or "Serbo-Croatian" into one category, but split this imagined group into more categories, allowing him to divide and reorganize territories, too.

While a South Slavic or Serbo-Croatian population in the European Orient was often spoken of in order to expand the borders of Serbia, there was also the group of the Serbs. These mainly inhabited the principality of the same name, but also areas outside, as already indicated by the map by Constant Desjardins. Both in the *Mittheilungen der k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* and in the *Leipziger Illustrirte Zeitung* (*Illustrated Newspaper of Leipzig*), this difficult-to-grasp fact is brought closer to the readership.

The Serbs of Turkey are divided into the actual Serbs, who under Karageorg and Milosch gained their independence and are approximately 885,000 strong, the Bosniaks, the Raizen near Novipazar, the Herzegovinians and the Montenegrins. In total, the nation, which still holds a large swath of Northern Albania and is also still settled at individual points in southern Albania, counts about 1,660,000 souls. With the exception of the nobility in Bosnia, who are Muslim, ... they belong to the Greek Church.⁴⁶

To be considered Serbian primarily meant to belong to the Orthodox faith. Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to Sax's map, were also inhabited by "Muslim Serbo-Croats." For Felix Kanitz, for example, whose conception of Serbs significantly shaped his writings,⁴⁷ the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro was mostly Serbian. The historian Holm Sundhaussen describes the situation most convincingly, thus supporting the statement of his colleague Edgar Hösch: He argues that "the" Serbs do not exist. Sundhaussen mentions that there were Serbs in Šumadija and in the Montenegrin mountains, as well as the "German Serbs" north of the Sava, the "Islamized Serbs" west of the Drina, and the

⁴⁶ "Die Bevölkerung der europäischen Türkei," *Illustrirte Zeitung*, 18.05.1861, 335. Original: "Die Serben der Türkei zerfallen in die eigentlichen Serben, die unter Karageorg und Milosch ihre Selbstständigkeit erlangten und ungefähr 885,000 Köpfe stark sind, die Bosniaken, die Raizen bei Novipazar, die Herzegowiner und die Montenegriner. Im Ganzen zählt die Nation, die in Nordalbanien noch eine große Strecke innehat und auch im südlichen Albanien noch an einzelnen Punkten angesessen ist, etwa 1,660,000 Seelen. Sie gehören mit Ausnahme des Adels in Bosnien, der mohammedanisch ist, ... der griechischen Kirche an."

⁴⁷ Cvjetićanin, "Felix Kanitz und das antike Erbe in Serbien," 147–149.

many Catholic Serbs who spoke “Serbian” without knowing that they were “Serbs.”⁴⁸ Just as there were no “Serbs” or “Serbo-Croats,” the population seemed by no means homogenously “serbish” (let alone the “German” people in the Habsburg monarchy). However, there were imagined communities⁴⁹ that helped to define national borders as well as borders of ethnographic classification.

In the “ethnographic maps,” the “Skipetars” or “Albanians” were marked with their own color representing the community, alongside the “Serbo-Croats” or “South Slavs.” They were not considered Serbian, but since they shared spaces with “South Slavs,” Kanitz included and depicted them in the spectrum of population groups living in Serbia. The color coding by ethnicity in the ethnographic maps suggested borders where there were none in reality, but where they might be drawn. Additionally, in the perception of Europe, the cartography of the European Orient was still open, but the pushback of Ottoman rule was certain. As Holm Sundhaussen already noted, “the Serbs” existed neither before the modern state formation nor afterwards. They did not have common political regimes or ecological conditions; they were divided into various subpopulations with different histories and different everyday practices. There were “worlds” between the Serbs living in Habsburg’s cities and the peasants from the Šumadija, Montenegro, and eastern Herzegovina.⁵⁰

Literary scholar Milan V. Dimić analyzed the entries on “Serbs” in dictionaries, lexicons, and encyclopedias, and found that both regional and Western reference works of the last few decades had difficulties with the history and origin description of the Serbs. “They hesitate greatly how to account for the Serbs who lived, or are still living, outside of the state (kingdom or republic) of Serbia, with its changing frontiers,”⁵¹ he noted, and further: “At no historical time ... there has been a coincidence of ethnic and state borders”⁵²

⁴⁸ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 16.

⁴⁹ Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised edition (London New York: Verso, 2016).

⁵⁰ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 16.

⁵¹ Milan V. Dimić, “Who Is a Serb? Internal Definitions and External Designations,” in *Kakanien Revisited*, May 20, 2005, accessed March 3, 2023, <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/MDimic1.pdf>.

⁵² This is likely, to a certain degree, in all countries, as Dimić adds in brackets, see: *ibid.*, 2. Dimić introduces in his contribution further sources, namely medieval writings, that also included the term “Serbs.” He concludes that as early as the Middle Ages two categories

In the Anglo-American sphere, newspapers made a linguistic distinction for the Serbian population that did not exist in the German-speaking public. Just as Balkan expert Mary Durham explained, the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Serbia were called “Servians”—in English, the spelling “Servia” was used instead of Serbia at that time. The term “Serbs” was used when referring to Serbs outside this territory, and probably also when referring to the entire Serbian population in Southeast Europe.⁵³

The *New York Times* adopted Durham’s distinction between Servians and Serbs, as the review of her book published in 1904 also explained that the cities “Obrenovatz” and “Nish” should be attributed to “‘Oriental’ Servia,” while “modern Servia” was cut out of the Ottoman Empire by the Great Powers and declared independent. Only Montenegro had offered unbroken resistance to Turkey for five centuries and accordingly represented the true Greater Serbian Empire.⁵⁴ “Servia” was known for its topography, primarily with regard to possible war conduct. The mountainous and heavily forested country, separated from neighboring states by rivers in the north and east, would have an easy game with an offensive in the southwest against Turkey.⁵⁵ According to the *Daily Telegraph*, based on the 1905 census, the kingdom had 2,460,515 inhabitants who belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, 10,000 Catholics, and only 3,000 Muslim Turks, plus comparatively few members of other religions, with the Roma population numbering about 12,000, thus significantly more than the Muslim population. The author of the article attributed this fact to the largely wild and rural character of Serbia.⁵⁶

were created, namely the Serbian inhabitants, based on language, religion, citizenship and territorial anchoring, and the “Others.” After the collapse of the Serbian medieval empire there was a migration of the Serbian population from south to north, where a center formed around the Serbs and where the Serbians’ “own” category was also maintained. The nation-building processes in the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries were influenced by these medieval concepts and were not exclusively a reaction to the Western model of the nation-state. Since the Middle Ages, according to Dimić, there has been an attempt to define the group of Serbs.

⁵³Yuk Karadžić, in his Serbian dictionary *Srpski rječnik*, used the same distinction: a *Srbijanac* was someone who lived in the principality of Serbia, and a *Srb* was perceived as a Serb living either inside or outside these borders. Dimić, “Who is a Serb?,” 8–9.

⁵⁴“Among the Serbs,” *The New York Times*, 30.04.1904, BR297.

⁵⁵Walter Littlefield, “Great Powers to Blame for Balkan Demonstration,” *The New York Times*, 06.10.1912, 1.

⁵⁶“Servia,” *Daily Telegraph*, 07.10.1908, 8.

The London *Daily Telegraph* quickly emerged as a Serbia-friendly paper. In 1908, it printed a travel report by a Russian publicist who had conducted a local inspection in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the census, there were 750,000 members of the Orthodox faith, i.e. Serbs, and 550,000 members of the Muslim faith, who were “pure Servians” because they had simply changed their faith in the fifteenth century. “They spoke the purest Servian, they sang Servian songs, and were animated with Servian patriotism.” The entire Serbian nation counted ten million “souls,” said the paper, divided among eight different states: the independent states of Serbia and Montenegro, the Serbs in Turkey, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Southern Hungary, in Dalmatia, in Slavonia, and in Croatia. In clear terms and using traditional Serbian mythical narratives, the author concludes: “Among these people there has been going on for many years past a strong natural movement towards unity. The Dusan tradition has been awakened in the people.”⁵⁷ Here, the narrative of an idealized idyllic medieval Serbia was connected with the idea of the new, spatially anchored Kingdom of Serbia, and the metaphor of the awakening of the Serbs was once again stressed, as in Kanitz’s works. Also, the Western imported idea of the nation⁵⁸ promoted the state-building process that had begun with the Serbian uprisings in 1804. This state-building process, under the influence of Western ideas, was mediated by Balkan diaspora communities and merchants, argues Sundhaussen. He explains that for the first time in the history of the Balkans, ethnicity was proclaimed as the state-forming principle.⁵⁹

The longer version of the description of the Kingdom of Serbia appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*. According to this, the Serbian nation is one of the most important in the Balkans. The historical review is particularly interesting, because it points out that before the Ottoman rule, the “Servian Empire” encompassed the entire northern Balkan peninsula, including Bulgaria as a vassal state. Another story is that Prince Eugene found excellent military support among the “Servians,” who, later on, had fought for their independence for a whole century, beginning in 1804 under Kara Đorđe. Moreover, “some years before this time,” patriotic Serbs strove to

⁵⁷ “Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recent Visitor’s Views,” *Daily Telegraph*, 08.10.1908, 6.

⁵⁸ Marie-Janine Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2019), 24.

⁵⁹ Holm Sundhaussen, “Europa balcanica. Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 25, no. 4 (1999): 648.

unite all branches of the “Serb race” within a Greater Serbia (Great Servia).⁶⁰ In sum, the narrative that the Serbs were good at warfare is highly emphasized. The complication of the Serbian population and their space and borders were also a topic in the Anglo-American press, which, in addition to many current issues, always included a generous historical horizon back to the origins of Kosovo and above all the Ottoman heritage.

In addition to the Pan-Slavic movement, which emerged within the Habsburg monarchy in the nineteenth century,⁶¹ plans for a Greater Serbian state, including Austro-Hungarian territories, reached the Viennese court and the k. u. k. government. “It is known that the Bosnians, like the inhabitants of Herzegovina and Montenegro, belong to the tribe that inhabits Serbia; it is also known that these separate parts of the Serbian people feel their unity,”⁶² stated the *Leipziger Illustrirte Zeitung* in August 1858 in response to recent uprisings in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The European public was alarmed when the Russophile Ilija Garašanin became a member of the Serbian government. In 1844, he drafted a plan called *Načertanije* for the future domestic and foreign policy of Serbia. It included expansionist aspirations towards Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, among others.⁶³ This program was leaked to the k. u. k. Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1883, so the aspirations of the Serbian government were known there.⁶⁴

A Serbian nation, with its corresponding territory, was just emerging. Therefore, there was also no Serbian population, or rather any homogeneous conception of it. The fact that the attribution “Serbian” did not stop at the borders of the Principality and later Kingdom of Serbia was a major topic in the German *Illustrirte Zeitung*—especially because the population of the Ottoman-ruled Balkans had one significant commonality, which was their position as a group known as “Rayah” (German: “Rajah”). This term was in circulation in the Western media publics and

⁶⁰ “Servia,” *Daily Telegraph*, 09.10.1908, 4.

⁶¹ Alojz Ivanišević, “Panslawismus,” in *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, eds. Holm Sundhaussen and Konrad Clewing (Vienna Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 693.

⁶² “Die Unruhen in Bosnien,” *Illustrirte Zeitung*, 07.08.1858, 83. Original: “Es ist bekannt, daß die Bosnier ebenso wie die Bewohner der Herzegovina und Montenegros dem Stamme angehören, welcher Serbien bewohnt; ebenso bekannt ist, daß diese getrennten Theile des Serbenvolkes ihre Einheit fühlen.”

⁶³ Ilija Garašanin, *Načertanije*, 1844, accessed Jan. 31, 2023, http://www.rastko.rs/istorija/garasanin_nacertanije.html.

⁶⁴ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 115–120.

referred to the oppressed Christian population in the European Orient. Before the Serbian uprisings in 1804 initiated the century of crises and wars against the Ottoman Empire, there was the population group of the Rayah, considered to be homogeneous because little was known about them.

THE RAYAH: CHRISTIAN PEOPLE IN THE EUROPEAN ORIENT

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the term “Rayah” circulated in the Western daily and weekly press.⁶⁵ In a nutshell, it meant a non-Muslim person living in the European Orient. They were obliged to pay taxes and were not allowed to be employed in the military or in the administration.⁶⁶ A contemporary description of the Rayah was “Turkish Christians,”⁶⁷ which clearly expressed the marker of differentiation, namely religion.

The use of the term “Rayah,” like no other, evoked the notion of the poor, oppressed, Serbian-Orthodox population under Ottoman rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina, even until 1878.⁶⁸ Authors of the *Illustrierte Zeitung* as well as Felix Philipp Kanitz saw in the Rayah the authentic Serb or South Slavic population, who had not converted to Islam in order to gain a better position and the right to retain property and collect taxes.⁶⁹

On his first Balkan journey in 1858, Felix Kanitz reached Herzegovina and Montenegro. In the city of Trebinje, which today belongs to the Republika Srpska and is located near the Montenegrin border, he witnessed “scenes” that showed him “the situation of the ‘Rayah’ unveiled,” Kanitz noted in his self-testimony about six years after this experience.⁷⁰ Trebinje was also the name of the same district (a district was called *Kaza*

⁶⁵ For example: *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 05.03.1858, 01.08.1858; *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.02.1858, 23.07.1858; *Fremden-Blatt*, 20.02.1858, 25.06.1858, 23.07.1858; *Die Presse*, 24.06.1858, 23.7.1858; *Agrarier Zeitung*, 03.03.1858; *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 20.02.1862.

⁶⁶ “Raja” means a flock, see: Matthias Vetter, “Glossar, Abkürzungen, Aussprache,” in *Der Jugoslawien-Krieg. Handbuch zu Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Konsequenzen*, ed. Dunja Melčić (Wiesbaden: Springer, 1999), 571.

⁶⁷ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*.

⁶⁸ Other Illustrations from Kanitz showing similar scenes: “Serbische Familien auf der Flucht von Belgrad nach Semlin. Nach einer Originalzeichnung,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 12.07.1862, 29; “Plünderung eines Dorfgehöfts,” in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 352; “Räumung von Aleksinac [1876],” in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 127.

⁶⁹ “Die Verhältnisse Bosniens,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 07.08.1858, 83.

⁷⁰ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*.

or *Mudirat*), including other municipalities, which was managed by a district head with the title of *Mudir*.⁷¹ During his visit to Trebinje, Kanitz stayed in the house of the Mudir, where he observed how two Rayah brought their taxes to the Mudir. He wrote about it in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*:

Full of reverence and with bowed heads they [the Rayah] handed over their wallets to the secretary [of the Mudir], who counted the copper and silver coins with genuine Turkish phlegm. During the entire long-lasting operation, the two Rayah remained in their humble position, until the Mudir dismissed them kindly after some inquiries concerning community matters.⁷²

In addition to this representation, Felix Kanitz published a sketch that shows both of the taxpayers in a humble posture, along with the Mudir and his secretary. Kanitz's further remarks on the Turkish administration and government are in direct opposition to the situation shown in this sketch. He had been assured by an impartial German representative in Ragusa that the oppressions against the Rayah were mostly invented. The defense of the Ottoman administration that Kanitz provided in this article can be explained by the support from the Mudir and Muslim circles that he received during this trip. He was dependent upon the ruling circles there if he wanted to continue his journey to Montenegro safely and well guided; thus he thanked the Mudir for his precautionary measures, such as providing Kanitz with a man "armed to the teeth" for better protection."⁷³ The fact that the pictorial representation subtly revealed Kanitz's sympathy for the Rayah is reflected in his self-testimony. In it he noted that in the Mudir's house, the one he illustrated, his empathy for the Rayah started to grow, and he sought to express this through his actions. Above all, he described how he had been dangerously threatened by a "fanatical

⁷¹Johann Roškiewicz, *Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina* (Leipzig Vienna: Brockhaus, 1868), 104 & 418.

⁷²Felix Philipp Kanitz, "Reliefskizzen aus Bosnien und Montenegro," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 24.07.1858, 54. Original: "Voll Ehrerbietung und geneigten Hauptes übergaben sie [die Rajah] dem Sekretär [des Mudirs] ihre Geldbeutel, mit echt türkischem Phlegma zählte dieser die vielen Kupfer- und wenigen Silbermünzen. Während der ganzen lange dauernden Operation verharreten die beiden Rajah in ihrer demuthsvollen Stellung, bis sie der Mudir nach einigen Erkundigungen, Gemeindeangelegenheiten betreffend, freundlich entließ."

⁷³Felix Philipp Kanitz, "Reliefskizzen aus Bosnien und Montenegro," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 24.07.1858, 54.

Turk" when leaving Trebinje.⁷⁴ Neither in his "self-testimony," nor in his book *Serbien* from 1868, did he defend the attitude of the Turkish administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the latter, he already noted in the preface that the Rayah in Greece, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria were coming back from centuries of political death.

Felix Kanitz also visited Bosnia-Herzegovina on his second Balkan trip in 1860, albeit not entirely voluntarily. In the border town of Mali Zvornik, he was arrested and transported across the border river to the other bank. "Each stroke of the oar brought us closer to the land where religious fanaticism, coupled with boundless arbitrariness" prevailed and where some of the inhabitants were discriminated against as Rayah, he wrote in *Serbien*. "A mass of turbaned rabble awaited our landing as a welcome interruption of their monotonous idleness."⁷⁵ Kanitz further explained that he only described this scene because it allowed him to give an example of living under Turkish conditions. It can thus be observed that Kanitz sympathized more and more with the rebellious Rayah over time, but at the beginning of his reporting he was still reserved in expressing his opinion and his statements in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*.

His activity as a newspaper illustrator in particular often led him to places where he was an eyewitness to the revolts and uprisings of the Rayah. As already mentioned, Serbia had been an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire with a loose dependency relationship since 1833. However, Ottoman troops were stationed in the garrison towns of Belgrade, Smederevo, Šabac, Užice, Kladovo, and Soko, and the inhabitants originating from Turkey had not departed. In these places, where Felix Kanitz became an eyewitness to revolts and fights, there was still unrest. In June 1862, for example, there was another revolt in Belgrade when a Muslim argued with a Serbian woman about who had precedence in drawing water. The Serbian population demanded the withdrawal of the Turkish occupiers from the medieval castles of "Ushiza" (Užice), "Sokol," "Semendria" and "Schabatz," which were reported on as city disputes.⁷⁶ In a series of three articles in 1862, Felix Kanitz gave a local

⁷⁴ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*.

⁷⁵ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 98. Original: "Jeder Ruderschlag brachte uns dem Lande näher, wo religiöser Fanatismus, gepaart mit grenzenloser Willkühr, einen Theil der Bewohner zu Herren, den anderen zur willenlosen dienstbaren Rajah stempelt, ... Eine Masse beturbanten Gesindels erwartete unsere Landung als willkommene Unterbrechung ihres einförmigen Nichtsthuns."

⁷⁶ "Die Ereignisse in Serbien," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 12.07.1862, 31–32.

perspective on these fights over authority in the city.⁷⁷ He emphasized the importance of cities in the context of the Serbian uprisings, and recalled the not-too-distant past when the inhabitants of the cities were still among the “Rayah.”⁷⁸ Semendria, for example, had the first major revolt, which inspired the successful fights for freedom of 1806-7. This made it all the more painful for the Serbian population that the fortress of Semendria was once again under Turkish control.⁷⁹ In the city of Užice, explained Kanitz, the fortress served as a place of retreat in case of a Christian attack.⁸⁰ The great common denominator of the rebellious Rayah was always Christianity, which fueled the narrative of the good Christian oppressed who stood up to the evil Muslim oppressors.

After Prince Mihailo Obrenović took over the government of Serbia for the second time in 1858, he advocated for complete independence. Nevertheless, without the diplomatic and military intervention of the European Great Powers, the liberation of the Rayah would not have been possible.⁸¹ When English traveler Andrew Archibald Paton traveled through Serbia in the mid-nineteenth century, he was warmly welcomed by the local population in many places. A *Natschanik* (*načelnik*, literally translated: mayor) told him that Western travelers were a sign that “we are not forgotten in Europe; thank God and the European powers that we are now making progress.”⁸² The uprisings in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875 were crushed by Ottoman troops, and the European powers, under the chairmanship of Bismarck, organized a congress in Berlin for the pacification of Southeast Europe. Accordingly, the young states were not involved in the drawing of their own borders. Serbian, Albanian, and Bulgarian representatives were not even invited to the official consultations.⁸³ Nevertheless, Serbia became a sovereign state, with considerable territorial

⁷⁷Felix Kanitz on the Serbian cities: “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei. I. Uschiza,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 11.01.1862, 23, 26; “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei. II. Sokol,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 22.03.1862, 186; “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 26.07.1862, 63.

⁷⁸Kanitz, “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 26.07.1862, 63.

⁷⁹Kanitz, “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 22.03.1862, 186.

⁸⁰Kanitz, “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 11.01.1862, 26.

⁸¹Edgar Hösch, “Deutschland, Europa und der Balkan,” 52.

⁸²Paton, *Servia*, 170.

⁸³Hösch, Edgar Hösch, “Deutschland, Europa und der Balkan,” 52.

gain around Vranje, Pirot, Leskovac, and Niš.⁸⁴ It was exactly in this region that Georg Hahn was inspecting a railway line from Belgrade to Saloniki. In the Treaty of the 1878 Berlin Congress, the Kingdom of Serbia was obliged to bear the construction costs for the sections of the Belgrade–Saloniki railway line located in Serbia. In 1884, the first section of the “Orient Express” line, Belgrade–Niš, was opened; in March of 1886, Niš–Leskovac, and in September of the same year, Leskovac–Vranje. The city of Pirot was connected via Niš–Bela Palanka in 1888.⁸⁵ The Rayah, pitied by Western media, were soon dependent not only on the Ottoman presence, but also on the interests of the European Great Powers. This position was also part of the classification of the Balkans as being “in between” in the power structure of the Orient and Occident.

The image and the designation of the Rayah disappeared from German and English-speaking discourse at the end of the nineteenth century. The narrative of the oppressed Rayah was replaced by the narrative of the rebellious Serbian population. The stereotype of a man in the Balkans, armed to the teeth, who liked to wage war, fit into this narrative along with the perceived defiance of the Serbian kingdom in the customs war of 1906 with Austria-Hungary, the annexation crisis of 1908, and the July crisis of 1914.

The term “Rayah” stood not only for the Serbian population in European Turkey, but also for the cultural regression and “Orientalization” of the South Slavs of the preceding centuries. It reminded the Western readership of the difficult situation from which the Serbian population had freed itself (or was still living in), and simultaneously led to another narrative: That of the victorious insurgents and armed rebels, which found both positive and negative entry into the Western press during the Balkan Wars of 1912/13 and World War I.

⁸⁴Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 138–139; Karin Boeckh, *Serbien, Montenegro. Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Regensburg: Pustet 2009), 68.

⁸⁵In the following pages, Kanitz also recorded what the development of these towns by rail cost the Serbian state. Kanitz admitted that the obligation to build the railroad was a financial burden for Serbia. However, he was also convinced that connecting the southern region to the transport network was a key milestone for boosting progress and for the Serbian Progressive Party itself. The radical party expressed a great deal of skepticism about the expensive project in parliament, see: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 3*, 427–429.

SERBIAN REBELS AND FREEDOM FIGHTERS

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Serbian territory was still not definitively determinable from a Western perspective, just as many borders in Europe were neither clear nor immovable. Nevertheless, ideas about Serbia and other Balkan countries like Greece, Bulgaria, and Montenegro had literally fought their way into the European consciousness due to their uprisings and revolts against the Ottoman Empire.

The image of the Serbian population became that of rebels instead of the Rayah in Kanitz's monographs. This is clearly visible in his drawings, which show numerous battles, attacks, victorious fighters, and also retreats of Serbian and Turkish soldiers. The depicted battles ranged from the recent past, to which Kanitz often was an eyewitness,⁸⁶ to long-ago days, which thanks to the passing down of folk songs made the scenes appear as if they had been experienced firsthand.⁸⁷ Further pictures show the Serbian army, which due to its uniforms and equipment appears very modern and orderly; in Kanitz's symbolic world, this was seen as a contrast to the Oriental.⁸⁸ Rising nationalism in the form of nation-building processes

⁸⁶ More illustrations from Felix Kanitz, see: "Serbische Karaule-Panduren 1860," in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 387; "Soko. Vorlesung des Sultansbefehl zur Räumung der Feste 1876," in: *ibid.*, 417; "Višegrad. Über die serbische Drina vordringende Bosniaken," in: *ibid.*, 561; "Lješnica, Schanzenbau 1876," in: *ibid.*, 403; "Belgrad, Kasematte, gefangene Drusen 1861 (nach Kanitz)," in: *ibid.*, 25; "Verschanzung bei Niš," *ibid. Vol. 2*, 148; "Rote Kreuz-Stationen im Spital zu Knjaževac," in: *ibid.*, 351; "Bela Palanka. Das von den Türken und Tscherkessen verteidigte Schloss im Jahre 1876," in: *ibid.*, 199; "Armierung der Nišer Wälle," in: *ibid.*, 149; "Uebergang bosnischer Baschibozuks bei Trebinje," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 11.05.1861, 320; "Russische und österreichische Kriegsschiffe in Ragusa, die aufgrund der Aufstände in Bosnien-Herzegovina ausliefen," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 10.07.1858, 1 & 24f.; "Die türkische Festung in Belgrad" & "Das Bombardement Belgrads am 17. Juni," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 12.07.1862, 32–33; same illustration in: *Vol. 1*, 29; "Bosnischer Derwisch zum Kampfe gegen Montenegro auffordernd von F. Kanitz," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 25.05.1861, 352; "Einmarsch türkischer Pazifikationstruppen in ein bosnisches Dorf, nach einer Originalzeichnung von F. Kanitz," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 02.10.1858, 213.

⁸⁷ Illustrations from Kanitz, see: "Takovo, Miloš Obrenović am 'Cveti 1815'. (Nach dem Bilde von Paja Iovanović.)," in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 473; "Belgrad während der türkischen Belagerung 1521," in: *ibid.*, 11; "Das Schlachtfeld von Malajnica am 1. Juli 1807. Nach des Autors Aufnahme im Jahre 1889," in: *ibid. Vol. 2*, 463; "Ada Kaleh (Neu-Orsova) zur Türkenzeit," in: *ibid.*, 507.

⁸⁸ Illustrations from Kanitz, see: "Serbisches Heer," in: *Serbien*, plate between pages 454–455; "Slavafeier des XI. Infanterie-Bataillons zu Kragujevac," in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 3*, 374; "Kragujevac, Truppenschau im Jahre 1897," in: *ibid. Vol. 1*, 309; "Garde-Offizier in Paradeuniform," in: *ibid. Vol. 3*, 376.

soon reached the Serbian elites as an imported concept, although it played no role at the beginning of the Serbian uprisings in 1804.⁸⁹

Felix Kanitz and the German-speaking press closely observed the behavior of the Serbian population in Serbian-speaking areas outside the principality. As late as 1904, it was noted that some rebels repeatedly tried to incite the Bosnian Rayah to revolt against Ottoman rule.⁹⁰ The illustrated papers offered the European readership what they wanted to see, which was the story of the Balkan peoples' struggle for freedom against "Turkish subjugation," concluded historian Marco Dogo, who analyzed drawings by Felix Kanitz. He also referred to Kanitz's numerous hand-drawn battle depictions of the insurgent Serbian population. In most cases, the Ottoman opponent was not depicted, leaving the image of the enemy solely to the imagination of the viewers.⁹¹

The development and history of European Turkey was interpreted by Felix Kanitz as follows: From suppressed Rayah to Serbian rebels (Figs. 4.4 and 4.5),⁹² who wanted to displace the Ottoman Empire and its culture from Europe so they could reach Europe themselves. Kanitz also equipped them with the appropriate characteristics for this task. If, Kanitz argued, someone wanted to get to know the Serbs' character, untouched by any influences, then one must observe those who live in mountain regions or in the dense forests, from where the best leaders and fighters came. Some of those fighters came from a densely wooded area called Šumadija, which was the former center of the Ottoman administrative district around Belgrade, and which starting in 1833 became the autonomous Principality of Serbia.⁹³ We can clearly observe Kanitz's sympathies, or even admiration, for the Serbian population in the Balkans. "The Serb is characterized

⁸⁹ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 66 & 84–85.

⁹⁰ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 375.

⁹¹ Marco Dogo, "Persönliche Eindrücke und Stereotypenbildung in Texten und Zeichnungen Felix Kanitz," in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 178.

⁹² The rebels were depicted by Kanitz in many illustrations: Abb. 12–14; "Borač, Gewehrverteilung an serbische Milizen 1876," in: *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 594; "Vasiljin vrh," in: *ibid.*, 581; "Der Landsturm im Jahre 1876," in: *ibid.* Vol. 3, 366; "Kampf zwischen Türken und Montenegrinern bei Krstac, am 16. April," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 17.05.1862, 324; "Ueberfall des türkischen Lagers durch die Montenegriner bei Grahowo," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 12.06.1858, 1.

⁹³ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 14.



Fig. 4.4 Rebel Leaders from Herzegovina. (In *Illustrierte Zeitung*, July 19, 1862, 45. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

by a sharp facial profile and strong body shape. He is more tall than short, broad-shouldered and rarely fat.”⁹⁴

Felix Kanitz described in detail the “martial virtues” of the Serbs, which were “already praised by the Byzantines” and were “not doubted by anyone.”⁹⁵ Kanitz repeatedly described the weapons that a Serb carries. The section on male Serbian costume largely consists of a list of the weapons a Serb has with him: one to two pistols on the belt, a knife, and on longer tours a shotgun or a rifle.⁹⁶ The weapons on the wall in a house served as its main decoration. However, stated Kanitz, Serbs did not carry

⁹⁴ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 518. This description, like the narrative of the rebels, is accompanied by illustrations: “Ivo Rakov Radonitsch, Anführer der Montenegriner in der Herzegovina,” in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 08.05.1858, 1; “Luka Vukasovich, Führer der Aufständischen in der Herzegovina. Nach einer Photographie,” in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 17.05.1862, 324. Original: “Der Serbe zeichnet sich durch scharfes Gesichtsprofil und kräftige Körperformen aus. Er ist an Wuchs mehr gross als klein, breitschulterig und selten feist.”

⁹⁵ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 526.

⁹⁶ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 519–520.



UŽICE,
Serbischer Vormarsch über die Djetinabrücke 1867.

Fig. 4.5 Serbian Rebels. (In Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 401. Public Domain)

weapons due to a tradition of dueling or blood revenge, although the Serb was quickly angered. Regardless of whether men belonged to a better class or were simple countrymen, Serbs had managed to preserve the original good sides of their national character—which seemed to mean being a good fighter—even though they were “cut off from the world” for centuries.⁹⁷

The Black Mountains formed a border behind which a fascinating but even more dangerous world was revealed than in the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia: The Principality of Montenegro, surrounded by the so-called Black Mountains (Crna Gora), which served as a metaphor for the dangerous, thieving, and lawless inhabitants.⁹⁸ The population of

⁹⁷ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 525.

⁹⁸ In the issues of 14.08.1858 und 28.08.1858 of the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Kanitz reported with text and illustrations on Montenegro.

Montenegro was seen, both in the maps and in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* and in Kanitz's works, as part of the Serbian people. They were described with the same characteristics as the population of the Principality of Serbia, but always in a more extreme form.⁹⁹ If the Serb was described as enjoying weapons, the Montenegrin was even more so. If heroic songs, accompanied by the gusla, were sung in Serbia, the Montenegrins sang even more fervently.¹⁰⁰

Between the lines, Kanitz described Serbian men as stubborn, holding on to traditional and inherited customs and rites, and therefore not open to new things. On the positive side, he emphasized that the Serbian population was religious, intelligent, hospitable, patient, and diligent, but not as diligent as the Germans, which was related to their simple needs, Kanitz speculated.¹⁰¹ The diligence of the Serbian population is reflected in pictorial representations from the very beginning of his travel activities. He often illustrated work situations. Men were therefore, very appropriately, working in weapons factories and in pig breeding,¹⁰² and, together with women, also in the textile industry, in the plum industry, in cheese making,¹⁰³ and most frequently on the farm.¹⁰⁴

During the Balkan Wars of 1912/13, the historical narrative of the battle-ready Serbs also appeared in the Anglo-American press. The *Daily Telegraph* sent a correspondent to Niš who described the mobilization of

⁹⁹This customary warlike attitude was not only described by Kanitz, but also by Jezernik, who discovered sources saying that the Montenegrins cut off their enemies' noses and heads and brought them home as a trophy, see: Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa*, 91–93. One illustration by Kanitz shows the victorious Montenegrins at the battlefield, one of them holding a head (Fig. 5.9). In the report that accompanies this illustration in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Kanitz shared an encounter with a Montenegrin soldier who told him how many heads he had cut off during the battle.

¹⁰⁰Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 423.

¹⁰¹Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 526.

¹⁰²Illustrations by Kanitz, see: "Patronenfabrik ...," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 14.08.1858, 104; "Die Kugelgiesserei," in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 245; "Schweinetrieb am Crni-Vr," in: *Serbien*, plate between the pages 50–51.

¹⁰³Illustrations by Kanitz, see: "Leskovac. Textilindustrie," in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 239; "Kaškavaljkäse-Verpackung ..." in: *ibid.*, 217; "Paraćin. Munchs Tuchfabrik" (illustration of a modern factory, in which many women were employed), in: *ibid.*, 378. "Weberei ... Belgrad" [photography], in: *ibid. Vol. 3*, 475; "Knić. Pflaumen-Industrie," in: *ibid. Vol. 1*, 599.

¹⁰⁴Illustrations by Kanitz, see: "Bauernhof zu Desić," in: *Serbien*, plate between the pages 80–81; "Belgrad, Belipotok, Bauernhaus," in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 121; "Gehöft altserbischer Ansiedler zu Sastavei," in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*, 317.

the Serbian army up close. He saw few workers in the field, but those who were present were already working in their military uniforms. Half of the shops had a “closed” sign on the door with the explanation that the owner had gone to war. Soldiers and civilians announced in unison that they had been patiently waiting for this war for 36 years.

The people here appear to join the army as they would a gymnastic society. Mobilization is treated somewhat like a national festivity, and, far from complaining, the Servians look upon it as sort of holiday. ... the farmers are ready to go to war as they would do in other countries go shooting or fox-hunting.¹⁰⁵

This historical narrative about the Serb as a rebel and a man who enjoys fighting can be (and was) interpreted as either positive or negative in the media, depending on whether the newspaper’s sympathies were with or against Serbia. The whole country was in war fever, so the correspondent in the British *Daily Telegraph* was sensation-seeking. He described his own exotic observations as an Encounter; he probably already brought the narrative of the war-loving Serbs with him as “baggage,” measured by the sarcasm of his descriptions. All public transport and telegraphing had been stopped, he reported to London, everything was in service of the war. Trains were running to the front line and back day and night.¹⁰⁶ Another correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* highlighted the positive narratives of the Serbian rebels and stated sympathetically, “This war is unique in the annals of all history. ... for the first time the realities of modern warfare have been brought home to the Servian people, ... the Servians have more than proved a match for their formidable enemy, both in skill and bravery. ... the Servians fear nothing.”¹⁰⁷

Before the Balkan Wars started again in 1913, the *Daily Mail* corresponded with King Petar of Serbia himself. The Ottoman Empire had been pushed back out of the Balkans, but the fight over territories was just starting, especially between Serbia and Bulgaria. On request, the Serbian king explained in a message to the newspaper that the matter with Bulgaria could not be resolved peacefully despite serious efforts on his part. He

¹⁰⁵ A. Beaumont, “Servia in Time of War. Soldiering as Sport,” *Daily Telegraph*, 17.10.1912, 11.

¹⁰⁶ A. Beaumont, “Servia in Time of War. Journey to Nish. Troop Train Scenes,” *Daily Telegraph*, 16.10.1912, 11.

¹⁰⁷ E. Ashmead-Bartlett (Belgrad), “Belgrade Accounts,” *Daily Telegraph*, 07.07.1913, 13.

deeply regretted the aggressions of the Bulgarian army against the Serbian army, which would split two fraternal and allied parties.¹⁰⁸ The *Daily Telegraph* printed the full text of King Petar's message to the Serbian nation before they entered the war against Bulgaria, as the newspaper considered this message an important historical document. Petar stated: "The Bulgarians forgot Servia's brotherly help, forgot the blood of the heroes who fell upon Thracian battlefields. ... They have given the Slavonic nations and the civilized world an abominable example of ingratitude and greediness."¹⁰⁹ The *Daily Telegraph* tried to give all the war parties a voice and an opportunity to explain themselves.

The German press, on the other hand, interpreted the rebellious attitude of the Serbian people less as a legitimate fight and liberation of Serbian territories; instead, they highlighted the hostilities among the population in the Balkans. Even at the beginning, the *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* reported that the war between Serbia and Bulgaria was driven by "furious hatred and passionate bitterness." This hatred would be fed by the Ottoman oppression that their grandparents' generation had experienced.¹¹⁰

"TURKISH" RULERS IN THE EUROPEAN ORIENT

The cities occupied by the Ottomans until 1878 had particularly fascinated Felix Kanitz because of the stories told about their fortresses. He reported on the city of "Sokol" in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* and described his experiences there: He was kindly welcomed in the fortress of Sokol by the "true Muslims," but he was disappointed by the intolerance and fanaticism of the "Bosnian Turks." The Christians in Sokol, who suffered under the rule of the latter, would know how badly the "Bosnian Turks" treated non-Muslims. "That is over now!"¹¹¹ At least in this city.

The "true Muslims" are those men who supported Felix Kanitz during his travels, for example by providing accommodations, an escort, or permission to visit. These are the men who held a higher administrative

¹⁰⁸ "King Peter's Message," *Daily Mail*, 03.07.1913, 7.

¹⁰⁹ "Peter, and Our Own Correspondent (Belgrad), King Peter of Servia," *Daily Telegraph*, 09.07.1913, 12.

¹¹⁰ "Der Völkerkrieg auf dem Balkan," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, 19.10.1912, 1. Original: "wütendem Haß und leidenschaftlicher Erbitterung."

¹¹¹ Felix Kanitz, "Reiseskizzen aus Serbien und Bosnien. Aus meinem Tagebuche," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 21.09.1861, 202.

function and were appointed to this office by the Ottoman Empire. This is the reason Kanitz called them “true Muslims.” They spoke Turkish and were not originally from Southeast Europe. An example was the Mudir of Zvornik, whom Kanitz characterized as a “Muslim of genuine Asian descent” because of his benevolence.¹¹² A narrative was developing according to which the uprisings in Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina against the authorities were not the fault of the Ottoman government, but were due to the domineering attitude of the “Bosnian Turks” towards the “heavily oppressed Bosnian Rajah”, as explained in the *Illustrierte Zeitung*.¹¹³

The rather positively connotated image of the “true Muslims” stood opposite the negatively perceived “Bosnian Turk” in Kanitz’s work. The traveler officially sent by the Austro-Hungarian empire, Johann Asbóth, also described a difference between the “local” Muslims, who belonged to the South Slavs, and the “Turks” from abroad.¹¹⁴ Another contemporary colleague of Felix Kanitz, the ethnographer and cartographer Carl Sax, agreed with the narrative of the “fake Turks”: The term Muslims “led to the widespread misconception that a numerous Ottoman-Turkish population lived in Bosnia. But the Bosnian Turks are with few exceptions pure Slavs, who do not consider themselves Slavs but do not want to be Ottomans either. Their family names are Slavic, like their language.”¹¹⁵

Current studies argue that on the one hand, media reports on the ethnic groups in the Balkans were dependent on the Habsburgs’ interests in them, and thus were not consistently positive or negative. On the other hand, one must acknowledge that the “Bosnian Turks” were political Muslims, who represented the ruling class and were perceived as

¹¹² Ibid.; see also: “Ein kleiner Kreis vereinigte die vornehmsten Häuptlinge ... [welche] mir zumeist durch ihre echt asiatischen, höchst charakteristischen Köpfe auffallend [waren],” see: Felix Kanitz, “Die internierten Drusenhäuptlinge in der Festung Belgrad,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 02.11.1861, 310.

¹¹³ “Die Verhältnisse Bosniens,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 07.08.1858, 83.

¹¹⁴ Johann Asbóth, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina. Reisebilder und Studien* (Wien: A. Hölder, 1888), 10.

¹¹⁵ Sax, “Skizzen über die Bewohner Bosniens,” 97. Original: “Die Bezeichnung Mohammedaner oder Muselmänner ... veranlasste den weitverbreiteten Irrthum, dass in Bosnien eine zahlreiche osmanisch-türkische Bevölkerung wohne. Die bosnischen Türken sind aber mit wenigen Ausnahmen reine Slaven, welche sich zwar nicht als Slaven betrachten, aber ebenso wenig Osmanen sein wollen. Ihre Familiennamen sind slavisch, wie ihre Sprache.”



Bilder aus der Herzegowina: Steuerzahlung bosnischer Hajduks an den Mudir zu Trebinje. Nach einer Originalzeichnung von S. Kanitz.

Fig. 4.6 Bosnian Rayah paying taxes to the Mudir in Trebinje. (In *Illustrated Newspaper*, July 24, 1858, 52. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

unrightfully in charge. They were depicted in contrast to the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Bosnian Christians who followed the Orthodox faith.¹¹⁶

The “Bosnian Turk,” unlike some “true” Muslim administrators who came from Turkey to the Balkans, was born in Bosnia-Herzegovina and converted to Islam during the Ottoman rule. Hence, the Bosnian Turks and the Bosnian Christians had a great deal in common, and were only separated in the religious sense. They were connected by their common language and common past. The *Illustrierte Zeitung* often mocked the “Bosnian Turks,” portraying them as disguised South Slavs. This group did not have the sympathy of the Western media publics, but was portrayed as “inauthentic” and fanatical. They were deeply distrusted by Felix Kanitz, as seen in numerous passages and illustrations (Fig. 4.6). The Balkan traveler Andrew Archibald Paton also set foot on Bosnian soil on his travels, just like Kanitz, and was informed about the “Bosniacs” who, although they were of the same descent, allegedly made life difficult for the Christians in the country.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Rathberger, “Balkanbilder,” 4; Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa*, 168–169.

¹¹⁷ Paton, *Servia*, 117–118. The term “Bosniak” is already used by Paton.

The frequent description of Bosnian Turks as fanatical in Kanitz's texts must be highlighted here.¹¹⁸ He often associates their fanaticism with Islam, which is frighteningly reminiscent of current representations in the Western media. In descriptions of the Rayah and Bosnian Turks, Kanitz and other authors of the *Illustrierte Zeitung* no longer aim to describe the Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian population, but rather to demonize Bosnian Muslims. Kanitz was outraged by the injustices he witnessed, and the "true Muslims" in his opinion did not have the courage to oppose the fanaticism of their fellow believers. "The pen recoiled from describing these atrocities."¹¹⁹

Together with the narratives of the Turkish rulers, "foreign rule" itself was discussed. However, it had been the dominant political system in Europe during premodern times.¹²⁰ With the label of "foreign rule," which today functions as a keyword in the Kosovo myth, Western observers adopted the narratives that were already inherent in this national myth in the nineteenth century. In connection with the notion of the Rayah, the Ottoman is characterized not only as uncivilized, but also as brutal, oppressive, imposing, progress-hindering; in sum, as freedom-depriving. The Western publics did not always distinguish between the Turkish administrators and the Bosnian Turks; rather, a general image of the Turkish enemy was constructed with these very adjectives. The foreign rule destroyed local culture, according to Kanitz; he observed that the Ottomans destroyed the images of old Serbian rulers in order to destroy the people's memory of being independent.¹²¹

Another group of Muslims was identified in the European Orient by Western scholars and travelers—the Muslims in Kosovo and Albania who spoke Albanian and were not known to have Slavic roots. "The Arnaut," with his belligerent desire, was a centuries-old enemy to the Slavs, explained Kanitz.¹²² The "Arnautized Serbs" were depicted as a subgroup who lived in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo.¹²³ Felix Kanitz's

¹¹⁸ Kanitz, "Die internierten Drusenhäuptlinge in der Festung Belgrad," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 02.11.1861, 310; "Moslem Fanaticism," see: Paton, *Servia*, 122.

¹¹⁹ Felix Kanitz, "Bosnische Verhältnisse," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 25.05.1861, 354. Original: "Die Feder sträubte sich, die Unthaten zu beschreiben."

¹²⁰ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 36.

¹²¹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 142.

¹²² Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 3*, 110.

¹²³ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 3*, 39; see also: Kanitz, "Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet," 58.

sympathies lie neither with the Albanian-Muslim population nor with the Bosnian-Muslim one.

The narratives of Ottoman foreign rule and brutality had a specific function in the Western media. The more reports there were about uprisings in the European Orient, the more the image of this region was deconstructed and reassembled. The Ottoman Empire was no longer compatible with the prevailing Western narrative of a strong counterpart in the East. It was increasingly being pushed out of the European continent, and the remaining Serbian population began to lean towards European progress and Western standards, according to Kanitz. The Serbian population had had enough of the “dirty Turkish quarters”—as early as 1862, Kanitz judged that in the city of Užice, the shine of the crescent would fade and be displaced by European culture.¹²⁴ A few years later, illustrations by Kanitz present the retreat of Turkish presence (Chap. 6).

The population in the Principality of Serbia changed in Felix Kanitz's eyes during his decades of traveling the country—from Rayah to insurgents to citizens of a sovereign and progressive state. For him, this representation stood in contrast to Turkish-Oriental heritage, which meant a dislike for everything new and thus backwardness in all respects. This very attitude, the mistrust of travelers and strangers, was often dismissed by Kanitz in his three-part work as outdated and thus obsolete.

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¹²⁴Felix Kanitz, “Die streitigen Städte zwischen Serbien und der Türkei,” *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 11.01.1862, 26; more illustrations by Kanitz showing Turkish residential areas, see: “Kragujevac. Moschee an der Kameničkabücke. 1860,” in: *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 295; “Belgrad. Aus dem türkischen Stadtteile 1860,” in: *ibid.*, 41.

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CHAPTER 5

Oriental or Enchanted? The Serbian Culture Experienced and Transmitted by Felix Philipp Kanitz

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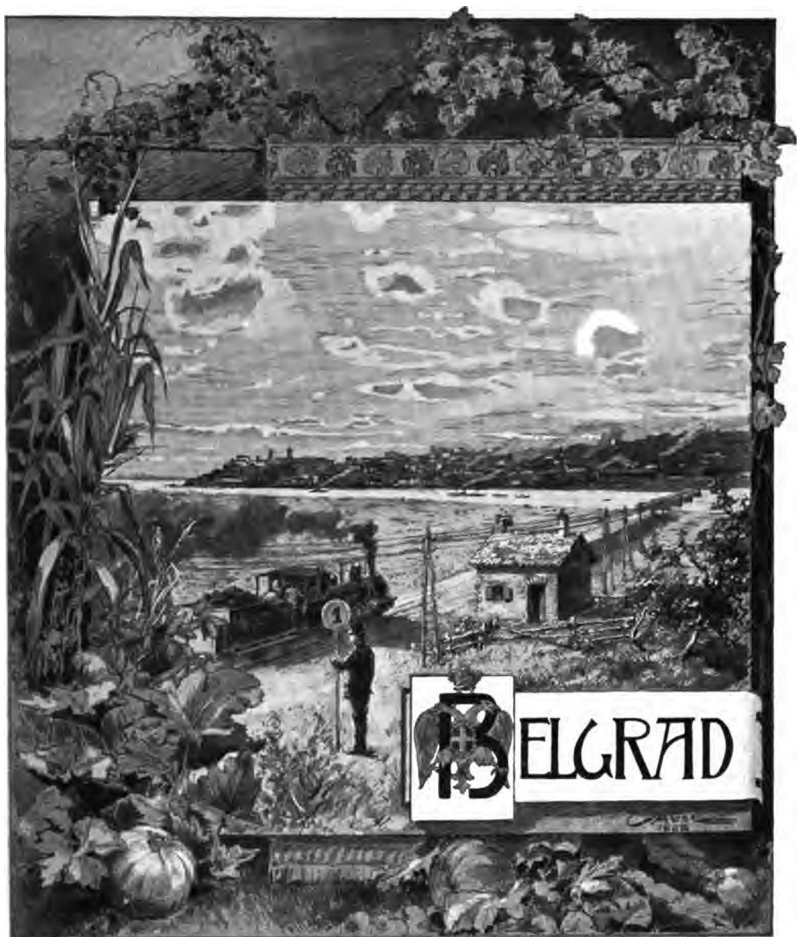
Abstract In his writings, Felix Philipp Kanitz retold the legends and stories he was listening to during his Balkan trips. No doubt that he was fascinated by them and he processed what was for him an encounter with Balkan or Serbian history in his papers and books. This chapter investigates Kanitz's perspective on Serbian culture. In addition to Kanitz's neutral descriptions as a factual scientist—about travel routes and the “physiognomy” of a place—in which he lists schools and other important institutions and gives insight into population statistics, mountains, rivers, plateaus, etc., the Balkan traveler provided his European readership with traditional and legendary stories about places and people, but more often about castles, churches, and monasteries. Kanitz described traditions and rituals that he felt represented the central elements of Serbian culture. Two narrative strands can be found in Kanitz's works that illustrate the

influence of folk poetry on Serbian culture. On the one hand, there is its influence on everyday and ecclesiastical rituals; on the other, there are the mythically charged legends that aimed to prove that the Serbian nation had existed through the centuries. Both strands produced similar receptions in the West. For the first case, Kanitz paints the picture of a family idyll, including the family's adherence to what were apparently important values. For the second case, he sketches a mosaic of positive-mystical and negative-superstitious narratives that create the notion of a romantic fairy-tale world on the one hand, and backwardness on the other. The folk songs, legends, and stories nourished the Kosovo myth, which was not only instrumentalized by the Serbian establishment, but was also received and reinterpreted in the West and flowed into the historical narrative of Serbia and the Balkans.

Keywords Serbian folk songs • Brothers Grimm • Vuk Karadžić
• Family idyll • Ottoman rule • Illustrated newspapers

In his writings, Felix Philipp Kanitz retold the legends and stories he was listening to during his Balkan trips. No doubt that he was fascinated by them and he processed what was for him an encounter with Balkan or Serbian history in his papers and books. This chapter investigates Kanitz's perspective on Serbian culture. In addition to Kanitz's neutral descriptions as a factual scientist—about travel routes and the “physiognomy” of a place—in which he lists schools and other important institutions and gives insight into population statistics, mountains, rivers, plateaus, etc., the Balkan traveler provided his European readership with traditional and legendary stories about places and people, but more often about castles, churches, and monasteries. Kanitz described traditions and rituals that he felt represented the central elements of Serbian culture.

The first volume of the series *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk* opens with an introduction that can be considered one of the last texts written by Felix Philipp Kanitz about Serbia. The author died in 1904, shortly before the first volume was published the same year. In this introduction, Kanitz wanted to bring his readers closer to the first perceptions and images that came to his mind upon arrival by train in Belgrade. The accompanying drawing (Fig. 5.1) was placed before the introduction. It shows a train entering Belgrade, which is indicated by a border guard. The illustration represents the entry into another world, because of the change in landscape. The decoration of the frame, above all the leaves reaching



Erste Eindrücke.

Fig. 5.1 The Gate at Belgrade. (The city of Belgrade as an entry into the European Orient south of the Danube-Sava line. In Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. I, 1. Public Domain)

out of it and the pumpkin plant at the left edge of the picture, give it a fairy tale-like touch. Through the playful framing, the viewer can recognize Serbia based on the flag within the letter B of Belgrade. The landscape, though it is neither the focus of the illustration nor particularly outstanding, looks wide, untouched, surrounded by mountains, deserted. Just past the border, when traveling by train, lay the region which since the Kosovo Battle in 1389 had sunk into an “enchanted sleep.” The depicted entrance gate to Belgrade, a city that is half on the side of Austria-Hungary, half in the European Orient, has a central function. As a corridor between West and East, it has a powerful geographical and political position: it is a checkpoint for infrastructure and transit. It has the power to create connections among people, goods, and knowledge. Material and immaterial flows between two spaces circulate through Belgrade,¹ as Felix Kanitz’s observation from the steam locomotive confirms: “beyond the Sava is our destination, the Serbian residence, a silhouette with a golden radiance, showing two sharply separated halves of different characters.” Kanitz describes an intermediate place where cultures from two different worlds meet, which in turn produces an even greater variety of cultures. Kanitz understood the Belgrade corridor with its southern extension into the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia as a “battle arena between cross and crescent, which the Turks very aptly called ‘Dar ol džihad’, meaning the House of Religious Wars.”²

At the beginning of the twentieth century, this intermediate place offered narratives and metaphors such as the powder keg—enough material for a myth-laden perception of Serbia and its population diversity, which found its way into the Western media publics. Belgrade as a corridor where the Habsburg monarchy met the Ottoman Empire, and, later, Serbia, where the Danube met the Sava (and still does), certainly played a key role in the formation and dissemination of those narratives and metaphors. The places where the Serbian Rayah fought against the Ottoman

¹ Robert Musil, “Metropolregion, Gateway, Global City. Zum Wandel der Stadt als Ort der Grenzüberschreitung,” in *Grenzen. Theoretische, konzeptionelle und praxisbezogene Fragestellungen zu Grenzen und deren Überschreitungen*, ed. Martin Heintel (Wiesbaden: Springer 2018), 89–112. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-18433-9_5.

² Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 2. Original: “jenseits der Sava unser Ziel, die serbische Residenz, mit goldig ausgestrahlter, zwei scharf getrennte Hälften verschiedenen Charakters zeigender Silhouette.” And: “Kampfarena zwischen Kreuz und Halbmond, welche die Türken sehr bezeichnend ‚Dar ol džihad’—Haus der Religionskriege—nannten.”

rulers during their centuries-long “dark” history also contributed to the formation of legends.

Two narrative strands can be found in Kanitz’s works that illustrate the influence of folk poetry on Serbian culture. On the one hand, there is its influence on everyday and ecclesiastical rituals; on the other, there are the mythically charged legends that aimed to prove that the Serbian nation had existed through the centuries. Both strands produced similar receptions in the West. For the first case, Kanitz paints the picture of a family idyll, including the family’s adherence to what were apparently important values. For the second case, he sketches a mosaic of positive-mystical and negative-superstitious narratives that create the notion of a romantic fairy-tale world on the one hand, and backwardness on the other. The folk songs, legends, and stories nourished the Kosovo myth, which was not only instrumentalized by the Serbian establishment, but was also received and reinterpreted in the West and flowed into the historical narrative of Serbia and the Balkans.

THE WORLD OF IMAGES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Felix Kanitz’s first journey to the European Orient was accompanied by the local uprisings against the Ottoman Empire. The Greek War of Independence (1821–1832) and the Serbian uprisings from 1804 to 1813/1815 had already ended. While a monarchy was established in Greece, Serbia was still ruled by Ottoman authorities. At the same time, Russia increasingly presented itself as the protector of the Balkan peoples, and Pan-Slavic ideas and concepts began to spread.³ The Pan-Slavic discourse additionally supported the construction of Europe as a political and social entity,⁴ while the expanding Russian Empire was imagined as Eastern Europe, replacing the Ottoman Empire in the mental East-West map. “The West” re-emerged in the nineteenth century as a result of imperialist ambitions and the conflicts surrounding the “sick man on the Bosphorus.”⁵

It was during this time that reports of renewed uprisings in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro were made. In 1858, Kanitz traveled to Italy for the second time due to his interest in art history, where his attention had been drawn to the battles at the northern edge of the black

³ Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* (Wien: Böhlau, 2000), 199.

⁴ Schmale, *Geschichte Europas*, 93.

⁵ Schmale, *Geschichte Europas*, 161.

mountains. The battles of the “heroic Crnagorcen” had aroused his sympathies, so he decided to see them up close and get to know the country, writes Kanitz in his self-testimony. Based on this statement, there is reason to believe that it was Kanitz himself who made the decision to visit the region in person. With regard to his first publication on European Turkey in the *Leipziger Illustrirte Zeitung*, he noted that for the first time, the land and people of Montenegro were being described in more detail in Europe. “It was a successful throw that made my name known in the widest circles, which also clearly showed me in which direction I had to move from now on With these works, I had truly entered the field of ethnography.”⁶

The *Illustrirte Zeitung* was interested in offering the audience a close experience, a window to the outside world, and above all illustrations—different reports than those already circulating in all the other newspapers. The Slavist Friedhilde Krause once argued that Felix Kanitz discovered Serbia and Bulgaria for the German reading public. Travel descriptions of Montenegro already existed, but through Kanitz’s drawings and his style of description, which provided immediate evidence of the warlike situation in Southeast Europe, the readership of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* received a vivid impression about the people, historical places, costumes, ways of life, and customs of the Montenegrins and also the Turks.⁷ His illustrations and his collaboration with the *Illustrirte Zeitung* inspired Kanitz not only to explore the forgotten areas of Southeast Europe for an interested public, but also to present his observations visually to the audience.

Felix Philipp Kanitz completed a drawing apprenticeship, after which he moved to Vienna in 1847. He started working for the *Illustrirte Zeitung* in 1848, the year of the revolution, although the political events in his own country did not interest him very much, and he did not participate in them.⁸ Kanitz’s way of being involved during that time was to

⁶Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*. Original: “Es war ein gelungener Wurf, der meinen Namen in weitesten Kreisen bekannt machte, der mir zugleich deutlich zeigte nach welcher Richtung ich mich fortan selbst be[wege] und ... zu bewegen hatte. Ich hatte mit diesen Arbeiten das Gebiet der Ethnographie in Wahrheit betreten.”

⁷Friedhilde Krause, “Das Montenegrobild aus dem Jahr 1858/Anfang 1859 von Felix Philipp Kanitz in der Leipziger ‘Illustrierten Zeitung’” *Südost Forschungen* 52, no. 1 (1993): 67. Earlier travel reports on Montenegro by Vuk Karadžić (1837), Heinrich Stieglitz (1841), and Johann Georg Kohl (1851).

⁸Catherine Horel, “Die Familie Kanitz in Óbuda 1829–1848. Ein Kontextualisierungsversuch,” in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 18.

capture these scenes with his pen.⁹ After a few years in Vienna, Kanitz deepened his illustration skills in Munich, Dresden, and Nuremberg before moving back to Vienna in 1856. During these years, he was always working as a reporter and illustrator for the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, which opened up the opportunity for him to publish for a wider audience.

The *Illustrierte Zeitung* had its headquarters in Leipzig, but hired correspondents in Switzerland, Russia, Belgium, Austria, and other countries as well as for specific war scenes, such as in the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866. The newspaper was founded in 1843 as the first German illustrated weekly paper, and it was distributed in Vienna, Budapest, Zurich, Milan, and New York. The paper's Swiss founder, Johann Jakob Weber, copied the concept of the successful *Illustrated London News*,¹⁰ which was founded in 1842 and had a circulation of 41,000 copies in 1843, 57,000 in 1848, and more than 123,000 issues in 1854.¹¹ In comparison, the circulation of the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* was much lower, with 7,500 copies at the end of the first year of publication.¹² However, this number steadily increased in the following years. The only source for these years gives a circulation of 12,500 for 1868 and 22,600 copies for 1897.¹³ Because a comparison between the German and the British market is numerically unfair, the circulations of national German newspapers during this time period can provide a different method of comparison. In 1843, for example, the *Kölnische Zeitung* had a circulation of 17,000 copies.¹⁴ At the beginning of the 1840s, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* had a circulation of about 9,000 copies, while the *Vossische Zeitung* reached a circulation of 20,000 copies in 1847.¹⁵ The circulation of the *Illustrierte Zeitung* was therefore

⁹ Kanitz, *Selbstbiographie*.

¹⁰ Friedhilde Krause, "Zur Prägung des Bulgarienbildes während des Russisch-türkischen Krieges durch die Leipziger 'Illustrierte Zeitung'. Johann Jakob Weber und Felix Philipp Kanitz," in *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 37, no. 3 (1992): 312–315.

¹¹ Graham Law, "The Illustrated London News (1842–1901) and The Graphic (1869–1901)," in *Victorian Fiction Research Guides* (Brighton, 2015), accessed January 26, 2024, <https://victorianfictionresearchguides.org/the-illustrated-london-news-and-the-graphic>.

¹² Krause, "Zur Prägung des Bulgarienbildes," 232.

¹³ Hartwig Gebhardt, "Illustrierte Zeitschriften in Deutschland am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Zur Geschichte einer wenig erforschten Pressegeattung," *Buchhandelsgeschichte* 48, no. 2 (1983): B42.

¹⁴ Konrad Dussel, *Deutsche Tagespresse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: LIT Verlag, 2011), 48.

¹⁵ Jörg Requate, *Journalismus als Beruf. Entstehung und Entwicklung des Journalistenberufs im 19. Jahrhundert. Deutschland im internationalen Vergleich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and

very strong from the beginning, due to the concept of the newspaper. The founder relied on technical innovations, like the imported printing plates used to print the illustrations. By providing readers with images, the paper could achieve not only good circulation numbers but also a high reach despite a relatively high selling price.

However, the popularity of the weekly newspaper cannot be explained only by the circulation numbers. Although the readership that purchased the *Illustrierte Zeitung* came from well-situated milieus, the reading circles were broad at that time. The newspaper issues were delivered bound in a folder to families at home, to restaurants, coffee houses, libraries, hotels, and barber shops, where anyone was free to look at them. Circulation is an important indicator, but the reading circles acted as a multiplier. Therefore, the *Illustrierte Zeitung* must be considered not only as a source of information, but as an entertainment medium that provided images from all over the world, from popular and even unknown places, from exotic and fascinating events, that were made accessible to a wide readership.¹⁶ In the preface to the first bound volume, which included the issues from July to December 1943 and contained 650 illustrations, the editorial staff stated that it was their goal to create a house book for families who enjoy entertainment.¹⁷

The success of the newspaper can, as already mentioned, be attributed to the technical innovations of mass production and image printing.¹⁸ The goal of the *Illustrierte Zeitung* was to create a window to the world through images and to supply the readership with illustrations from every area of the world. Therefore, while it could not provide information with the same quality and topicality as a daily newspaper, according to the publisher, Johann Jakob Weber, what they wanted was to give an overview of current political events. As Weber expressed in the first issue, geography and ethnography, as well as the descriptions of customs, would lack half of

Ruprecht, 1995), 129.

¹⁶Gebhardt, "Illustrierte Zeitschriften," B48-B50; Werner Faulstich, *Medienwandel im Industrie- und Massenzeitalter (1830–1900)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004), 73–75.

¹⁷"Die Redaktion der Illustrierten Zeitung, Vorwort," *Illustrierte Zeitung. Wöchentliche Nachrichten über alle Ereignisse, Zustände und Persönlichkeiten der Gegenwart*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1843).

¹⁸Miroslav Timotijević, "Visuelle Darstellung Serbiens in Werken von Felix Kanitz," in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 93.

their charm without pictorial representation.¹⁹ He had an inclination to collect all interesting information in written as well as pictorial form—a trait he shared with Kanitz, who was primarily interested in ethnographic and cartographic knowledge, which is best represented visually.²⁰ Due to the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Kanitz's work entered the media public on the European Orient and became accessible to a large section of the population; his name was inseparably linked with the exploration of Southeast Europe.

THE SERBIAN NATION AND ITS FOLK SONGS

The European Orient, as the contemporary territorial designation already reveals, was considered an exotic territory and a counter-culture to the Occident. By exoticism I mean the unknown or foreign, other cultures, and the fascination that emanates from them. In their essay “Montenegro als exotischer Raum” (“Montenegro as an Exotic Space”), Jelena Knežević and Ana Minić define it as part of a temporally and/or spatially distant culture, which could be perceived either positively and negatively. They further explain that within their findings on Montenegro, the positively connotated exoticism appears as traditional hospitality or as an honorable way of life, whereas the negative perceptions contain narratives about the customs of warfare.²¹ The two authors examined travel reports from the first half of the nineteenth century, but their results can also be observed in the second half, based on their analysis of works by Felix Philipp Kanitz and his colleagues from the *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft*. Above all, the “ethnographic” reports that Knežević and Minić detected in their sources continued to be a part of German-speaking travel literature and found their way into the media public as well.

One goal of ethnographic work is to gain knowledge about a population's way of life, about their common culture that forms a community. Western scholars associated the population's perceived cultural characteristics, which were described in Chap. 4, with their everyday practices and strategies of social and national cohesion. There was a high expectation of

¹⁹ Johann Jakob Weber in the first issue of the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, July 1, 1843, 1–3.

²⁰ Krause, “Zur Prägung des Bulgarienbildes,” 325.

²¹ Jelena Knežević and Ana Minić, Montenegro als exotischer Raum in deutschsprachigen Reiseberichten in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, in *Ars & Humanitas* 13, no. 2 (2019): 148.

finding exotic cultures in the European Orient. However, Kanitz delivered narratives about Serbian peculiarity through his specific mindset, and started his explanation of Serbian history and culture with the period of Ottoman rule. By doing so, he connected the diverse populations in the European Orient to one homogeneous historiography. Since the separation of European Turkey from Europe, he said, its population had fallen into an “enchanted sleep.” He adopted the notion of a magic sleep from contemporary fairy tales, such as *Dornröschen* (*Sleeping Beauty*),²² which were published in the collection *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children’s and Household Tales*) by the Brothers Grimm. This idea of an “enchanted sleep” is accompanied by the notion of coming to a standstill, and of an awakening with consequences.

According to the Kosovo myth, the Serbs lived through five centuries of Islamic rule (though in reality, Sundhaussen argues that it was only three and a half, because Serbian independence was not fully lost at the battle of Kosovo²³). For Kanitz, this period signified stagnation in all areas of culture. The magnificent inventions and progress that shaped the Occident, he explained, had passed by these countries, which were hermetically sealed off by border and plague cordons, without a trace. For young Serbia, Kanitz continued, the morning of awakening after its “enchanted sleep” had only dawned in the last few decades.²⁴ As mentioned in Chap. 3, Kanitz used the “darkness” or the “dark” age as a metaphor for the five hundred years of foreign occupation. The historical narrative contains the “enchanted sleep,” the subsequent “darkness,” and lastly the “awakening” of the Serbian people.

During the years of darkness, something important happened, which was only revealed to be important after the awakening. Serbian history and its particular traditions were passed on through orally transmitted folk songs and legends. In contrast to many “civilized” nations, the Serbs managed to preserve the oral legacy of their ancestors, so they remained surprisingly familiar with their past.²⁵ This was surprising probably because,

²² Dornröschen. Marmorstatuette von R. Cauer, in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, January 13, 1866, 37.

²³ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 35.

²⁴ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*, Vol. 1, 253. This quote is also published in: Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Serbien. Historisch-ethnographische Reisetudien aus den Jahren 1859–1868* (Leipzig: Fries, 1868), 15.

²⁵ Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart. Staat und Gesellschaft*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig: Meyer, 1914), 738.

from a Western perspective, for centuries the Serbs had no significant, let alone glorious, history of their own. Serbian history as well as progress were considered practically frozen from the Middle Ages onwards, as Kanitz expressed with the metaphor of enchanted sleep.

The oral legacy was collected in the form of folk songs and published by Vuk Karadžić, and it spread very quickly throughout Europe.²⁶ It portrayed Serbian culture and the traditions and rituals as coming from a fairy-tale land. Jacob Grimm, who collected and published fairy tales for a German audience, believed he saw a national background in the traditional folk poetry.²⁷ Suddenly, Serbian history and contemporary traditions were perceived as intertwined and therefore formed a specific national culture of the Serbian population from a Western perspective. Kanitz shared the words of a Serbian writer about it:

If someone asks you: 'What is the Serb like?' you point him to his national songs. This is correct, because they show the Serbs' deepest essence, their thinking, their virtues, their prejudices, their great and small passions and their drives. All songs emerged directly from the people and were preserved in their memory for centuries.²⁸

Serbian folk songs about Kosovo were particularly popular among Western European readers in the nineteenth century.²⁹ The review of the work *Mala prostonarodna slavenoserbska pjesnarica*, published by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in 1814 in Vienna, gained the attention of Jacob

²⁶Jovan Delić, "Die Rezeption des Kosovo-Mythos in Vuks Serbischem Wörterbuch," in: Vuk Karadžić im europäischen Kontext, Heidelberg 1990, ed. Wilfried Potthoff (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990), 32; Milica Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory, The Case of Kosovo," in *Balkan Identities. Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (London: Hurst & Co., 2004), 29–30. John Bowring translated many Serbian poems into English and published them; he dedicated the preface to his friend Vuk Karadžić; see: John Bowring, *Servian Popular Poetry* (London: Davison 1827); in his travel report, Paton referred to Bowring's translation: Paton, *Servia*, 279.

²⁷Jacob Grimm, quoted from: Kanitz, *Serbien*, 73.

²⁸Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 3*, 737–738. Almost the same text in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, 710. Original: "Ein serbischer Schriftsteller meinte: 'Wenn dich jemand fragt: wie ist der Serbe beschaffen? weise ihn an seine Nationallieder.' Dies ist richtig, ... zeigen sie den Serben in seinem tiefinnersten Wesen, in seinem Denken, mit seinen Vorzügen, Vorurteilen, grossen und kleinen Leidenschaften und Trieben. Alle Lieder gingen unmittelbar aus dem Volke hervor und blieben durch Jahrhunderte in seinem Gedächtnis bewahrt."

²⁹Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory," 29–30.

Grimm.³⁰ Grimm's review, which was published in the *Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (*Viennese Literature Magazine*) in 1815,³¹ was based on a handwritten translation by Slovenian Slavist Jernej Kopitar, who lived in Vienna. Starting with Kopitar's leadership, Vienna became the main center of European Slavistics for three generations. Kopitar's successors were Franz Miklosich from Slovenia and then Vatroslav Jagić from Croatia.³² Vuk Karadžić, who participated in the Serbian uprisings, stayed in Vienna after the Serbs' suppression by the Ottoman Empire, where he published several volumes of Serbian folk songs under the title *Narodne srpske pjesme* (*Folk Songs of the Serbs*) from 1823 onwards. These were translated into German by Therese Albertine Luise Robinson, under her pseudonym Talvj, in 1825,³³ at the request of Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who, like Grimm, recommended the reading of Serbian folk songs to the broader German population.³⁴ In addition to the German translations and reviews of Vuk Karadžić's works, Jacob Grimm significantly contributed to the reception of Serbian folk songs throughout Western Europe,³⁵ not least by incorporating their story plots into his own texts.³⁶ Vuk Karadžić's volume *Volksmärchen der Serben* (*Serbian Folktales*), published in German in 1854, contains a foreword by Jacob Grimm, in which he refers to the importance of orally transmitted legends that represent the relationships between Europe and Asia.³⁷ Literary scholar Boris Previšić recognizes, in the admiration for South Slavic literature, a specific function for the German-speaking readership, who lacked a common linguistic space with orally

³⁰ Miljan Mojašević, *Jacob Grimm und die serbische Literatur und Kultur* (Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1990), 47.

³¹ Miodrag Vukić, "Vuk Karadžić zwischen Grimm und Goethe. Eine Skizze ihrer Wechselwirkung und Freundschaft," in: *Vuk Karadžić im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Wilfried Potthoff (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990), 139. Jacob Grimm himself translated the Serbian national songs into German: *ibid.*, 134.

³² Miljan Mojašević, *Jacob Grimm und die serbische Literatur und Kultur*, 29–31.

³³ Talvj [Therese Albertine Luise Robinson], *Volkslieder der Serben* (Halle: Renger, 1825).

³⁴ Talvj, *Volkslieder der Serben*, 45–46. Since the end of the eighteenth century, Goethe had been an admirer of Serbian folk/national poetry: Previšić, *Literatur topographiert. Der Balkan und die postjugoslawischen Kriege im Fadenkreuz des Erzählens* (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2014), 34.

³⁵ Vukić, "Vuk Karadžić zwischen Grimm und Goethe," 134; Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*, 51–52.

³⁶ Vukić, "Vuk Karadžić zwischen Grimm und Goethe," 140. Vukić argues that Vuk brought Grimm raw material from Serbia, which Grimm used in his works. Grimm learned Serbian so he could understand what Vuk gave him.

³⁷ Mojašević, "Jacob Grimm und die serbische Literatur und Kultur," 133–134.

transmitted stories/histories; their “Slavic idealization” along with encountering a “living cultural archive” offered them such a utopian space. This space mixed cultural outcomes from the Orient and the Occident, or the ancient period with modern times.³⁸ The Western fascination with the living cultural archive stemmed from the constant presence of the past, which allowed spaces and borders as well as epochs to overlap. This perception shaped the description of Serbian culture not only in Kanitz’s works, but also in the works of British Balkan researcher Mary Edith Durham, who projected two time horizons onto the areas in Southeast Europe. Her narratives of an *Old World* and a *New World* described the simultaneous existence of non-simultaneities in the European Orient.

As Felix Philipp Kanitz put it, the folk songs and legends came from the ancestors of the European Orient’s population, and they continued to enliven the minds of the Serbs.³⁹ Mainly, these were stories that originated in medieval times, as Kanitz had been told. This is not a coincidence, because he often included visits to monasteries or churches in his journeys, where he met men who told him the (medieval) founding history of the buildings as a glorious legend.⁴⁰ In addition to these stories, there were the tales of heroes, which also found expression in the folk songs and were understood by Kanitz as a national heritage. After his visit to the Ravanica monastery near Čuprija, he came back with important information regarding Serbian national heroes. From his perspective, three great names were closely linked with the downfall of the old Serbian empire and were much sung about in the Balkans. The first name was Tsar Lazar, who lost not only his empire, but also his life in the Battle of Kosovo. The second name was Miloš Obilić, Lazar’s son-in-law, who murdered Sultan Murad the same day. The third is the less glorious Vuk Branković, who fought alongside Lazar with his troops, but in the end betrayed him.⁴¹ Based on stories like these, on the collections by Vuk Karadžić, on his own experiences and self-understanding as a scholar, the Serbian nation already existed for Kanitz during his travels, even though the borders of the Serbian territory and the Serbian population were not clearly definable.

³⁸ Previšić, *Literatur topographiert*, 34.

³⁹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 738.

⁴⁰ Jacob Grimm, quoted from: Kanitz, *Serbien*, 73.

⁴¹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 277.

Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, Serbian political parties discussed and planned the expansion of Serbian territory to include the adjacent Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian-speaking areas.⁴² The Kingdom of Serbia intensified its attempts to promote a national consciousness and to adorn the nation of Serbs with history and a glorious past and promising future, as evidenced by the political instrumentalization of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo.⁴³ The Serbian Foreign Minister, Čedomil Mijatović, gave a speech in 1889 on the occasion of the anniversary of June 28, 1389:

The new history of Serbia begins with Kosovo—a history of valiant efforts, long suffering, endless wars, and unquenchable glory ... Karadjordje breathed with the breath of Kosovo, and the Obrenovići placed Kosovo in the coat of arms of their dynasty. We bless Kosovo because the memory of the Kosovo heroes upheld us, encouraged us, taught us, and guided us.⁴⁴

This quote illustrates that in addition to the state of Serbia there was also “the mental Serbia, the Serbia in the minds,” as Holm Sundhaussen describes it, “the discrepancy between Serbia as imagination and Serbia as state reality,” which had shaped its history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴⁵ This discrepancy was found both within the Serbian political elite, who led the state, and among the European Great Powers according to their own national aspirations. Thus, it is no surprise that different narratives and ideas about the Kingdom of Serbia and about Kosovo were circulating in the West. Kosovo, with its powerful and diverse structure, endorsed the constant Orientalization of Serbia well into the twentieth century.

⁴²Other concepts in contrast to Greater Serbia also existed: Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 125.

⁴³Tim Judah, *The Serbs. History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), 68.

⁴⁴Thomas A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha. Kosovo, 1389* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 129.

⁴⁵Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 15.

THE FAMILY IDYLL

Felix Philipp Kanitz not only emphasized the importance of Serbian folk poetry, passed down from generation to generation, but also intertwined the contents of these tales with typical ways of life of the Serbian population, which he himself observed. The patriarchy was for a long time a central foundation of family life. Kanitz idealized the strong Serbian family cohesion, which he saw as dwindling in Western Europe. The traditional songs contained clear male–female relationships, describing not only heroic deeds and legends, but also everyday cultural, mostly religious or religious-seeming rituals, which structured the lives and the different tasks of Serbian men and women. The patriarchal family structure in Serbia was accompanied by the *Zadruga*, which represented a hierarchical order through which women were constantly discriminated against.⁴⁶ Kanitz translated the term *Zadruga* as “household community.” He did not perceive the *Zadruga* as a system discriminating against women or children, because it granted them rights. According to his understanding, the commonwealth was at the forefront of the *Zadruga*.⁴⁷ Kanitz positioned himself on the side of the patriarchal system, not addressing the contemporary women’s rights movements among social democrats in Western Europe. He considered the role of the woman as housewife and field worker to be very appropriate.⁴⁸ The *Zadruga*, said Kanitz, ensured full equality in terms of property, and a balanced life together based on subordination to the administrative leadership of the man of the house.⁴⁹ The male head of a *Zadruga*, the *Starješina*,⁵⁰ also had jurisdiction over the members of the community (Fig. 5.2).⁵¹

It was important to Kanitz to describe the structure of the *Zadruga* in detail, such as inheritance and marriage as well as agricultural and land laws.⁵² He compared the idyllic situation he saw in Serbia with the progressive countries in the West. The “modern industrial politicians” would “like to see every country ... covered with a multitude of smoky factory chimneys.” They perceived the *Zadruga* as “hostile to civilization,” a view

⁴⁶ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 150.

⁴⁷ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 80; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 72.

⁴⁸ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 81.

⁴⁹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 83; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 72–73.

⁵⁰ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 79; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 74.

⁵¹ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 157–158.

⁵² Kanitz, *Serbien*, 79–81.



Fig. 5.2 “Court Scene.” (In Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 77 and in *Serbia*, plate inserted between pages 244 and 245. Public Domain)

he vehemently contradicted.⁵³ In this judgment, which criticized younger (even Serbian) statesmen who were influenced by French theorists, Kanitz’s conservative middle-class attitude becomes clear. He accused social-democratic politicians of dissolving family ties in Western Europe and idealized the system of the *Zadruga*. He also relied on contemporary ethnographer Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, who called for a return to the estate order and especially for the reintroduction of a strong peasant class.⁵⁴

Kanitz appreciated Riehl’s theories about a healthy society. Kanitz openly opposed the demands to assess taxes that would finance

⁵³ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 83–84; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 72. Original: “moderne Industrialpolitiker, welche ... am liebsten jedes Land, ... mit einer Unzahl rauchiger Fabriksschlote bedeckt sehen möchte; civilisationsfeindlich.”

⁵⁴ Helmut Eberhart, “‘Mit der Bitte um Nachsicht, Ihr Hanns Koren’. Gedanken zu den wissenschaftlichen Wurzeln seiner Kulturpolitik,” in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 110, no. 1 (2007): 39.

orphanages as well as care facilities, which he said would only create overloaded detention centers due to the increasing loss of family structure. In his arguments for preserving the concept of the nuclear family, he underlined Riehl's statements about the importance of national cardinal virtues.⁵⁵ "The nations themselves fall into ruins once their cardinal virtues fall," he believed. The abandonment of these virtues would diminish the entire character of the nation, its central cultural power. "The decay of the household community also immediately drags the state laws with it."⁵⁶ Based on the arguments by Riehl, who must have been a role model for Kanitz in the field of ethnography, Kanitz described the *Zadruga* as a positive foundation of the Serbian state. He saw in the *Zadruga* the ideal of a healthy family, in which a conservative division of labor among the genders was defined. As long as this system could be maintained, Serbia was for Kanitz a perfect world, although he desired the emerging kingdom to progress further in political, scientific, and technical fields.

The idealization of the *Zadruga* must be seen against the background of the conditions in Austria, where this progress (from which Kanitz also had benefited) had (in tiny steps) begun. Kanitz was not the only one who struggled with the accompanying changed gender roles. In the European metropolises, the political discourse about women's rights triggered reactionary attitudes within conservative circles.⁵⁷ Kanitz feared similar developments for Serbia, when the first signs of "individual systems" that would displace the *Zadruga* became visible there as well. He did not agree with the establishment of numerous taverns and factories that would support gender equality; especially in factories, both sexes were allowed to work.⁵⁸ This attitude contradicted his support for the construction of railways, which he saw as a way for Serbia to catch up with Europe, and the development of trade routes for Austria-Hungary. As long as it served the economic interests of Austria-Hungary, industrialization and the accompanying social upheavals were acceptable; so the notion of the idyllic family, which probably had never truly existed, remained a comforting fantasy. The *Zadruga* was increasingly displaced, much to Kanitz's and probably also to

⁵⁵ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 84–85; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 73–74.

⁵⁶ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 85. Original: "Die Nationen selber fallen in Trümmer, wenn einmal ihre Kardinalsitten fallen, ... Der Verfall des Hausregiments reisst auch das Staatsregiment unmittelbar mit sich fort."

⁵⁷ Philipp Blom, *The Vertigo Years. Change and Culture in the West, 1900–1914*, Toronto: Emblem, 2014, 21–22 42–43.

⁵⁸ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 75.

the publisher Jovanović's incomprehension, as discussed in the second volume from 1909 and especially in the third volume from 1914 of *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*.⁵⁹ Kanitz's attachment to the notion of an idyllic family is particularly interesting as he was not married and never started a family of his own.

Parallel to the image of the hot-blooded and capable Serbian man, Kanitz draws that of the submissive Serbian woman. His descriptions of the family structure deepen the impression of the dependent and hard-working Serbian women. Their diligence is emphasized in many places.⁶⁰ Based on Kanitz's drawings, which reveal the interior of typical dwellings in the Balkans, the readership had to conclude that the rural population lived very modestly. A fireplace could often be seen, over which a pot hung, as well as seating and sleeping areas. In the illustrations that include people, the woman often takes care of the fire or the contents of the pot, while the man sits or lies comfortably and smokes. The children are also held in the women's arms.⁶¹ Comforting children, cooking or preparing meals, doing the household chores—based on Kanitz's cultural background, he found it logical that these duties were for women. What was special about women in Serbia?

For a deeper understanding of women's positions within Serbian communities, Kanitz's illustrations of traditional celebrations are important. Despite the illustrations' mystical touch, more specific gender roles can still be observed. The illustration of the Slava celebration, for instance, shows the subordinate role of the women, who had to stand behind the men in the second row. In his explanations of Serbian holidays and the associated customs and rituals, Kanitz always referred to the specific tasks for men and women. At the Slava festival (Fig. 5.3), for example, toasts were made for the well-being of the men, while women were not mentioned at all. He interpreted this observation as characteristic of women's social status in Serbia. At the Sveti-Metod festival, the baptismal celebration for Orthodox believers, on the other hand, a relaxed and joyful community can be seen (Fig. 5.4). The clothing and styling of the celebrants take the viewers into another, possibly Oriental, world. The surroundings in nature contribute to an interpretation of the country and the people of Serbia as an untouched idyll, where the negative sides of progress have not

⁵⁹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 429.

⁶⁰ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 351 and 440.

⁶¹ Illustrations by Kanitz: "Im Kmetenhause zu Maglič," in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, plate between the pages 174–175; "Küche mit Schlafstelle," in: *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 56; "Inneres eines montenegrinischen Hauses," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 28, 858, 137.



Fig. 5.3 Slava Celebration. (In Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 101 and in *Serbia*, plate between pages 262 and 264)

yet found their way in. To some extent, this idea corresponded to the actual circumstances. The Principality of Serbia was, especially in rural areas, hardly or not at all industrialized, which is why environmental pollution had so far been absent.⁶²

The sacred bond of sister and brother is carried by the intimate love of a sister for her brother, Kanitz explained; the brother's deeds of glory made his sister proud, and he was her protector. The sister-brother relationship is another important part of the Serbian belief system, which not only includes Orthodox Church elements, but also elements of pre-confessional paganism, Kanitz believed.⁶³ Without a brother, Kanitz concluded, there was no happy girl/no happy woman, based on the Serbian

⁶²Đorđe S. Kostić, "Jeder Reisende sehnt sich nach Stärkung und Erquickung," in *Balkanbilder von Felix Kanitz. Slike sa Balkana Feliksa Kanica*, ed. Đorđe S. Kostić (Belgrad: Nationalmuseum, 2011), 49.

⁶³Kanitz, *Serbien*, 527–528.

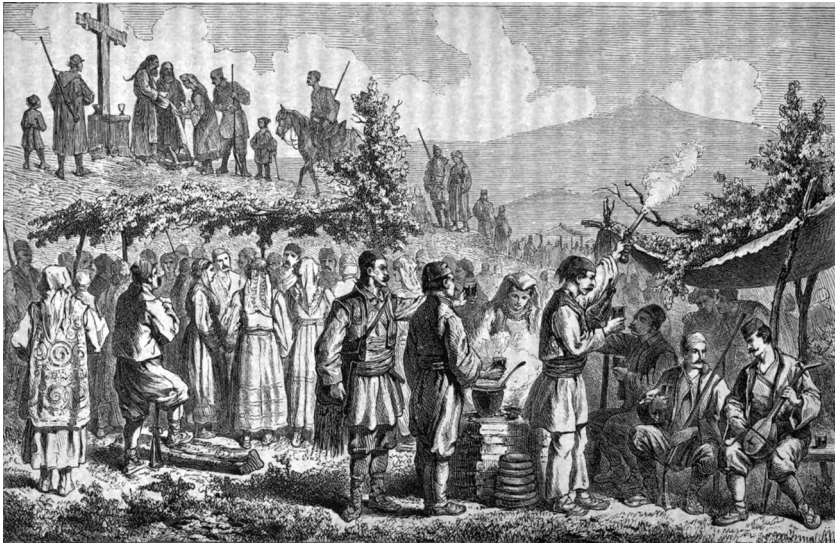


Fig. 5.4 “Sveti-Methud Festival.” (In Kanitz, *Serbia*, plate inserted between pages 232 and 233. Public Domain)

culture he observed.⁶⁴ Again, the romanticized image of the woman who loves the man unconditionally reflects the changing gender relations in Austria and Europe.

THE RUDE AWAKENING

One night, Kanitz said, he dreamed of magical events that had taken place during his stay in Serbia. Only at the end of the paragraph on this event did he reveal that he was describing a dream about “a magical Pentecost.”⁶⁵ The background of the dream was a Serbian tradition suppressed by the church, a festival that had once been celebrated as an homage to nature spirits. Kanitz recognized the Serbian population’s connection with

⁶⁴ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 527–528; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 75.

⁶⁵ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 78–79.

nature, but the superstitious attitude now had to give way to a scientifically founded one, in his opinion. Nevertheless, it unconsciously fulfilled his expectations about this exotic space. On his journeys, he discovered a popular belief in vampires and in evil spirits that took the form of animals.⁶⁶ Also, Serbian women and men were fearful of photographic images, which is why some Skupština deputies in 1864 in Belgrade did not allow themselves to be photographed. The “tendency towards superstition” and various prejudices often hindered Kanitz’s studies, as he remarked,⁶⁷ and Mary Edith Durham experienced similar hindrances.

Although Kanitz was often not convinced by these beliefs, he also enjoyed the stories and legends he had been told, and reproduced many of them in his works. The folk or national songs remained the “only source of history” that Kanitz was aware of, which is why almost every chapter mentions the *Gusle*, the traditional Serbian (South Slavic) accompanying instrument.⁶⁸ It is mentioned as often as the Serbs’ alleged love of weapons. Weapons and the *Gusle* seem to be the two objects that an authentic Serb carries with him or hangs visibly on the wall at home for decoration purposes.⁶⁹ Kanitz’s friend, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, was a collector of Serbian folk songs. Karadžić, who is also considered the founder of the Serbian standard language, sorted the songs by content, resulting in four volumes: *I. Women’s songs*, *II. Heroic songs*, *III. Songs from the Middle Ages*, and finally *IV. Songs from Montenegro*. Initially, they were divided into women’s and heroic songs, with the former being songs not about women, but about love and all subgenres of lyrical poetry.⁷⁰ Vuk Karadžić discovered these folk songs both through his participation in the Serbian uprisings and as transmissions from former generations. For him, preserving the folk songs primarily represented a national pillar of Serbian history. Through them, he pursued political ambitions in the Serbian uprisings for freedom against the Ottoman Empire. The linguistic and political reforms

⁶⁶Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 105.

⁶⁷Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 258.

⁶⁸Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 738.

⁶⁹Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 735. This quote is very similar in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, 72.

⁷⁰Đorđe S. Kostić, “Vuk Karadžić und die deutsche literaturwissenschaftliche Terminologie,” in: Vuk Karadžić im europäischen Kontext, ed. Wilfried Potthoff (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990), 66. Vuk Karadžić did not distinguish between song and poem, or between spoken and sung poetry: Kostić, “Vuk Karadžić,” 65.

driven by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić ran parallel to one another,⁷¹ so it can be stated:

Kosovo became intimately tied to the life of an entire people which was gradually becoming aware of itself as a nation in the context of other European nations and aspiring to define itself as one, in counter-distinction to wretched 'raja' (*rayah*) of the Ottoman Empire.⁷²

As the Serbian literary scholar Jovan Delić explains, the Kosovo myth and the narratives associated with it are central themes in Vuk Karadžić's work. Karadžić even divided the folk songs into a pre-Kosovo cycle, Kosovo cycle, and post-Kosovo cycle. The pre-Kosovo cycle thematizes the premonition of defeat, the Kosovo cycle the defeat, and the post-Kosovo cycle intones lamentations and keeps memories of heroic deeds alive.⁷³ The folk songs thus provided a periodization of Serbian history⁷⁴ that still holds today.⁷⁵ They were each created shortly after the events they commemorated, concluded Kanitz.⁷⁶ In the last volume of *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, the chapter "Sage, Volks- und Kunstpoesie, Gesang, Musik und Theater" ("Legend, Folk and Art Poetry, Song, Music and Theater") was added. In it, Kanitz identified the main motif of the Serbian folk or national songs: the population was driven by a dominating desire to avenge the oppressed.⁷⁷ The Kosovo myth, circulated through Serbian folk songs, mobilized the Serbian population against the Ottoman "foreign rule," then catalyzed the Serbian uprisings in 1904–1913, and the story of the uprisings was then added to the myth.⁷⁸ Behind the term Kosovo, depending on the perspective, there were numerous levels of meaning; however, it rarely referred to the precisely defined geographic terrain. Rather, the term Kosovo itself was elevated to a myth, a fairy tale

⁷¹ Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory," 31.

⁷² Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory," 34.

⁷³ Delić, "Die Rezeption des Kosovo-Mythos in Vuks Serbischem Wörterbuch," 31–33.

⁷⁴ Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory," 31.

⁷⁵ Sundhaussen, "Europa balcanica."

⁷⁶ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 738. The national songs were performed by singers at the Serbian court: Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory," 29.

⁷⁷ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 739.

⁷⁸ Wolfgang Pensold et al., *Gemeinsame Geschichte? Ein Jahrhundert serbischer und österreichischer Mythen* (Innsbruck Wien Bozen: Studienverlag, 2015, 16–17.

that was passed on from generation to generation and which in the current version could not have an end.⁷⁹

In almost every chapter of Kanitz's books, which are organized by travel route and by places visited, the readers are reminded of topics in the pre-Kosovo, Kosovo, or post-Kosovo cycle. Rightly so, according to Kanitz, because "here, too, the legend-loving Serbian people have traditions that are mostly tied to its numerous castle and church ruins from the time of 'Tsar Lazar'" The stories had certainly changed over the centuries, but Kanitz did not doubt that they still contained an actual core.⁸⁰ The legends usually took place either around church or monastery buildings that had been dedicated to a hero, or told of a battle that took place around the fortresses Kanitz visited. In other words, they were strongly tied to locations. In his second art history book, published in 1864, Kanitz emphasizes the importance of documentation and the study of old and new Serbian churches. These monuments gained increased value, he said, because of the loss of the Serbs' own national cultural-historical sources; they provided a testimony.⁸¹ The ruins from the Middle Ages had become a media platform that told nationality-forming and identity-forming stories from the time of an independent Serbia.

And when after the day of disaster at Kosovo all the fortresses wavered, it was again these consecrated places which in the deep darkness of the forest propagated the traditions of former greatness and, supported by the mysterious pomp of the Greek cult, preserved the nation from conversion to Islam.⁸²

Visiting the medieval buildings around which many of these stories revolved seemed to Kanitz the best way to understand Serbian culture. This approach was in line with the trend of the time. Documenting and

⁷⁹ According to: Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 8: "Modern nostalgia is a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values."

⁸⁰ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 220. Original: "das sagenliebende Serbenvolk besitzt auch hier Traditionen, die sich meist an seine zahlreichen Schloss- und Kirchenruinen aus der Zeit des 'Zaren Lazar'...."

⁸¹ Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Über alt- und neuerbische Kirchenbaukunst. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864), 3–4.

⁸² Felix Kanitz, *Serbiens byzantinische Monumente* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1862), 5–6. Original: "Und als nach dem Unglückstage von Kossowo alle Festen wankten, da waren es wieder diese geweihten Stätten, welche im tiefen Waldesdunkel die Traditionen von einstiger Grösse fortpflanzten und, unterstützt von dem mysteriösen Pompe des griechischen Cultus, die Nation vor dem Übertritte zum Islam bewahrten."

publishing evidence from the Middle Ages was widespread practice in Germany during Kanitz's period of research, since Germany was in the phase of nation-building. The central motivation of the Brothers Grimm for collecting and publishing fairy tales was to create a German "folkdom" based on German "antiquity." The Brothers Grimm also took the "mythically transfigured past" as an inspiration to consolidate new, identity-forming narratives. So that the originality of the original source was not lost, Jacob Grimm deliberately used a folkloric writing style and simple language.⁸³ Jacob Grimm's admiration for the collector of Serbian folk songs, Vuk Karadžić, can be read within this context.

Another connection can be drawn between some of Kanitz's illustrations and the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm: the temporal anchoring of objects. The fairy-tale illustrations in the Grimms' books stemmed from a medieval world of imagination (Fig. 5.5), while the castle and fortress ruins drawn by Kanitz also originated in the Middle Ages. There are several pictures by Kanitz that have thematic and stylistic similarities to his drawing of the medieval castle Užice.⁸⁴ Andrew Archibald Paton, before Kanitz, had already described the Užice fortress as a space that could be the source of forgotten stories.⁸⁵ Kanitz and the fairy-tale illustrations also have in common a simplicity in their presentation style and the often sparse construction of houses in villages and in forests.⁸⁶

The legend of Tsar Trojan, who had three heads and wings and who ruled over Serbia and the "Swabian land" during Roman times, was one of Kanitz's favorite stories.⁸⁷ It had a fairy-tale aspect because of the supernatural events, and it was also a love story, since Trojan could fly to his distant lover at night thanks to his wings. Even the pictorial representation, which captures the scene as the legend is told (Fig. 5.6), appears fairy tale-like due to the idyllic surroundings of the forest. Some of the depicted garments suggest that the people are from foreign counties. In particular,

⁸³ Regina Freyberger, *Märchenbilder—Bildermärchen: Illustrationen zu Grimms Märchen, 1819–1945. Über einen vergessenen Bereich deutscher Kunst* (Oberhausen: Athena, 2009), 39–43.

⁸⁴ Illustrations by Kanitz: "Die Festung Soko," in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, plate between pages 110 and 111; "Schloss Rama," in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, 405; "Zabljak am Skutarisee," in: *Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 28, 1858, 137.

⁸⁵ Paton, *Servia*, 167–168.

⁸⁶ Freyberger, *Märchenbilder*, 170–173.

⁸⁷ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 73; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*, 361.



Fig. 5.5 The Medieval Castle Užice. (In *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Jan. 11, 1862, 24. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

the dresses of the two women did not correspond to Western fashion. The headgear of the male figures was not only outdated, but also came from the Oriental tradition. This picture combines the narratives of the family idyll (as also emerges from the following quote) with those of the Serbian fairy-tale world, which had only recently awoken from the “enchanted sleep” and only knew of its past through traditional folk songs.

The evening finds the family ... around the large fireplace ... the small lively children play at the feet of the parents or ask the grandfather to tell them about Car Trojan or Marko Kraljević. Then probably the Starjesina or one of the other men takes the Gusle ... from the wall. Its accompanying monotonous tones echo through the vast space. The legends are followed by heroic songs and those which in fiery language tell of the former distress of the homeland and glorify its liberation struggles. Thus, the house of the Starjesina becomes the cozy gathering point of the whole family. At his hearth, the love of the individual for the old traditions of the family and the



Fig. 5.6 Trojanovgrad. Gathering to listen to the story of the “Trojan Legend.” (In Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. I, 365 and in *Serbia*, Plate inserted between pages 74 and 75. Public Domain)

people is kindled, and the brightly blazing enthusiasm of the whole for freedom and the welfare of the fatherland.⁸⁸

The legend of Jerina was one of the few about a woman, possibly the only one that Kanitz was told. The female main character is reminiscent of the “evil witch” in Grimms’ fairy tales. Jerina was the wife of Đurađ

⁸⁸Kanitz, *Serbien*, 81. Original: “Der Abend findet die Familie ... um die grosse Feuerstelle ... die kleinen muntern Sprösslinge spielen zu den Füßen der Eltern oder bitten den Grossvater ihnen von Car Trojan oder Marko Kraljević zu erzählen. Dann nimmt wohl der Starjesina oder einer der anderen Männer die mit einer Saite bespannte Gusle ... von der Wand. Ihre begleitenden monotonen Töne hallen durch den weiten Raum. Den Sagen folgen Heldenlieder und solche, welche in feuriger Sprache die einstige Noth des Vaterlandes erzählen und seine Befreiungskämpfe verherrlichen. So wird das Haus des Starjesina zum gemüthlichen Sammelpunkte der ganzen Familie. An seinem Heerde [sic!] entzündet sich die Liebe des Einzelnen für die alten Traditionen der Familie und des Volkes, und die hellodernde Begeisterung der Gesammtheit für Freiheit und Vaterlandswohl.”

Branković. She went down in Serbian history as the “cursed princess” and was very unpopular.⁸⁹ She was still referred to as the “evil Jerina” or “despot” at the time when Kanitz did his research. According to legend, she had several fortresses built and treated the workers like slaves. Jerina was referred to as a “Greek,” which was also interpreted negatively.⁹⁰

Her stories were contrasted with the stories about heroes of the Serbian uprisings, foremost Kara Đorđe (“Black George”) and Miloš Obrenović. These two men of low origin founded the ruling dynasties—Serbia was alternately ruled by the Karađorđević and the Obrenović dynasty. Miloš had his opponent Kara Đorđe murdered when George returned to Serbia after initially fleeing to Austrian soil. Kanitz noted that the two men were very different, but one thing connected them: their “deep-rooted hatred against the Turks” and their “burning desire to see their common homeland independent, powerful and happy!”⁹¹ Insofar as Kanitz, as a newspaper illustrator, recorded the current events in the Balkans beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, his illustrations can be seen as an attempt to present exactly this vision.

In addition to illustrations of battles and the battle-ready Serbian population, Kanitz also offered pictorial representations of important achievements, which were printed in large format (plates) in the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, and which tell their own historical narrative. One example is a drawing of the Serbian population celebrating important decisions by the Serbian *Skupština* (National Assembly) in 1861 (Fig. 5.7). The *Illustrirte Zeitung* reported on the significant event for Serbia—after all, it was moving toward consolidation of the principality. The weekly paper saw the decision to form a national militia as very positive and progressive. It would give Serbia the power to intervene in events around the Oriental question, explained a journalist who contributed a textual report.⁹² Serbia, located on the periphery of Europe, could then buffer threats from the outside. The illustrations by Felix Philipp Kanitz, who provided only visual material and no text for this issue, carry their own message. Drawing on the tradition of historical painting, the illustrator sought to visualize a

⁸⁹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 220 and 436.

⁹⁰ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 132, 446, 460, 567, and 631.

⁹¹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 329–330. Original: “tiefgewurzelte Hasse gegen das Türkentum [und das] glühende Verlangen, ihr gemeinsames Vaterland unabhängig, mächtig und glücklich zu sehen!”

⁹² “Der Schluss der serbischen Skupschtina” in: *Illustrirte Zeitung*, September 28, 1861, 222.

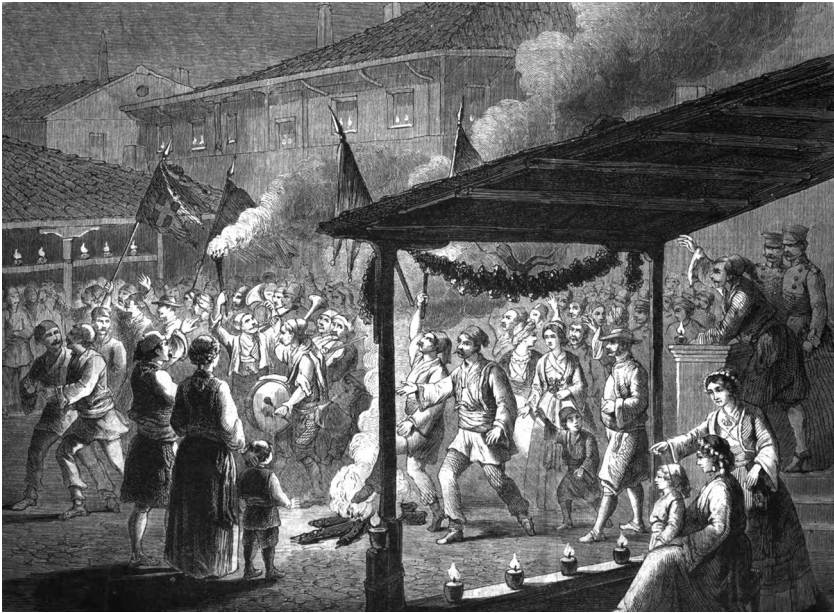


Fig. 5.7 Celebration in honor of the conclusion of the “Serbian Skupschtina in Kragujevatz.” (In *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Sept. 28, 1861, 221. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

narrative that would represent a historical event and at the same time hold a statement for the present (see Figs. 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9).⁹³

While Kanitz’s fairy-tale illustrations alluded to the old, glorious times of Serbia, his history paintings were forward-looking in their contemporary references and thus politically significant. The Montenegrin victory celebration after the Battle of Grahova in 1858 is a clear message to Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire, namely that the country’s independence would be maintained in battle. The situation in Kragujevac was similar: the political concerns of their own country were also negotiated and confirmed there. With this attitude, Montenegro and Serbia were

⁹³Thomas Kirchner, “Historienbild,” in *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie. Vol. 1*, Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke, and Hendrik Ziegler, eds. (München: C. H. Beck, 2011), 505–507.

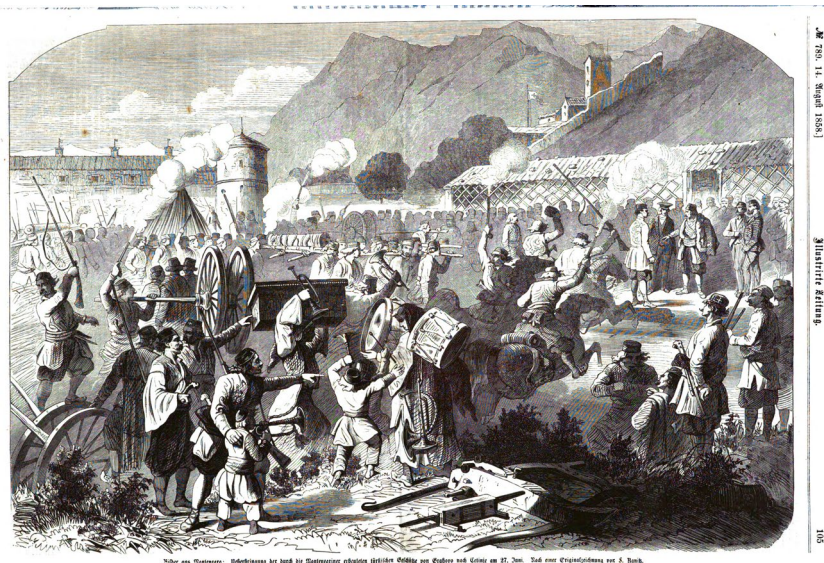


Fig. 5.8 Victorious Montenegrin troops returning home. (In *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Aug. 14, 1858, 105. Source: ANNO/Austrian National Library)

already striving to follow Western European model nations, signaling the sovereignty and independence of their own nation-state. Moving scenes with a multitude of soldiers and horses had to be depicted, with the battle in full swing; the backdrop, weapons, and uniforms had to be historically accurate. The illustrations are sources of information about current events in the Balkans and must convey more than just the joyful outcome of an event for the newspaper and its readers. They carry emotions and tell national or founding myths, so the illustrators planned them in great detail, with the purpose of recording an event to show a turning point in history or a glimpse into the future. Battle scenes in particular, due to their complexity, represented the pinnacle of history painting. The painters wanted to tell a heroic story, depicting spiritual and mental moods in a composition of space and time.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Elke Anna Werner, "Schlachtenbild," in *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*. Vol. 2, Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke, and Hendrik Ziegler, eds. (München: C. H. Beck, 2011), 335–336.

In addition, the lifestyles of the Serbian population can be recognized from the illustrations, represented by traditional costumes, musical instruments, flags, and fired salutes. The surroundings also reveal a lot about the *terra incognita*. In Fig. 5.8, the mountains are where fortresses are built. A watchtower can also be seen, indispensable for independent Montenegro amidst the neighboring Turkish territories. In the battle scene, a fighter is depicted holding up the severed head of an enemy (Fig. 5.9).

Kanitz's history paintings convey a central and persistent narrative about Serbia: since awakening from their "enchanted sleep" and returning to the current reality of Europe, the Serbian/Montenegrin population had successfully fought for their freedom. To do so, the Serbian nation, which had been emerging since the middle of the nineteenth century, had to catch up with the European countries, as already depicted in some details of the illustrations. The historian Sundhaussen argues that the Serbian nation did not technically *awaken*, because it did not exist before; nor was it *invented*, because the elements for constructing a nation, such as a common language and history, already existed.⁹⁵ Kanitz's narratives served as a political myth with a different function: they provided guidance for action and transferred the responsibility to the European Great Powers for ensuring that future developments in the young Kingdom of Serbia would be guided in a Western direction.

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⁹⁵Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 120.

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CHAPTER 6

The “Stepchild” of the European Family: Emancipation and Democratization Processes in Serbia

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Abstract A major reason for Kanitz’s travels to Serbia and his extensive work on books and drawings for the German media public was his effort to give Serbia an image that could be connected to Europe. Of course, this attempt must be interpreted before the background of the Habsburg’s expansion plans and policy of colonialization. Nevertheless, with his positive portrayal of the Kingdom of Serbia, Felix Philipp Kanitz drew divergent narratives of the Balkans, as this chapter highlights, that contained political alternatives. The democratic and emancipatory potentials of the Balkan Peninsula already indicated a rapprochement between Europe and Southeast Europe beginning in the early twentieth century. The assassination of Serbian King Aleksandar I Obrenović in 1903 gave rise to alternative transatlantic narratives about the Balkans. The “regicide” was framed in US public discourse as a rejection of tyranny and a chance for Serbia’s democratic renewal, emphasising the Balkans’ ties to Western

values. The US media presented Serbian rulers, including Petar I, as legitimate and modern figures, in contrast to European representations of the region as semi-Oriental and backward. Serbia was seen as a free, Christian nation and a beacon of democracy in the Balkans.

Keywords Western democratization • Emancipation • Political alternatives • Alternative Balkan narratives • Transatlantic Balkan narratives • Roman heritage

In Soko, near Šabac and the Serbian-Turkish or Serbian-Bosnian border, Felix Kanitz met a Kmet. The term “Kmet” referred to a peasant who had to pay taxes and provide services to a landlord.¹ One of Kanitz’s travel companions explained to the Kmet that the Western traveler had come to learn about the local customs, traditions, and conditions of the country, with the aim of spreading more accurate views about Serbia and its people in Europe. The older Kmet thanked Kanitz most warmly and politely.²

Felix Philipp Kanitz liked to see himself in this light, and he gladly accepted the support of the Serbian princes and kings who also wanted to see their country better represented in Europe. A major reason for Kanitz’s travels to Serbia and his extensive work on books and drawings for the German media public was his effort to give Serbia an image that could be connected to Europe. This attempt must be interpreted before the background of the Habsburg’s expansion plans and policy of colonialization. Nevertheless, with his positive portrayal of the Kingdom of Serbia, Felix Philipp Kanitz drew divergent narratives of the Balkans, as this chapter highlights, that contained political alternatives. The democratic and emancipatory potentials of the Balkan Peninsula already indicated a rapprochement between Europe and Southeast Europe beginning in the early nineteenth century. This becomes particularly visible in his three-volume work, which, in addition to the texts from the 1868 book, contains new passages reporting on the progress of the Kingdom of Serbia in recent decades. His drawings in the posthumously published volumes of 1904, 1909, and 1914 testify to Kanitz’s, or the editors’, attempts to show the

¹ Srećko M. Džaja, “Kmeten,” in *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, eds. Holm Sundhussen and Konrad Clewing (Vienna Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 492.

² Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 419.

Western or European influence in Serbia.³ It should be noted that Kanitz knew about the revised new edition of his work *Serbia* and worked on it before his death. Hence, it is no surprise that in the first volume of *Serbia* the development of the royal city of Belgrade was particularly highlighted through his recent illustrations (Fig. 6.1).⁴

MOESIA SUPERIOR

Felix Philipp Kanitz was tirelessly searching for a centuries-long Western or non-Ottoman/Turkish influence in Serbia during his travels. In particular, his first monographs in the early 1860s were dominated by his interest in the region's Roman and Byzantine heritage, when he was still mainly focused on art history-related studies.⁵ He often referred to his destination as “Danube-Moesia” or “Upper Moesia,” both territorial designations from Ancient Rome. After all, the name “Serbia” had fallen into oblivion in Europe and appeared in the English-speaking public for a long

³ Illustrations in Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*: “Loznica, Neuer Stadtteil,” 381; “Topčider, Miloš-Konak,” 105; “Majdanpek, Das Schmelzwerk (1861)” & “Ansichten aus letzter Zeit,” 244; “Kragujevac, Gebäude für Modell-Dreherei und Zeichensäle im K. Arsenal (1897),” 305; “Vračevšnica, Klosterhof und die Obrenović-Gruftkirche, 1888,” 325; “Kragujevac. Stadt und Arsenal vom Mečibrdo, 1897” & “Arsenalkirche und projektierte neuer Turm, 1898” & “Gymnasium, 1898” & “Marienkirche 1898,” 331; “Jagodina. Die neue Kirche,” 611; Illustrations in Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 2*: “Brvenik. Neue Brücke,” 35; “Kruševac. Die Lazarkirche,” 83; “Kruševac. Lazarturm, Kirche und Gymnasium,” 90; “Einzug des Fürsten Milan in Niš im Jahre 1878,” 151; “Kraljev dvor zu Niš,” 159; “Nišer Kreisamt,” 161; “Leskovac. Brücke und Hisar im Jahre 1889,” 241; “König Milans Hauptquartier zu Paraćin im Jahre 1876,” 379; “Porečka reka-Brücke,” 444; “Zamnabrücke,” 456. In addition to Kanitz, Asbóth was also encouraged to show how the Sarajevo cityscape had developed over the years, especially on the street called “Franz-Josef-Straße.” However, behind the beautiful buildings, he said, Europe “ended”: Johann Asbóth, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina. Reisebilder und Studien* (Wien: A. Hölder, 1888), 164–165.

⁴ Illustrations in Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien. Vol. 1*: “Belgrad, Hochschule—Interims-Nationalmuseum,” 48; “Belgrad, Deutsches Generalkonsulat—Stadthaus,” 48; “Belgrad, Knez Mihailova ulica,” 54; “Belgrad, Nationalbank in der Dubrovačka ulica,” 53; “Belgrad, Fürst Mihail-Denkmal vor dem Nationaltheater,” 56; “Belgrad, Bauten im Terazija-Viertel,” 65; “Belgrad. Öffentliche Gebäude,” 67; “Belgrad, Meteorologische Anstalt und Sternwarte,” 69; “Belgrad, Bergbauamt und Geologisches Museum,” 69; “Belgrad, Stadt-Krankenhaus,” 74; “Belgrad, Waisenhaus,” 74; “Belgrad, Palmenhaus im Botanischen Garten der Hochschule,” 75; “Belgrad, Palilulka-Volksschule,” 76; “Belgrad, Industrielle Etablissements,” 77.

⁵ Kanitz, *Über alt- und neuerbische Kirchenbaukunst*; Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Die römischen Funde in Serbien* (Wien: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1861).

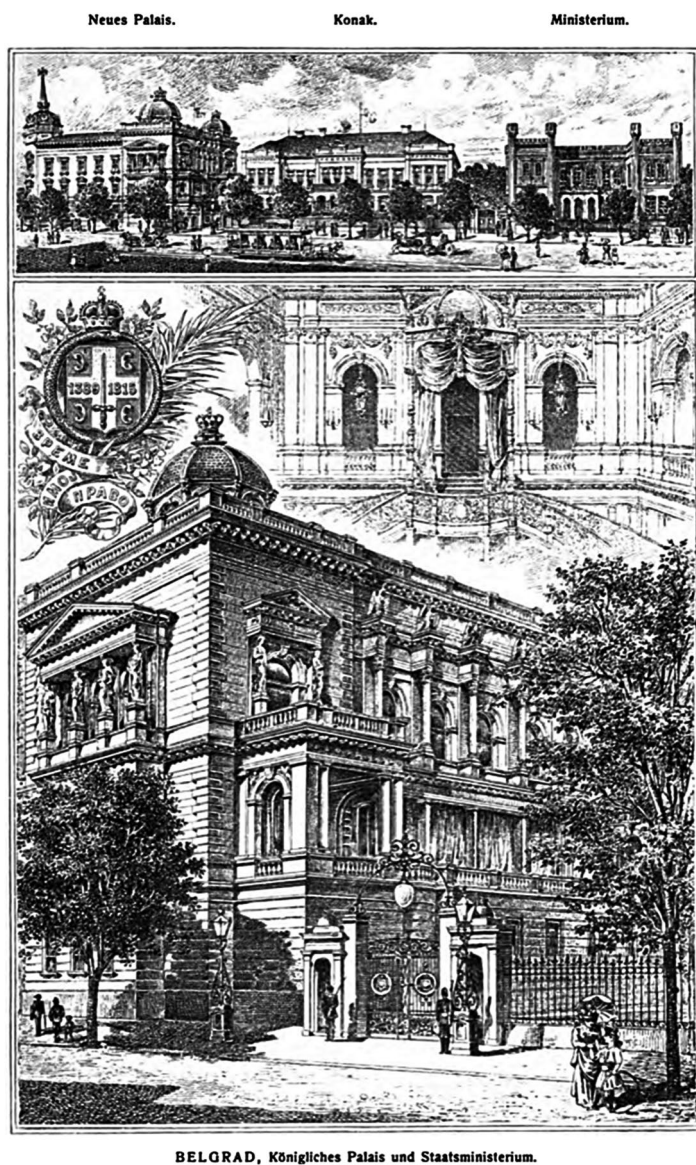


Fig. 6.1 Government district in Belgrade. (In Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 57. Public Domain. Belgrade was architecturally becoming more similar to the European capitals and major cities)

time as “Servia.” Hence older regional terms came back into the public discourse that were known historically and geographically during the nineteenth century. The Roman province of Moesia Superior, which extended at least to Pristina, covered a large part of present-day Serbia and was used until the nineteenth century—like “Thrace” for Bulgaria—as a term to linguistically describe a Serbian territory south of the Danube.⁶

These explorations led Kanitz mostly to places where medieval Eastern and Western Roman remains of churches (and ruins) could be found or where possibly even ancient remains had survived. He hoped for the latter when he visited and explored sites on the traces of the “lower Danube Limes,” where he assumed that Roman cities had once been located. Thus, as he stated at the beginning of his book, Singidunum in particular (part of Belgrade) was a militarily significant point from the first to the fifth century AD, with roads leading into the interior of Pannonia and to the Adriatic.⁷ In the same monograph, he noted again that he had visited the “unexplained Limes section Singidunum-Margus ... six times (most recently in 1888 and 1889).”⁸ Kanitz registered Tricornium, a city east of Belgrade, as one of the “strongest Limes points”⁹ due to the still-preserved walls on the highest southwestern mountain. It was unimaginable to him that the Serbian population did not explore the buildings and remains from the past, the sources of their own history, which was why he took it upon himself to do so, as his colleague Ami Boué had done before him. On Kanitz’s advice, excavations were carried out at the sites of former Roman cities, which he also attended to record the discoveries in drawings.¹⁰

Kanitz visited junctions of the Danube Limes and followed the traces of further finds, which he interpreted as continuations of the main and

⁶Alexander Vezhenkov, “Entangled Geographies of the Balkans. The Boundaries of the Region and the Limits of the Discipline,” in: *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Concepts, Approaches, and (Self-)Representations*, Vol. 4, eds. Alexander Vezhenkov and Rumen Daskalov (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 135.

⁷Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 5.

⁸Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1.

⁹*ibid.*, 129f.

¹⁰There are many illustrations of sources that Kanitz described as pre-historic or Roman in Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1: “Prähistorische Keramik,” 123; “Römische Gewandfigur,” 147; “Sarkophag von Drmno: Jason, Perseus, Herakles, Viktoria und Ornamentschmuckproben,” 179. As a witness, he draws the scene of a contemporary archaeological site: Kanitz, *Serbien*, plate between pages 146–47; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 517.

secondary Roman roads. From this perspective, he presented the Serbian cities and villages along the Danube Limes as part of Western culture. Long before Serbia emerged as a Christian country, some cities were therefore geographically and thus culturally considered to be at a similar level of development as other European centers. With regard to the Roman border city of Viminacium, for example, Kanitz judges that its extensive, pompous necropolises testified to its high rank among Moesia's cities.¹¹ In addition, due to the use of the same symbols that Kanitz found on various remains (such as necropolises), he assumed a common, Roman-influenced cultural past of Western and Southeast Europe.¹²

As further important sites along the Roman road network within Upper Moesia, Kanitz defined Čačak and Kalište¹³ and the Roman road from "Užice via Dobrotin, Rogačica and Bačevci to the mines near the Bosnian Srebrnica."¹⁴ Kanitz was convinced that he could prove Roman influence in the lower Morava Valley, thus he wanted to continue his research in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was eager to identify Roman roads, possibly also proving the Roman influence south of the Danube Limes, in the midst of Upper Moesia.¹⁵ During the time of Kanitz's travels, Western scholars saw the province of Moesia Superior as the periphery of the Roman Empire, just as Serbia during the same time was considered a country on the threshold between a progressive, European community of states and the Oriental, backward Ottoman Empire. History seemed to be repeating itself; even in Roman times, Serbia had to be brought out of the state of a "wild country" by foreign rule, in the view of the Balkan researchers. Moesia Superior had probably never lost its position relative to Europe of a semi-civilization on the periphery of the world empire, just as in the nineteenth century the area could not shake off the stigma of being a semi-Oriental Balkan state.¹⁶

¹¹ Kanitz, Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 177.

¹² Kanitz, Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 516.

¹³ Kanitz, Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 535, 213.

¹⁴ Kanitz, Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 548.

¹⁵ Kanitz, Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 543, 217. Like Kanitz, Asbóth highlighted a Roman influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He also interpreted the strong political relationships between Hungary and Bosnia in medieval times as a legitimization argument for the Hungarian Gouverneur in Bosnia and Herzegovina beginning in 1882, namely, Benjámín Kállay: Asbóth, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina*, 28–30 & 39.

¹⁶ Maria Todorova, in *Imagining the Balkans*, highlights the in-between position of the Balkans, which was perceived as half-Oriental, half-wild, or half-civilized.

To work against this notion, Kanitz defined the nodes on the Moesian Danube Limes as a bulwark against the invading foreign entity, by describing the cities along the Roman road as fortress anchors from antiquity (barbarians)¹⁷ to the Middle Ages (Ottomans).¹⁸ In doing so, he brought the ancient concepts of geographical space into the medieval epoch of the Serbian Nemanjić state and constructed a constant that had been violently and incisively broken by the Ottoman conquerors, which Serbia's elite now needed to rebuild. As it was still located on the periphery, he explained, the Principality of Serbia only needed to return to its ancient, Roman, Western, democratic and Christian heritage, as Petar Karađorđević did during the Serbian freedom fights.¹⁹ The rediscovery of the Danube Limes also confirmed Serbia's northern border with the Habsburg Empire. This border was historical and therefore appeared legitimate.²⁰ The present-day autonomous province of Vojvodina, the part of the country north of the Sava-Danube line, fell to Serbia only after the end of the First World War, with the fall of the Habsburg monarchy.

"OCCIDENTAL" EMANCIPATION PROCESSES

As early as the 1870s and 1880s, Felix Kanitz documented striking changes in public space and public life, which he attributed to the construction of the railway that connected Belgrade with other Serbian cities (such as Belgrade-Niš). Restaurants and inns were opened and people soon flocked to them instead of spending their evenings in the family circle.²¹ Also, the relationship between the typical Serbian woman and her husband was of the "Occidental type," he said, as the Serb now offered his arm to his wife for a walk.²² The position of the Serbian woman was not yet the same as that of women in the West, but Kanitz did notice an increased number of well-educated women and women's associations.²³ The Occidental influence was particularly noticeable in fashion. In Belgrade, the "ladies" wore the latest Parisian fashions, and men swapped the Oriental fez for an

¹⁷ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 319.

¹⁸ Especially Belgrade: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 5–7; other fortresses: *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 370.

¹⁹ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 445.

²⁰ Illustration in Kanitz, *Serbien*, 419.

²¹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 44–45.

²² Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 351.

²³ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 84.

“Occidental hat.” However, women’s accessories still included traditional elements,²⁴ like decorated headgear and hairstyles, which also revealed their marital status.²⁵

As the man has his weapon, pipe, and watch, every Serbian woman considers rich neck and head jewelry indispensable; whether fake or real, the country beauty is not particular about it. ... The desire to shine through conspicuous adornment also dominates the middle-class Serbian woman in the capital. One often sees wives of insignificant traders wrapped in fur and silk, with pearls and gold coins on their fez and neck or adorned with Viennese feather hats and boas, Pierres de Strass in their ears—so also in this point quite Occidental!²⁶

The social milieu was largely divided into four groups, the membership of which Kanitz could recognize by the different beards, headgear, and clothing worn by men.²⁷ The first and largest group were the farming families; the rest were distributed among the city dwellers (including merchants and workers), the clergy, and the nobility. In pictures, the country people and farming families can be recognized by their traditional clothing,²⁸ while the dresses of the urban population were depicted as very mixed, with a Western influence. In 1860, Kanitz described well-dressed women accompanied by soldiers. In 1897, in the summer, the women wear dresses and the men wear uniforms, suits, or even simple trousers and shirts and sun hats.²⁹

²⁴ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 84.

²⁵ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 520–522.

²⁶ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 84. Original: “Wie dem Manne die Waffe, Pfeife und Uhr, erscheint jeder Serbin reicher Hals- und Kopfschmuck unentbehrlich; ob falsch oder echt, damit nimmt es die Landschöne nicht genau. ... Die Sucht, durch auffallenden Putz zu glänzen, beherrscht auch in hohem Grade die Serbin des hauptstädtischen Mittelstandes. Man sieht oft Frauen unbedeutender Krämer in Pelzwerk und Seide gehüllt, mit Perlen und Goldmünzen am Fes und Hals oder mit Wiener Federhüten, Boas geschmückt und Pierres de Strass in den Ohren—also auch in diesem Punkte ganz occidental!”

²⁷ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 519.

²⁸ Illustrations by Kanitz in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3: “Ländliche Typen,” 46; “Senje, Ein ländliches Brautpaar,” 284; “Wandernde Piroter Šopen (Bauarbeiter),” 98; in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2: “Bäuerliche Bevölkerung aus der Umgebung von Niš,” 137.

²⁹ Illustrations by Kanitz in: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2: “Soko-Banja. Gesellschaftsbild vom Jahre 1860,” 119; “Soko-Banja. Gesellschaftsbild vom Jahre 1897,” 115.

Kanitz was amazed at the uncomplicated communications among the Serbs. He described the personal interactions between all the classes as extremely informal. Only in the city of Belgrade could one see the ostentatious clothing and elegant furniture of an upper class.³⁰ However, there were no artificial class differences based on title or rank, which must have been quite astonishing for Kanitz, who found the explanation for this in the oppression of the Serbian population during Ottoman rule.³¹ In the southwestern city of Arilje, he summarized his observations about the Serbian population:

Like the place, the physiognomy of its inhabitants also changed: the transition from the former Rajah to the self-confident citizen of a free state is also expressed here not only in behavior, but also in outward appearance. The young people have exchanged the fez for the becoming soldier's cap, and the women's costume also increasingly resembles European tailoring. Indeed, 28 full years had passed since my first visit to Arilje, and the visible progress would be less commendable if I did not vividly remember the appearance of this beautiful region under Turkish rule, where decay, dirt and indifference met me in the most unpleasant way everywhere.³²

The gender roles of urban life, which appear in the works from 1904 to 1914, Kanitz outlined as already influenced by Western ideals, with the woman also being stereotypically portrayed as a lover of jewelry, always mindful of her toilette.³³ The dressed-up Serbian women would meet with veiled Muslim women for a chat, because "as everywhere, women had a lot to tell each other."³⁴ Kanitz conveyed a change in the status of women in Serbia, which in his worldview was desirable, although he enjoyed the

³⁰ "Belgrader Gesellschaft," in: Kanitz, *Serbien*, plate between pages 450–451.

³¹ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 527–528.

³² Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 571. Original: "Wie der Ort veränderte sich auch die Physiognomie seiner Bewohner: der Übergang vom einstigen Rajah zum selbstbewussten Bürger eines freien Staates gelangt auch hier nicht nur im Benehmen, sondern auch in der äusseren Erscheinung zum Ausdruck. Die jungen Leute vertauschten den Fes mit der kleidsamen Soldatenmütze, und auch die Frauentracht strebt immer mehr europäischem Schnitt zu. Wohl waren 28 volle Jahre seit meinem ersten Besuch Ariljes verflossen, und der sichtliche Fortschritt wäre weniger rühmend, erinnerte ich mich nicht lebhaft des Aussehens dieses schönen Landstriches unter dem Türkenregiment, wo mir hier allerorts nur Verfall, Schmutz und Gleichgültigkeit in unangenehmster Weise entgegentrat."

³³ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 509; Vol. 1, 345.

³⁴ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 345.

thought of the idyllic family with a patriarchal structure. The position of the Serbian woman in relation to the man was not yet the same as in the Occident, he claimed. He did record the increased number of schools for girls and higher-level schools for women. Access to education was very European and also personally important to Kanitz. He even appreciated the ambitions of Serbian women to get involved in parliament.³⁵ Kanitz interpreted the image of women against the background of the emerging women's movement in Austria and in Europe, although he did not explicitly mention these movements. Nonetheless, he made comparisons between women from Western and Southeast Europe and remarked on the political demands of the social democrats—the party that strongly supported the women's movement and that was not his preferred party.

Another comparison is between the Serbian women and the Oriental or non-Christian women in the Balkans. Onto the latter, Kanitz projected the negative attitudes within a relationship, their attitude to submission, and the lack of appreciation toward them.³⁶ Contrary to Ottoman traditions, in which women would have no rights at all, he perceived the handed-down old Serbian customs and traditions of a *Zadruga* positively. When Kanitz traveled to Serbia again at the end of the nineteenth century, he noted that the ugly shops that had smelled so terrible were gone; they had been replaced by “à l'occidentale” shops, often even decorated with flowers.³⁷ On another page, he highlighted that the “Occidental style and manners” also broke through in smaller Serbian cities.³⁸ After his final visit to Serbia in 1897, he seemed very satisfied with the progress of the country. However, since his three-part work simply expands upon the text passages from his first work, *Serbia*, the image of the Balkans that emerged for the readers necessarily had to be the same as in 1868. However, the new additions about Serbia's progress did demonstrate the region's increasing proximity to Europe, and they show the admiration Kanitz had for the recent developments.

Whether the “Haiducks” were admired or despised by Felix Philipp Kanitz is not so clear. First of all, the Austrian press described partisans

³⁵ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 91; Vol. 3, 667.

³⁶ Kanitz, *Serbien*, 195; Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 37.

³⁷ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 83.

³⁸ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 351–352.

during World War II as having similar characteristics to the Haiducks,³⁹ so the historical narrative about them may have persisted. Kanitz portrayed the men as warlike, cunning and plundering mountain dwellers whose women were faithful companions, living with their men away from civilization.⁴⁰ In Serbian folk poetry, the Haiducks also enjoyed a good reputation,⁴¹ said the ethnographer, because they would not give up fighting against the Turks. Their women and children used the forest as a hiding place and refuge,⁴² while the warriors themselves fearlessly went to war. The Haiduck does not shy away from armed violence and does not follow the Serbian legal system, according to the shared opinion of Kanitz and his colleague Carl Zehden.⁴³ "The Haiduck becomes the terror of his neighborhood,"⁴⁴ Kanitz once stated in a lecture before the *k. k. Geographische Gesellschaft*. However, the stories about the Haiducks sometimes sound like Robin Hood legends, stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, as one poem in Kanitz's book demonstrates:

In die grünen Wälder flüchtet Mihat
Mihat flees into the green forests
 Ob des Begen Ljubovic Bedrückung,
because of Begen Ljubovic's oppression,
 Flüchtet ins Gebirge, wird Heiducke.
Flees to the mountains, becomes a hajduk
 Schwarze Erde isst er da vor Hunger,
He eats black earth from hunger,
 Trinkt vor Durst den kühlen Tau der Blätter,
Drinks with thirst the cool dew of the leaves,
 Bis Gefährten er um sich versammelt; ...
Until he gathers his companions around him ...
 Da nun Mihat um sich sieht die Freunde,
When Mihat sees the friends around him,
 Spricht er zu den Freunden diese Worte:

³⁹ Wolfgang Pensold, Silvia Nadjivan and Eva Tamara Asboth, *Gemeinsame Geschichte? Ein Jahrhundert serbischer und österreichischer Mythen* (Innsbruck Wien Bozen: Studienverlag, 2015), 102–103.

⁴⁰ Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 208; Vol. 3, 405.

⁴¹ *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 739.

⁴² *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 3, 461.

⁴³ *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 1, 512 & 521; Carl Zehden, "Bosnien und die Hercegovina im Jahre 1886," in *Mittheilungen der k.k. geographischen Gesellschaft* XXX (1887): 193–195.

⁴⁴ Kanitz, "Das serbisch-türkische Kopavnik-Gebiet," 53.

he says to his friends these words:

“Höret mich, o Brüder und Gefährten,

“Hear me, O brothers and companions,

Höret, was vor allem wir beginnen –

Hear what we are about to do –

Ziehen hin und plündern aus den Begen!”

*Go and plunder from the Begg!*⁴⁵

The “Haiduckentum” community arose from Turkish subjugation, as the folk song says, and was thus understood as a response to the “foreign rule.” Therefore, the interpretation and meaning of the Haiduck within the Serbian population is situation-dependent and spans the arc from the hero helping the poor to the ruthless robber and murderer, especially during the reign of Milan Obrenović.⁴⁶ After all, the Haiducks were perceived as having an advantage in the fight against Ottoman rule, because they knew their woods and mountains, where they could retreat and hide.

Kanitz was not the only admirer of the deeds of the Greek and Slavic population, who had risen up against the Ottoman Empire and had given their countries a national and progressive character within a short time. There were sympathizers all over Europe, whose understanding of the freedom of a people and state, changed by the democratic ideas during the revolutions of 1789 and 1848, promoted the idea of pushing back against foreign rule in the West.⁴⁷ While Serbia was assigned the status of a European stepchild by Kanitz and in the *Illustrierte Zeitung* during the second half of the nineteenth century, British traveler Andrew Archibald Paton had already clarified the unrestricted kinship relationship in 1845 with the title of his travel report *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family*. As Barbara Jelavich notes in her 1955 article about British travelers in the European Orient, one of the earliest contributions to the research on travel experiences, these travel writings gave rise to the perception of an ineffective and oppressive-to-contemptuous Ottoman administration.⁴⁸ Based on this narrative of brutal Ottoman oppression, numerous British travelers, like Paton, Vivian, and the two adventurers

⁴⁵ Siegfried Kapper, *Gesänge der Serben*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1852), 137; quoted from: Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien*. Vol. 2, 56.

⁴⁶ Zehden, “Bosnien und die Hercegovina im Jahre 1886,” 373.

⁴⁷ Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa*, 94. Dušan Lonačević and Andrew Archibald Paton were among the sympathisers.

⁴⁸ Barbara Jelavich, “The British Traveller in the Balkans. The Abuses of Ottoman Administration in the Slavonic Provinces,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 33, no. 81 (1955): 396–413.

Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adeline Paulina Irby, who traveled the Balkans between 1861 and 1863, carried their sympathies for the Christian Serbian population back to their homeland. From the second half of the nineteenth century, a trend of Serbophilia developed in Great Britain that lasted at least a hundred years.⁴⁹

The historical narrative of the oppressed Serbs that was transferred to Great Britain also had real political effects. As cultural scientist Andrew Hammond proves, British Premier Minister William Gladstone referred to the research of Mackenzie and Irby during his term. Gladstone, more than any other British politician in the nineteenth century, meddled in Balkan politics, which also caused conflicts with Austria-Hungary. He used the expertise of the two travelers in his speeches and in parliamentary disputes. Mackenzie and Irby not only made themselves heard in British media and political public, independently and through Gladstone, but they also openly supported the national aspirations of the Serbian government and actively positioned themselves against an expansion of Austria-Hungary to the Southeast. They saw the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, which were under Ottoman rule, as parts of Serbia. The local population would have to be liberated and integrated into the Serbian Kingdom. This view was taken up in media reports on the Balkan wars (see Chap. 3). Mackenzie and Irby romanticized Serbian history, Serbian heroism, and medieval legends and—like Felix Philipp Kanitz—incorporated the Kosovo myth into their historical narrative of Serbia. They even included illustrations drawn by Kanitz in their book *Travels in the Slavonic Province of Turkey-in-Europe*, which was published in 1877.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, their Encounter situations, experiences, and expectations were also colored by their British origin, which made their Balkan narratives appear differently in the British public and politics than in Austria-Hungary.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Radmila Pejić, “Herbert Vivian. A British Traveller in Late Nineteenth-Century Serbia,” *Balkanica* XLIV (2013): 279–280; Andrew Hammond, “Memoirs of conflict. British women travelers in the Balkans,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 14, (Feb. 2010): 70. The book of Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adeline Paulina Irby published in 1876 is called *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*. Irby undertook another journey in 1875 and was a witness to the uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Hammond, “Memoirs of conflict,” 59.

⁵⁰ Mihajlović, Vladimir V. “Frontier Gentlemen’s Club,” in *Communities and Knowledge Production in Archaeology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 192. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526134561.00017>.

⁵¹ Hammond, “Memoirs of Conflict,” 59–61.

The influence of British reporting on European political affairs is evident in American newspapers through their adoption of Serbophile narratives. A quantitative analysis of all the reports from Europe on Serbia and the Balkans that were published in the *New York Times* between 1903 and 1913 shows that more than half of all the examined articles had been telegraphed from London.⁵² Nevertheless, the American public had further reasons (narratives), beyond the British reports, to portray Serbia as a promising country with a strong national character.

THE BALKANS AS THE CRADLE OF DEMOCRACY

The “small kingdom”⁵³ of Serbia could not compete with the long tradition of heirs to the throne of the monarchist European Great Powers of Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and Germany (Prussia) and their historical-mythical, religiously legitimized rule. Yet the comparatively short lifespan of the Serbian nation-state showed a parallel to the history of the United States, which began at the end of the eighteenth century and experienced a violent turning point in the Civil War. The constitutional federation of the United States of America, established in 1788, was no more complete in its borders at the beginning of the twentieth century than the Serbian kingdom was. The American frontier myth allowed the federation to be permanently expanded westward, integrating the newly gained land into a functioning constitutional state. Internationally, the United States also pursued its mission to advance democratization processes and support democratic potentials worldwide.⁵⁴

There was one question that the United States could not solve from the start—that of the rightful ruling dynasty in Serbia. The kingdom had been ruled alternately by two rival dynasties since its independence from the Ottoman Empire, the Obrenović and the Karađorđević. Prince Miloš

⁵²The *New York Times* articles with “Servian,” “Servia,” and “Serbs” in the text from 1903 to 1913 were filtered using “R” software. The corpus included 667 articles; 300 came from London, 59 from Belgrade, 49 from Berlin, 44 from Vienna, 40 from Washington, 38 from Paris, 32 from Constantinople, 18 from St. Petersburg, 17 from Sofia, 13 from Rome, 8 from Genova, 6 from Chicago, 4 each from Budapest and Athens, 3 each from Cetinje and Bucharest, 2 each from Podgorica and The Hague, and the remaining 23 mostly from other American cities.

⁵³“The Rulers of Servia. Genealogical Tree,” *Daily Telegraph*, 12.06.1903, 10.

⁵⁴Neil Renwick, *America’s World Identity. The Politics of Exclusion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 63 & 206. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230597945>.

Obrenović, leader of the second Serbian uprisings, managed to negotiate his office in accordance with the High Porte in Constantinople. He ruled under Ottoman sovereignty from 1815 and autonomously from 1833. In 1839, after his abdication, his eldest son, Milan Prince Obrenović II, succeeded him. When he in turn died after a short reign, his brother Mihailo, Prince Obrenović III, took over. This began the interruptions of the Obrenović government; Mihailo was unpopular due to his policies and was forced to resign by the Serbian parliament. Instead, Aleksandar Karađorđević, the son of the first Serbian leader—the son of “Black George”—was raised to the throne. He too had to abdicate, like Miloš and Mihailo before him. Once again, the now elderly Miloš became Prince of Serbia, and after him his son Mihailo again. The Obrenović retained their power, and Milan I was crowned King of Serbia in 1882. His son, Aleksandar, was the last king from the Obrenović dynasty. With the assassination of Aleksandar Obrenović in 1903, the Obrenović ruling dynasty, which had lasted four generations, was completely extinguished. The marriage of the king and his wife, Draga Mašin, remained childless. The king was again succeeded by a Karađorđević on the Serbian royal throne, Petar I, in 1904. The third-generation Karađorđević led the Kingdom of Serbia into World War I during his reign, which began in 1904, and was the ruler of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes until 1921.⁵⁵ Both dynasties, as described, emerged from the Serbian uprisings and thus have a comparatively unremarkable family tree.⁵⁶

Both dynasties had their difficulties, but the Obrenović were particularly unpopular within the Serbian government circles and elites due to the recent domestic political events. Aleksandar implemented unpopular constitutional amendments and imposed restrictions on the press, and his wife deceived the population with a fabricated pregnancy.⁵⁷ Aleksandar lost the sympathies of Serbian politicians and army leaders, as he was considered pro-Austrian from the beginning of his reign, like his predecessors. “This régime of harmony was interrupted violently in 1903,” according to Nikolaus Dumba, his Austrian-Macedonian contemporary, and with “King Peter Karageorgevitch ... it became apparent to all the world a new order had been established in Servia. An aggressive pro-Russian reigned at

⁵⁵ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 76–79.

⁵⁶ “Death of a Dynasty,” *Daily Telegraph*, 12.06.1903, 10.

⁵⁷ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 204–205.

Belgrade.”⁵⁸ King Milan Obrenović had already renounced an expansion toward Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus hindering the Greater Serbian plans formulated during the Karađorđević government’s term in 1844. The flawed Obrenović regency and the rivalry with the Karađorđević did not go unnoticed by the European Great Powers, and after the assassination in 1903, the American media public also took a stance on Serbian political conditions.

In numerous articles, the press in the United States highlighted the unqualified government of the murdered Aleksandar I after his death. The *New York Times* quoted a US consul who sent a telegram to the State Department, indicating that he and other diplomats were not surprised about the assassination of the “drunkard” Aleksandar.⁵⁹ Above all, Aleksandar’s suspension of the constitution was mentioned at every opportunity, which seemed to prove his implied tyranny and despotic attitude. Moreover, Aleksandar was linked with his great-uncle, who had also been the victim of an assassination, which made the Obrenović dynasty appear undemocratic and backward in American daily newspapers. While in the European media publics, shock was the common response to the things that had happened in the Balkans, the *New York Times* adopted the perspective of the media discourse in Serbia, framing the assassination as a new beginning and opportunity for the young Kingdom of Serbia.⁶⁰

Following the Greek Revolution (1821–1832) and the Bulgarian uprisings (1876), a strong solidarity emerged within the American media public for the rebellious Balkan nations.⁶¹ The wave of solidarity with Serbia in those days went hand in hand with the association that the Balkan peninsula was the birthplace of democracy and thus of Western culture and tradition, and of Christian values.⁶² The people there were referred to as members of the “Greek Church,”⁶³ or Orthodox Christianity. Thus, the attributes used to describe Serbia were “Greek” and “Christian,” which

⁵⁸ Dumba, “Vorwort,” in *Austria-Hungary and the War*, ed. Ernest Ludwig (New York: Ogilvie, 1915), 7.

⁵⁹ “The News in Washington. Balkan Complications Not Expected,” *The New York Times*, 12.06.1903, 2.

⁶⁰ Pensold et al., *Gemeinsame Geschichte?*, 20.

⁶¹ Andrea Despot, *Amerikas Weg auf den Balkan. Zur Genese der Beziehungen zwischen den USA und Südosteuropa 1820–1920* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 29–32.

⁶² Despot, *Amerikas Weg auf den Balkan*, 31.

⁶³ “America’s Interest in the Balkan War. Prof. Sloane Says Spread of Influence of Greek Church Would Hurt Our Missions,” *The New York Times*, 13.10.1912, C1.

made the narrative that Serbia had centuries-old democratic roots plausible. The Roman and Byzantine legacy of Serbia is remixed and reinterpreted by the Austro-Hungarian Kanitz, but also by the US press. Christianity was a central element of the American worldview and self-image, and the *Bill of Rights*, based on Christian values, contributed to the formation of a strong American nation and identity. The narrative of the American success story, the concept of "Americanness," which is based on political, economic, and religious freedom,⁶⁴ strengthened the public opinion in the United States that every country had the right and probably also the duty to free itself from tyranny. Even though Serbia had been considered a sovereign state since the Berlin Congress of 1878 (becoming a kingdom in 1882), the murdered Aleksandar Obrenović was described with characteristics and behaviors often associated with a tyrant. He and his father were accused of "blackguardism,"⁶⁵ while the people of Serbia were said to be "peaceful and prosperous." On the other side, the Austro-Hungarian press considered the festive mood of the Serbians after the assassination of Aleksandar I to be inappropriate and promoted the narrative of a bloodthirsty and lawless society.⁶⁶ In the *New York Times*, the news that the population had welcomed the military coup more than regretting it was presented as support for the new beginning of a constitutional, sovereign state: "The newspapers forecast a better future for Servia, and the new state of things is heartily welcomed by the masses."⁶⁷ The American rediscovery of the Ancient Greek and Roman period in the Balkans, which shaped the narrative that it was the "cradle" of Western values, was interpreted to Serbia's advantage.⁶⁸

To steer the future of the young Serbian nation-state in a corresponding direction, the United States sent missionaries who, convinced of the superiority of the American civilization model and political rights catalog,

⁶⁴ Renwick, *America's World Identity*, 63.

⁶⁵ "The Massacre at Belgrade," *The New York Times*, 12.06.1903, 8.

⁶⁶ For example: "Die heutige Nummer enthält zahlreiche Illustrationen über das Schreckensereignis in Belgrad," *Oesterreichische Kronen Zeitung*, 12.06.1903, 1.

⁶⁷ "King and Queen of Servia Slain," *The New York Times*, 12.06.1903, 1.

⁶⁸ The Balkan states themselves discovered their ancient heritage much later than Kanitz; as Sundhaussen pointed out, the narrative of the Western "cradle" was only widespread in the West until the nineteenth century: Sundhaussen, "Europa balcanica," 640–641. In ancient times, the Balkans were described as European and as a "cradle of European culture": Martina Baleva and Boris Previšić, "Les Balkans n'existent pas! Plurale Erbschaften und interdisziplinäre Herausforderungen," in *"Den Balkan gibt es nicht". Erbschaften im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Boris Previšić (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 11.

wanted to return these values to the Christians living in the Balkans. The American missionary consciousness thus differed from the Austrian one, which offered its own cultural superiority as a permanent support for Southeast Europe and thus aimed for a hegemonic and colonialist power structure. The missionary work of Americans placed the issues of emancipation, “self-help” and education, especially for women and girls, at the forefront. They expected the modernization of the Balkan nations, in the sense of introducing liberal values, to guide the Balkans to a democratic system.⁶⁹

Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, a native-born American living in the United States with her husband, the Serbian Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, was asked by the *New York Times* about the media-reported Serbian backwardness. She not only denied it, but precisely explained why the Serbs were more modern than all of Europe combined. The princess attributed this to the traditional *Zadruga*. She depicted the idyllic image of family, community, and cohesion that Felix Kanitz had also approvingly described in detail (Chap. 4).

The Servians worked out the problem of co-operation as it has not been worked out in the United States or in any other European country. They have no beggars. There is no utterly neglected suffering in Servia. Every man has his home. ... So far from being barbarous territories, the Balkan States have solved many problems which are still puzzling the balance of the world.⁷⁰

She further explained, as Kanitz also did in his works, that in the Balkans there were no class differences, which was why the democratic principle of equality between genders and people always prevailed, something that had never been questioned by any governing power in the Balkans. The legal system within the Serbian *Zadruga*, she said, was therefore much fairer than the Muslim one. The princess expressed confidence about the development of Serbia under the new ruler.⁷¹ The Balkan nations, not only Serbia, were, from the US perspective, just as ready to receive and learn about democracy as the former “wild West” had been. The Balkans were

⁶⁹ Despot, *Amerikas Weg auf den Balkan*, 143–144.

⁷⁰ Edward Marshall, “A New Balkan Nation May Save Europe’s Peace,” *The New York Times*, 03.11.1912, 2.

⁷¹ Edward Marshall, “A New Balkan Nation May Save Europe’s Peace,” *The New York Times*, 03.11.1912, 2.

also romanticized, mystified, and imagined to be as adventurous as the "American border in the old days."⁷² The idea of granting independence to all Balkan nations had long been dominant in the US public and was even evident during the coverage of the Balkan Wars of 1912.⁷³ The *New York Times* called for monetary donations for the young nations, with the assurance that the donation would benefit the nation specified by the donor. Due to the geographical distance, monetary donations were the only support that the US population could provide in this war to aid the Christian population in the Balkans.⁷⁴ The Christians in the Balkans would fight for the cross, while people in the United States would pray, according to a letter to the editor.⁷⁵ Against this background, American disappointment over the Second Balkan War was great. However, the US quickly showed renewed efforts to promote stability and self-responsibility in the Balkans, for instance, by financially supporting an investigative report in 1913. It aimed to investigate, on the one hand, the human-rights-violating massacres and, on the other hand, the economic consequences of the war from the perspective of an international commission.⁷⁶ The institution behind this was the *Carnegie Endowment Fund for International Peace*, founded in Washington in 1910.

The work will not be exclusively retrospective, but will call attention to fresh dangers that are liable to arise and claim further victims in both the Balkans and Asiatic Turkey. Finally, the committee hopes to draw from an excess of evil a great lesson in favor of settled order and the friendly or judicial solution of international conflicts.⁷⁷

In addition to the efforts to transfer its own concepts of democracy and the rule of law to the Balkans, the United States also established itself as an expert and advisor for international crises.

⁷² Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans*, 10.

⁷³ "The Balkan War Scare," *The New York Times*, 02.10.1912, 12.

⁷⁴ "Help Needed in the Balkans," *The New York Times*, 11.11.1912, 10.

⁷⁵ "The Balkan Heroes," *The New York Times*, 06.11.1912, 14.

⁷⁶ "Inquiry in Balkans by Carnegie Fund," *The New York Times*, 20.08.1913, 4.

⁷⁷ "Inquiry in Balkans by Carnegie Fund," *The New York Times*, 20.08.1913, 4.

MODERN SERBIA

In 1904, when the successor of the murdered King Aleksandar, Petar I, was crowned, only a hundred years had passed since the Serbian uprisings under the new king's grandfather, Petar Karađorđević, had broken out.⁷⁸ A narrative developed that described Serbia as a young, new, and potentially modern country. While in the German-speaking world, especially in Austria-Hungary, references were often made to the occupation of Belgrade in the years 1688–1690 and 1717–1739, creating an imagined continuity called the Danube region or Danube monarchy (see Chap. 3), in the US media public “modern Servia” generally described a country without a long history. “Modern Servia” was taken much more seriously as a sovereign state by the United States than by the European Great Powers, which may also be due to the fact that both the United States and Serbia were in the midst of building modern nation-states. In contrast, the European Great Powers were perceived as *Grandes Dames* of history and thus also somewhat outdated. Sundhaussen explained that “for the nation builders, progress consisted primarily in recognizing to which nation one belongs, who and what one is.”⁷⁹ The approximately one-hundred-year-old Serbian history, the competing ruling dynasties and the controversial royal protagonists had been well known to the American public since the regicide of 1903. The *New York Times* summarized:

Today's date is a sinister one in the history of the Obrenovitch house, being the thirty-fifth anniversary of the assassination of King Alexander's granduncle, Michael, who was done to death by agents of Alexander Karageorgevitch, the then leading member of the house which has long disputed the throne of Servia against the Obrenovitch family, and whose head today, Prince Peter K., has been proclaimed King.⁸⁰

Although the recent events in the history of the Serbian nation-state had apparently resulted from assassinations of heads of state, and the regicide of 1903 was perceived in Western Europe as an *Old World* action, for

⁷⁸ Sundhaussen suggests the following periodizations for a rough definition of epochs in the Balkans: 1. The approximately thousand-year period of the Byzantine Empire and the pre-Ottoman Balkan states, 2. the 400–500-year period of direct or indirect Ottoman rule, and 3. the period of nation-state and nationalization formation since the beginning of the nineteenth century: Sundhaussen, “Europa balcanica,” 637–638.

⁷⁹ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 16.

⁸⁰ “King and Queen of Servia Slain,” *The New York Times*, 12.06.1903, 1.

the United States they also seemed to be a result of nation-state building and therefore just as much a part of modernity as the developments in Germany, Great Britain, or France. Amid the heated debate about the successor of the murdered Aleksandar Obrenović, it was only the US press that drew attention to the young state with headlines about a possible Republic of Serbia.⁸¹ This made Serbia appear more "modern" than the outdated great or universal empires of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. A *Los Angeles Times* headline declared, "Servia. Lovers of Liberty" and noted that the "Servian People" were not barbarians.⁸² In the midst of the annexation crisis in 1908, American newspapers showed their disappointment with the form of government in Serbia, a constitutional monarchy instead of a republic; they criticized the Serbian rulers and defended the Serbian population.

Throughout the century or so of history that Servia has to her credit scarce one of her rulers has filled out his allotted term. Assassination, treachery, revolt, all have conspired to play a part in the overthrow of law and order. It has not been entirely the fault of the people. Undoubtedly they have been cursed with as weak and inefficient a pair of dynasties to choose from as could be picked up in Europe, swarming as it is with worthless Princelings.⁸³

The Serbian government was still untrustworthy, according to the US assessment both in 1903 and in 1908. The Serbian population could not easily be held responsible for the disregard of law and order. "Servia was misgoverned by her Kings," as could still be read in 1912.⁸⁴ In the *New York Times*, Mary Edith Durham described the dissatisfaction of Serbians

⁸¹ "All Quiet at Belgrade. The People Apathetic, Some Talk of a Republic ...," *New-York Tribune*, 13.06.1903, 1; "Favor a Republic, Servian Sentiment Voiced at a Cabinet Meeting," *The Washington Post*, 13.06.1903, 1; "Belgrade, June 12," *The New York Times*, 13.06.1903, 1; "Hope for Servia," *Los Angeles Times*, 14.06.1903, B4; "Ministers Vote for King, Only One Member of Cabinet Favorable to a Republic," *The Washington Post*, 14.06.1903, 1; "Would Put Aside Servian Throne," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14.06.1903, 5; "One Servian Minister Votes for Republic," *The New York Times*, 14.06.1903, 11. Since it was clear that the form of government would remain monarchical, the *New York Times* noted that the Serbian army would only accept a constitutional monarchy: "King Peter's Hard Task. Difficulties Which Confront Him — He Will Have To Deal Vigorously with the Army," *The New York Times*, 16.06.1903, 3.

⁸² "Servia. Lovers of Liberty," *Los Angeles Times*, 14.06.1903, 1.

⁸³ "Servia Has Dark History," *The Washington Post*, 18.10.1908, M4.

⁸⁴ "Danger Spot of Europe," *The New York Times*, 01.10.1912, 3.

with their rulers. "Servia Under Bad Government ... but People Are Doing Well Since Independence,"⁸⁵ she summarized. The "Servians," according to Durham, could not stand their monarchical government, unlike the Montenegrins. The echo of the regicide of 1903 still lingered, and the US press used the term "regicide" almost as a synonym for Serbian government/ruling circles. This was evident in the American expression "regicide newspapers," referring to the press organ of the ruling radical party, which supported Petar I and advocated for the form of government of a constitutional monarchy.⁸⁶ The judgment about Serbian "regicide" circles was, however, always separated from judgments about the Serbian population.

When during the annexation crisis in 1908 the possibility of Serbia's declaring war on Austria-Hungary arose, the United States and Great Britain warned the Serbian government: the country is not yet ready for war.⁸⁷ It would put itself in danger of being wiped out by the (still) superior power of Austria-Hungary, which was also withholding weapons deliveries at the Serbian border: "War would mean the annihilation of Servia."⁸⁸ Or, in other words, "an attempt to measure with Austria-Hungary would be equivalent to national suicide."⁸⁹ The US daily newspapers fervently hoped that the young nation would not take this risk.⁹⁰ The *Washington Post* wrote at the end of October 1908 that Serbia had to meet the same prerequisites for war as other nations: it needed money. Modern times demanded modern warfare, not swordfights or "cutting throats" as against the former Ottoman rule, for instance, during the Serbian uprisings in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹¹ In the end, Serbia decided not to go to war against the Habsburg monarchy in 1908.

The pictorial representation of the Kingdom of Serbia in the US press showed a positive inclination toward a modern Serbia. The *New-York*

⁸⁵ "Saw Warlike Tribes in Balkan Tours," *The New York Times*, 23.10.1912, 2.

⁸⁶ "For Servia's Murdered Sovereigns," *The New York Times*, 12.06.1904, 4.

⁸⁷ "Servia Not Ready to Make War," *New-York Tribune*, 12.10.1908, 4.

⁸⁸ "Belgrade Cooling Off," *New-York Tribune*, 12.10.1908, 4.

⁸⁹ "Servians Still Agitated," *New York Times*, 10.10.1908, 1.

⁹⁰ "Serbs Clamor for War; Austria Threatens," *Los Angeles Times*, 11.10.1908, 11; see also: "The Pressure on Servia," *New-York Tribune*, 11.10.1908, 4: "Servia has nothing to gain but everything to lose." The *New-York Tribune* published articles from the *Wiener Tagblatt*, the *Zeit*, and the *Fremdenblatt* to demonstrate how much pressure was on Serbia, see: "Expect to Avert War," *New-York Tribune*, 09.10.1908, 1.

⁹¹ "The Trouble in the Balkans," *The Washington Post*, 23.10.1908, 6.

Tribune and the *Los Angeles Times*⁹² illustrated the articles around the annexation crisis. On their front pages, the daily newspapers showed the Serbian Parliament and the Royal Palace, new buildings in the prevailing Neoclassical style. The two buildings illustrate the political form of government, namely, the constitutional monarchy. With this form of rule, Serbia was on par with the European powers. "Modern Servia" was ruled by a king whose power was limited by the Serbian constitution, but who represented the country both internally and externally. In the Western perception, the Parliament building was a symbol of modernity, as it showed that the country was building on solid state structures and certain democratic principles. The building represents an entire system, as is written in the *Handbuch für politische Ikonografie (Handbook for Political Iconography)*, and "what happens in, around, and to it is by no means politically irrelevant."⁹³ This was also apparent in October 1908, when the population of Belgrade demonstrated against Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in front of the Parliament and the Royal Palace. The depiction of government buildings, especially the Parliament, can be read as further evidence that the United States perceived Serbia as a modern and independent nation-state, in contrast to the European Great Powers, whose historical narratives saw Serbia as a possible expansion area, with the included narratives of the Serbian threat (only applicable to Austria-Hungary) and the semi-sovereign, backward little kingdom.⁹⁴ The *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* spoke of small, morally inferior Serbia,⁹⁵ the Serbian politicians were depicted as bloodthirsty,⁹⁶ and Petar I as the former leader of bandits.⁹⁷ In contrast, the US press published portraits of Balkan rulers that were in no way inferior to the portraits of the kings, emperors, or ministers of the Great Powers. The Western Europeans, who were trapped in their own worldview that was based on the narrative of progress in all

⁹² See, for example, the government headquarters (Skupština) and the palace on the title page: *Los Angeles Times*, 11.10.1908, II.

⁹³ Marion G. Müller, "Parlament," in *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, eds. Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke and Hendrik Ziegler. Vol. 1 (München: Fleck, 2011), 205.

⁹⁴ The Daily Mail published an article in which the costumes at the Serbian court were depicted as backwards: "From Romance to Tragedy," *Daily Mail*, 12.06.1903, 7; see also: "Death of a Dynasty. Story of the Obrenovitches," *Daily Telegraph*, 12.06.1903, 10.

⁹⁵ "Die Streitkräfte auf dem Balkan," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe*, 09.10.1908, 1.

⁹⁶ "Serbisches Kriegsgeschrei," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, 08.10.1908, 1.

⁹⁷ "Serbien macht mobil!," *Berliner Volks-Zeitung, Abend-Ausgabe*, 09.10.1908, 1.

areas, and their own historical narratives about their “nation” and “Empire,” believed the former European Orient had a lot to catch up on. The notion of the semi-Oriental, new Balkan nations in Southeast Europe prevailed for a long time in the European media publics and was especially important for the Habsburg monarchy.⁹⁸ Again in contrast, the United States sympathized very early on with a free, national, Christian power in the Balkans and even located the cradle of democracy there. Thus, the US brought the Balkans into the center of Europe rather than pushing it to the edge, as other European Great Powers did.

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⁹⁸Johannes Feichtinger, “Komplexer k.u.k. Orientalismus. Akteure, Institutionen, Diskurse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Österreich,” in *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, eds. Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 36; Jezernik, *Das wilde Europa*, 218–219.

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CHAPTER 7

Blackguardism and Underground Organization: The Topic of War Guilt from the First World War

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Abstract In the years before the outbreak of the First World War, the “Balkans” were perceived as a crisis area par excellence in the European media and publics, a narrative that was adopted by Mary Edith Durham, who in the 1900s and 1910s observed the recently explored Balkan countries/nations. This chapter scrutinizes her work: Mary Edith Durham was one of the first women to report as a war correspondent directly from the front during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. She was considered a daring traveler, who ventured into unknown and dangerous areas in the Balkans. She was referred to as “Albania’s Mountain Queen” advocating for an oppressed population in the Balkans that did not belong to the Christian cultural sphere. Therefore, she re-interpreted the negative strands and aspects within historical narratives about Serbia, targeting Serbian politicians and the network of the Serbian government’s underground organizations. Mary Edith Durham’s advocacy for Albanian self-determination made her unpopular among her academic contemporaries, especially as Yugoslavia took form in 1918, while the British historian

Robert Seton-Watson supported a united South Slavic state. Durham's portrayal of Serbia's role in the Sarajevo assassination, as part of a broader political intrigue, competed with Seton-Watson's narrative of Serbian victimhood and oppression. These contrasting historical narratives influenced Western perceptions of the Balkans and shaped the interwar public discourse on the origins of World War I.

Keywords Mary Edith Durham • Albania's Mountain Queen • King's assassination 1903 • July crisis • Foreign reporting on Serbia • Interwar period and the *Kriegsschuldfrage*

Oh we're back in the Balkans again,
 Back to the joy and the pain
 What if it burns or it blows or it snows?
 We're back to the Balkans again.
 Back, where to-morrow the quick may be dead,
 With a hole in his heart or a ball in his head
 Back, where the passions are rapid and red
 Oh, we're back to the Balkans again! (Mary Edith Durham reproduces the text of the song she heard on her travels, in: *High Albania*, 1909)

The era of the European Orient was passé at the beginning of the twentieth century;¹ the West had developed a new understanding of this space through research and appropriation. The Western interpretation of Serbian historiography was not insignificant in this—the developments that had taken place in the European Orient in the absence of a strong European influence could now be classified within the European timeline. Starting from the late Middle Ages, in which “around the middle of the fourteenth century the Emperor of Serbia ruled over a vast Serbian-Bulgarian-Greek-Albanian empire,”² Southeast Europe lost its connection to the rest of Europe. The Ottoman rule sealed the “dark” period, causing the

¹“Als ‘Londoner Friede’ wird das gestern unterzeichnete Aktenstück, das den Untergang der europäischen Türkei besiegelt, in die Weltgeschichte eingehen [The document signed yesterday will go down in history as ‘Peace of London’, which seals the downfall of the European Turkey],” in *Berliner Tageblatt, Abend-Ausgabe*, 31.05.1913, 1.

²“Geleitwort des Herausgebers” by Wilhelm Ruland, in Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk*, Vol. 1, VII–VIII. Original: “um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts der Kaiser von Serbien über ein gewaltiges serbisch-bulgarisch-griechisch-albanisches Reich geherrscht hat.”

population in the Balkans to sink into their “enchanted sleep” through the era of Enlightenment. Thus, the Kingdom of Serbia, the crown land of Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 1908), and the Kingdom of Montenegro faced the challenge of quickly learning about the achievements dictated by the West, and visiting scholars and diplomats, as well as traveling ethnographers like Felix Philipp Kanitz, assigned them the status of a region in transition. Kanitz’s final writings, created after his last trip to Serbia in the 1890s, already reflect the idea of the Kingdom of Serbia that dominated the beginning (and the end) of the twentieth century in Europe: the idea of catching up with Western standards in the political, economic, social, and cultural area and of joining the progressive Europe. The global history approach of *heterotemporalities*,³ according to which the different speeds of constructed spatial units play an important role in the production of imagined world divisions, is valid for the European Orient well into the twentieth century. Serbia was considered a sovereign state, no longer “new land” that could be defined at will, as in the nineteenth century. Yet it entered the next century as a not-fully-functional entity with unclear boundaries, rival dynasties, urban-rural tensions, and historical legacies that weighed heavily on the shoulders of the comparatively young and small kingdom. From the outside, from Europe and the United States, as from within, the Kingdom of Serbia and its population were portrayed with various historical narratives intended to make the perceived disorder understandable according to each worldview; metaphors and maps helped in this regard.

The metaphor of the Balkans as Europe’s powder keg was still prominent. In addition to Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia also caused excitement throughout Europe with their independence efforts and made headlines in the American media. Based on reported war atrocities by the warring parties during the Balkan Wars, in the years before the outbreak of World War I, the “Balkans” were perceived as a crisis area par excellence,⁴ a narrative that was adopted by Mary Edith Durham, who in the 1900s

³William M. Reddy, “The Eurasian Origins of Empty Time and Space: Modernity as a Temporality Reconsidered,” *History and Theory* 55, no. 10 (2016): 328; The concept of “heterotemporalities” is quoted from: Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 77.

⁴Eva Tamara Asboth, “Europe through the Gaze of the ‘Illustrierte Zeitung’ Anno 1858,” *Medien & Zeit* 31, no. 1 (2016): 48.

and 1910s observed the recently explored Balkan countries/nations.⁵ She was referred to as “Albania’s Mountain Queen,”⁶ advocating for an oppressed population in the Balkans that did not belong to the Christian cultural sphere. Therefore, she used historical narratives about Serbia that had circulated in the public sphere since the assassination of King Aleksandar in 1903 and reframed them in the discourse around war guilt for the First World War: the blackguards and their underground organizations who were said to have done the dirty work for the government in the background.⁷

PRELUDE: POLITICAL ACTIONS AS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The assassination of the Serbian King Aleksandar Obrenović by the Serbian officer corps was decisive for the West in forming subsequent historical narratives about Serbia. The night of June 10, 1903, made Serbia world-famous.⁸ The assassination gave the Kingdom of Serbia the reputation of being run by regicides, a view that was effectively used for war propaganda in the First World War by the Central Powers.⁹ Not only did the

⁵ Durham’s last trip was in 1921, to Albania: Daut Dauti, “Gjergj Fishta, the ‘Albanian Homer,’ and Edith Durham, the ‘Albanian Mountain Queen.’ Observers of Albania’s Road to Statehood,” in: *The Balkan Wars from Contemporary Perception to Historic Memory*, eds. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 100. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-44642-4_4.

⁶ Marcus Tanner, *Albania’s Mountain Queen. Edith Durham and the Balkans* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014); see also: Daut Dauti, “Gjergj Fishta, the ‘Albanian Homer,’ and Edith Durham, the ‘Albanian Mountain Queen.’”

⁷ James Perkins, “Peasants and Politics: Re-thinking the British Imaginative Geography of the Balkans at the Time of the First World War,” *European History Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2017): 57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691416672146>.

⁸ Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (UK: Penguin Books Limited: 2012), 23–32; The *Oesterreichische Kronen-Zeitung* sent an illustrator to Belgrade as soon as the regicide became known. His illustrations were printed in the issue of June 18, 1903. A drawing showing the regicides with their weapons held high was printed on the title page. It is reminiscent of the illustrations of the Serbian rebels by Felix Kanitz, albeit with a different message: these people could be a threat to anyone who got in their way. The drawing on the title page is based on a conversation with an Obrenović supporter, as stated in the newspaper: *Oesterreichische Kronen-Zeitung*, 18.06.1903, 9.

⁹ Hans Weigel, *Jeder Schuss ein Russ, jeder Stoß ein Franzos. Literarische und graphische Kriegspropaganda in Deutschland und Österreich 1914–1918* (Wien: Brandstätter, 1983), 75.

“slaughter”¹⁰ of King Aleksandar, his wife Draga, and his entourage¹¹ make room for a new beginning and a new direction for the Kingdom of Serbia, the “night of blood”¹² also sparked an international storm of “sensational headlines.”¹³ The historical narratives from the previous century that depicted Serbia (mainly as backward) were put into a contemporary context by Western journalists, experts, and researchers who published on this event: What separated the past decades from June 11, 1903, was the turn of the century and the accompanying perspectives that such a change of times triggers. The Austrian Prime Minister, Ernest Körber, was quoted in the *Berliner Tageblatt* saying that it was “devastating to see” that at the beginning of the twentieth century, political decisions were still brought about in such a way.¹⁴ He was not the only one to hold this opinion; Great Britain and the Netherlands immediately withdrew their ambassadors from Belgrade. Austria-Hungary raised the specter of European diplomatic protest against the new Serbian government, in which “regicides” gathered (although the Habsburg monarchy was the first to recognize the new king).¹⁵ The sensational news was quickly picked up overseas. The opinion section of the *New York Times* stated: “Without doubt, Belgrade will continue to be the center of active intrigues, Russian and anti-Russian, just as Sofia and Bucharest will continue to be like centers. That is the destiny of the capital of a Balkan State.”¹⁶

In June of 1903, the readership of the *New York Times*, which knew little about the borders, states, or history of Southeast Europe, was offered a sensational story, a scandal. In portraying the events from a distance, the

¹⁰The headlines in American newspapers: “Servian Rulers Slaughtered,” *New York Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 1; “Royal Palace a Scene of Butchery,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 1; “Horrible Slaughter of Monarchs,” *The Los Angeles Times*, 12.06.1903, 1.

¹¹The *Chicago Daily Tribune* published a list, naming and describing the victims of the assassination: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 1.

¹²The German-language newspapers often used the term “Blutnacht”: *Reichspost*, 13.06.1903, 1. After a message from Berlin, the *New York Times* used the term “bloody coup d’état”: *The New York Times*, 12.06.1903, 2.

¹³Perkins, “Peasants and Politics,” 57.

¹⁴“Ministerpräsident v. Körber über die politischen Folgen,” *Berliner Tageblatt, Morgen-Ausgabe*, 3.

¹⁵Dušan A. Lončarević, “Jugoslaviens Entstehung” (Zürich Leipzig Wien: Amalthea, 1929), 47–50. In fact, Great Britain resumed diplomatic relations with Serbia only in 1906, after all the government members involved in the regicide had been retired and were thus no longer part of the government, see: *ibid.*, 74–75.

¹⁶“The Massacre at Belgrade,” *The New York Times*, 12.06.1903, 8.

paper often indulged in sensationalism, rather than making clear the proximity or relevance of the events to their own public. Stories were intended to be entertaining. No wonder the coup of June 11, 1903, found enormous resonance in American newspapers. In addition to the national daily newspapers, even the smaller regional papers included front-page reports such as “Alexander’s Reign Ends in Bloodshed,”¹⁷ “Servia’s King, Queen and Members of the Ministry Murdered!”¹⁸ “A King and Queen Slain!”¹⁹ “Servian Army Assassinate Hated King and Queen and Precipitates a Revolution,”²⁰ or “Worst Blow Modern Civilization Ever Received.”²¹

As in many European and US newspapers, the portraits of Aleksandar and Draga were also printed in regional papers, for example, in Texas and Kansas. Portraits of rulers generally represent state authority and power, but also a claim to rule.²² The portraits of the murdered royal couple printed in the US daily newspapers, however, show neither powerful rulers, nor respected or esteemed representatives of a royal house. Especially in the case of Queen Draga, who is often shown without adornment, without customary royal clothing, posture, or hairstyle, the images do not even give the impression that she is a representative of the ruling elite.²³ It is neither a portrait that emphasizes or even legitimizes Queen Draga’s rule in Serbia, nor a contemporary representation of a powerful and influential ruler.

From that point on, the political events in the Kingdom of Serbia were covered in the *New York Times*, which printed all news and speculations from Europe about the successor of Aleksandar Obrenović, King Petar I Karađorđević, and about the further careers of those involved in the

¹⁷ *The Evening Tribune*, San Diego, 11.06.1903, 1.

¹⁸ *Fort Worth Telegram*, Texas, 11.06.1903, 1.

¹⁹ *The Kansas City Star*, 11.06.1903, 1.

²⁰ *The Evening Times*, Pawtucket, R. I., 11.06.1903, 1.

²¹ *Olympia Daily Recorder*, Olympia, Washington, 11.06.1903, 1.

²² Martin Warnke, “Herrscherbildnis,” in Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke and Hendrik Ziegler, eds, *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie. Vol. 1* (München: Fleck, 2011), 481–490.

²³ For example, there was an illustration of Draga with a primitive and old-fashioned-looking (not royal at all) headscarf, in: *The Kansas City Star*, 11.06.1903, 1.

assassination, the “regicides” of 1903.²⁴ It was rumored that Petar was the target of plots against him,²⁵ that his son Prince Georg was even more “primitive” than the murdered Aleksandar Obrenović and his father,²⁶ and even that his unadorned crown was only worth a ridiculous 10 pounds.²⁷ Another mocking report included the satirical statement that Shakespeare’s *Richard III* was a popular play in Belgrade. After Richard’s words, “And every tale condemns me for a villain,” the Belgrade audience was said to have applauded so loudly and enthusiastically that the play had to be interrupted for a few minutes. “It was apparent that the enthusiasm was for Richard’s words more than for the artist’s dramatic power,” the newspaper concluded.²⁸ Another example is an article about American writer, columnist, and enthusiastic traveler George Ade, who was sent by a newspaper to the European capitals to establish a network of correspondents there. A satirical statement was printed in the *New York Times* gossip column in 1906: in Belgrade, they said, George Ade had not met a single journalist because they all were imprisoned for lese majesty. He had been forced to name the press censor as a contact for his newspaper.²⁹ These (humorous) news items point to the new approach of creating a sensation, rather than informing. By doing so, the Balkans acquired the label of being stuck in the *Old World* of the last century.

In addition to all the mockery and stigmatization of the Kingdom of Serbia as being stuck in the *Old World*, the *New York Times* reported on the United States’ official conciliatory course toward the Belgrade government. Even before Great Britain resumed its diplomatic relations with the

²⁴ “Ousting Servian Regicides,” *The New York Times*, 01.04.1904, 5; “Powers Recognizing Servia,” *The New York Times*, 02.04.1904, 3; “King Dines with Regicides,” *The New York Times*, 26.06.1904, 4; “Servian Regicides To Be Retired,” *The New York Times*, 30.03.1906, 6; “King Sticks to Regicides,” *The New York Times*, 16.04.1906, 2; “Regicide Officers Retired,” *The New York Times*, 24.04.1906, 1.

²⁵ “Plot Against King Peter,” *The New York Times*, 25.01.1904, 2; “Balkan Outbreak Plot,” *The New York Times*, 14.09.1905, 4; “Threats against King Peter,” *The New York Times*, 27.12.1906, 4.

²⁶ “Servian Crown Prince Said To Be Insane,” *The New York Times*, 17.11.1906, 6; “Servian Prince Still Free,” *The New York Times*, 18.11.1906, 4; “Threats against King Peter,” *The New York Times*, 27.12.1906, 4.

²⁷ “King Peter’s Bronze Crown. From the London Pall Mall Gazette,” *The New York Times*, 29.05.1904, 6.

²⁸ “‘Richard III.’ in Belgrade,” *The New York Times*, 24.06.1906, SM7.

²⁹ “Some Rialto Gleanings. Bits of Gossip from Here and There,” *New York Times*, 29.04.1906, X8.

Kingdom of Serbia, the US Minister for Greece, Romania, and Serbia had presented himself to King Petar. With the headline “We Forgive King Peter,”³⁰ the good news was spread; now the question was, could the *New York Times*, or Washington, or the American population, forgive King Petar or the Serbian population, respectively? This question made visible the international pressure that had been weighing on the Kingdom of Serbia since the regicide. For a country that had not yet arrived in the twentieth century, but was nevertheless connected to the Great Powers through the contemporary trade and economic policies of the West, the judgment of the United States was decisive. Washington and Belgrade resumed diplomatic relations, and King Petar was recognized as the rightful head of state.³¹ Only two years later, the message “Britain Forgives Servia” was announced,³² as Great Britain realized that the Kingdom of Serbia would play an important role in the Balkans in the future. In addition to Serbia, the *New York Times* article also assigned Montenegro and Bulgaria to the Balkans.³³

In all of the examined German, Austro-Hungarian, British, and American daily newspapers, shocking reports were printed about the extermination of the Obrenović dynasty and the “slaughter” of loyal members of the royal house. The *Daily Mail* stated that the regicide ended the feud between the two ruling dynasties that had been ongoing for a century—since the beginning of the history of “modern” Serbia.³⁴ The conservative Austro-Hungarian daily newspaper *Reichspost* judged the event an “annihilation” in its leading article.³⁵ King Aleksandar and his father were loyal to the House of Habsburg, which inevitably led to tensions within the elites in the Kingdom of Serbia, who resisted the integrating concept of a multi-ethnic state. Austria-Hungary, however, continued to insist on its position as Serbia’s protector and bridge to Europe, which is why the Habsburg-loyal *Reichspost* immediately wove this narrative into

³⁰ “We Forgive King Peter,” *New York Times*, 05.05.1904, 1.

³¹ Diplomat John B. Jackson was appointed; “Special to The New York Times,” *New York Times*, 5.5.1904, 1; “American Minister at Servian Court,” *New York Times*, 10.05.1904, 9. Two years later, Jackson was replaced by Riddle, see: “Servians Cheer Our Minister,” *New York Times*, 08.05.1906.

³² “Britain Forgives Servia,” *The New York Times*, 07.06.1906, 4.

³³ “Why Great Britain Has Forgiven Servia,” *The New York Times*, 17.06.1906, X6.

³⁴ “A Century Feud, Now Finally and Awfully Wiped Out in Blood,” *Daily Mail*, 12.06.1903, 5.

³⁵ “Revolution und Königsmord in Belgrad,” *Reichspost*, 13.06.1903, 1.

the leading article: Austria-Hungary would continue to be the “point of light” for the Serbian Kingdom. This metaphor portrayed the neighboring state as a structure trapped in the dark ages. Parallel to the narratives of the barbaric political events in the Kingdom of Serbia, tales of which spread like a gothic novel in the daily newspapers across the West, a counter-narrative was built, promising European missionary and peace work in case of war. Austria-Hungary would maintain order in the event of a civil war, as was increasingly stated in German-speaking daily newspapers,³⁶ occasionally in British papers and in brief reports in American ones. This shows who created the counter-narrative, and for which countries it had greater significance. The events surrounding the regicide, as picked up by the *London Times* and the *New York Times*,

will not blind the world to the fact that Belgrade, at the opening of the twentieth century, has been chosen to be the scene of a palace tragedy as black and savage and pitiless as ever adorned the chronicles of decadent Rome or mediaeval Constantinople.³⁷

The British *Times* catapulted the Kingdom of Serbia at least back to the pre-modern era. Both the Roman and the Byzantine Empire had been dominant powers in the Balkans, as Felix Kanitz demonstrated with his archeological research. However, the “slaughter” of the royal couple could be legitimized neither by the ancient nor the Byzantine historical legacies, implied the *London Times*. The Kingdom of Serbia was by no means perceived as an adequate nation-state of the twentieth century. The assassination was identified, from London to the United States, as the last of many Serbian revolutions in the preceding century.³⁸ In the *New York Times* column *Brief Comment on Foreign Topics*, the events around June 11, 1903, were a frequent topic, and even in 1907 the Kingdom of Serbia was still described as a “medieval country.”³⁹ The self-image of the Serbs

³⁶ “[London:] Die diplomatische Situation,” *Berliner Tageblatt, Morgen-Ausgabe*, 12.06.1903, 2; “Ministerpräsident v. Körber über die politischen Folgen,” *Berliner Tageblatt, Morgen-Ausgabe*, 13.06.1903, 3.

³⁷ “Comment in London. The Times Compares Belgrade with Decadent Rome and Medieval Constantinople,” *The New York Times*, 12.11.1903, 2.

³⁸ “As Viewed at London,” *Los Angeles Times*, 12.06.1903, 3; “The News in London,” *New York Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 2.

³⁹ “Brief Comment on Foreign Topics: King Peter’s Unhappy Throne,” *The New York Times*, 20.01.1907, X8.

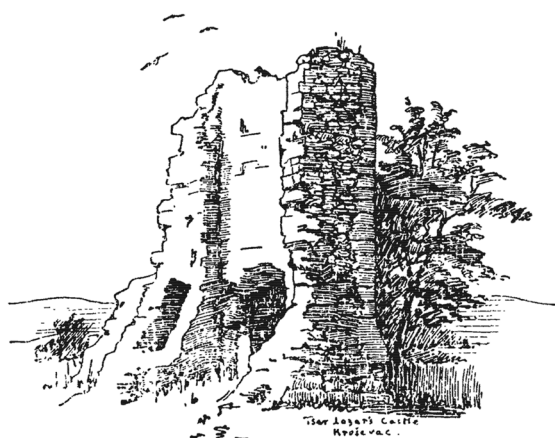
supported the narrative that Serbia was a medieval country; through the constant circulation of the Kosovo myth within the Serbian public, this narrative also made its way into Western daily newspapers. According to the Kosovo and Serbian national myth, Serbia's heyday dated to the fourteenth century, it was followed by "five centuries" of Ottoman rule, as the *New York Times* explained to its readers.⁴⁰ While current events in the age of mass media can be immediately captured in images, the great events of pre-modern history had to be retrospectively "translated" into illustrations.⁴¹ Felix Philipp Kanitz and Mary Edith Durham understood this task well; their drawings were contemporary pieces of evidence that made Serbia appear like an idyllic and fairy-tale space away from civilized Europe. Kanitz illustrated medieval Serbia with drawings of buildings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that resembled Sleeping Beauty's castle (see Fig. 5.5). Unlike Kanitz, Durham mainly painted and drew people and their surroundings. However, there are occasional images in her work that exclusively show buildings or ruins, which then also have the character of a sleepy era (Fig. 7.1).⁴² Durham consolidated the image of the Balkan inhabitants as "belonging to the past."⁴³ This is contrary to the purpose of Kanitz; although he was also measuring the situation in the Balkans by Western standards, he wanted his last texts to focus on the progress of Serbia. "In Durham's eyes, the twentieth century seems to be a property of Europe that the Balkans lack. ... In Durham's vocabulary, the twentieth century becomes synonymous with Europe, so anything not up to the twentieth-century standards is seen as something inferior to

⁴⁰ "King Peter Is Crowned," *The New York Times*, 22.09.1904, 9.

⁴¹ Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.–21. Jahrhundert* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), 10–11.

⁴² A couple of illustrations with the same motif (topic) are found in her notebook. The descriptions given in the notebook are also insightful, because the text also supports the fairy-tale notion. Besides the illustration of the monumental building in Kruševac, which according to her sources was built in 1352, she wrote: "According to tradition Tsar Lazar had a palace here & rode hence to the fatal battle of Kossovo," see: Mary Edith Durham, "My Balkan Notebook, Vol. I., Primitive Implements. Boats. Hearths. Buildings in Various Balkan Districts. SERBIA," Mary Edith Durham "Collection" MS 41, Archives and Manuscripts, Royal Anthropological Institute.

⁴³ Milica Živković and Nikola Petrović, "The not-so-noble savage: Balkanism in Mary Edith Durham's *Through the Lands of the Serb*," *Linguistics and Literature* 21, no 1 (2023): 56. <https://doi.org/10.22190/FULL230330005Z>.



TSAR LAZAR'S CASTLE.

Fig. 7.1 "Tsar Lazar's Castle." (In Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 252. Public Domain)

Europe." In her estimation, the Orthodox church in particular was lagging behind.⁴⁴

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Kanitz's illustrations had disappeared from the newspaper landscape, or rather they were rewritten. As Sundhaussen explains, visualizations of collective memories are only "correct" if they are communicable, that is, understood by the audience, and at the same time meet with social acceptance,⁴⁵ in other words if they confirm the *zeitgeist*. The fairy-tale and romanticizing representations now had to give way to hard facts. The *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* played rhetorically with the narrative of medieval Serbia by denying the romanticized-idealized notion and telling its own version:

Even the memories of the great medieval times of these Balkan peoples, who then formed "empires," are easily misleading, to which the boastful war songs ... and the romantic memories ... may have contributed greatly. Those empires, founded and maintained by the Bulgarians and Serbs for several decades, only became possible when the Greek Empire in Byzantium

⁴⁴ Živković and Nikola Petrović, "The not-so-noble savage," 59.

⁴⁵ Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens*, 10–11.

was fatally disrupted by internal struggles and completely displaced by the attack of the Crusaders. The Serbian Emperor Dusan led armies of 15,000 men in his wars and no more, and less than forty years after his death, the Serbian Empire was destroyed by a single blow from the Turks on the Amselfeld. ... The Balkan states owe their independent existence only to the intervention of Europe.⁴⁶

The Kingdom of Serbia was moved to the losing side of the Christian world by its history and by the Byzantine and Ottoman legacy, no matter how large and glorious its medieval empire might have been. After 1900, the small Kingdom of Serbia on the inner European periphery was a “modern counter-world” that was used to confirm the narrative of European modernity, where science, medicine, technology, and industrialization as well as enlightenment, democracy, rule of law, the welfare state, and capitalism had their origin.⁴⁷ The counter-world in which the European peripheries were located from a European perspective was “imagined as an embodiment of the original,” in reference to Kupper and Schär.⁴⁸ This resulted in romanticizing and idyllic narratives about Serbia and the Balkans. The modern counter-world of Serbia, also understood as a mirror image of Europe, was created through interactions. The fascination with the counter-world included quite positive narratives about Serbia, as transmitted by some of the Encounters presented here. However, due to the major powers’ stated goal of integrating Serbia into Europe, the negative manifestations of the medieval narrative predominated, as this goal

⁴⁶ “Vorgänge am Balkan,” in: Berliner Börsen-Zeitung, Morgen-Ausgabe, 18.10.1912, 1. Original: “Auch die Erinnerungen an die große mittelalterliche Zeit dieser Balkanvölker, die damals ‘Kaiserreiche’ bildeten, führen leicht irre, wozu die ruhmredigen Kriegslieder ... und die romantischen Erinnerungen ... viel beigetragen haben mögen. Jene Kaiserreiche, die Bulgaren und Serben gegründet und einige Jahrzehnte lang erhalten hatten, waren nur möglich geworden, als das griechische Kaisertum in Byzanz durch innere Kämpfe tödlich zerrüttet und durch den Angriff der Kreuzfahrer überhaupt verdrängt worden war. Der serbische Kaiser Dusan führte in seinen Kriegen Heere von 15,000 Mann und nicht mehr und noch nicht 40 Jahre nach seinem Tode wurde das serbische Reich durch einen einzigen Schlag der Türken auf dem Amselfelde vernichtet. ... Ein selbstständiges Dasein verdanken die Balkanstaaten nur dem Eingreifen Europas.”

⁴⁷ Patrick Kupper and Bernhard C. Schärer, “Moderne Gegenwelten, *Ein mikrohistorischer Beitrag zur europäischen Globalgeschichte*,” in: *Ränder der Moderne: Neue Perspektiven auf die Europäische Geschichte (1800–1930)*, eds. Christof Dejung and Martin Lengwiler (Köln: Böhlau, 2015), 93–94.

⁴⁸ Kupper and Bernhard C. Schärer, “Moderne Gegenwelten,” 112.

required that the young nation-state not lose its status as a transformation country.

The negative manifestation of the medieval narrative can be read from numerous printed reports, which were the same or similar in every newspaper and in general represent a kind of horror novel.⁴⁹ During the annexation crisis of 1908, the king's murder in 1903 played a major role in the US media, which reminded readers of this event among other things by referring to it as Serbian "Dark History." Such flashbacks are attributable to sensational journalism, which wanted to resell the horror novel from 1903, but never attempted to give a detailed and informative presentation of Serbian history. With the coronation of Petar, the image of a medieval state increasingly emerged. The clash of the Balkans and Europe represented a clash of modern and medieval civilization, according to Harvard history professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who also taught in Berlin, in the *New York Times* in 1913.⁵⁰

The outrage and contempt for the king's murder itself, with which the press in the German Empire and in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy reacted and accordingly concluded that Serbia was stuck in another time, is astonishing. After all, their own empire was based on the myth of a "medieval universal empire,"⁵¹ whose ruler, sent by God, ruled absolutely to ensure peace and security. In the United States, Austria-Hungary was perceived as medieval, backward, and sleepy,⁵² while the Kingdom of Serbia, from the US perspective, intensely pursued the ideals of a contemporary modern nation-state. The Habsburg multi-ethnic state, in both the Serbian as well as the American imagination, was outdated and already in the process of aging, decaying, and declining.⁵³ From the perspective of the United States, the Eurocentric world was driven by the greed for

⁴⁹ "Alexander and Draga," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 3; "The Royal Couple," *New York Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 3; "A Century Feud, Now Finally and Awfully Wiped Out in Blood," *Daily Mail*, 12.06.1903, 5.

⁵⁰ "Prof. Hart on the Balkans," in: *The New York Times*, 07.08.1913, 6.

⁵¹ Matthias Pape, "Revolution und Reichsverfassung. Die Verfassungsdiskussion zwischen Fürstenbund und Rheinbund," in *Verfassung und Revolution. Hegels Verfassungskonzeption und die Revolutionen der Neuzeit*, eds. Elisabeth Weisser-Lohmann and Dietmar Köhler (Hamburg: Meiner 2000), 76.

⁵² Carl Dolmetsch, "It Was Still the Middle Ages in Austria," in *Images of Central Europe in Travelogues and Fiction by North American Writers*, ed. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1995), 99.

⁵³ Eva Tamara Asboth and Silvia Nadjivan, "Im Dienst des Krieges. Der Habsburger- und Kosovo-Mythos," ed. Mitteleuropazentrum an der Andrassy Universität Budapest, *Jahrbuch für Mitteleuropäische Studien 2014/2015* (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2016), 184.

power, which resulted in rivalries among the European monarchs. According to the US worldview, American rulers were sent not by God, but by representatives, who were elected according to democratic principles. Accordingly, the regicide was interpreted as a liberation and the will of the people, as mentioned in Chap. 6.⁵⁴

The *Chicago Daily Tribune* placed the regicide within the context of a series of political assassinations, removing the character of an extraordinary crime attributed to it by Europe. The daily newspaper published a list of political assassinations and attempted assassinations, beginning with the murder of Julius Caesar and ending with the most recent killing of a US President, William McKinley, in 1901.⁵⁵ The list is surprising not only because the United States itself is represented four times and because assassinations and attempted assassinations are considered timeless phenomena, but also because the American view of political assassinations includes crowned heads, featuring Elisabeth (murdered in 1898), Wilhelm I and Franz Joseph (assassination attempts). The list made it clear that kings, queens, and state leaders could be victims of murder for a variety of reasons, mainly political ones. To be at the top of the monarchy or government meant to live a dangerous life. The headlines and especially the reports taken from American newspapers were similar to European reporting, but the perspective from overseas was nevertheless different, partly due to the geographical distance. At the same time, it was related to the national myth of the United States, which saw itself as a model of democracy and human rights and accordingly rejected a monarchist legitimization and primacy.⁵⁶

Europe and the United States clearly imagined themselves as part of the *New World*. This included, for the *New York Times* at the beginning of 1904, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Spain. These countries were characterized by the fact that socialist currents, which would sooner or later steer them toward democracy, were noticeable and growing. The sympathies of the United States were clearly and expressly strongest for Great Britain,⁵⁷ which was also reflected in the relationship between the newspapers. The *New York Times* relied on reports from

⁵⁴ Neil Renwick, *America's World Identity. The Politics of Exclusion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 202. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230597945>.

⁵⁵ "Other Assassinations and Attempts," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12.06.1903, 2.

⁵⁶ Klaus Schwabe, *Weltmacht und Weltordnung. Amerikanische Außenpolitik von 1898 bis zur Gegenwart. Eine Jahrhundertgeschichte* (Paderborn Wien: Brill 2006), 40.

⁵⁷ Schwabe, *Weltmacht und Weltordnung*, 40.

European cities for its coverage of Serbia and the Serbian population. The vast majority of articles and reports (almost half) that were not written by the *Times* came from London.⁵⁸

While the *Chicago Daily Tribune* discussed political assassinations from the past as a country comparison, the former Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the United States, Konstantin Dumba, wanted to identify the assassinations as a Serbian specialty. "What are the traditions of Serbia's people?" he asked in 1914. "Servians are temperamentally light-hearted, joyous and frivolous, not devoid of a great many artistic features. Yet, is there any country in the world which can equal, for instance, the long list of rulers assassinated on or around their country's throne?"⁵⁹ The author begins with a chronology of the "Servian regicides," starting in the Middle Ages, in 902, when Prince Peter had the ruler murdered, and then was himself murdered in 917. After 13 regicides in the Middle Ages, which Dumba lists, there was a pause in assassinations, as there were no Serbian kings or princes to eliminate under Turkish rule. The list resumes in modern times with number 14, Prince Michael Obrenović in 1868; number 15 is King Alexander, and the list ends with number 16, Queen Draga. The author comes to his crucial conclusion by reinterpreting what was originally admirable about the Serbian nation: their loyalty to their own culture and its oral transmission:

Do such traditions leave no trace on the psychology of a people's mind? The stories told to their children in the nurse's room, repeated and amplified in the schools which their boys frequented, revelled [sic!] and gloried in the bloody exploits of the glorious past. Is it to be wondered that when their boys grew up, the taste of blood seemed not strange to them?⁶⁰

Dumba argues for Serbia's guilt similarly to how Durham will later, in the 1920s: the history of the Kingdom of Serbia serves as evidence for the bloodlust and intrigue of contemporary Serbian politics. Based on this history of theirs, Dumba says, the Serbian rulers and the Serbian population could not recognize their guilt, because they did not live according to the same civilized standards of modern times as in Austria and America.⁶¹

⁵⁸ See footnote 52 in Chap. 6.

⁵⁹ Dumba, "Vorwort," in *Austria-Hungary and the War*, ed. Ernest Ludwig (New York: Ogilvie, 1915), 71.

⁶⁰ Dumba, "Vorwort," 73.

⁶¹ Dumba, "Vorwort," 74.

THE 1914 JULY CRISIS FROM DURHAM'S PERSPECTIVE

Christopher Clark begins his work *The Sleepwalkers* with the regicide of 1903, dedicating an entire chapter to this eventful night and the complications, the prehistory, and the consequences of the coup. According to Clark's conclusion, the regicide in Serbia led to a political culture characterized by unofficial secret societies and underground networks: "The legacy of Serbian history and in particular of the kingdom's development since 1903 weighed heavily on Belgrade in the summer of 1914."⁶² This was refuted by the response of his colleague and Southeastern European historian Marie-Janine Calic: "Recent representations would assign Serbia a shared responsibility for the outbreak of war and describe it as a 'rogue state'," but Serbia was neither mutated into a warmongering force due to the developments since 1903 or for other reasons, nor did the blame for the outbreak of the First World War lie with Serbian politics. This was a revival of exactly the same argument that was circulated by Austria-Hungary at the beginning of the war, according to Calic.⁶³

Indeed, in his thesis, Clark partially adopts the historical narrative that Western newspapers established about Serbia from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1914 and that was consciously reproduced at least by Austria-Hungary: the Kingdom of Serbia was unstable and the politicians were inexperienced to unwilling in the area of democratic action, a perspective that of course has a point.⁶⁴ The Serbian population, according to this narrative, was stuck in a time when blood revenge, princely purple, and assassinations guided politics.⁶⁵ The k. u. k. Army already had such a negative image of the Serbian underground organizations, regicides, and komitadjis and about the subversive Serbian machinations in their own monarchy that they threw the moral standards of warfare overboard even before entering the Serbian kingdom.⁶⁶ Although the chain of events from

⁶² Clark, *The Sleepwalkers*, 58.

⁶³ Marie-Janine Calic, "Kriegstreiber Serbien? Die Südslawen und der Erste Weltkrieg: Eine Richtigstellung," *Osteuropa* 64, no. 2–4 (2014) 43.

⁶⁴ Milica Živković and Nikola Petrović discuss the expectations the Balkan travelers had, which were framed based on their knowledge from sources they had read or people they had talked to. They gave the example that Durham (and many others) expected the Balkans to become Westernized and measured the progress of the new countries against the standards of Great Britain, see: "The not-so-noble savage," 56–58.

⁶⁵ "Die Militärrevolte in Belgrad," *Berliner Tageblatt, Morgen-Ausgabe*, 12.06.1903, 1.

⁶⁶ Jonathan Gumz, "The Habsburg Empire, Serbia, and 1914. The Significance of a Sideshow," in *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, eds.

1903 did not create a rogue state, it cast a bad light on Serbian politics and supported the negative image of the young kingdom regarding its will to submit to the given Western political rules. Britain soon reached out to Serbia ("Britain Forgives Servia," 1906), but Austria-Hungary used the idea of a "rogue state" specifically in the media, until 1914 and beyond. After all, the monarchy and the subsequent Republic of Austria had to justify the war that had started there.

In the 2014 edition of the *Austrian Contemporary Journal*, guest editor Samuel R. Williamson discusses the historiographical work that has been done in the past hundred years on the (background) reasons for the outbreak of the First World War. He describes Clark's *Sleepwalkers* book as an innovative approach—the author does not focus on the war guilt of one country, but emphasizes the shared participation and responsibility of the Great Powers (and also of Serbia) for the July Crisis of 1914. As extensive as the literature list on the topic of outbreak and war guilt in connection with the First World War has become, such processing, especially from the Austrian side, was sparse in the 1920s and 1930s, writes Williamson.⁶⁷ "Unlike the full-throated German effort to challenge the *Kriegsschuldfrage* verdict, the Austrian government with very limited means made no similar effort. Some Austrian historians wrote articles based on guarded access to archival sources, ... but few focused precisely on the July crisis per se,"⁶⁸ he summarizes. "Heated debates about the 'war guilt question' (*Kriegsschuldfrage*) consumed Germany but hardly touched the small Austria left over from the Habsburg Monarchy," confirms historian Verena Moritz in the same issue, adding, "The First Austrian Republic failed to launch a critical discourse on World War I, let alone master these events."⁶⁹

Günter Bischof, Ferdinand Karlhofer and Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. (Contemporary Austrian Studies 23, University of New Orleans Press, 2014), 137. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1n2txft.9>.

⁶⁷ Samuel R. Williamson, Jr., "Austria and the Origins of the Great War: A Selective Historiographical Survey," in *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, eds. Günter Bischof, Ferdinand Karlhofer and Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. (Contemporary Austrian Studies 23, University of New Orleans Press, 2014): 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1n2txft.4>.

⁶⁸ Williamson, "Austria and the Origins of the Great War," 24.

⁶⁹ Verena Moritz, "The Treatment of Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary 1914/1915. The Historiography of Prisoners of War in the Late Habsburg Empire," in *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, eds. Günter Bischof, Ferdinand Karlhofer and Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. (Contemporary Austrian Studies 23, University of New Orleans Press, 2014), 234. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1n2txft.14>.

However, there was one person outside the First Republic who, as a Balkan researcher and expert, committed herself to the processing of the July crisis and above all wanted to clarify the question of the war guilt of Austria and Serbia: Mary Edith Durham.

In the 1920s, Durham actively brought the topic of the “War Guilt Question” into a transnational public sphere and promoted the narratives of the Serbian king murderers and troublemakers,⁷⁰ which regained relevance with Christopher Clark. At this time she was no longer traveling, but she remained in contact with many people at home and abroad who were concerned with Balkan politics.⁷¹ Her perspective can only be deduced from the genesis of her relationship to the Balkans and to the local population groups.

Mary Edith Durham was advised by her doctor to travel to foreign areas for her mental health condition. For several years, she had taken care of her ailing mother, and after her mother died, she experienced depression. When Durham first arrived at her holiday destination of Cetinje, she was not planning to become a Balkan researcher.⁷² On her first trips to the Balkans, Durham found herself busy systematically classifying the local population. From this early period comes her work *Through the Lands of the Serb*, published in London in 1904—at the same time that the first volume of Kanitz’s *The Kingdom of Serbia and the Serbian People* appeared. In it, she describes her difficulties with travel preparations, which in turn reflect the importance of the Balkans within British politics.

Durham wanted to learn the language spoken in Montenegro, the port of arrival. In no school or language academy could she find lessons in Montenegrin/Serbian: “The schools and systems that teach all the languages of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America know it not.”⁷³ At the Balkan Consulate in London, she tried to find someone who could teach her the language. Even there, no one spoke a word of Montenegrin/Serbian.

⁷⁰David Kaufman, “The ‘One Guilty Nation’ Myth: Edith Durham, R.W. Seton-Watson and a Footnote in the History of the Outbreak of the First World War,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 25, no. 3 (2023): 297–298, 311, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2022.2143839>.

⁷¹Mary Edith Durham, “Letters and Notes,” Mary Edith Durham “Collection,” MS 56, Archives and Manuscripts, Royal Anthropological Institute.

⁷²Fatmir Ramadani, *Albanian Lands, People and Culture in the Focus of Two Anglo-Saxon Women Travellers – E. Durham and R. W. Lane*, Diss-Phd University of Graz, 2019, 30.

⁷³Mary Edith Durham, *Through the Land of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), 7.

Nevertheless, Durham did not give up, and she learned the Serbian and Albanian language over the years.

Durham's efforts to get to know the language and customs of Serbian and Albanian inhabitants in the Balkans, and her accounts of these, must also be viewed critically, as Milica Živković and Nikola Petrović from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Niš argue in their paper entitled "The not-so-noble savage." The middle-class Englishwoman prepared for her travels by reading books and gaining knowledge about the Balkans that evoked certain expectations about how the Balkan countries were supposed to look. The authors of the paper argue that Durham wrote in the tradition of previous travel writers, especially in her first book *Through the Lands of the Serb*. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Western exploration and discovery of the Balkans was well-advanced, but as a travel writer, she wanted to experience the unexperienced. "As the Balkans were more and more explored, writing something new about them was becoming increasingly difficult," so Durham began looking for undiscovered, remote, and backward places, traveling to the southern Serbian border region and further to Albania. Whether she found what she was looking for or not remains unanswered, but she described a fantasy rather than reality. By depicting the Balkans as deviating from the Western norm, she presented herself as a patron for countries that needed her help.⁷⁴ "Durham puts Europe and all things European on a pedestal and judges the people of the Balkans ... for not fitting the European ideal," according to the analysis of Živković and Petrović.⁷⁵ In her travel reports, she managed to present herself as a welcome guest who had always an ear for the sorrows of the people she encountered and their stories.

Her first encounters with the local population were with men in Cattaro, and it quickly became clear to her that everyone had their own story to tell:

Thus either party seizes upon the stranger and tries to prevent his views being 'prejudiced.' ... there is a Catholic side, an Orthodox side, a Mohammedan side, there are German, Slav, Italian, Turkish, and Albanian sides; and when he has heard them all he feels far less capable of forming an opinion on the Eastern Question than he did before.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Živković and Petrović, "The not-so-noble savage," 57.

⁷⁵ Živković and Petrović, "The not-so-noble savage," 61.

⁷⁶ Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 3.

In addition, there is the population group of the Roma, who are either Muslim or hold pagan beliefs, and a Jewish minority. In her second work, *The Burden of the Balkans* from 1905, she also extensively discusses the hostility among the population groups who identify as “Montenegrin,” “Macedonian,” “Greek,” “Serb,” “Bulgar,” and “Albanian,” or those who are perceived as “Turks.” Woe if these self-ascriptions were accidentally swapped.⁷⁷ This first challenge, to structure the multitude of affiliations, was coupled with Durham’s impression that the men in the European Orient were not very different from one another, but certainly different from the men in the West: “Though they knew it not, they were the survivors of an old, old world, the old world which still lingers in out-of-the-way corners ... All these parti-coloured saddlebags and little bundles tied up in cotton handkerchiefs represented the worldly goods of three generations, who ... were ... as mystical as any conceived by mediæval knight.”⁷⁸ The men she imagined as knights fought for their freedom—each one preparing for a different freedom: against Ottoman rule, against Austrian regency, and in the course of time, Durham discovered the Serbian claim to power in the Balkans. Every man wanted to be a “dobar junak”⁷⁹ (brave warrior) under these volatile circumstances. Her guide, who was from Hungary, reinforced her judgment that the Montenegrins loved their weapons. Durham’s image of the rebels and weapon lovers was something she had in common with her colleague Kanitz, who had traveled there two to three decades earlier.

Mary Edith Durham was able to achieve what Felix Philipp Kanitz could not. She traveled to Kosovo, North Macedonia, and Albania, at a time when these states were part of the Ottoman Empire. For Durham, it was on a journey to Turkey that she found a heterogeneous population just like in Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In her book *The Burden of the Balkans* (1905), Durham is very critical of the Ottoman administration and the Sultan’s regency. She tells how she once helped a young man escape to Serbia, as travel without permission was forbidden in Turkey. Durham explains that the Sultan was concerned about the taxes that were not paid during an absence. The man whom she had smuggled across the Turkish-Serbian border later thanked her with a letter from Belgrade: “He had never before known, he said, what it was to be in a free

⁷⁷ Mary Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 115–117.

⁷⁸ Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 2.

⁷⁹ Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 26.

and civilized land. There are people in England who believe that Servia is a wild and dangerous place. They are those who do not understand what it is to be a subject of the Sultan."⁸⁰ In this book, Durham leaves no doubt that the Christian, but also the Muslim-Albanian population, who were experiencing injustices and oppression at the time, needed to be saved from the "Turkish government," which was considered outdated compared to Durham's own worldview: "It was a machine constructed in the Dark Ages, and is now a worn-out mediaeval affair—a museum specimen that cannot be adapted to the needs of to-day."⁸¹ This quote mirrors the anti-Ottoman sentiment that originated from the Balkan committee in London, of which Durham was a part. The committee was a gathering of British Balkan writers, including Durham's later opponent Seton-Watson. They managed to occupy the public sphere, thereby decisively influencing which events would attract public attention. They established a trend which regarded the Ottoman Empire as a regime of tyranny, unmanageable and unable to be reformed, in other words, the "sick man of Europe."⁸² While the committee members implemented a broadly pro-Balkan and pro-Christian discourse, Durham and a Member of Parliament, Aubrey Herbert, were the patrons of the Albanian cause.⁸³

Durham repeatedly warned in her works that the solution to the "Eastern Adriatic question" was not exclusively the repression of "Turkish" rule. A big mistake would be to overwhelm the local population too quickly with Western standards; after all, there were centuries between Durham's world and the one she traveled to. "Alas for Western ideas planted untimely upon Eastern soil! Perhaps the greatest foes of the Balkan peoples are those well-meaning people who wish to hurry them on."⁸⁴ The powerful time horizons not only possessed impressive narrative power in the Kosovo myth, which tells of centuries of foreign rule. Like Kanitz (with his term "magic sleep"), Durham also used speeds and time horizons in her works as explanatory and narrative patterns of the Oriental-Balkan world she encountered ("old world"—"new world," "dark ages," "museum").

In her sketchbooks and travel diaries, which she always feared losing in Turkish territory, Durham recorded her impressions on site and later cast

⁸⁰ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 66.

⁸¹ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 66.

⁸² Dauti, "Gjergj Fishta, the 'Albanian Homer,' and Edith Durham, the 'Albanian Mountain Queen,'" 91.

⁸³ Larry Wolff, "The Western Representation," 392.

⁸⁴ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 144.

them into book form. Upon returning to London, Durham's first task was likely to paste her drawings into volumes, which resembled photo albums, and to label them. Her notes were certainly helpful, and explanations and narratives can be found alongside the illustrations. Since these were written with a typewriter, and the contents of the descriptions often clearly come from a different time than the drawings, it can be assumed that the travel material was edited afterward.

A page from the album *My Balkan Notebook Vol. I* clearly illustrates the genesis of Durham's relationship with "Serbia." Durham pasted her 1904 drawing onto this page, in which she depicted three men of Bulgarian origin living in the Turkish territory near Lake Prespa. Today, Lake Prespa is partly located in North Macedonia, Greece, and Albania. A weapon can be seen hanging on the wall behind one man. The men are sitting cross-legged on the floor, and Durham points out the "raki bottle" in front of them (Fig. 7.2). The labels next to the drawing, which was made on January 21, 1904, indicate that the territory of "Macedonia" now belonged to Yugoslavia—and moreover, that the Bulgarian population was denied their right to join Bulgaria. "They were given to Yugoslavia but the Serbs have failed to Serbize them," wrote the British Balkan researcher, who herself switched sides between 1904 and the founding of Yugoslavia (since 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), moving from a Serbophile phase and a critical attitude toward Austria-Hungary to a pro-Albanian stance and a rejection of Serbian national politics.⁸⁵ The narratives of oppression, injustice, and denial of their own history remained the same, but Serbia switched places with Austria-Hungary, and the minority to be saved was primarily the Albanian-Muslim, but also the Bulgarian population. Durham's rejection of Serbian politics even went so far that in her later works she classified Ottoman rule as tolerant, because the Sultan had allowed the Serbs to practice their own religion and to maintain the churches and monasteries created for this purpose. She mentioned the medieval heritage of some churches, as Felix Kanitz did, illustrating the standstill of Serbian culture.⁸⁶ The changed attitude took shape over the years; in her 1905 work she noted, "With the

⁸⁵ In 1913, when Durham returned from one of her travels back home to London, she ended her friendship with the "South Slavs" and sent back the golden medallion she had received as a present from King Nikola from Montenegro: Wolff, *The Western Representation of Eastern Europe*, 393.

⁸⁶ Durham, *Letters and Notes*, MS 56.



IN THE HEAD MAN'S HOUSE, NIVITZA.

Fig. 7.2 Men sitting around a bottle of Raki. (In Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 126-127. The original drawing is in one of Durham's Notebooks: Durham, "My Balkan Notebook. Vol. 1," MS 41)

highly-strung and imaginative Serbs, patriotism is almost a nervous disease, and the air was full of 'electricity.'"⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the impetus for more thorough research on the Albanian-speaking areas may have been an incident that took place in the period from 1904 to 1905, and the reason she undertook a journey through Albania in 1908 and published her findings in the work *High Albania* (1909). In *The Burden of the Balkans* (1905), Durham reported that the population in Albania desired independence and recognition by Europe. They said they would even appoint a European prince, she reported, and if they were to come under foreign rule, they would choose the Austrian one—not because the image of the positive Habsburg monarchy was convincing, but because the people in the Balkans assumed that the

⁸⁷ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 87.

multi-ethnic state would soon collapse anyway.⁸⁸ “People of all classes throughout the land ... pray for English recognition of its existence. My presence in some towns caused a most painful amount of hope. People hailed me as a saviour, ... I was quite unprepared for this.”⁸⁹ Her unexpected and joyful reception in Albania is evidenced by a letter that Durham received during her stay. In it, the writers affirm that they are convinced God has sent her to be their savior from Ottoman tax policy and the resulting poverty.

Only in your country in all the world does true freedom exist. You have seen the misery of our land! ... The Slavs have Russia to help them. We have no one. We entreat you to continue the journey that you have begun. For you there will be no danger, and you will be preserved through all difficulties. We thank you from our hearts.⁹⁰

Durham adopts the perception and narrative that Albania received no support from anyone. In her most popular work published in 1909, *High Albania*, she concludes that all countries represented their own interests, but no one considered the interests of the population in the political development of the Albanian-speaking regions. In addition, in *High Albania*, Durham’s sympathies for the Muslim population in “Old Servia” become clear. With regard to Prizren, the former medieval imperial city—similar to her predecessor Felix Kanitz—she substantiates her narrative patterns with numbers and data. The vast majority of houses that were counted were Muslim. Far behind were Serbian houses as well as Catholic-Albanian houses and houses of Vlachs. These numbers speak for themselves, according to Durham: in 1908, Prizren was a Muslim-Albanian city. “The Servian Metropolitan had already lamented to me that the Serbs were in a considerable minority, but I had not expected to find them such a mere drop in the ocean.” For the Serbian plans, their own minority posed a major problem, as they assigned immense symbolic significance to the city as the “heart of the old Servian Empire, the capital of Tsar Dushan.”⁹¹ The city was highly coveted from several sides, as shown by the consuls stationed there: a Russian consul was stationed in Prizren, along with an Austrian, an Italian, and a Serbian. The Serbian had to

⁸⁸ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 199.

⁸⁹ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 197.

⁹⁰ Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, 198.

⁹¹ Mary Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 269.

withdraw after a short time, as the population did not tolerate him. "Of one thing the populace is determined: that is, that never again shall the land be Serb."⁹² Durham made these observations and recordings while living in a small inn. The British researcher declined the invitation of a Serbian group to live with them. She wanted to get to know the city impartially, although her results nonetheless seem very biased.

In her assessment that the simmering conflict among the heterogeneous population groups could not be avoided, Durham was proven right. In 1909, the "Mountain Queen" observed about the city of Mitrovica: "But Mitrovitza, though it looked so peaceful, is tinder waiting for a spark." Durham strikingly recorded the tension between the predominantly Muslim-Albanian and Serbian population as well as the unfair treatment of the first group. Even during Dušan's times, the majority population had been subjected more to "racial" persecution than religious. The population of Mitrovica subscribed to a pagan and nature-based belief, the law of the strongest. Before the Serbian rulers in the Middle Ages conquered Kosovo, the local population believed that the land would be theirs forever. If the "Serbian element" had not dominated the region, Durham was convinced, there would no longer have been any Serbs living there in 1909. The Balkan traveler mastered both languages and noted that many Serbs in Kosovo responded in Albanian even when they were addressed in Serbian. The "Serbian element" had, in her opinion, unnaturally intruded into the Albanian-dominated space.⁹³

Durham was present during the first elections in Scutari unter Ottoman rule, which happened on the basis of the Ottoman constitution implemented in 1908 due to the ongoing revolts against the ruler. At the end of her book *High Albania*, she wrote about the Albanians' disappointment about the outcome, because of unfair dealings by the Turkish Muslims. In discussions with Durham, they complained: everyone in Kosovo and Albania was asking, why did the "English people" not insist on the withdrawal of Ottoman rule from their homeland, after the English had given hope to the "Balkan peoples"? The hopes were very different, as Durham noted: Albania wanted a protectorate, Bulgaria and Greece wanted more territory, as did Serbia—and Austrian supporters wanted an annexation, as had recently happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "In the Balkan Peninsula, as elsewhere, the fittest survive in the struggle for existence.

⁹² Durham, *High Albania*, 270.

⁹³ Durham, *High Albania*, 294–295.

The next few years should be interesting. I cannot write FINIS for the END is not yet.”⁹⁴ Even after the end of the Balkan Wars in 1912/1913, Durham saw no peaceful future for the Balkans: “The seeds have been sown of hatred that will grow and bear fruit.”⁹⁵ Durham’s last book before the First World War changed everything was published in 1914. In it, she recorded the narrative of ethnic hatred.

Her next major work, a post-war work, was *The Serajevo Crime*, published in 1925. In this publication she appeared as a Balkan expert, and it was a political text with a specific goal: setting forth guidelines for British and European Balkan policy. Only when the question of guilt has been truthfully clarified, she said, and the instigators in Serbia have been removed from their positions of power as a consequence of the assassination, could a new era begin in the Balkans and in its relationship with Europe.⁹⁶ Durham’s message in this book is clear: according to the evidence available to her at that time, which included new findings from 1924, Serbian government members were responsible for the murder of Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo and thus for the outbreak of the Great War.

Durham paints a picture of Serbian secret plotters, of corruption and political intrigues. Since Serbia gained its independence in the nineteenth century, there had been no ruler who had ended his term of office legitimately. They were all either forced to abdicate or were murdered—Durham emphasized the bloody machinations, the assassinations, and the bloodlust that had caused great excitement in the European newspapers in 1903.

Similar to Christopher Clark in his widely received work published in 2014, *The Sleepwalkers*, Durham demonstrated that the Serbian underground organization *Black Hand* or *Ujedinjenje ili Smrt* (Unification or Death), which pulled all the strings, was founded in the year of the assassination plot by the leading member of the coup, Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis. In fact, the secret society pursued Greater Serbian expansion plans and tried to infiltrate the neighboring countries with anti-Austrian propaganda.⁹⁷ In this respect, this part of the historical narrative of Serbia is

⁹⁴ Durham, *High Albania*, 348.

⁹⁵ Mary Edith Durham, *The Struggle for Scutari* (London: Edward Arnold 1914), 315.

⁹⁶ Mary Edith Durham, *The Serajevo Crime* (London: G. Allen and Unwin 1925), 13.

⁹⁷ Wolfgang Pensold et al., *Gemeinsame Geschichte? Ein Jahrhundert serbischer und österreichischer Mythen* (Innsbruck Wien Bozen: Studienverlag, 2015, 22.

factually correct, but only the combination with other narratives was what made the young kingdom appear guilty or innocent. However, this is currently not a question historians are working on. The image of Serbia that later appeared in Christopher Clark's *Sleepwalkers*, and that the historian Marie-Janine Calic denounced, emerged in Durham with a deliberate sharpness and clarity. There is an "atmosphere of semi-Oriental intrigue, distasteful for an Englishman"; for British consuls, a Balkan post was a term in an "intolerable hole" from which they wanted to get out quickly. Every British diplomat considered the "semi-Oriental" politics of Serbia to be distasteful.⁹⁸

Generally, the image of the bloodthirsty and lawless Balkans was still well remembered by the European and American public from the Balkan wars of 1912/13, agreed Mary Edith Durham. "The 'irregular band' [Narodna Odbrana, founded 1908] was and is the curse of the Balkans, as all who have seen its work know too well." Durham was partly on site during the wars, mostly in Albania and Macedonia.

Organized warfare is terrible enough. Warfare as carried out by the "chetas" and "komits" of all Balkan races reaches the lowest depth of savagery and terrorism, for the Governments which employ them deny all responsibility when results are unsatisfactory, though only too glad to profit by a success. ... The komit is a political agent.⁹⁹

Here Durham provides another narrative that would serve as a description of the Balkans for later scholars, one that was meant to provide evidence that the political rulers participated in the assassination. The countries of the Balkans were corrupt, she said; even in warfare, the *Komitadji*—an "Oriental" word of Turkish origin—set up an ambush in consultation with official bodies and did not adhere to Western-established rules of war. Cunning and deceit find their place in this narrative.

These "Serb methods," to which Balkan travelers like Durham were accustomed,¹⁰⁰ could also be used to implement the political plan to establish a new Greater Serbia. The "Albanian Mountain Queen" found this plan deeply unjust, because it thwarted the freedom of the Albanian population group in Kosovo. Her attention was focused on this because no one

⁹⁸ Durham, *The Serajevo Crime*, 10–13.

⁹⁹ Durham, *The Serajevo Crime*, 43.

¹⁰⁰ Durham, *The Serajevo Crime*, 12.

else stood up for them, as she had already expressed in earlier works. *High Albania* describes her first visit to Prizren, the former Serbian imperial city:

Prince Nicholas' song – the song that enshrines in a few verses the Great Servian Idea – the song that every Serb school-child knows, “Onward, onward, let me see Prizren,” rang in my memory. I had seen the tribesmen of Montenegro sing it with tears in their eyes. I had heard it secretly sung in Bosnia, where it is forbidden by the Austrian Government.¹⁰¹

Her travel experiences reinforced Durham's judgment against Serbia; in her records, she describes how she experienced the longing for a Greater Serbia, the hatred among the population groups and the oppression of the Albanian population. Her position arose from the conviction that her own experiences provided the correct insights about the Balkans—insights that no one else could have. The British consuls would not learn a word of the languages spoken in the Balkans, for fear that they would then have to stay longer in the post. But Durham had seen the truth with her own eyes, heard it with her own ears, and in *The Serajevo Crime* she pairs these insights with evidence of the actions of political actors. Since she sided with Austria-Hungary and wanted to bring to light the innocence of the fallen Habsburg monarchy, she was in good contact with Austrian diplomats and scholars. She was particularly close with Leopold Mandl, and she corresponded with the British Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald, British diplomat Sir Maurice William Ernest de Bunsen, and other high-ranking British and German diplomats. Her findings did not go unheard. But her goal, to prove Serbia's guilt or that of the Serbian government in the Sarajevo assassination and thus in the outbreak of the First World War, was not achieved.

In contrast, Konstantin Dumba's goal was to convince the world, and especially the United States, of his own and Austria's innocence. He informed people about the provocations from the Russian and Serbian side toward Austria-Hungary, due to which a war had been inevitable after the murder of Franz Ferdinand, for the survival of the Habsburg monarchy. His preface to the book *Austria-Hungary and the War* by Ernest Ludwig bears the date December 20, 1914, and can thus be read as a first official defense to deflect the war guilt from his homeland and to hold the events in Serbia since 1903 responsible for the outbreak of war. “We

¹⁰¹ Durham, *High Albania*, 269.

would like to convince the American public that this war was not of our making.”¹⁰² Austria-Hungary had technically made the first formal move, he admitted, but the Americans would have acted the same if their country had been threatened in such a way. Dumba paints the entire Serbian population as members of a rogue state, which he alleges stood behind the political machinations in Belgrade.¹⁰³

A review of the book *Austria-Hungary and the War* questions the authors’ conclusions and their mission. Dumba’s preface is intended to convince the US population that Serbia was responsible for the murder of Franz Ferdinand and his wife, and thus also bears the guilt for the Austro-Serbian war. Above all, the reviewer criticizes Ludwig for not using primary sources for his book; he omits official documents and correspondences. The information came from secondary literature—and worse: from newspapers and from influential friends. The reviewer also does not understand why the author fails to mention the fights for freedom against the Ottoman Empire; after all, they are a part of the history of the Balkans. The history of the assassinations, on the other hand, is very extensively described in Dumba’s preface, even though every country, if one were to search for it, could present a similarly long list. Dumba’s evidence of Serbia’s involvement in the assassination is insufficient; moreover, Serbia had not yet had the opportunity to defend itself. The reviewer wishes for a study that would inform the American public through scientific rigor and reference to sources.¹⁰⁴

An important man in Nikola Pašić’s government provided another clue to Serbia’s guilt, writes Durham in *The Serajevo Crime*. The minister and historian Ljubomir Jovanović, who served until 1918, wrote an article in 1924 in which Durham discovered new evidence. In a Russian anthology on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war, titled *Krv Slovenstva* (The Blood of Slavdom), Jovanović published his records and memories of the July crisis. A Serbian diplomat in Berlin and later employee of the Foreign Office, Miloš Bogićević, sent a copy of the book to Mary Edith Durham. In it, Jovanović stated that Pašić confided to him and Interior Minister Stojan Protić in late May or early June 1914 that Bosnian youths were planning an assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. The

¹⁰² Dumba, “Preface,” 15.

¹⁰³ Dumba, “Preface,” 63.

¹⁰⁴ Norman Dwight Harris, “Review,” *The American Political Science Review* 9, no. 3 (1915): 598–602.

government members decided to instruct the border guards not to let any young men cross into Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Drina—because they also knew that the group was in Belgrade. The border guards, according to Jovanović, ignored the order.¹⁰⁵ The *Times* refused to print Durham's interpretation of Jovanović's account, but it was published in the British journal *Foreign Affairs*.¹⁰⁶

This narrative in the article was the reason for an official inquiry by British historian Robert William Seton-Watson in *The Times* to the Serbian government, asking if they could confirm the events described. There was no response to this inquiry, which Durham interpreted as an admission of guilt. In her private notes on the question of guilt, she discussed the silence of the Serbian government and also noted that she herself had been a victim of attacks because she had not translated Jovanović's original very well into English. The publication of Jovanović's article not only triggered responses from Durham and Seton-Watson, but the author of the "revelations" also had to take a stand and explain himself in Serbia. His words had been misinterpreted, he insisted, stating that the Serbian government had no connection to these youths or to other organizations. Durham contacted the Foreign Office officials, but her correspondence with them, in which she claimed to have proof of Serbian war guilt, was taken not seriously, as her apparent desperation confused them.¹⁰⁷ British historian Seton-Watson, on the other hand—both before and after the publication of Jovanović's revelations—took Serbia's side and accused the Habsburg monarchy of oppressing its population; he made it clear that the anti-Austrian propaganda was particularly effective in the territory of the k. u. k. monarchy.¹⁰⁸

A review of Seton-Watson's *Sarajevo* (1926) and Durham's *The Serajevo Crime* (1925) in the journal *American Historical Review* identified Durham's work as more insightful, although it was noted that Seton-Watson, the trained historian, could have handled the form of presentation and citation of sources better. The reviewer also mentioned that the "Saloniki trial," in which Dragutin Dimitrijević Apis, the mastermind of

¹⁰⁵ Kaufman, "The 'One Guilty Nation' Myth," 301–302; Durham, *The Serajevo Crime*, 128.

¹⁰⁶ Mary Edith Durham, "The Guilt of the Serb Government in 1914," *Foreign Affairs: A Journal of International Understanding* 7 (December 1924), 130; see more in: Kaufman, "The 'One Guilty Nation' Myth," 303.

¹⁰⁷ Kaufman, "The 'One Guilty Nation' Myth," 304.

¹⁰⁸ Wolff, *The Western Representation of Eastern Europe*, 401.

the *Black Hand*, was found guilty and sentenced to death, was the latest contribution to this case. Durham argued that Pašić was behind the charge and had wanted to silence Apis so that his involvement in the Sarajevo assassination would not be exposed. The trial was an interesting new piece of the puzzle. Unfortunately, it was unknown whether Durham's summary turned out to be correct; Seton-Watson did not address this chapter, said the reviewer, because the historian wanted to devote himself to the great history of Yugoslavia instead.¹⁰⁹ The battle between Durham and Seton-Watson over the war guilt question was fought in the media discourse, but the historian's viewpoint was the one that influenced British foreign policy. Durham did once write to a letter to Seton-Watson in which she brought up their common goal, to "make Yugoslavia a credit to Europe." The historian David Kaufman saw in this letter an attempt at conciliation.¹¹⁰ About Seton-Watson, who did not respond to Durham's letter, he said that to "attack Durham, both in private as well as in public, ... his hostility was more than that of her gender, although this undoubtedly underlined his extremely hostile attitude towards her."¹¹¹ Durham's expertise and knowledge, especially about Albania, for which she had previously been celebrated, did not prevent him from pushing her publicly aside on Balkan issues.

The question of guilt is a controversial topic among historians during the interwar period (and beyond). However, resolving the question of who started the war is not only about absolving a country from guilt, but also revealing future (national) political steps. "Mr. Seton-Watson, long a champion of the Serbs," and "Miss Durham, ... a champion of the Albanians,"¹¹² wished for different paths for the Balkans. Behind Durham's accusation against Serbia was the principle "the Balkans for the Balkan people," which was first formulated by the Balkan committee. In the 1920s, she became very unpopular among other British Balkan experts because she held on to that idea,¹¹³ hoping to secure more rights or even independence for the Albanian-speaking population within Serbia ("Old Servia"), while Seton-Watson was writing the history of the Yugoslav

¹⁰⁹ Sidney B. Fay, "Reviews of Books," *The American Historical Review* 32, no. 1 (1926): 118–120.

¹¹⁰ Kaufman, "The 'One Guilty Nation' Myth," 308.

¹¹¹ Kaufman, "The 'One Guilty Nation' Myth," 309.

¹¹² Fay, "Reviews of Books," 118.

¹¹³ Dauti, "Gjergj Fishta, the 'Albanian Homer,' and Edith Durham, the 'Albanian Mountain Queen,'" 90.

state. Both authors certainly conveyed their historical narratives of Serbia to the Western public sphere. Their works were noticed and picked up by the US and European media, and their narratives accompanied the general public perception of the Balkans well into the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER 8

New York, 1918: Kosovo Day

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Abstract On June 16, “Kossovo Day” was celebrated in New York City. According to the Julian calendar the event was close to the date of Serbian *Vidovdan*. This chapter focuses on how “Kossovo Day” 1918 was shared with the American public by the Serbian immigrant community. It discusses how the individual and situational migrant context was linked to US media discourses and structures of Serbian migrant organizations; how the Kosovo discourse provided orientation for actions by individuals, but also for political decisions; how migrants kept each other informed via public discourse, but also informed other US citizens about their status as exiles as long as Kosovo was not free. The central figure in this chapter is Michailo Pupin, a Serbian immigrant, who led migrant organizations, pulled the strings during the Kosovo Day event in New York, and worked to gain political support from the United States for the Serbian cause in Europe. The Kosovo myth thus received a supplementary narrative that intertwined the history of the United States with that of Serbia. According to the theoretical approach of the *histoire croisée*, this chapter investigates

the cultural interactions that unfold in a process-like manner over time and which can result in the creation of an international, imagined space or public sphere. The intersections in the process, transfers, translations, and reinterpretations of historical narratives represent the units of analysis. These narratives were brought by Serbian immigrants in the first decade of the twentieth century and implemented in American public discourse.

Keywords Kosovo myth • Serbian US migrants • Michailo Pupin • Serbian National Defense League of America • Transatlantic translation • Yugoslavia

Kosovo Poem

There was a battle long ago,
 Before America was dreamed and found
 A battle fought and lost on Serbian ground
 And known as Kosovo.
 There was a Serbian king, Lazar,
 Who, when offered earth or heaven by the Lord,
 Led Serbians against the Turkish horde.
 Chose an undying star.
 Kosovo for five hundred years,
 Was a battle never finished, till at last,
 The mountains free, agony seemed to have passed
 The place of skulls and tears.
 But no, not yet may freedom go Redeemed.
 Once more the Turks and heathen come
 Across the broken bridge of Christendom
 On the day of Kosovo.
 Once more the hero calls to his men
 And to unimagined armies from afar
 And, by his death and by the undying star
 Oh heaven, signals again.
 And all the free have now one foe
 And every freeman is a freeman's friend
 We come Lazar, to fight and win and end
 Your Battle, Kosovo. (By Witter Bynner, "written for the American edition
 of Kosovo Day on 28 June 1918"¹)

¹For the full poem, see: <https://lyricstranslate.com/de/Witter-Bynner-Kosovo-Poem-lyrics.html>. Partly, it is also published in: Kosovo Day in America: 1389–1918: Serbian National Festival, ed. Serbian National Defense League of America. Pamphlet. New York, 1918. A similar version of this chapter was published in: Eva Tamara Asboth, "Kosovo Day,"

June 28, the Serbian national holiday *Vidovdan* (St. Vitus' Day), is intended to commemorate the battle lost on *Kosovo polje* in 1389 against Ottoman troops, the death of Prince Lazar, and the beginning of Ottoman rule. The events from the Middle Ages form the basis of the complex Kosovo myth, which has been cultivated since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Serbian national day became widespread in 1889, when the clerical and political leaders of the recently established Kingdom of Serbia presented it for the first time with the aim of forming and strengthening the national identity and a cultural national memory.²

At the beginning of the twentieth century, *Vidovdan*, known in English sources as "Kosovo Day," was a well-known and celebrated date in Serbia, but European countries were also familiar with the tradition and its significance. Felix Philipp Kanitz and Mary Edith Durham were both confronted on their travels with stories and folk songs about the battle on the Field of Blackbirds. Both knew about the importance of the legendary events from the Middle Ages for the formation of a Serbian nation and its sense of community. A long time had passed since 1389; the Kosovo myth had been constantly supplemented and updated to serve as a national founding myth, covering all the important historical stages and retaining its contemporary relevance. The new narratives that had thus emerged tell on the one hand of a trauma³ that the Serbian nation had to relive again and again, which meant losses and migration or a life under foreign rule, and on the other hand of the freedom struggles of the nineteenth century and the emergence of a modern nation modeled after the United States.

Since the 1880s, Serbian immigrants, who had been seeking a new home overseas, formed communities in various cities and organized themselves. Among them were political associations that fought for their homeland in the Balkans from afar, especially during the First World War. One organization closely associated with the inventor Mihajlo Pupin was the *Serbian National League of Defense*, which with the participation of US citizens, other immigrants, and political exiles solemnly observed *Kosovo*

New York, 1918. How the Serbian National League of Defense Tied the Future of Their Country of Origin to American History, in: Patricia Sagasti Suppes & Tina Powell (Hg.), *Transnational American Spaces*, Wilmington—Delaware 2022, 193–211.

²Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.–21. Jahrhundert* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), 189.

³Ivana Spasić, "The Trauma of Kosovo in Serbian National Narratives," in *Narrating Trauma. On the Impact of Collective Suffering*, eds., Ron Eyerman et al. (London: Routledge, 2011), 81–105.

Day in New York on June 16, 1918. The day was reported in many of the major daily newspapers, and the story of the battle on the Field of Blackbirds was thus spread widely. The aim of the event was to request political support for establishing a new Serbian empire. This empire was to be linked to that of the Middle Ages, but would incorporate the elements of modern times and modern America—democracy and self-determination. In this way, the Serbian community created a new, public, transatlantic communication space in which the Kosovo myth was embedded in US concerns. It was a space that the Serbian migrant community had to shape, had to fill with historical narratives, in which it had to translate the Kosovo narratives for a new audience. Romance scholar Stephanie Wodianka explains why it is more productive to describe something as *mythical* than to use the unstable memory object *myth* as a category of description. In her view, it is not the myth that needs to be examined, but the process of remembering a mythical narrative, or more specifically the knowledge of the relationship between an experience of mythical remembering located on the individual-subjective level and the collective attribution of meaning.⁴ Based on the individual experience of Serbian US migrants, a collective memory was formed of what *Kosovo Day* meant for the migrants outside their country of origin. Their arrival and life in New York caused the myth to be shaped differently overseas than it had been at the place of departure. After all, the new audience—the US citizens and especially the American political actors—had to be reached through different communication channels to garner wide attention for the Kosovo myth; thus, the circle around Mihailo Pupin used “Kosovo Day” to increase visibility. Serbian migrant communities were supposed to actively work for Serbia’s cause and export the concept of that freedom, the right to choose state affiliation, to Central and Southeast Europe. Hence a major event was planned in 1918, which involved public announcements such as posters and newspaper articles and the distribution of information material such as pamphlets. The event was a two-day celebration, with a church service, parades, and evening festivities. Important guests were in attendance, whose statements were published in the press afterward. As a matter of fact, since the emergence of mass media around 1900, events depended

⁴Stephanie Wodianka, “Zur Einleitung: ‘Was ist ein Mythos?’ Mögliche Antworten auf eine vielleicht falsch gestellte Frage,” in *Mythosaktualisierungen. Tradierungs- und Generierungspotentiale einer alten Erinnerungsform*, eds. Stephanie Wodianka and Dietmar Rieger (Berlin New York: De Gruyter, 2006), 6. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110921892>.

not only on social, political, or cultural structures, but also on media structures, and thus produced global effects to different degrees.⁵ Kosovo Day in New York must be viewed as a media event. The media event is omnipresent in such a way that it consumes a great deal of public attention at the time of its happening and leads to the consumption of images about the event.⁶

Within media and communication studies, the “media event” is a highly discussed topic due to the rapid development of new communication technologies. The analysis of media events is also influenced by cultural studies approaches, specifically performativity, in order to investigate the social construction of events in the context of communication processes. A “critical approach to media events should move these processes of construction themselves into the foreground of our analysis.”⁷ But the focus on performativity—the social actions of individuals or groups and their ritualized practices, the “making-of”-factors of events—is not the only common denominator. Media and communication scientists Andreas Hepp and Nick Couldry argue that media events are by definition “translocal,” because media enables translocal communication processes.⁸ Media events are captured by historians as well, who also highlight that they “are increasingly detached from the locality of their origin such that they become ‘transnational’ ... that is, objects of synchronized experiences across large spaces.”⁹

IMPORT: THE TRANSFER OF KOSOVO DAY

The transfer of the centuries-old and thus multilayered historical narrative of Kosovo by Serbian US immigrants was not an easy task, but rather a repetitive effort of immensely reducing their national historiography to

⁵Frank Bösch, “Das historische Ereignis,” *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, Mai 12, 2020, accessed Jan. 31, 2024, http://docupedia.de/zg/Boesch_ereignis_v1_de_2020.

⁶Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *Debord and the Postmodern Turn. New Stages of the Spectacle*, 1997, accessed Jan. 31, 2024, <http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/essays/debordpostmodernturn.pdf>; Andreas Hepp and Nick Couldry, “Introduction. Media Events in Globalized Media Cultures,” in *Media Events in a Global Age*, eds. Nick Couldry, Andreas Hepp, and Friedrich Krotz (Abingdon: Routledge 2010), 12.

⁷Hepp and Couldry, “Introduction. Media Events in Globalized Media Cultures,” 5.

⁸Hepp Nick Couldry, “Introduction. Media Events in Globalized Media Cultures,” 16.

⁹Theo Jung and Anna Karl, “Times of the Event. An Introduction,” in *History and Theory* 60, no. 1 (2021): 77.

deliver a comprehensible narrative about the importance of Kosovo. The “Kosovo Day” event in New York in June 1918 was a difficult task: an event not only contains “complex internal temporalities,” but also has to be embedded in its “wider temporal structures and processes,” in this case, the time span from the Middle Ages to the present.¹⁰

At the time when Serbia was recognized as a kingdom by the European powers in 1878, hardly anyone in the United States could find the new kingdom on a map. This changed when the narrative of *Kosovo Day*, imported by Serbian immigrants, reached the American public, according to US Army Officer Francis V. Greene. The speech in which Greene made this statement was published by the *Serbian National League of Defense* in a pamphlet.¹¹ The foreword by the president of this organization is dated June 1918, the same month that “Kosovo Day” was held in New York. The fact that Greene’s speech supported the Serbian side must be considered in this argument, but at the same time geographical knowledge of the Balkans was certainly not widespread—after all, the borders had to be defined in Europe as well.

Emigration from Southeast Europe to North America was limited until the second half of the nineteenth century. The first major wave of emigration occurred in the 1880s, when immigrants from East and Southeast Europe decided to seek a better future overseas.¹² “The turn of the century marked an intensification of the exodus from the Balkans by many Serbs and Montenegrins who joined the trek to America,”¹³ explained Georg Jure Prpić, a Croatian-American historian who was born in the Banat district. Prpić chooses a term here that recalls a narrative in the Kosovo myth: “Exodus,” leaving the homeland, seems to be a recurring fate of the Serbs. Serbian communities in 1389 were often forced to emigrate to escape “foreign rule.” The “great exodus” of the Serbian population from Kosovo in 1690 is a particularly painful strand of memory within the Kosovo myth. Migration or exodus thus became part of Serbian

¹⁰ Jung and Karl, “Times of the Event,” 67.

¹¹ Greene, in: Serbian National Defense League of America (ed.), *For Freedom. A Manifestation of oppressed Slavic nationalities of Austria-Hungary in honor of the Serbian War Mission to the United States*, New York 1918, 9.

¹² Allison Schmidt, “Emigration Routes from Austria-Hungary. Germany—Part I. Botstiber Institute for Austrian-American Studies,” copyright 2022, accessed March 3, 2023, <https://botstiberbiaas.org/emigration-routes>.

¹³ Georg Jure Prpić, *South Slavic Immigration in America* (Woodbridge: Twayne, 1978), 181.

history, and the emigration to America was another example of this. In 1907, according to figures from a contemporary study, at least 150,000 Serbs lived in the United States.¹⁴ The number of immigrants from Serbia had steadily increased, and over the course of time, their voices found a place in the US public sphere.

One prominent voice was Mihajlo Pupin, a professor at Columbia University and a former Austro-Hungarian citizen. Pupin was born in the South Banat district in Vojvodina, now part of Serbia. Until 1918, the southern border strip belonged to the Habsburg monarchy. However, the people who settled there had immigrated from “old Serbia,” as Pupin explained.¹⁵ Thus, he counted himself among the descendants of the indigenous Serbian population, those displaced from Kosovo. In 1690, they had fled from Ottoman rule to the north, falling under the rule of the Habsburg monarchy.¹⁶ Pupin explained in his autobiography and in the *New York Times* that a patriarch at the time had selected the families who undertook this exodus, totaling 35,000 people.¹⁷ The “exodus” of 1690, as a strand in the Kosovo myth, emphasized the suffering and sacrifices of the Serbian nation (see Fig. 8.1).¹⁸ Pupin integrated the cornerstones of Serbian history and the Kosovo tragedy into his own biographical representation.

The *New York Times* offered Pupin a platform to bring his own and Serbia’s history closer to the American public; he vied for their sympathies and especially those of the political decision-makers.¹⁹ The newspaper did not yet have an extensive network of correspondents, let alone a permanent representation in Belgrade. At least until 1910, the editor-in-chief of the *New York Times*, Arthur S. Ochs, received most of his information about the “political situation” in Southeast Europe from the US

¹⁴Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910), 271.

¹⁵Michael Pupin, *From Immigrant to Inventor*. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922), 3.

¹⁶Daniela Angetter, “Die Militärgrenze: Von der Sicherheits- und Pufferzone zur neuen EU-Außengrenze,” in: Orient & Okzident. Begegnungen und Wahrnehmungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten, eds., Barbara Haider-Wilson and Maximilian Graf (Wien: Neue Welt Verlag, 2017), 240.

¹⁷“Says Pan-Serb Move Is All in Austria. Prof. Pupin Denies That the Propaganda Is among Serbs in Servia and Montenegro,” *The New York Times*, 30.07.1914, 3.

¹⁸Pensold et al., *Gemeinsame Geschichte?*, 16.

¹⁹“Austria To Blame, Says Prof. Pupin,” *The New York Times*, 29.06.1914, 3.



Fig. 8.1 Exodus. (In *Illustrirte Zeitung*, July 12, 1862, 29. Even in Felix Kanitz's writings and illustrations, the "Exodus" was part of the historical narrative about Serbia)

ambassador in Constantinople.²⁰ The US newspaper also relied heavily on reports from Vienna, London, and other European cities. Almost half of all the *Times* articles about Serbia or the Balkans came from London.²¹ By involving Serbian immigrants—a shift that can be seen following the assassination of the Serbian king in 1903—the newspaper offered readers a different picture of the history of the kingdom. Serbia was portrayed as a young nation-state with democratic potential (see Chap. 6).

²⁰ Oscar Straus, Letter to Adolph Ochs. 02.03.1910. Adolph S. Ochs Papers, New York Times Company records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.

²¹ See footnote 52 in Chap. 6.

When the assassination of Franz Ferdinand suddenly brought the small state of Serbia into the focus of the US public, the *New York Times* pointed out that the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne had deliberately chosen the date of Kosovo Day, or St. Vitus' Day, or *Vidovdan* (June 28). The accusation that resonated was that it was a provocation by the Habsburg monarchy, which could not survive much longer anyway.²² The voices that were on the side of Austria-Hungary were unable to establish their own channels of communication in the US market, so they had no way to counteract the public denunciations. The Serbian and other immigrant communities from Slovenia, Croatia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia were more prominently represented in the ethnic and mainstream press.²³

According to representations in the *New York Times*, the Serbian population could not be forced to obey another foreign rule after 500 years of Ottoman oppression—they could and would defend themselves and fight for their freedom. Pupin portrayed Serbian men as strong in character and brave on the battlefield. As “Honorary General Consul of Servia to the United States,”²⁴ he could not return to his homeland to fight for its independence. Instead, he fought from New York by transferring the Kosovo myth into local politics and public opinion, which seemed to him as important as taking up arms as a soldier on the Salonika front. It was Pupin who organized the European crossing of Serbian and Croatian immigrants from the port of New York in the late summer of 1914. Several thousand soldiers were brought to the Serbian or Montenegrin front in this way. The *Serbian National Defense League of America*, with Pupin at the helm, orchestrated their recruitment and transport.²⁵ The Serbian consulate appealed to US Serbs via the *New York Times* and stated that they should not follow the recruitment call of the Austro-Hungarian army, but fight for their country of origin.²⁶ Pupin said in another *New York Times* article that the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other parts

²² “Tragedy May Alter Politics of Europe (Special Cable to the New York Times, London),” *The New York Times*, 29.06.1914, 2.

²³ Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War. Shaping an American City* (London: Routledge, 2014), 58.

²⁴ “Says Pan-Serb Move Is All in Austria. Prof. Pupin Denies That the Propaganda Is among Serbs in Servia and Montenegro,” *The New York Times*, 30.07.1914, 3.

²⁵ Wilson, *New York and the First World War*, 84; Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War. 1914–1918* (London: Hurst, 2007), 84.

²⁶ “Servian Editors Appeal,” *The New York Times*, 30.07.1914, 3.

of Austria-Hungary had the same culture and heritage as the population in Serbia. They all had the same instinct for independence.²⁷

The historical narrative of the Serbian fighter and the man who stood up against injustice and foreign rule was already a central theme for Felix Kanitz. The Serbian insurgents who fought together for their independence formed a narrative that was also added to the Kosovo myth within Serbia.²⁸ Kanitz, as an Encounter, understood this fact very well and admired the people for their fighting spirit, just as the US population felt understanding and admiration for their will to freedom. After Serbia had repelled three attacks by the k. u. k. army in 1914, the country had to prepare not only for another attack with German support, but also for a political solution. In the summer of 1915, "several hundred South Slavs" met in Amsterdam to clarify their position on creating a new kingdom for "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes," the *New York Times* reported. The political decision-makers who advocated for this solution sent their proposal to President Woodrow Wilson and placed the fate of Serbia in his hands: "[The Southern Slavs] are ready to follow you if called upon in time of stress and foreign aggression which may aim a blow at the powers and foundations of our democratic institutions."²⁹ Pupin chaired the meeting of these actors in Amsterdam, reported the *New York Times*. Serbian migrants in the United States officially began to advance the plan of a "Yugoslavia" on American soil, with the idea of bringing the Serbian nation to the forefront among all "Southern Slavs." Although the Corfu Declaration of July 20, 1917, granted all Southern Slavs the right to equality in a common state, the Serbian voices in the United States put the Kosovo myth and consequently the Serbian kingdom at the center of their demands. As a result, the voices of the US migrants diverged. The situation of the positions of the individual representatives was not clear to the US president and the State Department, so Woodrow Wilson, who had been personally asked for assistance through the mass media, invited a political delegation from Serbia to hear their opinion on the question of the "Habsburg Slavs."

Thus, a diplomatic mission was set up. Edward Mendell House, Wilson's right-hand man and advisor, hosted the *Royal Serbian War*

²⁷ "Austria to Blame, Says Prof. Pupin," *The New York Times*, 29.06.1914, 3.

²⁸ Pensold, et al., *Gemeinsame Geschichte?*, 16 f.

²⁹ "Many Slavs Here Declare for Allies. Hundreds Whose People Are Under Austrian Rule Meet To Express Sympathy for Serbia," *The New York Times*, 30.08.1915, 2.

Mission to the United States, which arrived in New York at the end of 1917. The *War Mission* worked with the *Serbian National League of Defense*. However, it was unclear whether Pupin had any influence on the fact that a Serbian mission and not a Yugoslav or Southern Slavic delegation was invited, and whether he was pulling the strings in the background of Wilson's decision to meet with Serbian representatives. In his autobiography, Pupin noted that he had been a personal friend of Woodrow Wilson.³⁰ It seems no coincidence, then, that a delegation of Serbian diplomats was received by the US president and the White House.

When the official meetings between the *Royal Serbian War Mission*, the President, and the US State Department had begun, the *New York Times* published an article titled "Serbia Looks to Us To Save Democracy." Milenko Radomar Vesnić, chairman of the *Royal Serbian War Mission* in the United States and former Serbian consul in France, addressed the Senate: "[Vesnić] has always turned to America as the light of liberty."³¹ The mission, representing the Serbian kingdom, sought not only moral, but also monetary and military support for their country.³² Vesnić and his entourage were "cordially welcomed" at the White House on January 5, 1918.³³

The next day, Vesnić planned to visit Mount Vernon, where he and Secretary of State Robert Lansing gave a speech. Each mentioned the forefathers of their own nation as well as those of the visiting or hosting nation.³⁴ Each found parallels in the American and Serbian history and future. Vesnić's message of a political solution for the South Slavs was supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he agreed that America was a model for the Serbian nation.

In addition to expanding its own borders, the US increasingly became a global player in distant regions as well. By propagating the uniqueness of the United States, the frontier myth aimed to present the country as a world power, excluding other countries from the global democratization

³⁰ Pupin, *From Immigrant to Inventor*, 2.

³¹ "Serbia Looks to Us To Save Democracy," *The New York Times*, 06.01.1918, 3.

³² Milivoy S. Stanoyevich, "The Serbian Mission in America," *The New York Times Current History. The European War 14* (1918): 500.

³³ "Serbia Looks to Us To Save Democracy," *The New York Times*, 06.01.1918, 3.

³⁴ N. N., "At the Tomb of Washington. Addresses at Mount Vernon by Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, and Dr. Molenko Vesnitch, Chairman of the Serbian Mission," *St. Nicholas. An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls* 45, no. 1 (1917/1918): 454–456.

mission.³⁵ This was reflected at the end of the nineteenth century by the progressive political movement that took over the political helm. Its representatives demanded an active foreign and trade policy, based on the “belief in America’s mission to spread the blessing of its own Christian-progressive civilization in the less developed parts of the world, to educate their inhabitants in the proper handling of democracy and human rights according to the American model.”³⁶ This attitude, that the United States had a role-model function in terms of democracy and freedom, was based on its own national founding myth. The frontier myth claims that America will always expand the borders of democracy.³⁷ “America stands first of all for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve,”³⁸ and “the Serbians and the Yugoslavs represent the spirit of America.”³⁹ The prominent Serbian diplomat and later Prime Minister of Serbia toured the United States and gave the same speech about Serbian history in every city.⁴⁰ It included the Battle of Kosovo and the centuries-long Ottoman rule as well as the present suffering under the Habsburg monarchy. The author of the article in the *New York Times*, Milivoj Stoyan Stanoyevich, was a Serbian immigrant who received a professorship at Columbia University. At the end of the article, he underlines the goal of the Serbian diplomatic mission: “It has effected a fuller understanding between two nations, geographically far segregated, but spiritually akin in their democratic ideals.”⁴¹

It must have been a great disappointment on 8 January when Woodrow Wilson presented his Fourteen Points plan, while the Serbian mission listened from the stands. Wilson and House were not convinced of the benefits of overthrowing Austria-Hungary, although Point 10 stated that the people of this monarchy “should be accorded the freest opportunity to

³⁵ Renwick, *America’s World Identity*, 63 & 206.

³⁶ Klaus Schwabe, *Weltmacht und Weltordnung. Amerikanische Außenpolitik von 1898 bis zur Gegenwart. Eine Jahrhundertgeschichte* (Paderborn Wien: Brill 2006), 18. Original: “Glauben an die Mission Amerikas, die Segnung der eigenen christlich-progressiv geprägten Zivilisation in den weniger entwickelten Teilen der Welt zu verbreiten, um deren Bewohner nach dem Vorbild Amerikas zu einem richtigen Umgang mit Demokratie und Menschenrechten zu erziehen.”

³⁷ Renwick, *America’s World Identity*, 63 & 206.

³⁸ “Serbia Looks to Us To Save Democracy,” *The New York Times*, 06.01.1918, 3.

³⁹ Stanoyevich, “The Serbian Mission in America,” 498.

⁴⁰ “Visit of Royal Serbian Mission,” *City Record Boston*, 12.01.1918, 29.

⁴¹ Stanoyevich, “The Serbian Mission in America,” 500.

autonomous development.”⁴² This was not the hoped-for and aimed-for result, so the members of the *Serbian National Defense League of America* and the *War Mission* jointly presented their demands to Woodrow Wilson again. “[W]e commend our great leader President Woodrow Wilson, the champion of Right and Justice, backed by 100,000,000 Americans, ... annihilation of autocracy and the complete establishment of liberty and freedom for all peoples and nationalities; the attainment of which, however, is not possible except by the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary.”⁴³ The meeting at which this resolution came about was not only intended to show how dissatisfied the Serbian population was under the Austro-Hungarian government; representatives from Czechoslovakia and Poland were also invited to show a united front of all “Slavs” living under Habsburg rule. Croatian immigrant Hinko Hinković spoke on behalf of the *South-Slavic National Council*, stating, “Serbia ... represents the Right and the sacred principles of Democracy.”⁴⁴ The united front shown by the representatives at the meeting was remarkable, considering their previous public struggles. Hinković’s speech, which he gave at the Hotel Astor in New York, marked a significant turning point in the Yugoslavian cause, as it legitimized the Kosovo myth and thus the leadership of the Serbs within a Yugoslavian state. At this crucial meeting on January 20, 1918, the members of the *Serbian National Defense League of America* achieved their first major success. Now it was time to convince the US President and the State Department of the League’s aspirations. While Robert Lansing sided with the pro-Serbian organizations (including, or led by, Pupin and the *Serbian National Defense League of America*⁴⁵) in January, as the meeting at Mount Vernon had shown, Woodrow Wilson and especially his right-hand man House pursued the strategy of sticking with the Habsburg monarchy.⁴⁶

⁴²Woodrow Wilson, “President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points,” Jan. 8, 1918, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-woodrow-wilsons-14-points> (Accessed Jan. 31, 2024).

⁴³“Resolution,” in: *For Freedom: A Manifestation of oppressed Slavic nationalities of Austria-Hungary in honor of the Serbian War Mission to the United States*, ed. Serbian National Defense League of America (New York, 1918), 22.

⁴⁴Hinko Hinković, in *For Freedom*, 17.

⁴⁵Lazar Brkich, “Serbian Fraternal, Social, and Cultural Organizations in America,” in *Studies in Ethnicity. The East European Experience in America*, eds. Charles A. Ward, Philip Shashko and Donald E. Pienkos (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 113.

⁴⁶Larry Wolff draw upon Wilson’s way of decision toward the Habsburg monarchy: Larry Wolff, *Woodrow Wilson and the Reimagining of Eastern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020), 68–69, 93–95.

To win over these two important US decision-makers and also the US public, the Kosovo myth was instrumentalized again, and more strongly. Central to this was the addition of another narrative strand, namely, the one that linked Serbian and US history, as shown by the statement by the president of the *Serbian National Defense League of America* in an article in the *New York Times* on the occasion of *Kosovo Day* in New York on June 16, 1918:

So Kossovo Day of the year is one of the most remarkable in the Serbian history. It is a day which brings the remote, sorely stricken Serbian nation into the closest contact with the greatest democracy of the world, a day which forms a common glorious page of American and Serbian history.⁴⁷

With the event *Kosovo Day*, the Kosovo myth took on a new form in New York and allowed the US population to participate in the planned celebrations. All possible platforms were used, starting with a church service, followed by a political event and the coverage of the festivities by the daily press. The guests included Adolph Ochs, the publisher and owner of the *New York Times*. The important Serbian communities from all over the United States had gathered in New York to celebrate *Kosovo Day*, to make it a success and to achieve their highest political goals. *Kosovo Day* was celebrated on June 16, which according to the Julian calendar was close to the date of *Vidovdan*.

The connection with the Julian calendar can be interpreted as the first sign that the Serbian community wanted to focus on their medieval heritage. The narrative had to start in 1389 for several reasons: first, their claims to the territory of present-day Kosovo were legitimized by the Serbian kingdom that had existed in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the Serbian culture was founded in those days and passed down over generations. The Serbian Reverend in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine gave the following speech during the service:

The idea of Kossovo was born with the fall of the State of Serbia on June 28, 1389. ... Their defeat at the same time brought them the knowledge that everything was not given up to the Turks, that the soul still remained untouched, – and they started to cultivate the Soul, ... They justified and explained the defeat of Kossovo to the Nations and Generations. They con-

⁴⁷ Milosh Trivounatz, "The Hope of the Yugoslavs. The American Declaration of Sympathy Lends Strength to Their Struggle For a Free And United Nation," *The New York Times*, 17.06.1918, 12.

vinced the nations that it was not the Turks who defeated the Serbs, – they explained it in a different way, saying that it was the will of the Serbian ruler, – that it was the will of the Serbian nation to choose the heavenly victory instead of the earthly one. Serbian bards sang that it was nothing extraordinary that, when offered such a choice, they should choose the nobler.⁴⁸

The revived story about the medieval kingdom with Kosovo as the cradle of the nation could be read as the main reason for legitimizing the Serbian claim of leadership over a unified state of the South Slavs, and the *Kosovo Day* festival was intended to make the Serbian position understandable to a US audience. In addition, the narrative underscored the high moral status of the Serbian nation, justifying why it should be seen as a better or even divine nation above all other Balkan nations. On *Kosovo Day* in America, every single part of the narrative within Serbian history was explained and demonstrated, and some strands of history were interwoven with the American founding narrative. In the evening, the Serbian Minister in the United States gave a speech at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel highlighting the parallels between Serbian and American history:

More than five centuries ago ... America had not yet been discovered. Today we are gathered in this America under the protection of a great democratic Republic ... celebrating with us [American audience] the anniversary of that tremendous battle, in which we lost our liberty, but saved our honor. ... The Battle of Kossovo and its terrible consequences for our people have taught us to value liberty and honor above everything else. ... On [Kossovo Day] we do not celebrate our national catastrophe, but the self-sacrifice of our forefathers in the defense of liberty and religion against barbarism and brutal force. Today ... I am confident that this victory will be won especially because the United States has entered the war for the realization of those principles for which we lost our independence.⁴⁹

While the diverse voices in the US public sphere since the turn of the century had paved the way to gain sympathy from the US audience, the festival was also a great success in winning over important US politicians for their cause. Kosovo as a transatlantic communication space was

⁴⁸ Krajnovich, in: *Kosovo Day in America: 1389–1918: Serbian National Festival*, ed. Serbian National Defense League of America (New York, 1918), 10–11.

⁴⁹ Michailovich, in: *Kosovo Day in America*, 13.

relocated to New York City, where the US President, foreign statesmen, and US citizens were called upon to be aware of it and consider it in their foreign policy.

EXPORT: US TRANSLATIONS FOR YUGOSLAVIA

The young Kingdom of Serbia was hardly known to US citizens around the turn of the century. The term “Balkan” or “Balkan Peninsula” had become established in the press—a region perceived as a playground for various ethnicities, religions, nationalities, oppositions, and rivalries. American historian Albert Bushnell Hart was asked to introduce and explain this region to the readership of the *New York Times*, but even he found the political situation very confusing after a local visit in 1913. He tried to explain that there were minorities of other nationalities in every country, using the metaphor of a net—everything was intertwined, opaque, unclear. On the one hand, there was the Serbian kingdom, where “Serbs” (“Servians”) lived. On the other hand, “Serbs” (“Serbs”) could also be citizens of the Habsburg monarchy. The district of “Kosovo and Metohija” had been a district in the Ottoman Empire in southern Serbia for centuries and was settled by “Albanians,” but the Serbian population claimed it belonged to the Kingdom of Serbia.⁵⁰

Indeed, the situation was complex, which is why the expert opinion of Southeastern European immigrants was highly valued. Their explanations of the tangled situation in the Balkans, using transferred and adapted meaningful narratives to reduce the complexity, not only influenced political actors in the United States, but also found expression in the arts and culture. It was partly the Serbian immigrants in the United States who helped make the events in their home country understandable. In addition, the Kosovo myth emphasized the Serbian nation as sufferers and at the same time as saviors, so that, on the one hand, it could garner sympathy for the oppressed population that needed support, and on the other hand, it could portray itself as the only force to unite a South Slavic nation under democratic values. Much of this self-portrayal wrapped up in the Kosovo myth was picked up and partly reproduced by sympathizers in the US.

American Nobel Peace Prize laureate Emily Greene Balch conducted a sociological study in 1907 on Serbian immigrants from Austria-Hungary.

⁵⁰ “The Balkan Web,” *The New York Times*, 18.08.1913.

Balch provided the first estimates of the number of Southeastern European emigrants to the United States through this study. For her research, she lived with the Slavic communities in the slums of Boston, subsequently stating that she felt “the touch of democracy” among them.⁵¹ One of her findings was that the reason for emigration was the poor living conditions and oppression in the Habsburg monarchy.⁵²

Eight years after the publication of Balch’s study, numerous US voices, such as that of poet Amelia Josephine Burr, were heard in public supporting Serbian plans, due to the *Kosovo Day* festival on June 16, 1918, in New York. Their positions show a merging of Serbian and American historical strands with the Kosovo myth, thereby making it more easily understandable for US citizens. The priest at St. John the Divine in New York wove into his sermon an encounter with a farmer from Montenegro, who attracted his attention with an emblem that showed a blackbird on a red background. The farmer explained to the priest that he wore it in memory of the battle of 1389.

I confess that I never heard of Kossovo before that day, but having once heard the story, who can ever forget it? It is one of the most marvelous stories in all history, – this story of a nation that, in the Fourteenth Century guarded the liberty of Christendom against the Turk. ... And this was made possible by Serbian resistance. ... They laid down their lives, – but their lives were the purchase price of freedom for those who stood behind them. It was long ago. It is to the glory of the Serbian race that it does not seem long ago to them. It is their glory they never forgot, never submitted themselves to foreign rule and never forgot to mourn their lost liberty.⁵³

The Kosovo myth offered points of connection in the Christian context as well as in American history. The self-perception as a bulwark against Islam, which was already strong within the Krajina population, was also successfully imported into the United States as a narrative. Another, third, narrative strand was their bravery and willingness to sacrifice in order to transmit “national” cultural assets, even under unfavorable circumstances. The Serbian nation was glorified, and the Montenegrin with the emblem became a symbolic figure for American values—patriotic, Christian, and freedom-loving (in the sense that he preferred to emigrate rather than

⁵¹ Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 60.

⁵² Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 28.

⁵³ Priester Robbins, in: *Kosovo Day in America*, 9.

submit to Ottoman rule). In his poem, the American poet Witter Bynner projects the medieval past onto the most recent political events in the two countries, in which Serbia and the United States fought against a common enemy: "Once again [in the First World War] the hero [Lazar] calls to his men and to unimaginable armies from afar [Serbian immigrants and allies]." The last stanza of the poem is about the recapturing of Kosovo with the help of the United States:

And all the free have now one foe
And every freeman is a freeman's friend
We come Lazar, to fight and win and end
Your battle, Kosovo. (Witter Bynner, "Kosovo Day")

The connection to the medieval kingdom was also taken up by US artist Malvina Hoffman, who immortalized General Milan Pribićević in a sculpture. The artwork depicts the bust of Pribićević, wearing equipment reminiscent of medieval chainmail. The work is titled "Modern Crusader," and casts of it can be seen in several American museums. As the head of the Serbian Military Mission, Pribićević had the task of recruiting men who had emigrated to North America for the Serbian army. For this purpose, Pribićević traveled to Canada and the United States beginning in October 1916. His mission, which Hoffman probably wanted to associate with a crusade, lasted until March 1918. He reported his successes to the *Serbian National League of Defense*. By then, he had managed to transfer 4000 migrants with Serbian and 200 migrants with Croatian backgrounds first to France and from there to the Macedonian/Saloniki front.⁵⁴ The sculpture, which depicts a soldier defending Christianity and making long journeys for it, is part of the Kosovo myth. The narrative of the Serbian insurgents that emerged in the nineteenth century decreed that it was the duty of every Serbian soldier to fight against those who occupied this land. At the same time, it was the task of the Serbs, no matter where they lived, to rise up against foreign rule, regardless of whether the threat came from the Ottoman or Austrian side. "What a culture of remembrance generates in the mythical tradition and at the same time always in a modifying way, are ... norms, values, identity-constituting original ideas and

⁵⁴ Slobodan G. Markovich, "Anglo-Serbian Cultural Relations during the Great War and its Aftermath. Learning of the Other through War Efforts," in *Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies* 2 (2020): 371; George Grica, "The Volunteers in North America," *Croatian Studies* 37 (1997), 36.

complexity-reducing answers to existential questions,”⁵⁵ as Wodiak notes. The Kosovo myth contained an action plan for the Serbian migrants for the purpose of annexing Kosovo to Serbia.

In addition to the sculpture, Hoffman also created a drawing for the *Serbian National Defense League*. This drawing was printed on postcards and published in the booklet for the Serbian *Kosovo Day*, telling the story of the suffering of the Serbian nation. It depicted a man with a wound on his head, with the partially destroyed Serbian flag in the background. The image warned that Serbia was threatened with defeat again, as in the Middle Ages.⁵⁶ It served as a visual call to recruit soldiers who had immigrated and were needed to return to their homeland for the decisive battle in 1918. The message was clear: Return to save Serbia from downfall! There must not be a second Battle of Kosovo! Hoffman also committed herself in other ways: She volunteered for the Red Cross and was stationed in Serbia during the First World War.

In addition to Hoffmann, other Americans who had worked with the Red Cross in Serbia supported the Kosovo narrative after they came back to the United States. This included the poet Amelia Josephine Burr, whose poem “Serbia” was recited on *Kosovo Day* in New York in 1918 as part of the official evening program. In it, she directly addresses the audience, asking whether they can hear Serbia’s “bitter cry”—the listeners “who sit in safety, you whose babes are fed, You who by the peril of other men are free.” Burr also pursued the task of bringing Serbian men in the United States back to fight in their homeland.

Another volunteer for the Red Cross in Serbia was American archaeologist Mabel Grujić (spelled Grouitch in the *New York Times*), who was married to Serbian diplomat Slavko Grujić. Mary Edith Durham knew the woman (at least) from the letters of one of her friends, who was also an American married to a diplomat stationed in Geneva. The friend had met Mabel Grouitch at private gatherings (presumably in London) and informed Durham that Grouitch had advocated for a Serbian-Austrian war during the July Crisis of 1914. “Serbia must have her war,” were her

⁵⁵ Wodianka, “Zur Einleitung: ‘Was ist ein Mythos?’,” 6. Original: “Was eine Erinnerungskultur im Mythischen tradiert und dabei zugleich immer wieder modifizierend generiert, sind ... Normen, Werte, identitätskonstituierende Ursprungsideen und komplexitätsreduzierende Antworten auf existentielle Fragen.”

⁵⁶ A postcard with an image painted by Malvina Hoffman, printed by the *Serbian National League of Defense of America*, in: New York Times Company records, Miscellaneous, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.

words. Her husband, Slavko Grujić, even knew about the assassination, information that Durham kept in her notebook along with all other “evidence” for the murder of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie by the Serbian government.⁵⁷ On *Kosovo Day* in New York, Mabel Grouitch published an article in the *New York Times* in which she explained to the US audience the significance of the Serbian national holiday: “The legends which overlie the historical facts of the battle of Kosovo are among the most beautiful of the poems of chivalry. Their elevation of tone, their Christian and martial idealism are unsurpassed.”⁵⁸

Members of the Serbian nation were not only perceived as freedom fighters, but were also admired for their resistance on the ground against the Turks and the Islamic faith, which was likewise glorified—as in the sermon by Reverend Robbins. He emphasized not only the importance of the Battle of Kosovo for Serbia and the people’s loyalty to Christianity under a foreign rule of a different faith, but also the importance of history itself. He also combined the Serbian fate with US Balkan policy and thus offered action guidelines for foreign policy. “Sometimes history repeats itself. Three years has repeated for Serbia the history of Kosovo; ... This time it is our history as well as it is her history.”⁵⁹

A speech by Pierre de Lanux, representative of the *French High Commission to the United States*, contained the French-American foreign policy program: “You deserve America’s help because you stand strictly for the principles she herself upholds, and because your fight for independence is a striking repetition of the earlier times of American Revolution.”⁶⁰

In his speech, US Officer Francis V. Greene also addressed the independence struggles that existed in Serbian and US history. Having such struggles is a “noble heritage,” he said. Greene, who was stationed in the Balkans during the Bosnian-Herzegovinian uprising in 1876, highlighted the historical parallels between Serbia and the United States, but also with France. The military equated freedom with democracy, an ideal that France achieved with its third republic alongside the United States. Every country has the right to freedom and the right to choose its form of government; therefore, in his opinion, the Serbian population, with their “souls untarnished and unconquered,” had already earned the “sympathy and admiration of all Americans.”⁶¹

⁵⁷ Durham, Letters and Notes, MS 56.

⁵⁸ Mabel Grouitch, “Great Serbian Anniversary,” *The New York Times*, 16.06.1918, 31.

⁵⁹ Robbins, in: *Kosovo Day in America*, 10.

⁶⁰ Pierre de Lanux, in: *For Freedom*, 5.

⁶¹ Greene, in: *For Freedom*, 6–7.

On June 24, a few days after *Kosovo Day* had been celebrated, US Secretary of State Robert Lansing sent a groundbreaking message. Lansing had already appeared at Mount Vernon, where he had expressed his conviction that Serbia, like the United States of America, would be freed from tyranny and injustice.⁶² The official message of June 28, 1918 (*Vidovdan*), which reached the Serbian embassy, seems to make this conviction a reality: “The position of the United States Government is that all branches of the Slav race should be completely free from German and Austrian rule.”⁶³ This sealed the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy. Durham stated years later in her book *The Sarajevo Crime* that “Great Serbian propaganda was thus active both in the American-Serb colonies and Serbia.”⁶⁴

“The South Slav state was established because President Wilson had agreed to it,” as American-Croatian historian Prpić noted, not without criticism. “This victory for Pupin and his group sowed the seeds of discord which led to a permanent animosity between the American Serbs and the rest of the South Slavs in America.”⁶⁵ On December 1, 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was founded. In 1929, it was renamed the “Kingdom of Yugoslavia” by the Serbian king.

The creation of Yugoslavia, along with a free Poland and Czechoslovakia, was a fact that made “Central Europe,” the desired region of Austria, an “idle dream”⁶⁶ according to Francis V. Greene. The founding of Yugoslavia led to another narrative that played as significant a role in the US decision to support this state as the transferred and translated strands of the Kosovo myth had: Yugoslavia would mean peace in the Balkans. Once the Southeastern European population was freed from any foreign rule and had their own state, stability and peace could return to the region. It was only at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 that Robert Lansing realized the redrawing of borders in Southeast Europe, due to the differing views of the local population, would bring unexpected complications. At

⁶² “Serbians at Mt. Vernon. Lansing Says We Will Triumph As Washington Did,” *The New York Times*, 07.01.1918, 14.

⁶³ Robert Lansing, The Secretary of State to Certain Diplomatic And Consular Officers, Circular Telegram, Washington, *Office of the Historian*, June 28, 1918, accessed Feb. 14, 2024, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1918Supp01v01/d822>.

⁶⁴ Mary Edith Durham, *The Sarajevo Crime* (London: G. Allen and Unwin 1925), 30. Her estate also contains letters from America in which she angrily reports on the negative portrayal of the prince from Montenegro. Durham notes that she did not know whether emigrants from Serbia or Montenegro were behind this, but was annoyed about it in either case: Durham, Letters and Notes, MS 56.

⁶⁵ Prpić, *South Slavic Immigration in America*, 191.

⁶⁶ Greene, in: *For Freedom*, 10.

this moment, he realized that the concept of self-determination was not a suitable foreign policy instrument. The internal struggles and the dissolution of the First Yugoslavia were neither predictable nor calculated.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the United States, with the support of Serbia, had made a bet that the conflicts in the Balkans would be resolved in this way. On the anniversary of the start of the war, on July 28, 1918, the Serbian flag flew next to the American flag at the White House in Washington. On this day, the United States officially celebrated *Serbia Day* and called on the American people to participate actively.⁶⁸

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⁶⁷ Edward J. Kolla, *Sovereignty, International Law, and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 289–290.

⁶⁸ U.S. Embassy in Serbia, *The Day When the Serbian and U.S. Flags Flew Together over the White House*, Jan. 1., 2020, accessed March 3, 2023, <https://rs.usembassy.gov/day-when-the-serbian-and-u-s-flags-flew-together-over-the-white-house>.

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Conclusions: Transnational and Transatlantic Perspectives of the “Balkans”

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Abstract The media publics that negotiate the Balkans, using the term “Balkans,” began in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the displacement of the European Orient took place on several levels at the same time. I understand Balkanization as the paradoxical relationship of Southeast Europe with the West, which on the one hand wants to bind the population in the Balkans to itself with promises and integration prospects, and on the other hand keeps them at a distance due to an imagined otherness. This concluding chapter discusses the impact of media on Balkanization as well as the political and medial power of European resp. Western historiography and epistemology based on transregional and transatlantic Encounters/encounters.

Keywords Encounter • transnational public sphere • knowledge production • European historiography • Kosovo • Americanization

THE IMPACT OF THE ENCOUNTERS ON THE MEDIA DISCOURSE

The Encounters who brought the “unknown” European Orient into contact with Europe and the West opened up new communication spaces through their stays, their interest, their explorations, and their transmission of their own experiences. Due to their intermediate position, these spaces were transnational and transatlantic—an open place for all interested parties such as media, politics, economy, and of course science. The intermediate position of the Encounters also meant that they themselves did not communicate any clear ideas about the European Orient; they changed, improved, and intensified their positions with each new encounter. Therefore, there was just as little agreement as there were clear ideas in the transnational and transatlantic public sphere where Western and local players participated, but rather exchange and negotiation. Images of the history of the European Orient and its population were created using narratives from the transnational and transatlantic public sphere and were structured and organized using metaphors, mental maps, and other concepts.

How the media design of one or the other historical narrative looked was no longer based on the original transfer of a first-hand experience; it was an amalgamation of (national) self-interests and the manifold translations of the Encounters. Conversely, the Encounters also had to prepare mentally for a return to the homeland and adapt their local observations so that these could withstand Western normalization (historiography, progress paradigm, nation-state) in order to be successfully transferred there.

The creation and updating of historical narratives can be understood as a continuous process in which current events are interpreted against the background of existing time horizons and spatial concepts and incorporated into known concepts. This happens in the form of additional or revised narratives that are fed into a metaphor or image. During the process of updating and disseminating the historical narratives about the European Orient and its population, there was a fusion of a) information about the history of a country as it was told in the West, for example, by contemporary Western intellectuals or Western historiography; b) information about the history of a country, from the perspective of that country; c) current observations, such as from war or foreign correspondents; d) the political interests of the country of origin.

There was also e) an amplification of narratives that were already dominant in the Encounter's country. Former enmities from previous wars were emphasized. The narrative of "ethnic" or "ancient hatred" was dominant among Western politicians even during the Yugoslav succession wars of the 1990s; it served as a justification for military and economic interventions. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl referred to it during a conference with US President Bush: "It's, as I said, a very delicate, a very difficult problem which actually goes back centuries."¹ Bush applied the narrative a year later himself: "The blood of innocents is being spilled over century-old feuds. The lines between enemies and even friends are jumbled and fragmented. ... Blood feuds are difficult to resolve."²

There were narratives of solidarity, as f) historical alliances or imagined historical parallels were incorporated into the historical narrative. The Second World War formed the frame of reference for many opponents of the intervention in the form of bombings on Serbia in the spring of 1999, as the country had resisted Nazi Germany. A dominant image in the media during the Bosnia and Kosovo wars was the image of the divided West, which only worsened the events in the Balkans.³

In Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016, the term "Bosniaks" from Austro-Hungarian times was adopted for election campaigns.⁴ With the term "Rayah," the West adopted certain ideas about these people and at the same time about the Turkish population group in Southeast Europe. The Kosovo myth shaped not only narratives in Yugoslavia and Serbia, but also in the Western media. Contact with people on site, conversations with the imagined Others, and interactions of all kinds shaped the historical narratives and led to their plurality.⁵ An exchange results in transfer activities, which influence the reformulation of narratives.

¹"The President's News Conference with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, 1991-05-20, Yugoslavia," in Bush Presidential Library, Public Papers.

²"Remarks on the Situation in Bosnia and an Exchange with Reporters in Colorado Springs, 1992-08-06, Bosnia," in Bush Presidential Library, Public Papers.

³Kurt Gritsch, "'Humanitäre Intervention' oder 'Angriffskrieg'? Die Intellektuellen-Debatte über den 'Kosovo-Krieg' 1999 in FAZ, Süddeutsche Zeitung, taz, Spiegel und Zeit," *Zeitgeschichte* 39, no. 2 (2012) 2, 117–118.

⁴Anida Sokol, "Between Ethnic and Civic Nationalism. Census and Nation Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Medien & Zeit* 31, no. 1 (2016): 12–22.

⁵Holm Sundhaussen, "Europa balcanica. Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 25, no. 4 (1999): 653.

After decades of transfer and negotiation processes through a transnational and transatlantic communication space, the European Orient was finally defined as the Balkan Peninsula or the Balkans. Historian Diana Mishkova, a professor at the *Centre for Advanced Study Sofia*, highlights the participation in these processes by the Southeastern European scientific and scholarly institutes that were established around 1900.⁶ From a Western perspective, the Balkans were just as unknown and opaque as the European Orient. The unrest among the populations—the metaphor of the Balkan web, which was supposed to make this situation comprehensible, had also been transferred to the United States—made cartographers and ethnographers despair and peaceful border demarcations seem hardly possible (for instance, due to various uprisings and the Balkan wars in 1912/1913). In general, the division of the population had to be moderated using “national” criteria, by Encounters located in the space between origin and destination country—initially, the European Orient was considered to be inhabited by the subjugated Christian Rayah and the dominating Muslim “Turks,” before the Balkan web metaphor was discovered.

A serial analysis of Felix Kanitz’s illustrations reveals two contrasting image patterns in most drawings: In the first case, the drawings have something mystical, magical, and often Oriental about them, because they depict unfamiliar clothing, idyllic nature or family scenes, and ruins with a magical touch. They show a fairy-tale world, as described by the Brothers Grimm.⁷ In the second case, the drawings depict a wasteland, an almost empty space, which features fortresses and/or mountains and thus appears threatening. As the European Orient began to dissolve, the space between Europe and Turkey had to be filled with new meaning. The exact demarcation of borders as well as the idea of the population living there—summarized as the “nations”—were only beginning to emerge. Therefore, it is not surprising that Kanitz’s illustrations oscillate between the fascinating Grimms’ fairy-tale world and the backward wasteland.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the territorial designation “European Orient” or “European Turkey” disappeared from the collective memory of the Western population, the designation of Rajah was also forgotten. In their place came the heterogeneous, combative,

⁶ Diana Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism. The Scholarly Politics of Region Making* (London: Routledge, 2018).

⁷ Regina Freyberger, *Märchenbilder—Bildermärchen: Illustrationen zu Grimms Märchen, 1819–1945. Über einen vergessenen Bereich deutscher Kunst* (Oberhausen: Athena, 2009).

rebellious “Balkan nations,” under which the local events and conditions were henceforth subsumed by the media.

MEDIA LOGIC

Although the Encounters presented here had diverse and broad knowledge about the places and inhabitants they encountered, managing their experience was an important task in order to be visible in the public sphere. Thus, the Encounters processed their gained knowledge in different stages; first they handled their expectations based on their (previous) experiences and then made the encounter comprehensible to themselves. Second, they further processed the experience by writing, talking, illustrating, and creating speeches or action plans. By the time this reduced and condensed knowledge was published, much of the original experience had been lost. However, a message or a narrative was carved out that relied not only on the foreign experience, but also on the circumstances under which this message was transferred into a public sphere. Hence, the work of the Encounters is comparable to the work of journalists. Especially when they published for a broader audience, they followed the logic of how media works—which topics to place, which framing to give them, in which newspaper they ought to be featured—knowing the readership, knowing the target group.⁸

Once the Encounters’ narratives were transmitted, it seemed that the media followed their own logic, too. In articles and reportage, the knowledge was condensed; some facts were highlighted, some were hidden, but some basic historical narratives stayed, and they travelled transnationally and transatlantically. The historical narrative of the Serbian rebels was reinterpreted quite often during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century by Western countries, depending on political interests and alliances. It proved a stable framework for explaining historiography and historical events in the light of present times.

⁸ Esmail Kalantari, “Journalistic Translation: A Gate at Which Journalism Studies and Translation Studies Meet,” *Journalism* 23, no. 7 (2022): 1415–1424. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221074516>.

TRANSNATIONAL: INTEGRATION INTO EUROPEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Until the nineteenth century, the historiography of the European Orient was for the Western public just as much a *terra incognita* as the space itself. The first historiographical work was probably by German historian Leopold Ranke; as the title of the 1829 monograph “Die serbische Revolution” reveals, his interest was aroused by the Serbian Revolution at the beginning of the century.⁹ In 1837, the work *Montenegro and the Montenegrins* was published in German. Its author wanted to make a “contribution to the knowledge of European Turkey and the Serbian people.” The original version in Serbian was written by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), a native of Herzegovina living in Vienna. He gave therein an “overview of the history” of Montenegro.¹⁰ It was not until 1843 that the first English-language historiography, *A Fragment of the History of Servia*, by David Urquhart, was published.¹¹ The author offered readers the history of Serbia in about a hundred pages divided into five chapters, of which the first chapter contains the “History of Serbia, from the entrance of the Turks into Europe, until the subjugation by them of the Serbian kingdom,” and the second chapter covers the period from the “subjugation” of Serbia in 1459 to the outbreak of the “revolution” in 1804. The last three chapters deal with Serbia’s recent history from 1804 onward. “Another element of discord is brought to life in Turkey,” the Scottish Orientalist, diplomat, and writer David Urquhart states rather unenthusiastically in the introduction.¹²

The timeline of the book is interesting because it follows the classification by the Encounter Felix Philipp Kanitz. Kanitz interrupted Serbian history after the fall of the medieval kingdom of the Nemanjić dynasty around Raška, after which he considered that “darkness” fell over the area.

⁹ Leopold Ranke, *The Serbian Revolution. Aus serbischen Papieren und Mittheilungen* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1829).

¹⁰ Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Montenegro und die Montenegriner. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der europäischen Türkei und des serbischen Volkes* (Stuttgart Tübingen: Cotta, 1837), 10–12; Jelena Knežević and Ana Minić, Montenegro als exotischer Raum in deutschsprachigen Reiseberichten in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, in *Ars & Humanitas* 13, no. 2 (2019): 150.

¹¹ Radmila Pejić, “Herbert Vivian. A British Traveller in Late Nineteenth-Century Serbia,” *Balkanica* XLIV (2013): 257–258.

¹² David Urquhart, *A Fragment of the History of Servia*, o. O. 1843, i.

During Kanitz's lifetime, the European "triad of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times" dominated the division of historical epochs.¹³ While modern times were linked to knowledge from antiquity, the Middle Ages stood in the middle of the two knowledge-rich epochs; it was considered a backward and therefore dark epoch. From a Western perspective, the Middle Ages played a major role in the historical processing of the European Orient, at least for the Serbian-Montenegrin population. The Encounters carried this period and the events that had taken place in the Middle Ages into their intermediate transnational/transatlantic locations. After all, it was the medieval buildings and ruins that were much talked about, at least in mythical terms.

For Felix Kanitz, the "morning of awakening" was the beginning of the Serbian modern era, a metaphorical reference to the Serbian uprisings from 1804 onward. According to his self-understanding, Kanitz helped significantly with the "illumination of the dark" through his geographical, ethnographic, and art historical studies.

The most recent scientific work about Felix Kanitz is an article by Vladimir V. Mihajlović, a scholar affiliated at the Institute for Balkan Studies of the *Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts* in Belgrade. In it, Mihajlović argues that "the work of Felix Kanitz has brought much more to [than information or knowledge on] Serbian archaeology: its theoretical and epistemological foundations."¹⁴ As a consequence, he became part of the post-Ottoman history in the Balkans, and he succeeded in meaningfully integrating the historiographic representation of Serbia into the European timeline: The country ceased to exist at the end of the Middle Ages, he explained; the population fell into a "magic sleep," which made it miss the advances of the West and led to its isolation and separation from Europe. By recollecting the former power and size of the Balkans, the tradition of communal living (*Zadruga*), and their intangible cultural heritage (mainly orally transmitted songs or legends), the country and its population managed to awaken from their sleep and revive the concept of the nation-state prevalent in the nineteenth century. The Kingdom of Serbia was henceforth known as "modern Servia" in the English-speaking

¹³ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: Beck, 2009), 93. According to Osterhammel, this triad has been in use since the 1680s.

¹⁴ Mihajlović, Vladimir V. "Frontier Gentlemen's Club," in *Communities and Knowledge Production in Archaeology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 200. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526134561.00017>.

media in the second half of this century. The attribute “modern” served as an epochal demarcation from medieval Serbia. It was definitely the end of the “dark epochs” and the beginning of a new era for the nation-state of Serbia.

In Kanitz’s chronology, the Encounter not only followed the Western division of history into antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times—where he highlighted the common ancient (democratic) European heritage based on his archeological findings—but also built on the local, orally transmitted historiography: the pre-Kosovo cycle, Kosovo cycle, and post-Kosovo cycle.¹⁵ Mary Edith Durham followed the same timeline, dating churches to the “pre-Kosovo (1389)” era.¹⁶ Both located the future Serbia or the future Kosovo,¹⁷ which would be chronologically located in the post-Kosovo cycle, after a transformation phase in Europe.

Europe itself had been in upheaval since the first Industrial Revolution, and nowhere else in the world did the population view the turn of the year 1800/1801 as more magical and significant than in the West. “‘Our’ nineteenth century only began in the West,” Osterhammel points out.¹⁸ That is where—at least in the opinion of Felix Philipp Kanitz as well as British Encounters—the European Orient should also be taken. One way to do this, according to the prevailing peace myth at the beginning of the twentieth century, was to create a common state for the South Slavic majority population in the Balkans: Yugoslavia.

¹⁵ See Chap. 5 and Jovan Delić, “Die Rezeption des Kosovo-Mythos in Vuks Serbischem Wörterbuch,” in: Vuk Karadžić im europäischen Kontext, Heidelberg 1990, ed. Wilfried Potthoff (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990), 31–33.

¹⁶ Mary Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 281.

¹⁷ An acquaintance in Northern Albania explained to Durham the political situation of Albania, Kosovo, Serbia, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire and concluded: “The spirit of the nation is awake in both Christian and Moslem People ask why should not we, like the Bulgars and Serbs, rule our own land? But first we must learn and organize. We must have time.” In: Durham, *High Albania*, 108.

¹⁸ Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, 90. Original: “‘Unser’ 19. Jahrhundert begann nur im Westen.”

TRANSATLANTIC: AMERICANIZATION IN KOSOVO

"Kosovo had indeed taught the South Slavs nothing,"¹⁹ writes Mary Edith Durham in 1920 in her work *Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle*, referring to the unrealistic chances of the Serbian army against the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the twentieth century, when the peace project Yugoslavia proved unstable, many questions were once again asked and discussed in the West. Who owns the land? A struggle for sovereignty over Kosovo erupted again, ending as Durham would have wished in her lifetime. Further foreign policy questions of the West were: Who has the right to establish their own state, and who can smooth the waves in the Balkans? Based on outdated narratives ("ethnic hatred") and metaphors (powder keg, Greater Serbia, rogue state) from the Balkanization phase of the European Orient, the Western media landscape took either a pro- or an anti-Serbian stance. The legacies of the Second World War were added as supplementary narratives. Again, a transnational and transatlantic space was opened in which the present and future of Southeast Europe were to be decided. How could the Balkans be reintegrated into Europe? What history would give the region a meaningful future agenda?

Historical narratives are available to political decision-makers as a tool to historically and geographically frame current events and thus steer a discourse of legitimation. When it comes to entering a war, media-circulated historical narratives, which represent the interests of the rulers, can clearly have a mobilizing and excluding effect. This makes Western journalists the carriers of discourses of legitimation and makes their contributions "media truth," utilizing certain mechanisms to steer the discourse.²⁰ Historical narratives not only convey stereotypes and mental maps, but also construct images of and even demonize the enemy. Media analysis can reveal the political instrumentalization of historical narratives and can also recognize which political or even military actions were taken into consideration due to media initiatives.²¹

¹⁹ Mary Edith Durham, *Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1920), 141.

²⁰ Marina Blagojević, "War on Kosovo: A Victory for the Media?," in: *Understanding the War in Kosovo*, eds. Florian Bieber and Židas Daskalovski (London et al.: Routledge, 2003), 171. The authors present mechanisms of over-simplification, (re-)production of stereotypes, victimization, and distortion of facts in the case of Western reporting on the Kosovo war.

²¹ Blagojević, *War on Kosovo*, 177.

The United States pursued a different intervention mission in the Balkans, both at the beginning of the twentieth century (Balkan wars) and the end (Yugoslav wars of secession), than the European states did. In accordance with its worldview and self-understanding, the United States wanted to expand the borders of independent democracies in Europe and then establish stable economic relations, while Central Europe in particular did not want to lose its direct political and economic influence. Despite the differing approaches, the result is the same.

More countries would emerge based on the concepts and guidelines from the United States, an endeavor that continues to this day in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As US Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson explained in the *PBS Newshour with Jim Lehrer* in 1997, "I think we're trying to Americanize the Balkans."²² Hutchinson was one of the politicians who questioned not only the US worldview as a superpower, but also the narratives disseminated in the media and the political actions based on them. The Americanization of the Balkans is also clearly visible in Kosovo: The main street in Pristina, named Bill Clinton Boulevard, features a Hillary Boutique and a three-meter-tall Bill Clinton statue. Kosovo has understood that it can survive with the help of US politics, and it makes symbolic concessions.

The large statue of Bill Clinton was unveiled in 2009. It demonstrates the transfer of Western narratives to Kosovo: It is reminiscent of the Statue of Liberty, which also stands on a pedestal, one hand raised (the right one, however), holding a document in the other. The Bill Clinton statue does not have a torch in its hand, but is seen in the typical posture of a greeting president, presenting himself to the masses. In its right hand, the statue holds a document engraved with the date when the NATO bombings began (March 24, 1999). The symbolism draws further parallels to the Statue of Liberty: Both statues testify to freedom won (the 100-year anniversary of the US Declaration of Independence and the 2008 recognition of the independent Republic of Kosovo), which is now considered consolidated, and the upholding of human rights (the abolition of slavery in the United States and the rescue from ethnic cleansing by the NATO air strikes).²³

²² PBS Newshour with Jim Lehrer, Sept. 15, 1997, Speakers: U.S. Senator Joe Biden & U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson, in: New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives, New York Times Company Records, A. M. Rosenthal Papers, Box 24, Folder 7–8 Bosnia.

²³ Isabella Woldt, "Freiheit," in: *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie. Vol. 1*, eds. Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke and Hendrik Ziegler (München: C. H. Beck, 2011), 378.

This specific example and the young history of Kosovo as a nation-state show the transfers, the imports and exports of narratives, and the amalgamation processes of relationships that were negotiated in the transatlantic communication space presented in Chap. 8. At the end of the twentieth century, Kosovo, and even more so the Albanian population, were where Mary Edith Durham had noted their lack decades before: in the consciousness of the West. The history of Kosovo had ultimately merged—just like that of Serbia decades before—with that of Europe.

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