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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

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Bronze and Iron Age Sites in Srem
and the Stratigraphy of Gomolava

Continuity of human occupation at Gomolava evidenced by a succession of superposed layers makes it possible to establish a reliable relative chronological framework for a large number of excavated sites in the area between the Sava and Danube rivers or more specifically in Srem. The region being investigated to an adequate degree, almost all Bronze and Early Iron Age sites may be quite reliably fitted into a system based on Gomolava's stratigraphic sequence. Minor lacunae revealed in the process result more from the synchronicity of different cultures or their variants in the Sava and Danube valleys than from interruptions to Gomolava's occupation. This is particularly characteristic of the Early Bronze Age II period, when Srem witnessed the intrusion and mixing of many cultures of different origin, above all the Vatin culture from the east and the early Encrusted Pottery culture from the Pannonian Plain. The occurrence of different styles in a closed context (pit or grave) at Gomolava or some other site in Srem confirms their contemporaneousness.[1]

The accuracy of Gomolava's stratigraphy for the chronology of the Bronze and Iron Ages has been tested on some other sites in Srem or its immediate neighbourhood, most of all Gradina (meaning hillfort) on the Bosut river near Šid (Iron Age rather than Bronze), Šančine at Belegiš, and, most recently, at Petrovaradin Fortress, Feudvar near Mošorin (south Bačka), or Vučedol. This paper makes an attempt to fit their horizons into a slightly revised chronological scheme of Gomolava.[2] The corrections sug-

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[1] N. Tasić, "Bronze- und ältere Eisenzeit auf Gomolava", in *Gomolava* 1 *(Chronologie und Stratigraphie der Vorgeschichlichen und Antiken Kulturen der Donauniederung und Südosteuropas*, Symposium, Ruma, 1986; Novi Sad, 1988), 49 ff; J. Petrović, "Grob ranog bronzanog doba sa Golokuta kod Vizića", *Rad vojvodjanskih muzeja* 26 (1980), 57 ff.

[2] N. Tasić, "Foreword", *ibid.*, 9-10.

gested here should make it possible to present the complete development of the Bronze and Iron Ages in this area.

A more comprehensive stratigraphy and periodization of cultural deposits at Gomolava was first proposed in the 1980s. As a result of twenty years of excavations, the cultural layer was graphically presented in the introductory text to *Gomolava* 1 (1986/88). It was further developed in 1987.[3] Today, almost 20 years later, it is possible to make further amendments and thus render the picture of the development of cultures in this part of Srem clearer and more complete. Some gaps in Gomolava's stratigraphy may possibly be filled with excavation data obtained from other sites, particularly as regards the phases that have yielded insufficient material for questions such as the relationship between the Vinkovci, Early Vatin and early Encrusted Pottery groups within the Early Bronze Age horizon, or the problem of too loose a periodization of the Early Iron Age as it is known from the stratigraphic sequence of Gradina on the Bosut or, finally, the problem of the end of the Early Iron Age, i.e. of the relationship between the so-called Srem group and the Celtic intrusion.[4]

Final Eneolithic – Early Bronze Age (Gomolava IIIc/IVa)

Although registered a long time ago, and dated to IIIc phase, the horizon with Vučedol pottery at Gomolava has only recently been given its first detailed study by J. Petrović and B. Jovanović.[5] The study has called attention to the scantiness of dwelling structures, even more conspicuous as the culture is well-known for its developed architecture and fortified settlements (e.g. Šančine at Belegiš, Vučedol). In typological terms, two phases of this culture may be distinguished with much certainty: one that maintains the Kostolac tradition of pottery decoration and is close to the finds from Šančine at Belegiš, and the other that is characterized by a well-developed, often "roughly pitted", deep-carved pottery, assigned by S. Dimitrijević to the very end of this culture, to its "Mitrovica phase".[6] The authors of the study have dated the Vučedol horizon at Gomolava to IIIc1 and IIIc2 phases. As for

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[3] N. Tasić, "Stratigrafski i relativnohronološki odnos Gomolave kod Hrtkovaca i Gradine na Bosutu", *Rad vojvodjanskih muzeja* 30 (Novi Sad, 1987), 85-92.

[4] M. Garašanin, *Praistorija na tlu SR Srbije*, vol. II (Belgrade, 1973), 511-515; R. Vasić, "Sremska grupa zapadnobalkanskog kompleksa", in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, vol. V (Sarajevo, 1987), 555.

[5] J. Petrović and B. Jovanović, *Gomolava 4. Settlements of the Late Eneolithic* (Novi Sad–Belgrade, 2002), 305 ff.

[6] S. Dimitrijević, "Vučedolska kultura i vučedolski kulturni kompleks", in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, vol. III (Sarajevo, 1979), 274-279.

other sites in Srem, subphase IIIc1 would include Vučedol settlements or some of their horizons at Belegiš (Šančine), while Vrdnik, Golokut and the burials in tumuli near Batajnica and Vojka would fall within IIIc2.[7] Particularly characteristic are an urn and a large fragmented terrine decorated with deeply engraved concentric circles and red crusted paint from the tumulus known as Velika humka (Great Mound) at Batajnica. The final phase at Gomolava (IIIc2) corresponds to a full-blown metallurgy phase of the Vučedol culture (metallurgical centres at Vinkovci-Tržnica, or the "foundry workers' house" at Vučedol). This phase inaugurates the Early Bronze Age in the area between the Sava and Danube rivers.[8]

Many stratigraphic data from Srem show that the final Vučedol phase is overlaid by the earliest "truly" Early Bronze Age culture, known as Vinkovci or Vinkovci-Somogyvár. Notwithstanding considerable differences in style, it may be said that there is a chronological and even ethnic continuity between the two cultures. The greatest difference is the abrupt disappearance of deep-carving and other baroque techniques of pottery decoration typical of the terminal Vučedol culture. Some of the earlier shapes, however, were retained, given that the two cultures are directly superimposed on most Vučedol settlement sites in Srem (Petrovaradin Fortress, Belegiš-Gradac, Golokut near Vizić, Tvrdjava at Ilok, Tržnica at Vinkovci and other sites on the north and west slopes of Fruška Gora). In contrast

MAP 1

1. Vučedol
2. Pećine-Vrdnik
3. Petrovaradin
4. Gradac
   Šančine-Belegiš
5. Vojka
6. Batajnica

GOMOLAVA
III c

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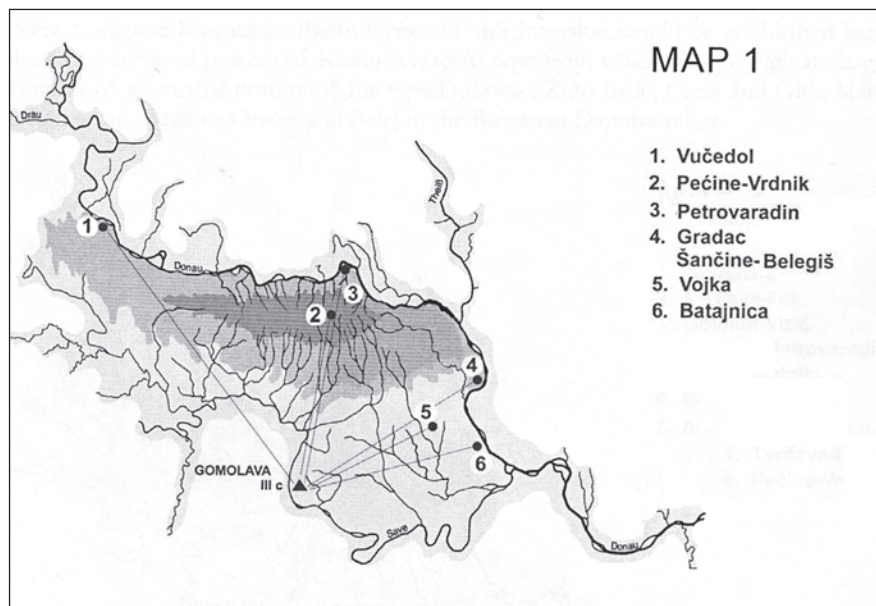
[7] Petrović and Jovanović, *Gomolava*, 357.

[8] *Ibid.*, 357. Petrović, "Grob ranog bronzanog doba", 57 ff and Pl. I.

to Vučedol settlements, substantial structures are scarce on Vinkovci sites, where the houses are semi-pit dwellings with two connected rooms (Golokut, Petrovaradin Fortress, Zemun-Asfaltna baza etc.).[9] The pit dwellings and pits as a rule abound in pottery finds, and often contain whole vessels of varied shapes, as evidenced by excavation at Gradina on the Bosut, Ilok, or in the periphery of Zemun (site of Asfaltna baza).

The presence of the Vinkovci culture at Gomolava amounts to a small number of potsherds. Considering that more than a half of the site has been eroded by the Sava river, it is not unlikely that some section of this sizeable plateau contained a smaller Vinkovci settlement. Be that as it may, the culture's place in the stratigraphy of Gomolava has been reliably established: between horizons IIIc2 and IVa1 which mark the beginning of the Early Bronze Age at this site.

Early Bronze Age (Gomolava IVa1, IVa2–b1)

In the formative period of the Vinkovci culture derived from the final Vučedol, the Srem area witnessed the intrusion of both the early Vatin and the Encrusted Pottery culture, the latter being at first of Transdanubian and later of Szeremle type, as labelled by T. Kovacs.[10] At Gomolava, this "jumble" of cultures is observable in horizons IVa1 and IVa2, and it was brought to an end by the intrusion of the Encrusted Pottery at the end of the Early Bronze Age (Gomolava IVb1). Other sites in Srem show a similar picture. At Gradina on the Bosut there is within horizon III a rather powerful layer with pit dwellings and pits where late Vinkovci, Vatin and Transdanubian Encrusted Pottery wares occur in association. The same layer has also yielded a hoard of gold artefacts.[11] The material of the three cultures of different origins and styles has also been found in association in an inhumation burial and in the occupation horizon at Golokut. Beyond Srem, contacts between the Vatin and Encrusted Pottery cultures have been registered in the Early Bronze Age layer at Popov Salaš near Kać (the Novi Sad area),[12] where the

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[9] Petrović, "Grob ranog bronzanog doba", 57 ff and T. I.

[10] T. Kovacs, "Die topographische und chronologische Stelle der Szeremle-Kultur in der Bronzezeit des südlichen Karpatenbeckens", in *Gomolava 1* (*Chronologie und Stratigraphie der Vorgeschichlichen und Antiken Kulturen der Donauniederung und Südosteuropas*, Symposium, Ruma, 1986 (Novi Sad, 1988), 155-167.
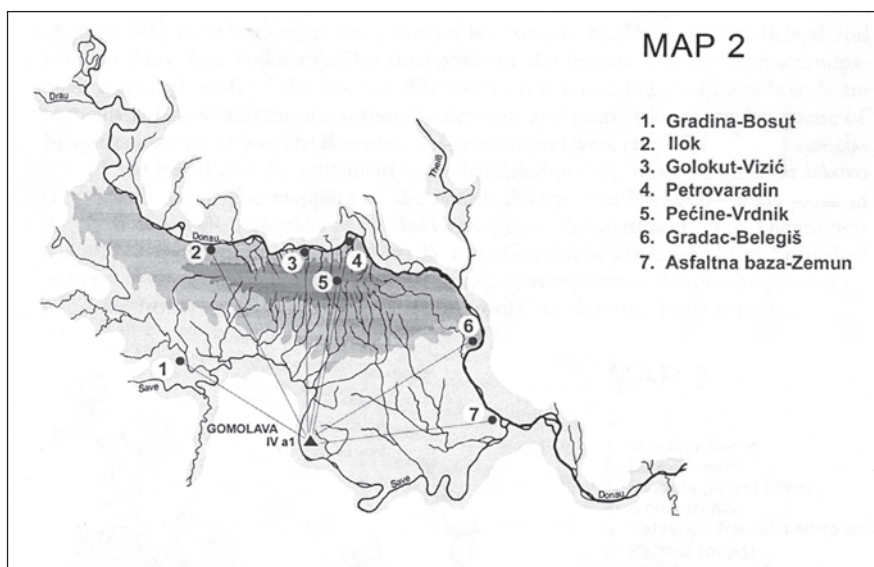
[11] N. Tasić, "Die Vinkovci Kultur", in *Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit des Karpatenbeckens und Nordbalkans* (Belgrade, 1984), 22.

[12] P. Medović, "Die inkrustierte Keramik der Mittelbronzezeit in der Vojvodina", in *The Yugoslav Danube Basin and the Neighbouring Regions in the 2nd Millennium BC*, Symposium, Vršac 1995 (Belgrade–Vršac, 1996), 163-183.

early Vatin layer with houses and pits has yielded pottery fragments decorated in the early style of Pannonian Encrusted Pottery. Most finds date from a time immediately preceding the penetration of the Szeremle culture towards Danubian Serbia, including the south Banat, where this intrusion somewhat later gave rise to a later Encrusted Pottery phase of Kovin, Vršac-At type. From the latter originated in turn the extensive Encrusted Pottery complex of the types Dubovac, Žuto Brdo in Serbia, Cîrna and Gîrla Mare in the Romanian Banat, or Orsoja and Balej in Danubian Bulgaria.[13]

Middle and Late Bronze Age (Gomolava IVb–IVc2)

A stabilization in Srem and Danubian Serbia at large is marked by the Belegiš (Belegiš I–Cruceni and Belegiš II–Bobda) culture. At Gomolava, it belongs to the latter half of the Bronze Age and, according to some, continues into a new epoch, Early Iron Age. Horizon I is characterized by corded wares and in horizon II channelled pottery appears. Assuming that Srem was its core area, the culture spread rapidly and covered entire Srem, the central and south Banat and, finally, parts of western Romania. In Gomolava's

MAP 2

1. Gradina-Bosut
2. Ilok
3. Golokut-Vizić
4. Petrovaradin
5. Pećine-Vrdnik
6. Gradac-Belegiš
7. Asfaltna baza-Zemun

[13] S. Morintz, *Contributii archeologice la istoria Tracilor*, vol. I (Bucarest, 1978), 28-40; M. Guma, *The Bronze Age in Banat* (Timisoara, 1997), 126-128; J. Uzelac, "Bronze Age of the South Yugoslavian Banat", in *The Yugoslav Danube Basin and the Neighbouring Regions in the 2nd Millennium BC*, Symposium, Vršac, 1995 (Belgrade–Vršac, 1996), 29-32, and Map 3; N. Tasić, "Das Problem der Funde von Szeremle im Banat und ihre Chronologie", in *The Yugoslav Danube Basin and the Neighbouring Regions in the 2nd Millennium BC*, Symposium, Vršac, 1995 (Belgrade–Vršac, 1996), 147-162.

stratigraphic sequence these are: horizon IVb (Belegiš I) with corded ware; IVc1, marked by the emergence of pottery (urns in necropolises) decorated with simple channels; and finally IVc2, where pottery becomes channelled in a "baroque" manner (horizontal and vertical garlands, faceting and the like). This final phase is assigned to the so-called Gava horizon. Such periodization has found direct or indirect confirmation at many other sites in Srem, in the environs of Belgrade and in the south Banat. Necropolises of this culture such as Belegiš, Karaburma, Rospi Ćuprija, Vinogradi-Surčin, or its settlements such as Ekonomija Sava (near Jakovo) confirm with much certainty the periodization based on the excavation of Gomolava.[14] Dozens of excavated sites from this period show that settlements generally are smaller and single-layered, which precludes internal periodization; by contrast, necropolises contain several hundreds of burials, according to some estimates as many as 600, most important being Surčin, Karaburma, Stojića Gumno at Belegiš, and some in the Banat (e.g. Vojlovica). This final phase of the Bronze Age is characterized by many hoards of an Ha A1-A2 date. It is interesting that they are particularly frequent in the areas where late Belegiš (or Gava in western Romania) settlements and necropolises are found.[15] A connection between a hoard and the settlement with channelled pottery has been ascertained at Jakovo (Ekonomija Sava). The mapping of Ha A1-A2 hoards in the south Banat (R. Rašajski and Lj. Bukvić) suggests identical

MAP 3

1. Gradina-Bosut
2. Lice-Erdevik
3. Bingula-Divoš (hoard)
4. Golokut-Vizić
5. Kalvarija-Sremska Mitrovica
6. Pećinci (hoard)
7. Stojića gumno-Belegiš
8. Gradina-Stari Slankamen
9. Vinogradi-Surčin
10. Ekonomija Sava-Jakovac (settlement and hoard)
11. Rospi ćuprija- Karaburma Autokomanda -Beograd (necropolises and hoard)

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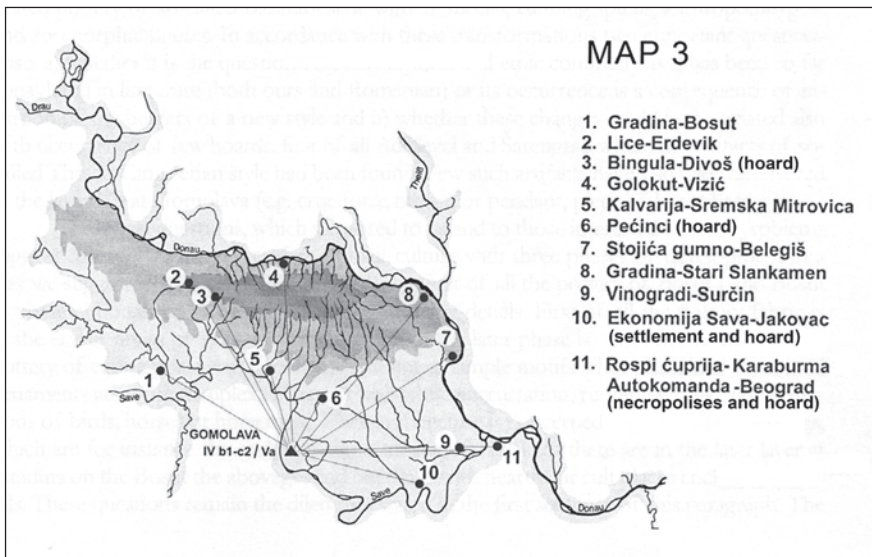
[14] Tasić, "Eisenzeit auf Gomolava", 48-51.

[15] M. Guma, *Civilizatia primei epoci a fierului in Sud-Vestul Romaniei* (Bucharest, 1993), 181-194.

results. At Gomolava, the modest quantity of bronze artefacts in layer IVc2, which also contained black burnished pottery of Gava type, makes it possible to fully trace the process of Bronze to Iron Age transition.[16]

Early Iron Age (Gomolava Va–c)

Due to the absence of structural remains, notably houses, which would be a clear indicator of different phases of the site's occupation, the cultural layer at Gomolava may be more clearly understood through data from other sites. Some information is obtained from smaller pits filled with pottery material or from two collective tombs discovered in 1954 and 1971 respectively.[17] The abovementioned problem of transition from one period to another may be solved only through comparative studies of the excavated material from other sites in Srem, notably Gradina on the Bosut which illustrates the complete and uninterrupted evolution of the Early Iron Age in this area. Additional data for the earliest Iron Age phase at Gomolava, designated Va, are provided by excavation at Kalakača and, to a lesser extent, Šljunkara near Zemun.[18] A report of the latest systematic excavation at Petrovaradin Fortress has not been published yet but the finds will certainly be very helpful. At Kalakača, to the earliest Bosut horizon date the pits where the pottery typical of this culture (collective Tomb 1 at Gomolava) has been found in association with black burnished ware with garlanded or facetted decoration. This pottery, along with few related fragments from Gomolava IVc2, constitutes a link between the final Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Similar conclusions may also be drawn for the pottery material discovered at Gradina on the Bosut, where the lowest Bosut horizons have yielded pieces, though only sporadic, whose technology of manufacture and method of decoration draw their origin from the terminal phases of the Bronze Age. Gomolava's Horizon Va containing this pottery, analogously to some assemblages (pits) at Kalakača, precedes the emergence of lavishly decorated pottery in the so-called Basarabi style (S-motifs, running spirals, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures). These changes raise two important questions:

a) whether there was an uninterrupted stylistic and ethnic evolution, as commonly suggested by archaeologists (both domestic and Romanian),

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[16] Uzelac, "Bronze Age", 35 ff and Map 8.

[17] N. Tasić, "An Early Iron Age Collective Tomb at Gomolava", *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* XIII (Belgrade, 1972), 27-37.
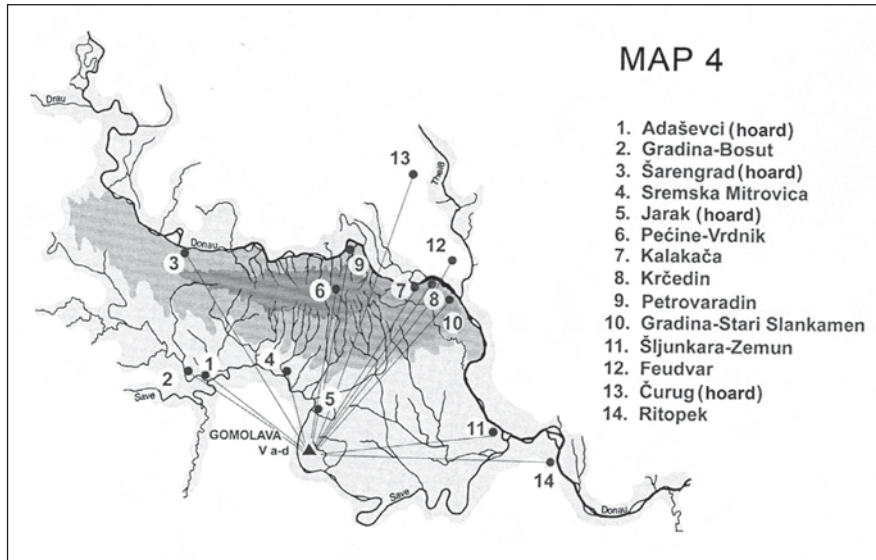
[18] B. Petrović, "Skeletni grob starijeg gvozdenog doba sa lokaliteta Asfaltna baza u Zemunu", *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 38 (1992), 5-12; P. Medović, *Kalakača, naselje ranog gvozdenog doba* (Novi Sad, 1988).

or the changes resulted from the intrusion of the protagonists of a new style;

b) whether there was a connection between the changes and a few hoards (most of all Adaševci and Šarengrad) containing artefacts in the so-called Thraco-Cimmerian style. A few artefacts of the kind have also been discovered in level Vb at Gomolava (e.g. a cruciform button or pendant, a piece of horse tack).

These two questions lead us to give careful consideration to the issue of the continuous, three-phase evolution of the Bosut culture as it was proposed more than thirty years ago.[19] First of all, Bosut I and II wares differ in many details. The earlier pottery is grey-brown, the later is black and burnished; the earlier bears simple linear decoration, the later shows more elaborate ornaments such as S-motifs encrusted in white, running spirals, depictions of birds, horses or horsemen. As for architecture, instead of pit dwellings as the sole type of houses at Kalakača, the later layer at Gradina on the Bosut shows aboveground structures with hearths or cult places adorned with spirals.

The question of continuity may also be posed as regards direct cultural and stylistic connection between two Bosut phases at Gradina, the second or Bosut-Basarabi II and the youngest, identified as the third and final stage of the presumably "unified Bosut culture" and represented by black pattern-burnished pottery decorated with sharp-edged channels. It has been labelled Bosut III, but there is not much evidence to corroborate the label.

MAP 4

1. Adaševci (hoard)
2. Gradina-Bosut
3. Šarengrad (hoard)
4. Sremska Mitrovica
5. Jarak (hoard)
6. Pećine-Vrdnik
7. Kalakača
8. Krčedin
9. Petrovaradin
10. Gradina-Stari Slankamen
11. Šljunkara-Zemun
12. Feudvar
13. Čurug (hoard)
14. Ritopek

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[19] N. Tasić, "Bronzano doba", in *Praistorija Vojvodine* (Novi Sad, 1974), 258 ff.

At Gomolava it is represented by a rather small number of finds, mostly channelled cups, and labelled Gomolava Vc. The next phase – VI – belongs to a La Tène settlement represented by abundant pottery finds, kilns, many pits and hearths, and fortifications. B. Jovanović and M. Jovanović (1988), who studied the Late Iron Age levels at Gomolava in detail, dated them to the second and first centuries BC. It may be inferred therefore that there is a gap of several centuries between the last Early Iron Age phase and the earliest Celtic settlement (Scordisci). What was happening during that time, of which no trace has been registered in the stratification of Gomolava, or at Gradina on the Bosut, Petrovaradinska Fortress and other sites, is difficult to say with certainty. It is highly likely that the end of the Bosut culture (Bosut-Basarabi III) meant the end of occupation at Gomolava. This chronological vacuum may be filled with the so-called Srem group which is known from many sites (Sremska Mitrovica, Kuzmin, Salaš Noćajski), and especially from a hoard found at Čurug in the southeast of Bačka. M. Garašanin, R. Vasić and the author of this text date these presently only sporadic finds to a period between the end of the Bosut culture (Bosut III) and the earliest occurrence of Celtic finds in Slavonia and Srem.[20] In absolute dates that is a period between the fourth and second centuries BC, a pre-La Tène horizon of which no trace has been recorded at Gomolava.

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[20] Vasić, "Sremska grupa", 555 ff; N. Tasić, "The Pre-Celtic Population of the Serbian Danube Valley", in *Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region* (Belgrade, 1992), 75-82; P. Milošević, *Arheologija i istorija Sirmijuma* (Novi Sad, 2001), 13-20.

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Ivan Jordović

Did the Ancient Greeks Know of Collective Tyranny?*

The picture of tyranny as the rule of a powerful individual predominates in both ancient and modern writers.[1] Thus H. Berve defines the tyrant as an individual violating the existing norms and laws, but not as a proponent of any particular social, political, national or quasi-religious idea, because to him, power is an end in itself.[2] A closer look at particular tyrannical regimes in ancient Greece, both archaic and classical, reveals, however, that many of them were not led by a sole despot wielding absolute power. In fact, power was often shared among brothers, a number of cousins, or even among unrelated people. For example, Polycrates and Cleisthenes seized tyrannical power, together with their cousins, in Samos and Sicyon respectively.[3] In the second half of the sixth century B.C. Athenagoras and Comas jointly ruled Ephesus as despots.[4] Irus, Ortyges and Echarus, assisted by a *hetaireia*, managed to take control of their hometown, Eretria.[5] After the death of Jason of Pherai, power in Thessaly was at first shared by his brothers Polydorus and Polyphron. Collective rule in Pherai took place again when Jason's sons

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[1] Cf. W. Pircher, "Das Gesetz des Tyrannen", in W. Pircher and M. Treml, eds., *Tyrannis und Verführung* (Vienna, 2000), 126-127; H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Munich, 1967), x.

[2] Cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, ix-x.

[3] For Polycrates, cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 107-108; L. de Libero, *Die archaische Tyrannis* (Stuttgart, 1996), 261-262. For Cleisthenes, cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 28; de Libero, *Tyrannis*, 186-188.

[4] Cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 100; de Libero, *Tyrannis*, 371-372.

[5] Cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 96-97; de Libero, *Tyrannis*, 375-376.

seized power after Alexander had been assassinated.[6] Clearchus' son Timo-
theus appointed his brother Dionysius as his co-regent in Heraclea Pontica,
and later Dionysius' sons also ruled together.[7]

    That is why modern scholarship often uses the term *collective* or *cor-
porative tyranny* for such cases. The ancient Hellenes, however, did not know
the term. This posed no problems in the case of despotic regimes whose
nature was unambiguous such as the Pisistratidean in Athens. On the other
hand, more complex forms of collective tyranny such as the "Thirty" in Ath-
ens and the Theban regime of 382–379 B.C. are illustrative of the difficulties
ancient writers faced when they tried to give an adequate conceptual defini-
tion of this regime type.[8] That is why the sources often describe such cases
as *tyranny*, *oligarchy* and *dynastic* regime (*dynasteia*) all at the same time,[9] a
fact that frequently affects modern views on such systems of government.[10]
Hence the necessity of enquiring as to whether the ancient Greeks had an

[6] Cf. H.-J. Gehrke, *Stasis. Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen
Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Munich, 1985), 194-195; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 289;
293-294.

[7] Cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 319; 322-323.

[8] For the regime of the "Thirty" as a collective tyranny, cf. Jordović, *Anfänge*, 169-214;
Gehrke, *Stasis*, 318-319, and esp. n. 53; P. Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*
(London, 1987), 90-91, 281; E. Frolov, "Tyrannis und Monarchie im balkanischen
Griechenland. Die späte Tyrannis im balkanischen Griechenland", in E. Ch. Welsko-
pf, ed., *Hellenische Poleis* (Berlin, 1973), Vol. I, 255; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 211; R. Osborne,
"Changing the Discourse", in K. A. Morgan, ed., *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and Its
Discontents in Ancient Greece* (Austin, 2003), 251, 262-266; H. Friedel, *Der Tyrannen-
mord in Gesetzgebung und Volksmeinung der Griechen* (Stuttgart, 1937), 59-60. R. J. Buck,
A History of Boeotia (Edmonton 1979), 69-71; Gehrke (*Stasis*, 175-180, 318) and Berve
(*Tyrannis*, 674) contend that the Theban regime was a collective tyranny.

[9] "The Thirty": tyranny (Xen. Hell. 2.3,16; 48; 4,1; Lys. 12,35; Diod. 14.2,1; 4; 3,7; 5,6;
32,1-2; 33,2; 4; 15.25,4; Aristot. Ath. pol. 41,2); oligarchy (Xen. Hell. 2.3,1-2; 17-18;
24; 26; 30; 32; 51; Diod. 14.3,3-4; 4,6; Aristot. Ath. pol. 34,3; 37,1; 38,4; 53,1); *dynas-
teia* (Diod. 14.32,6; Aristot. Ath. pol. 36,1).

Thebes: *dynasteia* (Xen. Hell. 5.4,46); tyranny (Xen. Hell. 5.4,1-2; 9; 13; 7.3,7; Plut.
Pelop. 6,2; 9); oligarchy (Plut. Pelop. 5,2).

[10] Berve, *Tyrannis*, 211; R. Brock, "Athenian Oligarchs: The Number Game", *JHS* 109
(1989), 62; D. Whitehead, "Sparta and the Thirty Tyrants", *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/3), 113;
Frolov (*Tyrannis und Monarchie*, 255), and Friedel (*Tyrannenmord*, 59-60), consider
the bloody regime of the "Thirty" a tyranny. It is defined as oligarchy by W. Nippel,
Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in Antike und früher Neuzeit (Stuttgart,
1980), 81; P. Krentz, *The Thirty at Athens* (Ithaca/London), 15, 144; *Xenophon Hellenika
II.3.11–IV.2.8*, ed., introd., trans. and comment. P. Krentz (Warminster 1995), 122;
M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law. Law, Society, and Poli-
tics in Fifth-Century Athens* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London), 460-496; H. Bengtson,

awareness of collective tyranny in order not only better to understand the evolution of Greek political thought, but also to avoid misunderstandings in assessing the character of certain regimes.[11]

Dynasteia is a state-theoretical notion that may help us further on. Our enquiries into this notion show that the Hellenes were very much aware of the specific character of collective tyranny and that they even had a term for it, not identical but still very close to the modern concept. This study also throws some light on the factors due to which *dynasteia* did not become the prevailing term for collective tyranny.

The complexity of the term *dynasteia* is reflected in the fact that from the outset it referred to extreme oligarchy which was very similar to tyranny. This is plain to see from Thucydides' description of the Theban regime as it was at the time of the wars against the Persians (Thuk. 3.62,3):[12]

> For the constitution of our city at that time was,
> as it happened, neither an oligarchy under equal
> laws (ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον) nor yet a democracy;

Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die Römische Kaiserzeit, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1960), 252-253; G. A. Lehmann, *Oligarchische Herrschaft im klassischen Athen. Zu den Krisen und Katastrophen der attischen Demokratie im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Opladen, 1997), 9-128; G. A. Lehmann, "Überlegungen zur Krise der attischen Demokratie im Peloponnesischen Krieg: Vom Ostrakismos des Hyperbolos zum Thargelion 411 v. Chr.", *ZPE* 69 (1987), 54; Ch. Tuplin, "Imperial Tyranny: Some Reflections on a Classical Greek Political Metaphor", in P. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey, eds., *Crux. Essays Presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix on His 75th Birthday* (Exeter, 1985), 368, 373; C. A. Powell, *Athens and Sparta. Constructing Greek Political and Social History from 478 B.C.* (London, 1988), 279; P. J. Rhodes, "Oligarchs in Athens", in R. Brock and S. Hodkinson, eds., *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 2000), 119-136; and M. Munn, *The School of History: Athens in the Age of Socrates* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 2000), 235-236, 244. Some authors use both terms, tyranny and oligarchy, for the regime of the "Thirty"; cf. M. H. Hansen, *Die athenische Demokratie im Zeitalter des Demosthenes. Struktur, Prinzipien und Selbstverständnis* (Berlin, 1995), 41; G. A. Lehmann, "Die revolutionäre Machtergreifung der „Dreißig" und die staatliche Teilung Attikas (404-401/0 v. Chr.)", in R. Stiel and G. A. Lehmann, eds., *Antike und Universalgeschichte. Festschrift Hans Erich Stier zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munster, 1972), 201-233; 218, n. 45; 225; Ch. Schubert, *Die Macht des Volkes und die Ohnmacht des Denkens. Studien zum Verhältnis von Mentalität und Wissenschaft im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1993), 156-157.

[11] This category includes the regimes in Chalcis, Oreos-Histiaea, Eretria, and Messenia, about which there is divergence of opinions as to whether they were oligarchies or collective tyrannies; cf. Gehrke, *Stasis*, 40-41, 65-66, 74-75; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 300-303, 308, 674-677.

[12] Cf. J. Martin, "Dynasteia. Eine begriffs-, verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtliche Skizze", in R. Koselleck, ed., *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1979), 228.

> but its affairs were in the hands of a small group of
> powerful men (δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν) – the
> form which is most opposed to law and the best
> regulated polity, and most allied to tyranny.[13]

Thucydides' use of the term *dynasteia* has several distinctive characteristics: he does not use it to describe the oligarchic overthrow in Athens in 411 B.C.; it is connected with tyranny only when referring to the internal political situation in "developed" states such as Thebes and Syracuse (Thuk. 3.62,3; 6.38,3-4);[14] finally, he uses the term both for archaic and for "pre-state" systems such as those in Thessaly and among the Illyrians (Thuk. 4.78,2-3; 126,2).[15] It is worthy of note that, aside from pointing out that *dynasteia* is the traditional form of government in Thessaly, Thucydides also points out its oppositeness to *isonomia* (Thuk. 4.78,3).[16] Namely, the term *isonomia* originated in the context of aristocratic struggles against tyrannical autocracy.[17]

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[13] *Thucydides*, vol. II, trans., ed. and introd. C. F. Smith (Cambridge, Mass/London, 1932; reprint 1975).

[14] In his speech Athenagoras connects the threat of tyranny with *dynasteia* (Thuk. 6.38,3-4). Cf. Alcibiades' speech in Sparta (Thuk. 6.89,4); cf. also *HCT* IV, 362; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 629; H. Leppin, *Thukydides und die Verfassung der Polis. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Ideengeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1999), 68-69.

[15] Cf. also Plat. leg. 680b-c; 681d; Demosth. or. 59,74. According to J. Martin (*Dynasteia*, 229-230), such use of the term *dynasteia* is an expansion of Aristotle's notion. This use, however, is not necessarily in collision with the view that *dynasteia* and tyranny share some important characteristics. Plato is a good example because in his works this earliest system of rule and tyranny have a lot in common: instead of assemblies and laws, there only rules the despotism of individuals. In Brasidas' speech, *dynasteia* refers to barbarians and not to Peloponnesians (Thuk. 4.126,2); cf. *HCT* III, 614-615; S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. II (Oxford, 1996), 398-399.

[16] Plato also contrasts *dynasteia* with *isonomia* (Plat. rep. 291c-d). For the "tyranny – egalitarianism" contrast in sources, cf. e.g. Herodotus' "Constitutional debate" (Hdt. 3.80,5-6). The adjective *isonomos* appears in two scholia written in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the tyrant-slayers (Athen. 695a-b).

[17] G. Vlastos, "Isonomia", *AJPh* 74 (1953), 337-366; V. J. Rosivach, "The Tyrant in Athenian Democracy", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 30,3 (1988), 47-57; P. Spahn, "Individualisierung und politisches Bewußtsein im archaischen Griechenland", in K. Raaflaub and E. Müller-Luckner, eds., *Anfänge des politischen Denkens in der Antike. Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen* (Munich, 1993), 359-360; Chr. Meier, *Die Entstehung des Politischen bei den Griechen*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 293-294; 297-299; W. Lengauer, "Die politische Bedeutung der Gleichheitsidee im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. – Einige Bemerkungen über isonomia", in W. Will and J. Heinrichs, eds., *Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam,

The most important characteristics of Thucydides' use of the term *dynasteia* correspond to Aristotle's attitudes presented in his *Politics*. In Aristotle, this term refers to the fourth and final form of oligarchy (Aristot. pol. 1292a 39 - 1292b 10; 1293a 12-34). The first type of oligarchy occurs when the exercise of public duties is accessible to a larger number of citizens. The second type takes place when the number of citizens enjoying political rights becomes smaller and their fortune proportionally larger. Entry into public service is by co-optation. As the office-holders are not yet influential enough, the law remains supreme authority. The third form of oligarchy depends on an even smaller number of affluent full-right citizens. Sons now legally succeed their fathers in government offices. In the fourth and the last type, the power of office-holders, backed by their wealth and supporters, goes beyond every measure. Individuals now rule instead of the law. Aristotle defines this type of oligarchy as *dynasteia* and finds it to be very similar to tyranny.[18]

That *dynasteia* as a form of government has many characteristics in common with tyranny is observable in several places in his *Politics*. Thus, a *dynasteia* came into being in Crete when "the powerful", intent on evading the courts, ousted *cosmic*, the highest officials, from power. In such a case the state ceases to be a state and loses its control function (Aristot. pol. 1272b 1-15). In that respect it is similar to tyranny which, according to Aristotle, is the worst possible system and remotest from constitutional government (Aristot. pol. 1289b 1-5; 1293b 25-30). Further similarities can be inferred from Aristotle's view that no system is constitutional unless it is governed by the law (Aristot. pol. 1292a 30-34), which, in his opinion, goes not only for

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1987), 53-87; J. Bleicken, *Die athenische Demokratie*, 4th ed. (Paderborn/Munich/Vienna/Zurich, 1995), 66-67; 338-341; Leppin, *Thukydides*, 22-23; Martin, *Dynasteia*, 232-233; M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy* (Oxford, 1969), 96-120; 180-182; Nippel, *Mischverfassungstheorie*, 33; K. Raaflaub, "Einleitung und Bilanz: Kleisthenes, Ephialtes und die Begründung der Demokratie", in K. H. Kinzl, ed., *Demokratia. Der Weg zur Demokratie bei den Griechen* (Darmstadt, 1995), 49-51; K. Raaflaub, *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit. Zur historischen Semantik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte eines politischen Grundbegriffs der Griechen* (Munich 1985), 115-118; P. Barceló, "Thukydides und die Tyrannis", *Historia* 39 (1990), 414-416; K.-W. Welwei, *Das klassische Athen. Demokratie und Machtpolitik im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1999), 8-9; 338, n. 33; Schubert, *Macht des Volkes*, 15-19.

[18] At one point Aristotle says that *dynasteia* is similar to tyranny, and at another he compares it to monarchy (Aristot. pol. 1292b 5-10; 1293a 30-34). As Aristotle elsewhere states explicitly that the main difference between tyranny and monarchy is that the latter is based on the rule of law and is beneficial to the subjects, it seems probable that here he refers to the illegal despotic rule of a single person rather than to legal kingship (Aristot. pol. 1285a 17-1285b 4; 1295a 5-24; 1310b 40-1311a 5).

tyranny, but also for *dynasteia* and extreme democracy (Aristot. pol. 1289b 1-5; 1292a 15-39; 1292b 5-10).[19] An important criterion in evaluating a system of government is whether it is beneficial to all citizens or only to power-holders (Aristot. pol. 1279a 17-23). According to Aristotle, tyranny and *dynasteia* are comparable in this respect, too (Aristot. pol. 1310b 40 - 1311a 11; 1279b 5-10).[20] Tyranny has more in common with oligarchy: wealth as an end in itself,[21] the disarmament, oppression and expulsion of the masses from the city to remote areas (Aristot. pol. 1311a 8-15).[22] In his *Politics*, the similarity between *dynasteia* and tyranny is additionally confirmed by his thesis that tyranny often develops from an extreme oligarchy or a dynastic regime.[23] This thesis also appears in his pattern of successive constitutional systems. Namely, kingly rule is succeeded by a system where at first affairs of state are managed by the citizens, and then the system turns into an oligarchy.[24] From the oligarchy develops a tyranny, which is eventually succeeded by a democracy (Aristot. pol. 1286b 7-20). Listing the advantages of the system based on *mesoi*, Aristotle finds that it hardly ever leads to tyranny, by contrast to extreme democracy and oligarchy (Aristot. pol. 1295b 40 – 1296a 8). Dynastic regime may also turn into tyranny when dynasts (power-wielders) rule for a long time (Aristot. pol. 1308a 13-24). Finally, Aristotle sees tyranny as a combination of the last form of oligarchy and democracy (Aristot. pol. 1310b 1-8). Most important for the problems analyzed herein is Aristotle's claim that differences between extreme oligar-

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[19] Aeschines has a similar attitude. According to him, tyrannical and oligarchic systems are ruled by power-holders and not by laws; by contrast, in democracies rules the authority of the law (Aischin. leg. 4-5).

[20] This can also be seen in the example of the development of *dynasteia* in Crete, cf. above.

[21] Cf. E. Schütrumpf and H.-J. Gehrke, "Aristoteles, Politik IV-VI, Übersetzt und eingeleitet von E. Schütrumpf, Erläutert von E. Schütrumpf und H.-J. Gehrke", in *Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzung,* Bd. 9, Teil 3 (Berlin, 1996), 553.

[22] The fact that here and elsewhere Aristotle uses the term oligarchy and not *dynasteia*, is not so important. *Dynasteia* being the last form of oligarchy, characteristics common to oligarchy and tyranny are even more applicable to *dynasteia*.

[23] It is worthy of note that, according to Herodotus' "Constitutional Debate", Darius gives very similar arguments against oligarchy in favour of one-man rule (Hdt. 3.82,3); cf. also Thuk. 8.89,3. For the Constitutional Debate, see J. Bleicken, "Zur Entstehung der Verfassungstypologie im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *Historia* 38 (1979), 148-172.

[24] Since a change of the form of government results from deteriorations in the existing system, the assumption seems plausible that the worst form of oligarchy here refers to *dynasteia*.

chy and tyranny are quantitative rather than qualitative (Aristot. pol. 1312b 34-38):[25]

> And to speak summarily, all the things
> that we have mentioned as causing the downfall
> of unmixed and extreme oligarchy and of the last
> form of democracy must be counted as destructive
> of tyranny as well, since extreme oligarchy and
> democracy are in reality divided tyrannies.[26]

That the number of power-holders usually appears to be Aristotle's sole criterion for differentiating between tyranny and *dynasteia* is inferable from his account of the transformation oligarchy undergoes in times of war.[27] According to him, oligarchy becomes tyranny when a general takes over power supported by mercenaries. However, when several commanders seize power together, then it is *dynasteia* (Aristot. pol. 1306a 20-25). The central importance Aristotle attaches to the number of power-holders in his *Politics* can also be recognized in his comment on the oligarchy in Elis. Listing the ways in which oligarchies may decline, Aristotle takes Elis as an example for oligarchy within oligarchy, because Elis was led by an aristocratic council of only "90" members (Aristot. pol. 1306a 13-19).[28] Symptomatically, he

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[25] It is noteworthy that Xenophon ascribes a similar thinking to Critias and his supporters. Critias (Xen. Hell. 2.3,16): *Then Critias (for he still treated Theramenes as a friend) replied that it was impossible for people who wanted to gain power not to put out of the way those who were best able to thwart them. "But if," he said, "merely because we are thirty and not one, you imagine that it is any the less necessary for us to keep a close watch over this government, just as one would if it were an absolute monarchy, you are foolish."* Theramenes says something comparable in his speech (Xen. Hell. 2.3,48): *But I, Critias, am forever at war with the men who do not think there could be a good democracy until the slaves and those who would sell the state for lack of a shilling should share in the government, and on the other hand I am forever an enemy to those who do not think that a good oligarchy could be established until they should bring the state to the point of being ruled absolutely by a few.*

[26] *Aristotle. Politics*, ed., transl. and introd. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass/London, 1932; reprint 1998).

[27] The reason that the sources generally associate tyranny with one-man rule may be twofold. Firstly, it was in accordance with tradition; secondly, the contrast "state–powerful individual" was, beyond any doubt, fascinating. The notion of a powerful individual ruthlessly imposing his will upon the whole community provides a far more spectacular and sharper contrast than that between the community and a group of people. This is observable in the ancient sources which are mainly interested in great tyrants, whereas the regimes led jointly by a group of tyrants are usually given much less attention.

[28] It is significant that Aristotle compares this council with the Spartan *gerousia*. Namely, it has often been suggested that the committee of the Athenian "Thirty" was shaped on the model of the *gerousia*; cf. Krentz, *Thirty*, 67-68; Whitehead, *Thirty Tyrants*, 120.

describes the selection of council members as dynastic.[29] The significance of this example becomes clearer when one bears in mind that, for instance, the Athenian governing body in 404/03 B.C. consisted of only thirty members, and that an even smaller group ruled in Thebes from 382 to 379 B.C. In addition to *Politics*, Aristotle connects *dynasteia* and tyranny in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (Aristot. eth. Nic. 1176b 3-4). So, when he speaks of the happiness, pleasure and amusement of tyrants he also uses the term *dynasteia*. It is important to emphasize that happiness, pleasure and amusement of the tyrant are among the central elements of the tyrant typology.[30]

The most precise and detailed description of *dynasteia* and its similarities to tyranny is given by Thucydides and especially Aristotle. But the relatedness of this notion to autocracy is also observable in other ancient writers, such as Plato, Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes and Diodorus. In this regard, it seems necessary to note that, with the exception of Diodorus, all these authors, including Thucydides and Aristotle, were under the strong impression of fifth- and fourth-century-B.C. developments in Athens, and that some of them belonged to the so-called "critical community".[31]

At one point Plato says that *dynasteia* belongs to intermediate constitutions, but fails to give a clear definition of its characteristics (Plat. rep. 544d).[32] And yet, from what he says elsewhere we can conclude that this term implies a type of regime that is more similar to tyranny than to oligarchy. Only once does Plato use the term *dynasteia* to describe oligarchy (Plat. polit. 291d). On the other hand, in his dialogue *Gorgias,* Callicles advocates the right of the stronger speaking about the individuals capable of founding an empire, *dynasteia* or tyranny by virtue of their natural strength (Plat. Gorg. 492b). In his *Republic* Plato uses the terms *dynasteia* and *basileia* expounding the view that philosophers should take charge of the state or else either the sons of rulers or rulers themselves inspired with the love of true philosophy by divine providence (Plat. rep. 499b-c).[33] In view of Plato's experience with Dionysius II, it seems that the term *dynasteia* here refers to

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[29] Cf. Schütrumpf and Gehrke, *Politik*, 501.

[30] Jordović, *Anfänge*, 140-148.

[31] For the so-called "critical community", cf. J. Ober, *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens. Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule* (Princeton, 1998), 7-12, 15, 28-33, 43-51, 250, 286-288.

[32] Cf. J. Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, with critic. notes, commentary and app., Vol. I-II (Cambridge, 1902), 199-200.

[33] Cf. Adam, *Republic*, 38; J. Hirmer, "Entstehung und Komposition der platonischen Politeia", *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. 23,8 (Leipzig 1897), 668; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. IV (Cambridge, 1975), 24-25; K. Trampedach, *Platon, die Akademie und die zeitgenössische Politik* (Stuttgart 1994), 211-214; 260-264; cf. also Plat. rep. 473c-e; ep. 7,326a-b. For Plato and Dionysius II, cf. Plat.

tyranny.[34] Namely, it is not very likely that Plato would have used the term *basileia* for the most notorious tyranny of his time.[35] The rulers of a *dynasteia* are listed alongside with despots and tyrants in the *Laws* where Plato compares their attitude to the weaker than themselves with the attitude of a master to his slave (Plat. leg. 777e). There is yet another place in the *Laws* showing that *dynasteia* has a lot in common with tyranny, because there rules the whim of an individual instead of the law and the assembly. This use of the term shows, however, that Plato, just like Thucydides, relates it to the earliest, or most primitive, form of government as well. In his words, *dynasteia* still exists with many Hellenes and barbarians, and that it is exactly what Homer referred to when speaking of the settlements of the Cyclopes (Plat. leg. 680b-c; 681d).

It is not only in his account of the Athenian "Thirty" that Diodorus equates *dynasteia* with tyranny (Diod. 14.32,6; 14.2,1; 4; 3,7; 5,6; 32,1-2; 33,2; 4; 15.25,4).[36] He often uses this term rather than tyranny to describe the rule of Dionysius I of Syracuse (Diod. 13.96,4; 14.8,4; 9,4; 10,2; 14,2; 18,1). Clearchus' short-lived administration as the harmost of Byzantium in 403/02 B.C. is also defined as a tyranny and dynastic regime (Diod. 14.12,2-4). The fact that Diodorus makes no distinction between tyranny and *dynasteia* in three separate cases – the "Thirty", Dionysius I and Clearchus

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ep. 7,326a-333a; 344-345b; for the significance of his Seventh Letter as a source, cf. Trampedach, *Platon*, 255-258.

[34] Cf. O. Apelt, "Platons Staat", in O. Apelt, *Platon. Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 5, Herausgegeben und mit Einleitungen, Literaturübersichten, Anmerkungen und Registern versehen von O. Apelt (Hamburg, 1920-1922; reprint Hamburg 1998), 497, n. 62; Trampedach, *Platon*, 102-124; 260-264; esp. 211-214; Guthrie, *Philosophy*, 18-19; 24-31; A. Vilhar and B. Pavlović, *Platon. Država*, 4th ed. (Belgrade, 1993), 365, n. 32.

[35] The fact must be borne in mind that Plato's view of tyranny was powerfully (if not decisively) influenced by the rule of Dionysius I; cf. A. Heuss, "Aristoteles als Theoretiker des Totalitarismus", *A&A* 17 (1971), 29; 33-35; 37; 40; K. F. Stroheker, *Dionysios I. Gestalt und Geschichte des Tyrannen von Syrakus* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 4; A. Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City* (London/Canberra, 1982), 185-186; 240; 246; 249; H.-J. Gehrke, "Die klassische Polisgesellschaft in der Perspektive griechischer Philosophen", *Saeculum* 36 (1985), 150; Schütrumpf – Gehrke, *Politik*, 487; cf. also Berve, *Tyrannis*, 353; J. v. Ungern-Sternberg, "Zur Beurteilung Dionysios' I. von Syrakus", in W. Will and J. Heinrichs, eds., *Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G. Wirth* (Amsterdam, 1988), 1145-1146; 1151. As a result, it is less likely that he would have used the terms such as kings, royal and monarchy for the tyrants of Syracuse. Indeed, even earlier, speaking about kings and power-holders who should become philosophers, Plato thought of power-holders as tyrants (Plat. rep. 473c-e); cf. Adam, *Republic*, ad loc.

[36] This is even more significant because Diodorus always characterizes the regime of the "Four Hundred" as oligarchic (Diod. 13.36,2; 38,1).

– is very significant because he draws information from different writers. The assumption that the use of the term *dynasteia* originally comes from Philistus, a supporter of Dionysius I, is especially tempting.[37]

The notion of *dynasteia* is given tyrannical connotations by Isocrates, too. An example is his letter to Timotheus, whose father Clearchus, a disciple of his, had established tyrannical rule in his hometown Heraclea Pontica. It is indicative that Isocrates defines as dynastic not only the rule of Timotheus, but also his father's regime, notorious for ruthlessness and brutality (Isokr. ep. 7,1). He speaks in the same manner of the tyrant Cleommis of Methymna (Isokr. ep. 7,8).[38] In his first letter to king Philip of Macedon, Isocrates terms the rule of the Great King as *dynasteia* (Isokr. ep. 2.408,8).[39] In his *Panathenaicus* he defines the Pisistratidean autocracy as a dynastic regime, pointing out that the tyrant acted both against the oligarchs and the demos (Isokr. or. 12,148). He also sees the tyranny of Dionysius I as *dynas-*

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[37] It relies above all on the fact that the term *dynasteia* is far more "neutral" than tyranny, and thus may have been more suitable to Philistus. It should also be noted that Diodorus classifies the regime of Dionysius I as *dynasteia* in his account of the fortification of Syracuse (Diod. 14.18,1). This report comes most probably from Philistus; cf. Stroheker, *Dionysios I.*, 63; K. Meister, *Die sizilische Geschichte bei Diodor. Von den Anfängen bis zum Tod des Agathokles* (Munich 1967), 86.

[38] Cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 337.

[39] For the fact that the ancient sources mostly saw the rule of Persian kings as tyrannical, cf. U. Walter, "Da sah er das Volk ganz in seiner Hand." – Deiokes und die Entstehung monarchischer Herrschaft im Geschichtswerk Herodots", in M. Meier, B. Patzek, U. Walter and J. Wiesehöfer, eds., *Deiokes, König der Meder. Eine Herodot-Episode in ihren Kontexten* (Stuttgart, 2004), 86-92; M. Meier, "Die Deiokes-Episode im Werk Herodots – Überlegungen zu den Entstehungsbedingungen griechischer Geschichtsschreibung", in M. Meier, B. Patzek, U. Walter and J. Wiesehöfer, eds., *Deiokes, König der Meder. Eine Herodot-Episode in ihren Kontexten* (Stuttgart, 2004), 29; H. Sonnabend, *Geschichte der antiken Biographie. Von Isokrates bis zur Historia Augusta* (Darmstadt 2003), 24; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 193; 625-626; R. Bichler, *Herodots Welt. Der Aufbau der Historie am Bild der fremden Länder und Völker, ihrer Zivilisation und ihrer Geschichte* (Berlin, 2000), 275-277; 282-285; K. F. Stroheker, "Zu den Anfängen der monarchischen Theorie in der Sophistik", *Historia* 2 (1953/4), 382-395; J. M. Alonso-Núñez, "Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot", in W. Schuller, ed., P*olitische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum* (Darmstadt, 1998), 19 with n. 2; 25; 27-29; D. Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus* (Toronto, 1989), 163-186; K. Raaflaub, "Athens >Ideologie der Macht< und die Freiheit des Tyrannen", in J. M. Balcer, H.-J. Gehrke, K. Raaflaub and W. Schuller, eds., *Studien zum attischem Seebund* (Konstanz, 1984), 74; Raaflaub, *Entdeckung*, 67, 123-125, 323; Heuss, *Aristoteles*, 25; S. Borzsák, "Persertum und griechisch-römische Antike. Zur Ausgestaltung des klassischen Tyrannenbildes", *Gymnasium* 94 (1987), 289-297; G. Walser, "Zum griechisch-persischen Verhältnis vor dem Hellenismus", *HZ* 220 (1975), 529-542; H. Drexler, *Thukydides-Studien* (Darmstadt, 1976), 23-25; 66-67; B. Snell, "Aischylos und das Handeln im Drama", *Philologus* Suppl. 20,1 (Leipzig, 1928), 66-77.

teia (Isokr. or. 6,45). The term *dynasteia* is used for both kingly and tyrannical rules that violate the law and care only about their own advantage (Isokr. or. 12,242-244). The tyrannical connotation of the term *dynasteia* can also be recognized in Isocrates' view of the foreign policy of Athens and Sparta. Thus he calls upon the Athenians to renounce their tyranny and *dynasteia* (Isokr. or. 8,142), while the Spartan *dynasteia* is referred to in the context of the advantages of the previous Athenian hegemony by comparison with the bad experiences under Spartan dominance (Isokr. or. 12,68). The dominance (*dynasteia*) of Athens is directly compared with tyranny in Isocrates' speech *Antidosis* (Isokr. or. 15,64). His *Panegyricus* commends the Athenian hegemony for freeing many Greeks from lawlessness and *dynasteia* (Isokr. or. 4,39).

In his *Hellenica*, Xenophon uses the term *dynasteia* only for the Theban regime of 382–379 B.C., but he also characterizes it as a tyranny (Xen. Hell. 5.4,1-2; 9; 13; 46; 7.3,7).[40] Lysias uses the term *dynasteia* in his *Funeral oration* to define the rule of the Pisistratids (Lys. 2,18). Andocides defines the oligarchy of the "Four Hundred" both as tyranny and as dynastic regime (Andok. 1,75; 2,27).[41] In Aeschines' speech *On the Embassy* the term *dynasteia* refers to Philip's rule and the rule of Macedonian kings in general (Aischin. leg. 2,29).

A link between *dynasteia* and tyranny can be found in Demosthenes too. In his speech *On the Crown*, Demosthenes says that the Macedonian ruler imposed his *arché* and *tyrannís* on the Greeks (Demosth. or. 18,66),[42] but immediately adds that Philip has made many personal sacrifices for the sake of his *arché* and *dynasteia* (Demosth. or. 18,67).[43] He refers to the Athenian and Spartan hegemonies as *dynasteia* when speaking about the Greeks declaring war on the Athenians and the Spartans because the latter's abuse of their hegemony in Hellas (Demosth. or. 9,24). When commenting only on Spartan political dominance and foreign policy, Demosthenes uses the

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[40] For other sources, cf. Gehrke, *Stasis*, 177. This regime in Thebes is interesting because of its similarity to that of the "Thirty" in Athens. As in Athens, it was a rather violent rule of a small group led by Leontiades, Philip, Hypates, Archias and their *hetaireiai*, and they seized power only through Spartan intervention. Just as in Athens, a Spartan garrison was stationed on the Theban Cadmea. Modern scholarship mostly sees this regime as a collective tyranny; cf. H.-J. Gehrke, *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta. Das Dritte Griechenland und seine Staatenwelt* (Munich, 1986), 63-65; Gehrke, *Stasis*, 168-180; 317-319; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 299-300; 674.

[41] H. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 632 thinks that the term *dynasteia* refers to the rule of the "Thirty".

[42] Cf. also Demosth. or. 11,4.

[43] In 18,270 Demosthenes defines Philip's international political domination as *dynasteia*.

term tyranny (Demosth. or. 20,70). As for Athens, it should be noted that otherwise the widespread term for its *arché* was tyranny.[44] In the *Fourth Philippic* Demosthenes describes Philip's followers as yearning for tyranny and *dynasteia* (Demosth. or. 10,4). It is hard to believe that here Demosthenes wanted *dynasteia* to mean "oligarchy", since the rest of his speeches condemn Philip for establishing tyrannies in Greek states (Chalcis, Oreos-Histiaea, Eretria, Messenia), although these were governed by several power-holders (Demosth. or. 6,21; 8,36; 9,17; 23; 33; 57-62; 10,8; 17,4; 7; 10-11; 29; 18,71; 79; 81-82; 295).[45] Demosthenes' statement that Philip installed three tyrants to rule together in Eretria is especially remarkable in this respect (Demosth. or. 9,58).

As the term *dynasteia* had never been as widespread as tyranny or oligarchy, the reasons for that need to be looked at.

The fact that the term *dynasteia* is of a later date than tyranny and oligarchy may have been one of the reasons.[46] According to Chr. Meier, it came into use at about the same time as *politeia* – about 430 B.C.[47] The earliest written evidence for the term *dynasteia* can be found in Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Soph. Oid. T. 593). Although Chr. Meier rightfully concludes that its meaning in the drama is "rule in the general sense", it should be pointed out that it unambiguously refers to the rule of an individual, which is at the same time termed tyranny.[48] The term *dynasteia* does not occur in Herodotus' Constitutional Debate (Hdt. 3.80-82). He uses only the verb δυναστεύω to describe the powerful position of certain aristocrats or states (Hdt. 5.66,1; 97,1; 6.35,1; 66,2; 9.2,2-3). In Thucydides

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[44] Cf. K. Raaflaub, "Polis Tyrannos. Zur Entstehung einer politischen Metapher", in G. Bowersock, W. Burckert and M. C. J. Putnam, eds., *Arktouros, Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Berlin/New York, 1979), 245; Raaflaub, *Ideologie der Macht*, 69-78. K. Raaflaub, "Stick and Glue: The Function of Tyranny in Fifth-Century Athenian Democracy", in K. A. Morgan, ed., *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and Its Discontents in Ancient Greece* (Austin, 2003), 59-94; Tuplin, *Imperial Tyranny*, 348-375; T. Morawetz, *Der Demos als Tyrann und Banause. Aspekte antidemokratischer Polemik im Athen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 49-132. For identification of Athenian *arché* with tyranny cf. also Barceló, *Thukydides*, 416; 419-424.

[45] On the question as to whether these regimes were or were not collective tyrannies, cf. Gehrke, *Stasis*, 40-41; 65-66; 74-75; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 300-303; 308; 674-677.

[46] Meier, *Entstehung*, 286, 299-302; 304-305.

[47] Cf. Chr. Meier, "Der Wandel der politisch-sozialen Begriffswelt im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", in R. Koselleck, ed., *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1979), 211; 214; Meier, *Entstehung*, 299-300; 304-305.

[48] Meier, *Entstehung*, 304-305.

this term is in the shadow of the term *oligarchia*, although his notion of *dynasteia* is consistent and precise. Thus the former term occurs twenty-six and the latter only four times.[49] In other writers this contrast is even more conspicuous.[50]

Another factor hindering the spread of the term *dynasteia* was a tendency of different authors to ascribe it different meanings. Apart from referring to a narrow and violent oligarchy, the term also implied political control in general, dominance, hegemony, vassal principality. Isocrates is an especially good example of this tendency, since an entire spectrum of different meanings of the term *dynasteia* can be found in his works which, due to their conventionality, provide an excellent insight into the intellectual tendencies of the time.[51] He equates the Spartan hegemony until the Battle of Leuctra with *dynasteia* (Isokr. or. 5,47).[52] Using this term, he often means power in general (Isokr. or. 5,133; 145). *Dynasteia* also refers both to the dominance of selfish Athenian orators causing damage to their own polis, and to the power of the statesmen who made Athens great (Isokr. or. 8,121; 15,316).[53] Furthermore, this term can be a synonym for oligarchy or kingship (Isokr. or. 4,105; 12,126).[54] It is often synonymous with the word hegemony (Isokr. or. 6,110).[55] So many different meanings of the term must have hindered its use and diffusion. That and the widespread use of the term oligarchy probably made *dynasteia* unsuitable for speeches before a larger audience. And finally, the concept of *dynasteia* is already contained in the concept of oligarchy.

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[49] Of that number, it once refers to Thessaly and once to barbarians.

[50] Lysias uses the term *dynasteia* twice, and *oligarchia* more than twenty times.

[51] Cf. Ober, *Political Dissent*, 250.

[52] Cf. also Demosth. or. 9,24; 18,322, although Demosthenes characterizes the Spartan hegemony as tyranny when speaking of it separately (Demosth. or. 20,70).

[53] Cf. also Aischin. Ctes. 3; 145; Demosth. or. 25,7; ep. 2,1; 6.

[54] Isokr. or. 4,105: "*On the contrary, we regarded harmony among our allies as the common boon of all, and therefore we governed all the cities under the same laws, deliberating about them in the spirit of allies, not of masters; guarding the interests of the whole confederacy but leaving each member of it free to direct its own affairs; supporting the people making war on despotic powers* (ταῖς διναστείαις), *considering it an outrage that the many should be subject to the few, that those who were poorer in fortune but not inferior in other respects should be banished from the offices, that, furthermore, in a fatherland which belongs to all in common some should hold the place of masters, others of aliens, and that men who are citizens by birth should be robbed by law of their share in the government*". *Isocrates*, Vol. I, ed. and transl. G. Norlin (Cambridge, Mass/London, 1928; reprint 1991).

[55] Cf. also Demosth. or. 9,24; 18,67; 250; 20,70.

Yet another factor is that tyranny was one of the oldest Greek political concepts, which assumed markedly negative and pejorative connotations.[56] Coupled with the contemporaries' fascination with tyranny as a political and historical phenomenon, this was the main reason why the term tyranny was given preference over the term *dynasteia* in ancient evaluations of collective tyrannies. This is supported by the fact that the notion of tyranny includes all types of regimes that modern scholarship defines as collective tyrannies.

The last important factor is that most of the relevant sources were powerfully influenced by the Athenian political developments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., as well as by the evolution of political thought in that period. The experiences of 411 and 404/03 B.C. were fundamental in this sense, because each overthrow was carried out by a group – the "Four Hundred", the "Thirty" – which aspired to oligarchy.[57] Of some significance must also have been the fact that, from the Peloponnesian War at the latest, the Spartans were considered as champions of oligarchy, whereas the Athenians saw themselves as defenders of democracy. All this helped the dichotomy "oligarchy-democracy" become dominant in the political life of Athens.[58] The importance and scope of this influence can be deduced from the fact the bloody regime of the "Thirty" was seen as an oligarchy by most citizens and contemporaries, although it was really a collective tyranny.[59]

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[56] Cf. J. Cobet, "König, Anführer, Herr, Monarch, Tyrann", in E. Ch. Welskopf, ed., *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt*, Vol. III (Berlin, 1981), 47-55; Berve, *Tyrannis*, 190-206; de Libero, *Tyrannis*, 23-38; V. Parker, "Τύραννος. The Semantics of a Political Concept from Archilochus to Aristotle", *Hermes* 126 (1998), 145-172.

[57] As for the "Thirty", this turned out to be the case with only a part of new power holders, whereas the other part wanted it only nominally; cf. Jordović, *Anfänge*, 185-214.

[58] This process has been made much easier by the fact that the overthrows showed clear features of a tyranny, such as arbitrariness and violence, which applies especially to the "Thirty"; cf. Jordović, *Anfänge*, 194-202; Raaflaub, *Entdeckung*, 301-302. As a result, the difference between these regimes and tyranny lessened, while their difference from democracy became more prominent. Another reason why oligarchy as a counter-model to the rule of the people gained appeal was that the "Thirty" had risen to power with the help of the Spartans. The Spartans had already been known as opponents of tyrannical regimes, and by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War had become considered champions of oligarchy (Thuk 1.18,1; 6.53,3; 59,4; Aristoph. Lys. 1149-1156; Aristot. pol. 1312b 7; Isokr. or. 4,125); cf. R. Bernhardt, "Die Entstehung der Legende von der tyrannenfeindlichen Außenpolitik Spartas im sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert", *Historia* 36 (1987), 257-289; Barceló, *Thukydides*, 409-410; P. Barceló, *Basileia, Monarchia, Tyrannis. Untersuchungen zu Entwicklung und Beurteilung von Alleinherrschaft im vorhellenistischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart, 1993), 188-189.

[59] Jordovic, *Anfänge*, 169-214.

What contributed to their misconception is the selective character of collective memory, where some circumstances are retained and others pushed aside or even forgotten.[60] Rhetoric played an important role in that process. Namely, speeches as a rule were given immediately or soon after the events they referred to, and were given in front of the masses. As a result, a clearer and nuanced distinction between regimes or the use of relatively complex notions such as *dynasteia* became increasingly impracticable, which in turn encouraged the spread of stereotypes and phrases.[61] This is clearly noticeable from different labels designating the "Thirty" in speeches (Lysias, Demosthenes, Aeschines), and in historical and theoretical works (Xenophon, Diodorus, Aristotle).[62] It is not surprising then that, due to the "oligarchy-democracy" dichotomy, contrasting oligarchy and democracy became a common rhetorical turn, as noticed already by G. Kaibel (Lys. 12,78; 25,17; Andok. 1,99; Isokr. or. 15,27; Aristot. Ath. pol. 38,4).[63]

That the influence of this dichotomy on the spread of the term *dynasteia* cannot be underestimated may be seen from the example of the "tyranny-democracy" dichotomy that had preceded it. In the fifth century B.C. tyranny was repeatedly denounced as the main threat to the rule of the people. Even after oligarchy had appeared as an alternative to democracy, tyranny continued to figure as an important contrast.[64] This state of affairs is clearly reflected in Aristophanes and Thucydides.[65] Fear of tyranny among the masses was impressively caricatured in Aristophanes' comedy *Wasps*

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[60] Vgl. J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 2000), 34-48; A. Wolpert, *Remembering Defeat. Civil War and Civic Memory in Ancient Athens* (Baltimore, 2002), xiv-xv; 76-87.

[61] An especially good review of this problem can be found in A. Wolpert, *Remembering*, 75-141; 146 n. 8. It should be noted that A. Wolpert focuses on speeches and thus his findings mostly refer to them; Wolpert, *Remembering*, XII–XV.

[62] It is not merely a coincidence that historical and theoretical works use different state-theoretical terms.

[63] G. Kaibel, *Stil und Text der* ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ *des Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1893), 196; cf. also P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981), 461-462.

[64] Cf. E. Ruschenbusch, *Athenische Innenpolitik im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bamberg, 1979), 160-164; Rosivach, *Tyrant*, 47-49; 51-57; Meier, *Entstehung*, 285-286; Raaflaub, *Stick and Glue*, 59-94; Raaflaub, *Entdeckung*, 258-277; H. Heftner, *Der oligarchische Umsturz des Jahres 411 v. Chr. und die Herrschaft der Vierhundert in Athen. Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), 122; A. Rubel, *Stadt in Angst. Religion und Politik in Athen während des Peloponnesischen Krieges* (Darmstadt, 2000), 199-200 and n. 64.

[65] For confirmations in the sources, cf. Berve, *Tyrannis*, 197-206; 627-629; K.-W. Welwei, „Demos" und „Plethos" in athenischen Volksbeschlüssen um 450 v. Chr.", *Historia*

(Aristoph. Vesp. 417; 463-507), and parodied in his other comedies (Aristoph. Equ. 257; 447; 452; 475-479; Av. 483; 1072-1075; 1605; Lys. 616-634; Thesm. 335-351; 1136-1144). The enormous fear of tyranny in Athens on the eve of the Sicilian campaign is clearly seen in Thucydides as well (Thuk. 6.15,5; 27,3; 53,3; 60,1).[66] But Demophantus' decree is especially interesting. This psephism forcing people to take the oath that they would pitilessly pursue the enemies of democracy was issued after the downfall of the "Four Hundred" (Andok. 1.96-98).[67] It is indicative that this oath saw tyranny as the main threat to the democratic system even after an obviously oligarchic revolution. Indeed, twenty or thirty years before 411 B.C. there had already begun to circulate oligarchic views or concepts that were a far more realistic alternative to democracy than tyranny.[68] The fact that tyranny was still seen as the main threat to democracy shows that former oppositions often prevailed even when they no longer had support in reality.[69] Aristophanes' and Andocides' comments show that even the contemporaries were aware of the fact (Aristoph. Vesp. 488-507; Andok. 4,27).[70]

　　　Based on the Greek sources, this study has shown that the Hellenes used the term *dynasteia* for the type of regime that modern scholarship defines as collective tyranny. The term referred to the despotic rule of a small clique that wielded absolute power and ignored the law and the rights of citizens. It should be added that the highest government offices were hereditary.[71] These characteristics, as well as the information provided by the

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35 (1986), 179-180; 190; Brock, *Athenian Oligarchs*, 160-164; Ruschenbusch, *Innenpolitik*, 33-40; Barceló, *Thukydides*, 412-417.

[66] Cf. Jordović, *Anfänge*, 131-168.

[67] Welwei, *Athen*, 405 n. 305; 311; B. Bleckmann, *Athens Weg in die Niederlage. Die letzten Jahre des Peloponnesischen Krieges* (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1998), 432-442; A. Dössel, *Die Beilegung innerstaatlicher Konflikte in den griechischen Poleis vom 5.-3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 56-69.

[68] Cf. Raaflaub, *Entdeckung*, 258-259; 270-277; M. Ostwald, *Oligarchia: The Development of a Constitutional Form in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart, 2000), 21-30; Welwei, *„Demos" und „Plethos"*, 190; H. Heftner, "Oligarchen, Mesoi, Autokraten: Bemerkungen zur antidemokratischen Bewegung des späten 5. Jh. v. Chr. in Athen", *Chiron* 33 (2003), 1-41.

[69] One of the reasons for preferring tyranny as a contrast to moderate oligarchy is that its differences from democracy are more conspicuous and thus easier to perceive. As moderate oligarchies often involve a considerable part of citizens and are rarely associated with despotism and terror, their divergence from democracy is less observable. Cf. Meier, *Entstehung*, 285-286; Raaflaub, *Entdeckung*, 259.

[70] For Andocides, cf. Brock, *Athenian Oligarchs*, 161, n. 5.

[71] This is not necessarily of crucial importance to this study, because dynastic regimes, collective tyrannies and tyrannies were usually short-lived, and therefore could not fully develop all their forms and elements; cf. a brief review of the meaning of the term in

sources, demonstrate similarities between *dynasteia* and collective tyranny.[72] This study has also shed light on the reasons why this term nonetheless failed to become the prevailing label for this type of tyranny. The results of this research have led us to conclude, firstly, that the picture of tyranny is not as simple as it is often thought to be, and secondly, they suggest that in assessing the character of ancient Greek oppressive regimes whose nature was open to controversy one should not reduce oneself to thinking in terms of oligarchy and tyranny, since the ancient evaluations of such regimes often conformed to these conventional ideas.

Martin, *Dynasteia*, 231; L. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies: Their Character and Organisation* (London 1896; repr. Rome 1968), 124.

[72] Cf. Gehrke, *Stasis*, 318-319; Gehrke, *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta*, 63; 65.

Minna Skafte Jensen

Phoenix, Achilles and a Narrative Pattern

In transmitted Greek literature, the legend of Meleager and the Calydonian boar is first told as a part of one of the great speeches in Book 9 of the *Iliad*.[1] This book has always been considered one of the most marvellous passages in the poem. Here Agamemnon recognizes his fault in having offended Achilles, and envoys are sent to the angry hero, entrusted with the mission of offering him rich gifts and persuading him to return to battle. Achilles remains stubborn, but during the argumentation heroic standards and values are laid open to scrutiny in a highly dramatic and emotional fashion. It is one of the Homeric passages that Plato discussed.[2] Cedric Whitman made this scene the centre of the ring composition he found in the *Iliad*.[3] Adam Parry analysed Achilles' language, maintaining that his very questioning of traditional heroic morals was a breach with formulaic diction, a viewpoint that led to a long and subtle discussion of the scope and potentialities of traditional language.[4] And the scene is at the heart of the Homeric study by the great Swedish novelist Sven Delblanc, written when he was dying from cancer, in which he forcefully argued that when Achilles says that he will leave the war and return to his home, even if this means losing his claim to heroic fame, he is profoundly serious: when death is threatening, a long, uneventful life seems much more attractive than any kind of heroic valour.[5]

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[1] Some of it is also told in Hesiod, *Ehoeae* fr. 25 (Merkelbach & West), vv. 9-17.

[2] *Hippias Minor*, esp. 364e-365d and 369a-371e.

[3] Cedric H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

[4] Adam Parry, "The language of Achilles", *TAPA* 87, 1-7. A summary of the discussion, with references, is to be found in G. S. Kirk, ed., *The* Iliad: *A Commentary* (1993), vol. 3, by Bryan Hainsworth (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 101-102.

[5] Sven Delblanc, *Homerisk hemkomst. Två essäer om Iliaden och Odysséen* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1992), esp. 45-65.

Book 9 has also been a bone of contention in the old battle between analysts and unitarians, with a question of verbal forms as its focal point: Nestor dispatches the embassy using dual verbs, even though three heroes are sent along, Odysseus, Ajax and Phoenix. For instance, D. L. Page's argumentation that Phoenix is a newcomer in the book, added as one of the latest layers of the text, still makes enjoyable reading.[6] And one of the founding fathers of neo-analysis, J. Th. Kakridis, opened up new perspectives with his interpretation of the way Meleager's story is used by Phoenix in his speech.[7]

In the following I shall argue that an important aspect of Phoenix' words has nevertheless been overlooked. Scholars have mostly taken the side of the envoys. For instance, in the authoritative modern commentary by Bryan Hainsworth Achilles is said to be unreceptive because of overwhelming self-pity.[8] But I think that the text invites us to share our sympathies between the characters, since Achilles has much better reasons for declining the embassy than usually accepted.

When the envoys arrive, Achilles underlines that the three of them are his best friends among the Achaeans (198, 204), and later on Phoenix repeats this (521-2). The whole of the latter's long speech (434-605) exploits the fact that they are related by bonds of close friendship, and that between himself and Achilles the relationship is even that of a father to his son. In the beginning he twice addresses him as *philon tekos*, my dear child, and he gives a touching description of how when Achilles was a baby, he used to hold him on his knee and accepted having his clothes soiled at meals. Phoenix concludes the first part of his speech, the tale of his own life, with the statement that since he knew that he would never have sons of his own, he gave Achilles this place in his world.

Also, it is noticeable that the relationship between parents and children is the dominant theme of the speech: not only are the two main stories, of Phoenix himself and of Meleager, both concerned with this relationship, but it also comes up in other passages. Phoenix opens his speech by reminding Achilles of his father Peleus and the commands he gave him at their departure. In Phoenix' autobiography, when Peleus receives him kindly, it is

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[6] D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric* Iliad (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959, *Sather Classical Lectures* 31), esp. 297-315. For a qualified answer to Page's arguments, see Michael N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition. A Study in the Oral Art of Homer*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: California University Press, 1974), 64-111, esp. n. 35 on p. 95.

[7] J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (1944; *Skrifter utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund* 45, 1949), 11-42.

[8] Kirk, *The* Iliad, 119.

said that he loved him as a father, though Peleus, of course, was in no need of a son. And when it comes to Meleager's wife Cleopatra, both her parents and her mother's parents are brought into the tale in a brief and enigmatic digression, that seems of no relevance to the story told, except that it directs the attention to how parents and children relate to one another. So in this speech we find the following parent-child relations: Phoenix – Achilles, Peleus – Achilles, Amyntor and his wife – Phoenix, Peleus – Phoenix, Oeneus and Althaea – Meleager, Idas and Marpessa – Cleopatra, and Marpessa's parents – Marpessa.

These last-mentioned parents were known as unhappy because their daughter was carried off by Apollo. But what is really disturbing in the speech is the way in which the main characters, Phoenix and Meleager, are treated by their parents. Both tales are about parents who curse their sons: Phoenix' father makes his son childless, whereas Meleager's mother even calls forth her son's death. So for all the warmth and emotion of Phoenix' speech, there runs just under the surface an opposite story of parents hating their sons and ruining their lives. And there is even an explicitly egoistic element in Phoenix' appeal: in the same breath as he reminds Achilles that he considers him as his son, he also says that he therefore expects him to save his life (494-5).

There is in the *Iliad* a narrative pattern that is of relevance here. When a hero prepares himself to join battle, his closest relatives may try to keep him back in order to save his life. As with other Homeric patterns, it may occur in more or less detail. In its briefest form, it is just barely mentioned, such as in 11.225-6 and 329-32: a foster-father tries to retain a young warrior and even arranges for him to marry his daughter so as to keep him at home, and a prophet foresees the death of his sons and will not allow them to participate in the war. At full scale, the most developed example is Andromache's attempt at convincing Hector not to return to the battlefield in Book 6 (vv. 369-502). But also towards the end of the *Iliad* the pattern recurs in highly moving ways: when from the top of the walls of Troy Priam and Hecuba argue with Hector that he should seek refuge inside the gates rather than take up battle with Achilles (22.25-92); and when later Hecuba scolds her old husband and suggests that he has grown senile, all in order to make him give up his dangerous plan of going into the enemy's camp to fetch his son's corpse (24.191-227).

I read this pattern as one of the ways in which the poet reveals the love between the involved parties. They may express themselves directly, as does Andromache, but deeds are more convincing than words, and even when the words are insulting, as are Hecuba's in Book 24, we are left in no doubt about her love for Priam, revealed in her very fear of the terrible risk he is facing. If we compare with the following scene between Helen and

Paris in Book 6 (vv. 313-68), the significance of the pattern becomes even clearer: Hector has come to persuade his brother to join his comrades on the battlefield, and Helen finds it absolutely shameful that he is staying safely at home while Greeks and Trojans are killing each other for his and her sake. The implicit message is that she does not care all that much whether he survives or not.

If we return to Phoenix' speech with this pattern in mind, his appeal to Achilles becomes ambiguous. He knows well enough that Achilles risks his life if he goes back into battle, since he has just heard from Achilles himself of the warning Thetis once gave her son (410-16). By wanting him to join the battle in spite of this, he reveals his lack of true love for the young hero.

That this is actually how he is understood by Achilles also emerges from the answer he is given (607-19). The rare word *atta* with which Achilles addresses him conveys affectionate regard, according to Hainsworth.[9] It is found once more in the *Iliad*, in another address to Phoenix (17.561, Menelaus speaking), and six times in the *Odyssey* (16.31, 57, 130, 17.6, 599, 21.369), where in all cases Telemachus is speaking to the swineherd Eumaios. Besides the affection, I also hear a condescending tone in these addresses. It is clearest in 21.369 of the *Odyssey*, where Telemachus is actually irritated with the swineherd; but in general, it seems to be an approach to a person who is old and close, but of lower standing than the speaker. Achilles' speech is certainly affectionate and respectful, but strikingly brief compared to Phoenix' loquacity. The only part of the foster-father's argumentation to which Achilles gives an answer is the final appeal that he should accept the honourable gifts that he is offered now, since later he will have to fight anyway, but then without gifts. This is dismissed: Achilles feels in no need of this kind of honour. The rest of his answer boils down to: Old man, you ought to love me rather than my enemies.

For all his references to paternal love, Phoenix is primarily concerned with his own life and the safety of the Greek army. His speech makes the tragedy of Achilles stand out in shocking clarity: Not only will his life be short, but his closest kinsman gives priority to his duties as a warrior rather than to his survival.[10]

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Anthropological Traces of Slav Presence in Kosovo and Metochia

The anthropological history of the population of Kosovo and Metochia is little known. The reasons for that are well known, especially with regard to the last century. Anthropology has not yet been sufficiently institutionalised in our environment, and throughout the second half of the twentieth century state ideology was not interested in promoting scientific fields apt to stand in the way of its doctrine. As a result, for instance, only few medieval necropolises from Kosovo and Metochia were anthropologically analyzed and published: Matičane near Priština, Djonaj near Prizren, Kuline and Rezala near Kosovska Mitrovica, and, to a lesser extent, Novo Brdo not far from Priština. Of course, the number of archeologically investigated necropolises is significantly larger, but their anthropological material has been lost in the meantime. Let us look into this in more detail.

Not so long ago, in 1988, V. S. Jovanović, in his lucid and systematic study "Archaeological Research of Medieval Monuments and Sites in Kosovo", quoted a total of 12 necropolises, not including almost one thousand graves researched in Novo Brdo cathedral and its graveyard. These 12 necropolises, in the order specified by V. S. Jovanović, are the following:[1]

ROGOVO – the site of Fuše near Djakovica. In 1966, during the excavations of prehistoric mounds, medieval graves of the eighth and ninth centuries were found.[2]

The anthropological material was not analyzed.

ČEČEN – near the village of Dubovac in the vicinity of Vučitrn. The archaeological material, part of which is kept in the National Museum in Belgrade, indicates a medieval necropolis roughly dated to the ninth century (earrings etc.).[3] As it was not archeologically excavated, the anthropo-

[1] V. S. Jovanović, "Arheološka istraživanja srednjovekovnih spomenika i nalazišta na Kosovu", in Naučni skupovi SANU vol. XLII (Belgrade, 1988), 17.

[2] M. Garašanin, "Rogovo 'Fuše' Djakovica – praistorijska nekropola sa humkama", *Arheološki pregled* 8 (Belgrade, 1966/67), 40-41.

[3] V. Jovanović, "Über den frühmittelalterlichen Schuck von Čečen auf Kosovo", *Balkanoslavica* 5 (Prilep, 1977), 123-145.

logical material cannot be discussed. There is only a record about the site being stripped of the material by the villagers.

MATIČANE – a medieval necropolis near the village of the same name in the vicinity of Priština, archeologically excavated between 1969 and 1973. One hundred and twelve graves were investigated and dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.[4] The anthropological material was analyzed and the analysis submitted for publication to the *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* (Kosovo Museum Herald) by the author of this paper some thirty years ago, but the paper has not been published to date; so on this occasion more will be said about this medieval necropolis from the anthropological perspective.

BADOVAC – a village near the monastery of Gračanica. In 1967 a small-scale rescue excavation discovered some ten graves. On the basis of grave goods, the necropolis was roughly dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.[5] Anthropological analysis was not performed.

ŠIROKO – the site of DUBOČAK near Suva Reka. In 1963 a medieval necropolis buried in prehistoric mounds was investigated. There is no record of the exact number of graves and skeletons, and the necropolis was roughly dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.[6] Anthropological analysis was once again skipped over.

VRBNICA – a village on the bank of the Drim in the vicinity of Prizren. In 1973 about 450 graves were investigated and dated, few to the fifth and sixth centuries, and most to a period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.[7] The osteological material was submitted for analysis to the Hungarian archaeologist J. Nemeskéri who, in the late 1970s, also analyzed the skeletons of allegedly "executed leaders of the League of Prizren". However, no relevant anthropological report has appeared to date.

DJONAJ – or the site of Ploše near Prizren. In 1978, 21 graves of a medieval necropolis were investigated and dated to a period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.[8] Anthropological analysis of the skeletons was carried out by Ž. Mikić.[9]

PRČEVO – or the site of Boka near the village of the same name. In 1974 excavations of the prehistoric tumuli were carried out, and some 50

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[4] V. S. Jovanović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 23-25.

[5] V. S. Jovanović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 26.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] A. Bačkalov, "Vrbnica kod Prizrena – nekropola X-XIII veka", *Nakit na tlu Srbije od IX do XV veka*, Exhibition catalogue (Belgrade: National Museum, 1982).

[8] Bačkalov, "Vrbnica kod Prizrena", 56–57.

[9] Ž. Mikić, "Antropološke karakteristike srednjovekovne nekropole Djonaj kod Prizrena", *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* XIII/XIV (Pristina, 1984), 115-122.

medieval graves discovered. The necropolis was roughly dated to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[10] Analysis of the anthropological material was not performed.

BELA CRKVA – or the site of Kiš or Požig, in the village of the same name near Djakovica. In 1966, 120 graves of a medieval necropolis were investigated and dated to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the basis of archaeological finds.[11] The anthropological material was not analyzed.

KULINE – on the left bank of the river Ibar, near the village of Banje in Ibarski Kolašin. In 1978 a medieval church and its cemetery with about 100 graves were archeologically investigated. On the basis of the inscriptions and grave goods, the necropolis was dated to the period between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries.[12] The anthropological material was analyzed by Ž. Mikić.[13]

GREEK CEMETERY (*GRČKO GROBLJE*) / REZALA – in the village of the same name in Ibarski Kolašin. In 1978 archaeological excavations were performed, and 42 graves investigated. On the basis of grave goods, the necropolis was dated to the period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.[14] The skeletons were anthropologically analyzed and published by Ž. Mikić.[15]

ZASKOK – or the site of Kamena near the village of the same name in the vicinity of Uroševac. In 1980 and 1981 a medieval cemetery with about 130 graves was investigated. On the basis of the jewellery of metal and glass, it was preliminarily dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[16] Anthropological analysis was not carried out.

NOVO BRDO – on Mala Planina east of Priština. Archaeological excavations were carried out intermittently between 1952 and 1970.[17] Since

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[10] Bačkalov, "Vrbnica kod Prizrena", 46-47.

[11] J. Kovačević, "Bela Crkva u Metohiji – arhitektonski objekti VI veka i nekropola sa kraja XII veka", *Arheološki pregled* 8 (Belgrade, 1966), 150-151.

[12] A. Bačkalov, "Kuline – ostaci crkve i nekropole", *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* XIII/XIV (Pristina, 1984), 81-87.

[13] Ž. Mikić, "Beitrag zur Antropologie spätrömischer bis zum spätmittelaltericher Bevölkerungen Jugoslawiens", *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANU BiH* XXII/20 (Sarajevo, 1984), 50–53.

[14] Z. Nedeljković, "Srednjovekovna nekropola 'Grčko groblje' u Rezalama", *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* XIII/XIV (Pristina, 1984), 89-98.

[15] Mikić, "Beitrag zur Antropologie", 45-49.

[16] V. S. Jovanović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 29-30.

[17] M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Arheološka iskopavanja na Novom Brdu u toku 1957. godine", *Starinar* IX-X (Belgrade, 1958/59), 323-326.

this is a large urban complex, it should be noted that about 900 individual graves and family tombs in the cathedral church and its churchyard were investigated, including grave 236, adjacent to the altar table, containing the skeletons of two bishops. Part of the anthropological material (50 skeletons) was studied and published by Ž. Gavrilović,[18] while the rest cannot be traced.

ILIJINA GLAVICA – a sizeable hill west of the village of Veleknica, near Gnjilane. In 1984 the Kosovo Museum opened an excavation area of about 800 sq m. A total of 206 graves, some of them Roman and most of a medieval date, were excavated. On the basis of grave goods it was dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[19] The osteological material was not anthropologically analyzed.

In short, medieval skeletons were excavated or found devastated (e.g. at Čečen) on 14 sites in the area of Kosovo and Metochia. However, due to the insufficient development and influence of anthropology in the study of the past, there is a total of five skeleton series available. They will be discussed in the following part of this contribution.

Let us reiterate that the five anthropological series available are: Matičane near Priština; Djonaj, 10 km northeast of Prizren; Rezala, also known as "Greek Cemetery", in the village of the same name, and Kuline near the village of Banje, both in Ibarski Kolašin; and Novo Brdo, also known as the Cathedral, about 40 km east of Priština.

MATIČANE, or the site of "Breg", is situated in the immediate vicinity of Priština. The abovementioned text submitted for publication in the *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* some thirty years ago was not officially refused by its editorial board, but it has been neither published nor returned to its author. Since the title of this paper implies a synthetic overview, the reproduction of the entire text would not be appropriate on this occasion, so only the most important anthropological observations will be repeated on the basis of the preserved copy.

Archaeological excavations of the necropolis Breg–Matičane were led by V. S. Jovanović, at that time assistant professor at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. The author of this contribution was a member of his team in the 1971 and 1972 campaigns. Since the osteological material was in a poor state of preservation (highly acidic soil, shallow-buried graves), the anthropological observations made *in situ* are of particular significance. In the course of the excavation campaigns,

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[18] Ž. Gavrilović, "Kraniometrijska ispitivanja srednjevekovnog čoveka sa Novog Brda u Srbiji", *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Jugoslavije* 1 (Belgrade, 1964), 145-147.

[19] S. Fidanovski, "Ilijina glavica, Veleknica, Gnjilane – rimska i srednjovekovna nekropola", *Arheološki pregled* 25 (Belgrade–Ljubljana, 1986), 47-48.

58 sepulchral contents with 59 individual skeletons were anthropologically analyzed: the graves/skeletons numbered 35 to 92, number 46 being a double burial. However, due to their rather poor state of preservation, only 29 sepulchral contents with 30 individual skeletons could be anthropologically treated in detail (35 and 36, 42–45, double burial no 46, 47–52, 77–92).

Gender and age of the skeletons from this series were determined according to the method agreed upon by a group of European anthropologists, including the author of this paper.[20] Every anthropological analysis is primarily concerned with demographic elements such as gender and age (at the time of death). In the Matičane series, gender was positively identified for 29 individuals, with the exception of the skeleton from grave 82, most probably male. So this series consisted of 12 men, 6 women, and 12 children up to 14 years of age (age groups *infans I* and *II*). Both genders were found to have been represented by both moderate and significantly developed constitutional forms, indicating a notable sexual dimorphism. However, a significant gender difference cannot be discussed, since this part of the anthropological material could not be studied in detail due to its poor and incomplete preservation.

As regards age distribution, it was shown that none belonged to the *senilis* category, which means that the life span of the members of this community did not exceed 60 years. Furthermore, mortality was highest in the youngest age group. Namely, 9 out of 30 individuals covered by this analysis died before turning seven (*infant I*). There followed the *adultus* group with 8 cases, *juvenilis* and *maturus* with 5 cases each, and finally *infans II* (7–14 years of age) with 3 cases.

Stature could be calculated for 11 male skeletons, according to the method of E. Breitinger.[21] It was 168 cm on average, ranging between 152 and 173 cm. According to H. Bach's method, the average height of 5 female skeletons was about 155 cm, ranging between 142 and 156 cm.[22] In accordance with the classification of the medieval European population given by R. Martin,[23] the values obtained for both sexes are above average for the period. No traces of pathological changes could be found in the cranial

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[20] "Empfehlungen für die Alters-und Geschlechtsdiagnose am Skelett", formulated by D. Ferembach (Paris), I. Schwidetzky (Mainz), and M. Stloukal (Prague), co-signed by 36 leading world anthropologists, *HOMO* 30/2 (Mainz–Göttingen, 1979), 1- 32.

[21] E. Breitinger, "Zur Berechnung der Körperhöhe aus den langen Gliedmassenknochen", *Anthrop. Anz.* XIV (1937), 249-274.

[22] H. Bach, "Zur Berechnung der Körperhöhe aus den langen Gliedmassenknochen weiblicher Skelette", *Anthrop. Anz.* XXIX (1965), 12-21.

[23] R. Martin and K. Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, vol. I (Stuttgart: G. Fischer Verlag, 1957), 324.

and postcranial skeletons of this medieval series, doubtlessly as a result of their poor and incomplete preservation. As regards dental pathology, however, cavities (*Caries*) in molars and premolars were found in 6 adults. A dental cyst (*Peridontalis periapicalis cronica granulomatosa*) was found only in one case (mandible from grave 35). When considering these observations it should be pointed out that the number of findings must have been influenced by the incomplete preservation of the skeletons, so the results obtained are not quite reliable (in view of a larger number of pathological changes expected, both in teeth and bones).

On the basis of the indicators obtained, relevant paleodemographic conclusions can be drawn. Thus, for instance, the results suggest that the average life span of the medieval inhabitants of Kosovo buried in this necropolis was about 30 years, the average life span of the individuals surviving childhood age (*infans II*, up to 14 years of age) being 36 for women or about 40 for men. Such a short lifespan of the population buried in the necropolis Matičane can only partly be disputed by the fact that the data refer to no more than 30 out of about 100 archeologically excavated individual skeletons. However, when interpreting paleodemographic data, delivery technique and post-delivery prevention need to be taken into account, as well as the reasonable assumption that this medieval population group was characterized by a poorly developed socio-economic component (in addition to difficulty in providing the necessary means for life sustenance).

And, finally, a few more words concerning the anthropological classification of the skeletons from the medieval necropolis of Matičane near Priština.

As has already been said, their poor and incomplete state of preservation did not allow for the necessary anthropological measurements. Therefore, in this case morphological observations were of primary importance. Since the author of this paper was a member of the team conducting the abovementioned archaeological excavations, relevant on-site observations carry particular weight. The parameter monitored was the presence of planoccipitaly (flat back part of the skull) as the primary morphological characteristic of the Dinarid anthropological type, which in fact is a substrate type of the Dinarid mountain range as its primary distribution zone.[24] However, since planoccipitaly was not found in any of the cranial skeletons from this series, quite the contrary, they were curvoccipital (curvaceously elongated back part of the head), it may be maintained with certainty that this necropolis is not related to the autochthonous brachycranial planoccipital Di-

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[24] P. Deniker, "Les Races de l'Europe ", *L'Anthropologie* IX (Paris, 1898), 113 ff; C. S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (2nd Greenwood Reprinting, 1975; 1st ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), Pl. 35 ff.

narid anthropological type,[25] but rather to a curvoccipital and doubtlessly dolichocranial type. At Matičane, this anthropological type was characterized by a leptodolichomorph component of a prevailingly robust variant. As regards its ethnic origin and relation to other Balkan populations, the following should be underlined: in view of the period to which this medieval necropolis was dated using the archaeological criteria, and considering ethnic movements in the Balkans during this period, a dolichocranial anthropological type may be primarily linked with the expansion of Slavs or the newly-arrived Slav ethnic groups as yet unaffected by assimilation and metisation processes incorporating them into the autochthonous Old Balkan substratum.

DJONAJ, a medieval necropolis located about 15 km north-east of Prizren. Its anthropological treatment was carried out in April 1980. The series included 21 skeletons, numbered 1 to 21 in the course of archaeological excavations. It should be further emphasised that the skeleton from grave 18 had not been preserved for anthropological analysis, and that grave 4 contained a double burial.

Gender could be determined with certainty in 19 individual skeletons: 10 males, 7 females, and 2 children. Individual age analysis involved 20 skeletons: *infans I* and *II* with one case each; *juvenilis* or *subadultus* age group with 2 cases; *adultus* and *maturus* groups with 7 cases each, and 2 skeletons belonging to the *senilis* age group (over 60 years of age).

The average life span of this medieval population group was about 35 years, with the individuals surviving the childhood age of about 14 years living over 40 on average. As for gender, it should be added that men and women were equally represented in the *adultus* group, while the *maturus* age group showed more deaths of men than of women.

Complete anthropological measurement was possible for 6 skulls (numbers 4, 7, 9, 19, 20 and 21), of which number 7 was best preserved. It was obvious that moderately long and long skulls with prominent curvoccipitaly and narrow face prevailed.

Postcranial measurements were obtained for 11 adult skeletons (numbers 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20 and 21) and they showed an average body height of about 173 cm in men, and about 160 cm in women.

With regard to paleopathological analysis, the following was found: well-treated fractures of long bones (*status post fracturam*), tubercular changes in the spine, as well as osteomielitis (treponema infection) in some lower leg bones. However, by far the greatest number of pathological changes was recorded in the jaw apparatus and teeth. These included all types of caries,

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[25] Ž. Mikić, "Antropološka struktura stanovništva Srbije ", in *Catena mundi* II (Belgrade–Kraljevo, 1992), 840-850.

dental cysts and gum boils, as well as tooth loss during life (*intra vitam*), the total number of which in the series exceeds 30 in adult individuals.

From the correlation between the obtained anthropological indicators and archaeological data (chronological framework, the nature of grave goods), there is no doubt that what we have here is a robust leptodolichomorph type which is associated with the Slavs in ethno-cultural terms.[26] Moreover, according to the available information, identical anthropological series are found on the banks of Lake Ohrid, i.e. in the necropolises of Radolište and Sveti Erazmo.[27]

REZALA, or Greek Cemetery as it is named by the local people, is a medieval necropolis in use for several centuries, beginning with the thirteenth century. Fifty skeletons were archaeologically excavated and 31 were suitable for possible anthropological processing. Out of this number, 14 were male and 13 were female. It was impossible to determine the gender of two skeletons of adult individuals, and the remaining two were of a childhood age.

Age distribution reveals that none of the persons buried in this necropolis had lived to a very old age, namely none of the skeletons was assigned to the *senilis* age group (over 60 years of age). The greatest number of adult individuals was placed in the group *maturus* (8) which, however, does not mean that the average life span exceeded 40 years (for both genders).

As shown by anthropological indices, the average male skull of this series was brachycranial, hypsicranic, metriocranic, hypsicephalic, with moderately tall face and moderately wide nasal opening. Body height in men ranged between 170 cm and 172 cm, etc.

On average the female cranial skeletons from the Rezala necropolis are brachycranial, hypsicranic, ortocranic, hypsicephalic, metriometopic, with moderately high upper face but narrow nasal opening, etc. Their average height ranged between 162 cm and 164 cm. However, as regards the internal structure of this medieval population group, in addition to brachycranial, there were also dolichocranial skulls. The former confirm the presence of the autochthonous Dinarid type, and the latter, in the given context of find, may only be associated with a further stage of Slav presence, namely with the process of mixing of indigenous and Slav populations.[28]

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[26] Ž. Mikić, "Medieval necropolis Đonaj near Prizren and its anthropological relation to the corresponding neighbouring series", *God. zbornik Medic. fak.* 29/2 (Skopje, 1983), 147-152.

[27] Ž. Mikić, "Über Anthropologie der historischen Perioden auf dem Boden Jugoslawiens", *Colleg. Anthropol.* 6/2 (Zagreb, 1982), 207-221.

[28] Ž. Mikić, "Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Slawen aug dem mittleren und westlichen Balkan", *Balcanica* XXV-1 (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1994), 99-109.

The necropolis of KULINE is adjacent to a single-nave church and was in use from the thirteenth century. In the investigated area 70 graves were archeologically excavated in 1978, and 58 individual skeletons were eligible for anthropological analysis. Out of this number, 31 skeletons were male, 13 female and 11 children. Gender was impossible to positively determine for three poorly preserved adult skeletons.

The following indices were obtained for the male skulls: brachycranial, hypsicranic, acrocranic, hypsicephalic, metriometopic; low upper face, moderately high eye sockets, wide nasal opening. The average body height of men ranged between 170 cm and 172 cm. In the case of female gender, anthropological measurements could be collected for one cranial skeleton only (number 16), which was brachycranial, while the body height of this individual was about 161 cm.

Statistical analysis of the internal structure of this medieval population group showed significant individual differentiation. Thus, for example, among the better preserved male skeletons two very different skull shapes were clearly distinguishable – brachycrany and dolichocrany. For this reason the anthropological composition of this population group can be defined as mixed indigenous and Slav, but metisation levels cannot be decidedly determined.[29]

For these two medieval Kosovo necropolises – Rezala and Kuline – only a few kilometres apart in Ibarski Kolašin, where burials commenced at approximately the same time (thirteenth century), and which are identical in their anthropological composition, the paleopathological findings are almost identical as well: bones most often showed arthritic changes (three cases in Rezala, and 10 cases in Kuline), and a single treated long bone fracture (Kuline). However, the jaw apparatuses and teeth were significantly compromised in pathological terms. At Rezala, tooth decay (caries) was found in two cases, and paradontosis and tooth loss during lifetime in three cases each. With a larger number of skeletons, the necropolis of Kuline had a larger number of the same categories of dentopathological findings: caries in 7 cases, paradontosis in 8, with 8 cases of tooth loss during lifetime and 4 dental cysts. Excessive deposition of callus on the teeth of both jaws was recorded in 2 cases. This indicates a very low level of dental and buccal cavity hygiene, which then implies a low social status of this medieval population.

NOVO BRDO is the fifth necropolis in this series. Its anthropological content was studied and published in the meantime, although

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[29] Ž. Mikić, "Sloveni na Balkanu – Uporedna antropološka analiza", in *Antidoron - Uzdarje D. Srejoviću* (Belgrade: Centar za arheološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta, vol. 17, 1997), 495-500.

only in part. It has already been said that in 1952–1970 almost a thousand graves and tombs were archeologically investigated in the cathedral and its churchyard alone. Ž. Gavrilović[30] anthropologically processed 50 individual skeletons in detail, probably dependent on the degree of their preservation, while skulls were processed in 12 cases. However, even though brachycranial skulls prevailed, one typical dolichocranial skull (grave no 615) was also present. Considering the small number of samples from a large anthropological series, the conclusions reached cannot be fully consequential but the heterogeneous composition of the Novo Brdo population cannot be disputed.

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Of all the scientific disciplines, physical anthropology has least participated in the exploration of the past of Kosovo and Metochia. With regard to the medieval period, when doubtlessly the most important elements for the genesis of each ethnos in the Balkans were created, anthropology in general is once again insufficiently involved.

As it has been shown in this paper, in the territory of Kosovo and Metochia 14 necropolises were archeologically excavated, as well as churches or cathedrals also containing medieval burials. However, due to the already mentioned reasons, the anthropological material from five sites was studied and published: Matičane, Djonaj, Rezala, Kuline and Novo Brdo, but the skeletons from Novo Brdo cathedral and its graveyard cannot be taken into account given the insignificance of the sample. Namely, the archaeologically excavated and anthropologically analyzed skeletons account for only five percent of the material from Novo Brdo! Nevertheless, the obtained aggregate anthropological results are quite significant and doubtlessly play an important role in anthropogenetical studies of the medieval period.

This is what this should mean in more concrete terms.

The anthropological contents of the necropolises of Matičane and Djonaj are attributed to the Slavs. Burial began in the tenth century and went on for several centuries but not later than the thirteenth century. On the other hand, burial in the necropolises of Rezala and Kuline, as well as in and around Novo Brdo cathedral, began in the thirteenth century and went on for the next few centuries. In anthropological terms, the presence of the brachycranial indigenous population of the Dinarid type and of robust leptodolichomorph Slavs has been identified there, or the first elements of the process of metisation/mixing of medieval populations. It is interesting that this process took place so long after the Slavs had settled in the region.

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[30] Gavrilović, "Kraniometrijska ispitivanja", 145 ff.

However, there seem to have been certain marital barriers, identified also in the large medieval necropolis at Vinča.[31] This would mean that the process of Slavization did not run simultaneously in all fields: cultural and linguistic, social and historical, and bio-anthropological.

Or, to put it briefly, in the tenth and eleventh centuries Slav communities in Kosovo and Metochia lived separately from the indigenous communities, and were buried in the same way. In the thirteenth century, the process of population metisation/mixing began, which is best shown by the anthropological content of the investigated necropolises. It is characterised by mixed Slav and indigenous burials both in standard necropolises and around Orthodox churches and cathedrals, in which case there is no need for their ethnic origin to be additionally verified or emphasised.

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[31] Ž. Mikić, "Heiratsgrenzen und Bevölkerungmischung zwischen Einheimischen und slawischen Zuwanderern in Jugoslawien", *HOMO* XXXIII (Mainz–Göttingen, 1982), 134-149.

Sonja Petrović

Charity, Good Deeds and the Poor in Serbian Epic Poetry[1]

Charity, almsgiving, charitable bequests and various forms of poor relief are lasting and universal cultural and social themes. Charity is defined as "benevolent goodwill toward or love of humanity…, generosity and helpfulness esp. toward the needy or suffering" (Merriam Webster Dictionary). Motivated by charity, good deeds are often aimed at the poor. The category of poor people is at the same time concrete and abstract, depending on the focus and methodological approach. Social historians analyze the poor within the scope of subcultural marginal groups, both as a composite individual within a group, and as a heterogeneous group of individuals seen as a whole. Therefore manifold aspects of the life, social involvement and interactions of the poor are explored: social status, welfare, health care, hospitals, ecclesiastical and parish institutions, gender, social and ethnic minorities, and so on. More specifically, poor relief and charitable activities directed towards the poor are discussed as social models, but also as a complex way of social interaction between the elites and the poor. Charity is discussed as a strategy for the elites to regulate the labour market and stabilize social order, but also as a means of acquiring "social capital" in order to upgrade one's status and career. As a common form of charity, poor relief was "a many-sided litmus test: vis-à-vis one's peers, apropos subordinate members of society, and, in fact, toward God and one's own conscience".[2]

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[2] M. H. D. van Leeuwen, "Logic of Charity: Poor Relief in Preindustrial Europe", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXIV/4 (Spring 1994), 598.

Social aspects of charity are strongly connected with its religious aspect which prevailed in the past, when spiritual connotations of charity were dominant not only in the sacral world but in the secular, too. In Serbia in the medieval period and under Turkish rule, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the emphasis was laid on the religious and spiritual concept of charity, which had an effect on oral poetry and folklore in general. Charity, good deeds and the poor were transposed to oral poetry in a way that to a certain extent reflected their status in reality; at the same time, however, they were transformed in accordance with the conventions of the oral poetic system.

        Care for the poor, almsgiving and charitable deeds were a religious obligation; but since they, like many other forms of charity, promoted common good in the broad sense of the word, in time they became a humanistic and philanthropic standard. Although they may be discussed as early forms of social and ethical awareness, as neighbourly charity that emerges from the feelings of human sympathy, compassion and solidarity, it is likely that they had initially been motivated by the fear of punishment for violating pagan religious and customary laws. Giving and gifts were obligatory within sacrificial and other rites, and in memorial feasts, as a tribute to the dead. Believing that the spirits of the dead (either familiar or unfamiliar) could harm or help the living, people tried to induce mercy in them. Therefore, giving to the dead is not only a sacrifice, but also an appreciative exchange. The popular motif of "the Grateful Dead" is based on such beliefs. A common practice in ancestor worship, gifts to the dead have been preserved up to the present. In Serbia and many Slavic countries, the widespread custom of almsgiving is directly associated with the cult of the dead. Almsgiving and charitable deeds at Christmas and slava (family feast, unique to the Serbs, in honour of the patron saint) are connected with the belief that the dead can, with our help, lead a comfortable afterlife, and the living are obliged to show respect for the ancestors in this way.[3] In this process, the poor, like some other specific types with special attributes, symbolize a mediator between this and the other world, and therefore are granted privileges in communication with the representatives of both. Charitable giving to the poor, beggars, crippled, etc. is considered a "spiritual credit" which will be transferred to one's actual ancestors and other needy dwellers of the otherworld. Eventually, the dead will remember such kind and generous gestures, good deeds, and take them into account when the time comes for the givers to join them in the otherworld.

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[3] For ancestor worship and cult, see V. Čajkanović, *Stara srpska religija i mitologija* [*Old Serbian Religion and Mythology*], vol. 5 of *The Collected Works* (Belgrade, 1994).

As a common and recurring element in ritual, religious and everyday practices, charitable giving became typified and universal. These characteristics contributed to the forming of cultural patterns which were integrated into the philosophical and ethical doctrines of different religious systems, and in that way they gained their ideological and humanistic strength. Charity, mercy, compassion, pity are built into the foundations of universal religious thought as regards the role of individual acts of charity and good works in human salvation. The most important distinction for understanding this problem concerns the way in which charity and almsgiving are regarded – as a personal virtue or as a religious duty. In Buddhism, for example, liberality or generosity (dana) is one of the prime virtues and means of gaining the merit (punna) needed to obtain a better rebirth in the future. Generosity is cultivated through hospitality and gift giving. In the Hindu scriptures, on the other hand, almsgiving is an imperative duty. In the teachings of Gautama, giving is "sanctioned as a personal virtue" and "associated with self-restraint as an evidence of rectitude".[4] In Judaism, charity is "a central and imperative duty for each believer", since contributing to charity is one of the most important commandments. But "in making charity to all needy Jews an obligation (however gladly it was executed), Judaism identified charity and justice (zedakah)".[5] In Islam, charity is legally organized in the form of zakat, religious charity tax, considered to be one of the pillars of Islam, and in the form of waqf, "pious endowment", i.e. a gift of "property or money placed in trust so that the income can be used for a charitable or educational purpose".[6] In Christianity, almsgiving is an expression and enlargement of faith, and charity, as "the highest form of love", is the crucial concept in Christian ethical and philosophical thought.

As an aspect of charity, poor relief constitutes a special theme with a long history in Christian churches.[7] It was fulfilled in several forms – ecclesiastical, institutional, public and private. In the course of time, the repetitive and habitual character of poor relief became an important issue in structuring cultural patterns. Ethical, educative and humanistic potential of charity, and its founding on cases confirmed or witnessed in real life, directly connect charity with the shaping of poetic narrative models. The poetic modelling of cultural patterns and their fusion with concrete life stories (oral

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[4] M. Curti, "Philantropy", in *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, Electronic Text Center at the University of Virginia Library © 2003 the Gale Group, vol. 3, 487.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, ed. J. R. Hinnels (Penguin Books, 1984), 260, 349.

[7] "Care of the Poor by the Church", in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII, Online Edition, Copyright © 2005 by K. Knight.

histories, case studies) about charitable giving and poor relief resulted in the creation of poetic narrative structures. Elements of charity and poor relief as cultural events and symbols entered oral tradition and became its poetic material, which was treated in different oral genres. The main carriers in the process in which cultural patterns develop into narrative structures are formulations and syntagmas which recur in many written documents in the same manner as oral formulas recur in oral formulaic texts. The nature and content of this poetic material inclined it mostly to the religious, legendary and miraculous domain and genres. However, once adapted to the system of traditional oral genres and folklorized, the themes of charity and poor relief were accepted and transformed according to the conventions specific to the poetic world of the oral genre in question.

In Serbian epic poetry, charity and poor relief are represented in a range of structural forms. It should be noted that the word for "the poor" (*sirotinja*) in the Serbian language signifies both the indigent and orphans. In the epic idiom, the syntagma "poor people" (*sirotinja raja*) is a general, formulaic term for the common poor people, non-Muslim subjects under Turkish rule. However, in oral tradition the poor represent a cultural, social and ethical category. On this occasion only the "indigent" component is taken into account, since orphans constitute a separate topic. Another terminological clarification involves the terms "folk epic songs" and "epic ballads", which are to a certain extent synonymous, especially in English translations, where Serbian folk epic songs are often translated as "ballads".[8] In Serbian oral literature, however, the term "epic ballad" implies ballads and epic songs of various subtypes that have a balladic sensibility. The problem is partly theoretical, given that the generic boundaries between the epic (heroic) song and the ballad are quite flexible, and partly terminological and typological, because there are many inconsistencies in the description and classification of oral epic poetry.

In this paper attention is paid primarily to the question as to how the concepts and administration of almsgiving and charity affect the relations between epic rulers and heroes on one side and the poor and common people on the other. Those relations will be considered in the historical and socio-cultural as well as poetic contexts. Assuming that epic models can represent transformed and modified cultural patterns, and that epic characters can reflect certain philosophical and religious concepts, some parallels in formulas and motifs between epic ballads and medieval and post-me-

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[8] D. Subotić, *Yugoslav Popular Ballads. Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932); G. N. W. Locke, *The Serbian Epic Ballads: An Anthology* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1997; 2nd ed., foreword by Muriel Heppell, London-Belgrade: ASWA, 2002).

dieval documentary sources are discussed. Under the influence of practice, conventions and regulations, epic tradition adopted certain formulas, attributes, stock characters and patterns, and adapted them to its own poetic system. Hopefully, the examination of such parallels will add to our understanding of cultural and traditional processes in the past. Bearing in mind Vladimir Propp's morphological study of narrative structure, as well as studies of the "hero's journey" pattern and monomyth, we shall try to show that the epic poems build on ancient cultural patterns. Charity and almsgiving are a universal cultural pattern, as the poor are a universal socio-cultural constituent.

Serbian history provides numerous examples that can illustrate the popularity and continuity of charitable activities. Many cases of beneficent activities of the medieval Serbian rulers may have formed a cultural pattern of charity in a broader sense. We shall mention only a few records of the Serbian rulers' beneficent work to illustrate concrete acts of poor relief and social welfare.[9] Biographers praised the Serbian Grand *Zupan* Stefan Nemanja (*c.* 1132–1200) and his son Archbishop Sava (*c.* 1175–1236) for protecting the poor, blind, disabled, dumb, orphans, and for paying redemption money for debtors and slaves. Queen Jelena I of Anjou (d. 1314) established an institution for poor and orphan girls and personally distributed food and clothes. The courts of kings Dragutin (d. 1316) and Milutin (*c.* 1253–1321) were the most popular shelters for the poor and disabled coming from distant lands, islands, and even from Jerusalem. King Milutin and, later, Despot Stefan Lazarević (*c.* 1377–1427), were said to visit, in disguise and at night, the quarters of the poor in order to donate food and clothes. All these and many other similar charitable deeds entered epic poetry to become typified, stereotypical functions of epic rulers. Different, and yet in many ways similar charitable activities had merged into stereotypical features to become epic structural functions in corresponding narrative compositions. The actual Serbian rulers from different historical periods merged into the epic stereotype of a generous and considerate ruler who cares for the poor and protects them.

Another cultural pattern regarding charity and concern for the poor, in fact a common theme in Serbian epics, is the building of churches and monasteries for the salvation of the soul. In reality, every ruler or feudal lord who founded or renovated a church or a monastery had an obligation toward the poor, which was regulated by charters and monastic foundation

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[9] Many records are mentioned by J. K. Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben* (Gotha, 1918) = K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, 2. vols. (Belgrade, 1952; 3rd ed., 1988). Cf. also *Selected Charters of Serbian Rulers* (XII–XV century), vol. I, ed. and trans. T. Živković, S. Bojanin and V. Petrović (Athens: Centre for Studies of Byzantine Civilization, 2000).

documents. According to the *Typikon* of Saint Sava,[10] nobody was to walk
out the monastery gate empty-handed. The monks had to supply the poor
with bread, wine, vegetables, worn clothes and footwear. In many Serbian
monasteries the poor had shelter, hospital and refectory, and even their own
graveyard. According to the *Code of Emperor Dušan* (1349), "in all churches
the poor shall be fed, as is written by the church founders. Should any met-
ropolitan, or bishop, or prior fail to feed them, he shall be deprived of his
rank" (§ 28).[11] The rights of the poor were protected by law and they could
be represented in court free of costs: "A poor person who is not able to
litigate or defend himself, let him provide a representative to litigate for
him" (§ 73); "Let the judges go through the land within their jurisdiction to
supervise and do justice to the poor and the needy" (§ 179). The *Code* also
regulated the status of poor women: "A poor spinner woman shall be free,
like a priest" (§ 64). The latter article is associated with a fragment of an
epic ballad published by Vuk Karadžić in 1823. Speaking about the unjustly
heavy tax of ten ducats, the epic bard describes the sufferings of a poor
widowed spinner with a spinning wheel as her only possession and even the
hemp prepared for spinning belonging to somebody else.[12] Legal protection
of poor widows and the poor in general continued steadily even in times of
hardship for the Serbian medieval state. In Despot Stefan Lazarević's *Novo
Brdo Legal Codes* (1412) the sale of bread, salt and fruit is an occupation
reserved for the poor so that they would be able to support themselves and
their families.[13]

Charters and testaments of Serbian rulers and lords are a rich source
for the analysis of our theme because they contain characteristic formu-
las which perfectly reflect the essential idea of charity. For medieval man,
charity and almsgiving were a way to keep their inner peace and reach the

[10] Sveti Sava, *Sabrani spisi* [Saint Sava, *Collected Writings*], ed. D. Bogdanović (Belgrade,
1986), § 38 (p. 81) – my translation from the *Typikon* for the monastery of Hilandar on
Mount Athos (1200–1205). The same regulation in the *Typikon* for the monastery of
Studenica in Serbia (1208). Cf. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete
Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas and A. Con-
stantinides Hero (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collec-
tion, 2000), No. 44. "*Karyes*: *Typikon* of Sabbas the Serbian for the *Kellion* of St. Sabbas
at Karyes on Mount Athos".

[11] *Dushan's Code. The Bistritza Transcript*, introd. and trans. Djurica Krstić (Belgrade,
1994).

[12] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Narodne srpske pjesme*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1824; 2nd ed., Vienna,
1841), Introduction [*Serbian Folk Poems*, vol. I of *Collected works of V. S. Karadžić*, Bel-
grade 1975, 576].

[13] V. Jovanović et al., *Novo Brdo*, Studies and Monographs 13 (Belgrade: The Institute
for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia, 2004).

ideal of Christ. Medieval documents frequently contain formulations such as: "to donate for the soul's sake", "to contribute to the church for the sake of the soul salvation", "to bequeath one's patrimony to the poor [i.e. children – because they are left without a parent], to the wife, servants and for soul salvation". Those and similar formulations recurred often, and in time were adopted into already formed epic narrative structures, where they were used in different ways, depending on how deeply they were assimilated to the new folk pattern. Being transmitted orally, the medieval formulas and motifs were preserved in epic poetry recorded from the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The recurrence of formulaic phrases and patterns was noted in Serbian medieval charters, testaments and legal documents, but also in medieval literary and liturgical texts of various genres. The Serbian Orthodox Church considered it one of its vital duties to constantly remind actual and optional sinners of their obligations toward the poor. This moral reminder was practised eagerly by the clergy in oral sermons, and in a range of literary forms, especially in apocrypha. Although the apocryphal writings were officially rejected from the Canon, they satisfied the people's curiosity regarding the issues ignored in the Bible. The salvation of the soul being one of the most interesting topics since ancient times, many apocrypha tried to take the advantage of the fact by presenting the *exempla* of correct moral behaviour in order to prevent people from sinning. This undertaking was conducted in a rather threatening and moralizing way, by narrating about the Last Judgment, apocalyptical visions and impressions of the apostles and the Holy Mother from their journeys to hell and heaven. In Serbian copies of apocryphal texts, such as the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* (similar to the *Apocalypse of Paul* and *Revelation of Paul*), the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, and the *Acts of Thomas*, sins against the poor, widows and orphans are regarded as very serious ones. The sixth place in the list of sins is reserved for those who make no donations to the poor and beggars in the name of the Lord. Severe penalty awaits even the righteous whose next of kin do not act according to the Christian norms: as the wife and children fail to fulfil the deathbed wish of a man bequeathing his property for his soul's sake, he is sentenced to the damnation of hell and the same destiny is to befall his wife and children. A sinner who committed unpardonable sins (earth and sea yield up his flesh, and God rejects his soul) repents and asks Anastasia to convey the message to his wife and children in order to admonish them to pray for him and donate charity for his soul and thus save themselves from eternal torments.[14]

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[14] Cf. *Apokrifi novozavetni* [*New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. and trans. into the contemporary Serbian language T. Jovanović], book 23, vol. II of *Stara srpska književnost* (Belgrade, 2005).

The constant reminder of the Last Judgment influenced folk ballads not only through literary forms, but also by means of medieval paintings. The Last Judgment was depicted on the walls of many Serbian churches and monasteries, which may have inspired epic bards directly or indirectly.[15] Regardless of specific conditions (time, place, school of painting, etc.), the main theme was depicted in episodes – a series of iconographical scenes illustrating well-known motifs such as the weighing of souls, symbols of the seven deadly sins, various torments of the damned, punishments in hell, an angel taking the sinners into the river of fire, etc. The motifs common to medieval painting and literature complemented one another and in the fantasy of an ordinary man created an integral cultural symbol, a sort of an artistic and mental pattern of this theme.

The recurrence of similar formulations, motifs and themes, and the presence of common and corresponding symbols in different historical, legal and literary documents, and art forms of the Middle Ages, permit us to consider them all as variants of a single cultural text, in the sense defined by Y. M. Lotman. In this way the symbol, as a specific idea of cultural value and content, acts as the guardian of cultural memory. It is "a profound coding mechanism, a special kind of textual gene" that derives from "archaic signs which represented condensed mnemonic programme of texts and patterns preserved in oral collective memory".[16]

Within the scope of their "semiosphere", Serbian epic ballads transformed and reconstructed their structural principles according to the principles of "other" oral genres or cultural spheres. The "other" genre or sphere preserved a recollection of its previous coding mechanism, and that resulted in the creation of new structures – epic models based on the process of recognition and translation. There follow some illustrations of semantic and structural interweavements of epic ballads with other cultural texts.

Our first example comes from the ballad *The Miracle of Lazar's Head* published by Vuk Karadžić in 1823.[17] When the head of Prince Lazar (*c.*

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[15] On some motifs common to Serbian folk songs and paintings, see S. Radojčić, *Tekstovi i freske* [*Texts and frescoes*], (Novi Sad, 1965), 108. In Radojčić's opinion, some motifs in the frescoes of the Last Judgment may have influenced epic ballads in the way that certain songs were composed by members of the Serbian clergy.

[16] J. M. Lotman, *Semiosfera* (Novi Sad, 2004), 158-159 (cf. the Russian original: *O semiosfere. Trudy po znakovym sistemam* (1984), 17, 5-23; and the English translation: *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990).

[17] Karadžić, *Narodne srpske pjesme*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1823), no. 17 = *Srpske narodne pjesme*, vol. II (Vienna, 1846), no. 46 [*Serbian Folk Poems*, vol. II of the *Collected works of V. S. Karadžić*, Belgrade, 1988, no. 46], noted down from a blind lady bard from the village of Grgurevci in Srem. – The song has been interpreted differently. Some researchers consider it part of the medieval and later folk tradition about the historical fact of

1329-1389), found on a Kosovo field, is miraculously reunited with the body, he tells the assembled clergy that he should not be translated to any of the eight great monasteries they suggest for burial, but that he prefers his own foundation to them all:

> He preferred his splendid Ravanitza
> At the foot of the high mountain Kuchaj;
> For Lazar built there a temple to God
> While he lived and ruled amongst his people,
> *Built a church for his own soul's salvation,*
> *Built it on his own bread and with his own treasure,*
> *Not with tears of widows and of orphans.*[18]

The blind lady bard emphasizes that Prince Lazar did not build his memorial foundation at the expense of the poor, but with his own financial means, so in that way he spared the poor from taxes, or, in epic terms, from tears and misery. This type of generous ruler became a distinctive stock character in epic ballads, in which the clichéd static epic ruler was amalgamated with the mental framework of sacred kingship.[19] Nonetheless, Prince Lazar's charitable deeds are authentic, so the motif in the ballad is based on historical fact. In the *Foundation Charter of the Monastery of Ravanica* (1381), Prince Lazar indicates that the land that he is giving to the monastery is his own property either purchased from the nobles who owned it or exchanged

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translating Prince Lazar's relics from the battlefield of Kosovo to his memorial church, Ravanica, in 1390. The monastery of Ravanica was a cultural centre where both oral and written literature was fostered. At the same time, with Prince Lazar's relics resting in the monastery, Ravanica "became a centre of pilgrimage and the focal point around which developed the cult of the martyr prince and the heroes of Kosovo who had fought with him", cf. M. Ljubinković, *Ravanica* (Belgrade, 1966), ii. Some other researchers believe the song grew from the Christian legend of St. John the Baptist and other saints "cephalophores", head-carriers, such as St. Dionysius or St. Denis of Paris who carried his severed head to the place of his burial.

[18] *Kossovo. Heroic songs of the Serbs*, trans. Helen Rootham, introd. Maurice Baring, hist. preface Janko Lavrin (Oxford, 1920).

[19] In medieval Byzantine and Serbian political philosophy, the emperor is the *optimus princeps* and he is chosen by God, so his moral duty is to imitate God. In this process of *imitatio Christi*, the emperor becomes God's emanation and, consequently, the embodiment of all virtues – he is an exemplary, orthodox Christian, extraordinarily brave (*semper victor*) and pious. In the words of Hans-Georg Beck (*Das Byzantinische Jahrtausend*, Munich: C. H. Becks'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978): "Sublimity and excellence of his character manifest in self-restraint, justness and wisdom, and first of all in charitable deeds intended for all mankind. This emperor embodies the law because it is integrated in him" (my translation from the Serbian translation: H. G. Bek, *Vizantijski milenijum*, Belgrade, 1998, 98).

it for some parts of his estate.[20] In this song, the motif serves as poetic praise
of the holy Prince and tends to create a special psychological bond and a
sort of intimacy between the bard and the audience on one side, and the
martyr saint and ruler on the other. The ballad is meant to possess the same
completeness of experience that medieval man used to have in an encounter
with Lazar's miracle and cult, for every divine miracle has a symbolic form
of revelation and new alliance with God that repeats its mission of salvation
in concrete, historical time.

The motif of the care for the poor on their deathbed, presented in two
bugarštica[21] songs, shows great resemblance to authentic testaments of the
nobles in structural pattern and formulas. The *bugarštica* songs speak about
the death of Serbian Despot Vuk Grgurević.[22] Their pattern corresponds to
the standard scheme of a medieval testament: as Despot Vuk "breathes his
last", his wife Barbara asks him, in bitter tears, to whom he intends to leave
his lands and towns and his rich treasury. In the older version (recorded *c.*
1650), Despot Vuk, abiding by the feudal rules of inheritance and allegiance,
replies that he reverts his lands and towns to his patron, King Matijaš. As
for his treasure, Vuk requests from his sworn brother Mitar Jakšić to divide
it in three:

> You'll make part one Mount Athos' share,
> Part one you'll give Mount Athos' monks,
> My Mitar Jaksic,
> And let them pray for the despot's soul;
> *Part two you'll make the orphans' share,*
> *Wretched maidens,*
> *That they too may remember him;*
> Part three you'll make my Barbara's share,
> My brother in God![23]

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[20] Prince Lazar's foundation charter for the monastery Ravanica (1381) was edited by
J. Subotić (*Srbsky lětopis* IV, 1847, 46), F. Miklosich (*Monumenta serbica*, Vienna, 1858,
196), S. Novaković (*Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, Belgrade, 1912,
769-770) and A. Mladenović (*Povelje kneza Lazara*, Belgrade, 2003); cf. Đ. Trifunović,
"Autobiographical details about king Lazar", in *Kosovo 1389–1989, Serbian Literary
Quarterly* 1-3 (1989), 200-202.

[21] *Bugarštica* (pron. bougarshtitsa) is a distinct type of epic ballad in lines of fifteen to
sixteen syllables, unlike more common decasyllabic epic ballads, cf. John S. Miletich,
*The Bugarštica. A Bilingual Anthology of the Earliest Extant South Slavic Folk Nar-
rative Song*, ed., trans., introd. and bibl. John S. Miletich, foreword Albert B. Lord,
afterword Samuel G. Armistead, Illinois Medieval monographs III (Urana and
Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

[22] Vuk Grgurević (*c.* 1439–1485), Serbian Despot in Hungary 1465–1485, remembered
by his epic name Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk (literally Wolf the Fiery Dragon).

[23] Miletich, *Bugarštica*, 161.

The version of this *bugarštica* recorded in the first half of the eighteenth century is slightly different, but care for the poor remains a stable motif:

> My treasure you'll divide in three:
> The first part for my sinful soul,
> Distribute it to priests and monks,
> *Thereof small portion to the poor*,
> They'll pray to God for my sinful soul;
> The second part for my aged mother;
> The third part for my own true wife.[24]

In the authentic testament of Voyvoda Miloš Belmužević (1500), the formulation is almost the same, except for its prose form. In confessing his sins a Serbian nobleman divided his lands among his family and nobles, and donated some of his treasure to the church for charity and salvation of the soul.[25] Many legal documents from the medieval period confirm that contributions of money, wine and food to the poor and the Church, for the sake of the soul's salvation, were usual both among aristocrats and in middle and lower social ranks.[26]

The motifs related to the poor and charity in epic ballads presented so far have been linked to the corresponding legal documents and actual acts of charity in late medieval Serbia. It seems that customs, feudal etiquette and the reality of daily life found a way to influence epic ballads in wording and composition. The ballads mentioned give an impression of being more genuine in the sense that they have preserved the actual facts, names, places and spirit of the epoch to which they relate.

However, there are other songs that assimilated motifs of the poor and charity into already formed, time-tested thematic and structural models, which can vary in subgenre and theme. Motifs of the poor and charity[27] are not necessarily involved in the central conflict but may still be very functional in developing the plot, in describing relations between characters or as a poetic ornament. Often stylized as contrast, antithesis or parallelism, these motifs conform to the epic convention of black-and-white portrayal,

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[24] Miletich, *Bugarštica*, 171.

[25] A. Ivić, "Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika iz XVI i XVII veka", *Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko-slavensko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* XV (1913), 93-94 ["Several Cyrillic documents of the 16th and 17th centuries", *Bulletin of Royal Croatian-Slavonic-Dalmatian general archive* XV].

[26] *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava (od kraja XII do kraja XV veka)*, prikupio i uredio A. V. Solovjev (Belgrade, 1926), [*Selected monuments of Serbian law, from the end of the 12th until the end of the 15th century*, coll. and ed. A. V. Solovjev].

[27] Some notes about the concept of charity from the ethical aspect are presented by J. Brkić, *Moral Concepts in Traditional Serbian Epic Poetry*, Slavistic printings and reprintings 24 (Gravenhage: Mouton 1961), 164-165.

especially when ethical issues are involved. This is why the poor are represented as a counterbalance to the rich, powerful and arrogant, and thus may stand for conscience, justice and moral rightness, as shown by the following examples.

In the ballad *Dušan Wants to Marry His Sister* a typical charitable gesture, although part of the poetic décor, is used structurally as the culmination of a series of impossible tasks.[28] Stefan's sister resists his wish to marry her by requesting the impossible:

> I will not be your wife
> Until you find three hundred builders,
> And send them to Mountain Šara
> To find three hundred springs,
> And until they join all springs in one pipeline,
> And conduct it to the land of Misir;
> *And until you make three cups of gold*
> *For the poor to drink water from them.*[29]

The building of a memorial drinking fountain for the poor is a universally spread custom, often practised in Serbia. Apart from the charitable context, the meaning of such an act is very archaic and symbolic. According to the widespread belief of Semitic and Indo-European peoples, there is constant thirst in the otherworld. One of the most important duties of the living is to provide water for the dead. Thus building a drinking fountain "for the soul" is directly related to the cult of the dead and the cult of ancestors. There are many records showing inscriptions and dedications on the fountains.[30]

In the same song, however, the poor have one more role to perform – the stereotypical character of the poor self-taught child (*đače samouče*) symbolizing a morally superior person who speaks the truth without fearing the authority. After her brother manages to accomplish his other difficult tasks, his desperate sister turns to priests. The corrupted priests consent to the sinful marriage. The outcome is dramatic and frightening: the sister puts a heavy curse on the priests, but only a lower-ranking one, who represents the poor self-taught child type, dares to speak out against the emperor and, for his honesty, gets condemned to the stake. Soon after the fire is set, Roxanda's curse is activated, bringing awful punishment on the corrupted

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[28] The plot in the poem shares some common features with folktale types AaTh 313E* and 510B, see: S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography. Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (FFC No. 3) translated and enlarged*, 2nd rev., Folklore Fellows' Communications, vol. LXXV (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961).

[29] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* II, no. 27 (my translation).

[30] Čajkanović, *Stara srpska religija*, 82.

priests and consecration on the righteous one. Witness to the intervention of Devine Justice, her brother emperor is compelled to retreat, and the social and ethical order is restored.

The poor play multiple roles in the ballad *Emperor Constantine and the Poor Self-taught Child*.[31] During the celebration of his patron saint's feast-day (*slava*), the emperor puts to the test the whole clergy, from highest to lowest ranks, by asking to be assigned a penance and offered absolution from the sin of beating up his parents. The higher clergy absolve the emperor in exchange for material possessions (silver and gold crowns for the patriarchs), and financial support for building new monasteries and cells (for bishops and holy fathers). However, the poor self-taught child, as a representative of the novice and lowest sacerdotal rank, refuses to fawn upon the emperor. On the contrary, he suggests that the emperor's repentance be tested by fire: the emperor should build a cell of pine wood, grease it with tallow and tar, enter the cell and set it on fire, letting it burn from evening till dawn; if he survives till morning, it will mean God's pardon and prove his being purged from his sins. The emperor agrees to the test, but instead of doing it personally, he puts the poor novice in the wooden cell. The following morning he finds the novice alive, sitting in the pile of ashes and praying to God with the Psalter in his hands. This scene encourages the emperor to try the same, but as he is sinful, his flesh burns completely, except for his right hand that is saved because of his charitable acts:

> The Emperor's right hand was consecrated
> Because of many good deeds that he had done:
> He fed a lot of hungry people,
> He supplied water to many thirsty people,
> He provided clothing for many naked and barefoot people,
> *He supported the poor and the miserable people* –
> And for those deeds his hand became holy.

In the ballads about the emperors Stefan and Constantine, the poor are an important constituent of the theme of charitable deeds, but they are also represented as the symbolic figure of the poor self-taught child. The structure of the songs is simple and based on the opposition between reward and punishment. As a result of successful adaptation to Serbian tradition, a high level of concretization can be observed in both songs: distinguishing between heroes by names and titles, spatial localization, use of national traditional customs and beliefs as elements of epic ambiance and characterization, presence of details reflecting the actual church hierarchy of medieval and postmedieval Serbia, recognizable allusions to historical figures such

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[31] Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* II, no. 19 (my translation).

as the Serbian emperor Stefan Dušan[32] (1331–1355) and the Byzantine emperor Constantine V Copronymus[33] (741–775). In spite of a predominantly negative characterization of these epic rulers, the emphasis is on their conversion according to Christian virtues. From this aspect, the motif of concern for the poor and the poor self-taught child type – a novice in the monastery who is not afraid to speak the truth no matter how dangerous it may be – constitute necessary elements for developing the story plot and building the characters. In both cases the poor symbolize the moral ideals cherished and elevated to universal values in different epochs and cultural regions. That gives them both the narrative and symbolic capacity to represent the ideals worth to be promoted in epic poetry and oral tradition. From the aspect of artistic structure, the poor novice, concern for the poor and charitable deeds may be said to act as dominant and creative narrative forces that form a plot, to finally overcome regressive structural elements of the poetic world depicted. Furthermore, it may be noted that the emperors Dušan and Constantine exemplify quite an opposite epic stereotype to Prince Lazar. They symbolize sinful, tainted rulers who need to repent in order to be saved. The most significant role in their moral conversion is given to the poor, who clearly represent ethical purity and demonstrative instrument in the hands of Divine Justice.

The poor may be actively engaged in narrative pattern, and influence even more directly the decisions of epic characters and future events in gen-

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[32] In Serbian epic tradition, the royal name *Stefan* (as part of the hereditary royal title, from the Greek *stephanos* – crown, wreath) is used as a stereotyped name for all rulers of the Nemanjić dynasty. The epic character of emperor Stefan personifies typified traits of medieval rulers and therefore is easily identified with the authentic Serbian king and emperor Stefan Uroš IV – Dušan *Silni* (the Mighty). Introducing the name "emperor Stefan" instead of "emperor Dušan" into the titles of several epic songs he collected and published, Vuk Karadžić clearly suggested that those names should be understood as equivalents. It has been pointed out that the historical facts of Dušan's proclamation as "tsar and autocrat" in 1345, and the elevation of the Serbian Orthodox Church from archbishopric to patriarchate, led to grave conflicts over the ecclesiastical authority and political domination in the Balkans, which provoked the anathema of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Byzantine (Greek) Orthodox Church. These incidents must have affected the traditional concept of epic ruler and especially the image of the emperor Dušan.

[33] Byzantine emperor Constantine V Copronymus was remembered primarily as a fervent iconoclast. The historian G. Ostrogorski wrote that Constantine's extreme cruelty in persecuting the iconophiles was not due to his primitive roughness, but to a state of psychotic overstrain. He entered the tradition as the typical "greater sinner". Church legends consider his death a divine punishment – he died at sea, yelling in fever: "I'll burn alive!" In time, he came to be known as "Copronymus", meaning "The Dung-named". Later on, in the 9th century, he was disinterred and his remains thrown into the sea.

eral. The true epic hero acts upon the code of ethics and always considers the needs of the poor. This is the case of Banović Strahinja, perhaps one of the most popular nobles in Serbian epic poetry. From the many versions of his wife's betrayal, we cite from the *bugarštica* recorded in the first half of the eighteenth century. After his court was looted and his wife captured by the Turkish outlaw Denalija, Strahinja sits ill-tempered at dinner with his kin. His brother-in-law Stjepan Ugović asks him:

> – What ails my sister's husband so –
> Do you bewail your looted court,
> Do you bewail your captive wife?
> If you bewail your looted court,
> We'll levy tax among the Vlachs,
> So we may build your court anew.
> If you bewail your captive wife,
> Abducted by Denalija,
> We'll have for you another wife.
> But Strahinj' made to him reply:
> – Oh leave me be, for the good Lord's sake!
> Why speak to me of my white court,
> Of levying tax among the Vlachs,
> Of building my white court anew –
> *Of others' tears I have no need,*
> *Nor curses of the sad, poor Vlachs.* –
> Why speak to me of Jelica,
> Of having me another wife –
> Ne'er Jelica I'll have again![34]

The response of Banović Strahinja is formulaic and can be found in other poems, such as the one about the abduction of Marko Kraljević's wife. At the moment of his wife's abduction, Marko is winning a war for the Turkish sultan. Since his participation in the battle has been vital for the Turkish victory, the sultan offers him a larger palace, more treasure, a higher position and a new wife; but Marko refuses because of heroic honour:

> Thank you, my Sultan, my dear lord!
> When you start to build my court,
> *The poor will curse me with words:*
> – Look at bastard Marko Kraljevic!
> His old court was burned in flame,
> And may this new court never prosper!
> If you make me a chief tax collector,
> I could not collect tax from the people
> Until I arrest the needy and the poor;
> *So the poor will curse me with words*:

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[34] Miletich, *Bugarštica*, 3.

> – Look at bastard Marko Kraljević!
> His old treasure was robbed,
> May this new one be unfortunate!
> And as for your promise to find me a bride,
> I don't wish another wife while mine is still alive![35]

In both poems, the opinion of the poor is highly appreciated and affects the action of the heroes. The poor personify the social and ethical norms that epic heroes must respect in order to maintain their position in the epic world. On poetic level, the motif of the poor prepares and motivates a turn in the narrative sequencing of events. The poor function as a warning to the hero to amend or consolidate his actions and principles according to the traditional heroic code.

Being superior to the common people, the epic hero is obliged to protect the poor and needy, and to safeguard social order and moral values. As the epic hero's protective function, or the protector's role (in Propp's terms), often overlaps with the epic liberator's role, the notion of protected subjects widens in order to encompass all categories of the poor, needy and unprotected people of a nation. This idea is well represented in the cultural patterns of the dragon-slayer, such as the song *Marko Kraljević Repealing Marriage Tax*.[36] By killing an Arab who oppressed[37] the people of Kosovo, levied a marriage tax on brides and grooms, and even demanded to have a new girl brought to him every night, Marko liberates all the Christians of Kosovo and earns their blessings and gratitude.

The feelings of compassion and mercy, as well as charitable activities of epic heroes, put the audience into epic exploits of greater national or social significance. Heroes are expected to show concern not only for the poor, but for the people unable to fight for themselves in general. Respect for the common people is part of the universal heroic code, not only the code of Serbian epic heroes. As their epic adversaries, the Turks, if honourable and righteous, sometimes treat the poor respectfully and may be merciful to the Christian poor, even though oppression against the non-Muslim population was not considered a sin against God.[38] In the song *The Start of the Revolt against the Dahiyas* there is a sharp contrast between the old Turkish

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[35] "Marko Kraljević i Mina od Kostura" ["Marko Kraljević and Mina of Kastoria"], in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* II, no. 62 (my translation).

[36] "Marko Kraljević ukida svadbarinu" ["Marko Kraljević Repealing Marriage Tax"], in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* II, no. 68; noted down from a blind lady bard from Grgurevci.

[37] In Serbian: *zulum*, from Turkish *zulüm* and Arabic *zulm*, meaning injustice, tyranny, cruelty.

[38] Cf. Brkić, *Moral Concepts*, 72.

times (represented by a stable regime and regard for the common people) and modern times (represented by *dahiyas*, mutinous Turkish commanders). The modern Ottoman regime is depicted in the words of the old Fočo, a venerable Turkish noble, who advised the Turks to beware of the poor Serbian people (*sirotinja raja*):

> We laid upon the folk a crushing tax,
> We rode rough-shod upon their dignity,
> We drove them into penury most dire,
> We pressed upon them fines and penalties,
> Despoiled their churches, trampled on their pride.
> Now, once again, the portents have appeared:
> Those signs that tell an empire is to end.
> It is not any king that you need fear.
> Against an emperor no king prevails –
> No kingdom can an empire overthrow,
> For God has made the world in such way.
> But now beware the starving Serbian folk!
> For when the hoes and mattocks rise and fall,
> Then Turks as far as Medina shall quake,
> And Turkish women weep in Syria –
> The common folk shall bring them great distress.[39]

In these verses the common people are transformed from a passive into an active collective character, who was to play a historical role in the First Serbian Uprising in 1804. In another ballad by the bard Filip Višnjić, the poor sound a note of warning to the Serbian commanders as well. In *The Battle of Salaš* the Serbian rebels rest in their camp, while the local people suffer Turkish retaliation. A messenger – a poor, barefooted boy – runs into the Serbian camp and cries out:

> Woe to you, three Serbian voyvodas!
> Woe to your food and your wine!
> You sit, drink wine and sing,
> And the poor people whine in misery![40]

After this rebuke, the ashamed commanders start preparations for battle. It is clear here that the poor act as social and moral critics of the leaders, and as initiators of epic action.

As the last examples demonstrate, Serbian epic heroes and rulers are under constant social and moral evaluation by the common people. The

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[39] "Početak bune protiv dahija" ["The Start of the Revolt against the Dahiyas"], in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* IV, no. 24; recorded from the blind bard Filip Višnjić (trans. G. N. W. Locke, 197-198).

[40] "Boj na Salašu" ["The Battle of Salaš"], in Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* IV, no. 28 (my translation).

poor criticize the actions of epic heroes that do not measure up to the tradi-
tional values. The voice of the poor (*vox populi*), with their judgments about
social and moral issues, urges other characters to change their conduct and
harmonize with the "horizon of expectations" (H. R. Jauss) of the audience.
Following that general idea, the role of the poor in Serbian epic poetry is
comparable to the role of the chorus in Greek tragedy. The chorus is repre-
sented by a group of actors symbolizing the people. It can take part in the
action or comment on the events and destinies of characters, but its major
function is to set the framework of ethical problems related to the character.
In Serbian epic poems the poor likewise take part in the action and affect
other characters; because of that contact, the status of the character can
change.

          The role of the poor is not necessarily explicit, or embodied in an epic
character. Sometimes the narrator gives himself the privilege of evaluat-
ing and commenting the actions of his protagonists, and even of labelling
them as poor, more precisely: as paupers. There is one particularly poeticized
example in the *bugarštica Marko the Prince and His Dear Brother Andrijaš*,
noted down in 1555 from two fishermen from the Adriatic island of Hvar.
This ballad tells how Marko murdered his brother Andrijaš over a looted
horse, and how his dying brother forgave him. In a highly refined trope,
a figure of speech known as Slavic antithesis, the narrator compares the
wretched brothers with poor men, paupers:

> Two paupers had for long been friends,
> Close friends were they and dearly loved,
> Divided booty cheerfully,
> And did take leave as cheerfully,
> And after having taken leave,
> Did meet each other once again.
> They took three fine, heroic steeds,
>   Two paupers did,
> Most cheerfully divided two,
> But on the third could not agree,
> And in great rage each other cursed.
> They weren't two paupers, no, my friends,
> But rather Marko, knight and prince,
> Marko the knight and prince it was
> And Andrijaš his brother dear,
>   Knights so young.[41]

The tragic destiny of the brothers who once were friends and companions
in arms is interpreted by the narrator as spiritual misery and poverty. He
takes pity on their ill-fortune, but does not judge them (at least not openly,

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[41] Miletich, *Bugarštica*, 39.

or perhaps just as a feeble hint). The motive for the murder is simple, and the feelings of the killer and his victim are held back. The reduction of background details does not reduce the impression of a collapsing heroic world, the world crushed not only from the outside, by the Turks, but also from the inside, in the family circle. The dying brother is triumphant in his sympathetic forgiveness, remaining superior in heroic, moral, and human sense. Nevertheless, he is named "pauper", and so is his brother. For the epic bard and his sixteenth-century audience, the destinies of the brothers are poor, unfortunate, and yet pitiable, their occurrence being common and ordinary in everyday life.

Although the limited space makes it impossible to exhaust the role of the poor in Serbian epic poetry, some general remarks can be made. The poor should be considered as a socio-historical and cultural category that has its own development in the history of the Serbian people. It seems likely that this category, originally connected with the prerogatives of rulers and feudal lords, integrated into the Serbian epic through the concept of charity. The frequency and certain uniformity of almsgiving and charitable deeds in practice, and the repetitiveness of formulaic patterns and expressions employed in literary, legal, monastic and other documents, led to the creation of corresponding epic models and formulas. Once they entered the oral epic, the motifs of the poor and charity were structuralized within the traditional epic system, and after that various processes of adaptation and merging with the "pool of tradition" (Honko) began. The poor grew to be functional characters, both individual and collective, and to a great extent stereotypical, representative of certain social and ethical values.

Bojan Jovanović

The Challenge of Plural Identity

Every aspect of a person's life is accompanied by a corresponding sense and awareness of his or her cultural, social and spiritual existence. The complexity and authenticity of that existence is reflected both in highlighting distinction from others, and in seeking to establish communication and achieve togetherness with others. The awareness that one belongs to a community implies the awareness of being different from other communities. If the profoundly antinomic human need for both distinctiveness and togetherness is considered from several perspectives, the issue of identity becomes placed in a broader context, which then requires an appropriate approach to the understanding and definition of identity as a complex determinant of a person's individual and collective existence. Thus, to identify crucial aspects of that complexity within the scope of a dynamic theoretical model seems to be especially relevant to understanding and solving the problem of each particular identity in a multiethnic and multinational cultural space.

Although individuals or communities tend to offer an embellished self-image, the reality of that image is always somewhat different. Our self-image clearly expresses our identity, but what we truly are is expressive not only of what we think of ourselves, but also of how we are perceived by others. The importance of others for a realistic self-image has its historical and anthropological dimensions. Ever since his appearance on the historical stage, by being what he is, man has shown the capacity for being something else. However, what man is, and the possibility of becoming something more by expanding the boundaries of his own potentials, has been overshadowed by regressive periods of his existence which warn that he can also be less than himself. The dynamic theoretical model of identity involves the examination of the interactional aspect of its major constituents which indicate a complex reality different from the one shown by idealized self-images.[1] In order to recognize the reality of any identity, it is necessary to

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[1] Cf. V. Popović, "Zlo i strepnja u kulturi" in *Tamna strana ljudske prirode*, ed. B. Jovanović (Belgrade: Dom kulture Studentski grad, 1992), 49.

take into consideration the implicit diversity of its extant but frequently unacknowledged elements. As gender identity always involves the presence of the anima in masculine, or the animus in female identity, so do religious, ethnic and national identities involve the existence of an unacknowledged inner otherness.

Seen as a community's awareness of itself and a sense of sameness that it constantly expresses as continuous memory in spite of all change it may be subject to,[2] identity involves identification, and thus may be defined as a dynamic process rather than as a fixed and unchangeable category.[3] For this reason, our inheritance is only a starting point for acquiring characteristics that make us what we are, and for rendering it possible for us to achieve determined goals in our lifetime. Life's response to existential qualms is our identity which entails our personal responsibility for what we are. The view of the process of identity formation as an increasing differentiation, the extent of which depends on the process of gaining awareness of relevant social, spiritual and cultural factors,[4] shows that identity presupposes a considerably broader and deeper psycho-social reality associated with the existence of inner otherness. That reality is related to the fact that a community is not only what it assumes to be, but also what it does not admit, which is part of the negative aspect of its present and past experiences. The bright and dark sides of its being manifest themselves as the conscious and unconscious sides of its existence. Since the consciousness of contemporary man implies his previous experience in shedding light on the unconscious, the traditional contents of culture often represent the suppressed part of his actual cultural behaviour.

If some findings about individual identity were applied to collective identity within the outlined theoretical model, then it would be possible to delineate its hidden, suppressed and unacknowledged aspect more precisely. Jung's "unconscious identity"[5] or Ronald Laing's "complementary identity" or "identity of the other"[6] highlight the necessity for a more thorough understanding of identity which, in addition to its ego aspect and its rational dimension, also involves the other, insufficiently known side. Hence,

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[2] Žan-Mari Domenak, *Evropa: kulturni izazov* [Jean-Marie Domenaque, Europe: Cultural Challenge], (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1991), 19.

[3] *McMillan Dictionary of Anthropology*, ed. C. Seymour-Smith (London: McMillan 1986), 145.

[4] E. Erikson, *Omladina, kriza, identifikacija* [Identity–Youth & Crisis] (Titograd: Grafički zavod, 1976), 180, 185.

[5] K. G. Jung, Psihološki tipovi [Psychological Types], vol. 5 of *Selected Works* (Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 1977), 481.

[6] R. D. Laing, *Jastvo i drugi* [*Self and Others*] (Novi Sad: Svetovi, 1989), 80–81.

what we believe we are is not identical with our real identity, the latter also comprising something we are unwilling to admit. This difference represents one's potential for coming closer to oneself, and the course of that process is characterized by a growing awareness of oneself and of connections established with others. Although identity has no power to generate differences, the contrast between the abovementioned aspects of identity is displayed in a potential which can be either positive or negative. If accompanied by a growing self-awareness, the negativity is manifested as a transformation factor. If suppressed, however, this negativity becomes a factor of its own unaccomplishment, and may turn into an impediment to a full self-confirmation.

Deep-rooted determinants of identity may be distinguished in the integral assessment of a collective being, which, apart from its manifest, idealized side, also comprises a hidden, insufficiently expressed content. While taking for granted various markers of identity, one should not lose sight of its concealed traits determining the reality of a community. Therefore a people, a nation or a state can be viewed from a broader anthropological perspective offering an insight into the significance of real identity. Constructed on the principle of demarcation from others, identity, or its construct, is relativized by the discovery of otherness within the self. Discovering and acknowledging one's own negativity and radical otherness is manifested in the need for a broader concept of identity, and in that sense its manifested reality displays only one important dimension.

If the complex image of collective identity is to be adequately comprehended in the context of realistic facts, then the possibility of perceiving its covert essence determines the wholeness and truthfulness of the image one is attempting to create. Although the acknowledgement of one's own otherness brings one closer to the Other at the level of plural identity, the suppressed and unacknowledged residue of historical and cultural experience frequently gives rise to anachronistic and reactionary occurrences. Negative experience, as our otherness, unconsciously confirms the former identity of a community constructed within the frame of a culture pattern, which is to be distinguished from the concept of cultural pattern.[7] Raising this blind force of otherness to consciousness means taking control of it in the context of a particular cultural pattern in which the attitude towards the historical past is developed from the standpoint of the present. When that attitude is expressed by means of an inappropriate cult, then it becomes a vehicle for venerating the past, and the latter inevitably turns into an obstacle to the future. Being what you are also means becoming that through constant self-confirmation under changeable circumstances. Being the same in the same

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[7] B. Jovanović, *Karakter kao sudbina* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 2004), 78.

manner in the course of constant change throughout lifetime amounts to being mummified, or dead. Since each new context brings into question the former meaning of identity markers, under new circumstances identity factors face the challenge of conformation and confirmation.

Although an implicit principle of human identity, plurality has become the evident basis of contemporary civilization. On that basis, everyone is acknowledged authenticity, or the possibility to exist in their own unique manner distinguishing them from others, in the same fashion as the existence of others confirms mutual differences. Differing from us, others become complementary to our common human experience displaying its real significance in the process of individuation of a person and a community. Seen as a factor of supplementation and completeness, the complementariness of identity involves the Other as a constituent of the Self. Acknowledging the Other in one's own Self is the basis for respecting the Other who is different from us. The importance of perceiving other significant factors of self-identity is reflected in the creation of a tolerant attitude towards others that we share our living space with but who are different from us. In that sense, it is important to shed light on, or raise awareness of, the unacknowledged, unknown aspect of identity. The consequences of negative historical experiences in the multiethnic Balkan region undoubtedly increase the difficulty of adequately determining collective identity within the context of current European and global integration processes. The outlined theoretical tenets bearing on the confirmation of collective identity, on the basis of which this problem is approached, can prove their effectiveness on the example of the Balkans.

The depth of the blurred Balkans

Given that every epoch establishes its own value system, the formation of a European identity in present times is a response to the issue of defining the profile of the Old World's civilization. That response is at the same time a solution to contradictions facing the European states in the global context, and a way of going beyond their negative historical heritages dating back from the periods of wars and intolerance. In integration processes, present-day Europe is consolidating in terms of civilization, and distancing itself from the negative past experiences. Economic stability rests upon real relations between the member states of the Union. However, in some parts of Europe, such as the Balkans or South-Eastern Europe, the past lingers on in a negative sense. As a result of ethnic enmities, this relatively small geographic region saw the creation of a large number of small states, latently in conflict with each other. Therefore, derived from the term "Balkans", the notion of "balkanization" acquired a negative connotation at the end of

World War One denoting the fragmentation of geographic and political entities along ethnic boundaries and the resultant emergence of small and potentially feuding states. Burdened by the Ottoman historical legacy,[8] and fights over it, the reality of the twentieth-century Balkans was marked by a tendency towards national hegemonies or the unification of kindred nations.[9] Self-confirmation of nationally homogenized entities through the achievement of state independence revealed limitations as regards the attitude towards the construction of a more general identity. The attempt at creating a Yugoslav identity is very telling in many respects. The period from the proclamation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the so-called AVNOJ Yugoslavia to the so-called third Yugoslavia, has shown that the state unification was not sufficient to effect a real unification and form a common identity which could prevent negative separatist and nationalist processes. Those who saw the common state as a trans-historical formation or, more precisely, as a transitional state structure on their path towards their own national sovereignty, had sufficient initial motivation to dismantle it. Therefore, it was not realistic to expect that they would sincerely participate in the overcoming of shared difficulties in the period of transition.[10] Although the notion of balkanization referred to regressive socio-cultural processes, it was also employed to denote a potential threat of disintegration that a region or a state might face. However, this term has become the most adequate designation of the processes which took place in the Balkans in the 1990s. With regard to the integration processes simultaneously evolving in Europe, the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and the creation of several smaller states can therefore be identified with events in a historical *camera obscura*. In view of this fundamental antithesis between Europe and the Balkans, the contrasting image could be supplemented by other opposite notions, such as order and chaos, organized and disorganized, rational and irrational. In order to overcome these contrasts and prevent the balkanization of Europe, it is necessary to make the Balkans European, that is, to implement European standards and criteria in this region.

From the perspective of historical experience as expressed in the formation of separate ethnic and national identities, Europe is defined as a sort

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[8] M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan* [Imagining the Balkans] (Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek, 1999), 278.

[9] T. Stojanović, *Balkanska civilizacija* (Belgrade: Geopoetika, 1995), 108.

[10] The survival of the most recent state union "Serbia and Montenegro", created under the influence of European Union, is challenged by the aspirations of one member-state for independence. The Montenegrin separatist tendencies are instigated by pseudo-scientific arguments for ethnic distinctiveness, denying and annulling the common tradition, language, culture, history and religion.

of a collection of identities. Claiming that layers of past and present cultures are deposited in a constant flux between periods of crisis and tragic sublimity, Erik Kluitenberg stresses that in times of transition dilemmas about identity can turn into drama, especially in the regions where Europe is at its "deepest", that is where most identities overlap and collide.[11] In the expression "deep Europe", borrowed from Luchezar Boyadjiev, depth denotes the points of conflicting claims over a historical period, an event, a figure, a territory, cultural heritage, language or alphabet. For this reason, the Old World is deepest where several identities overlap.[12] It is, in fact, the space of "Other Europe", as Czeslaw Milosz defined the entire East-European post-communist world,[13] where the struggle for the European heritage has become especially prominent in the Balkans. According to these criteria, Europe is undoubtedly at its deepest in the Balkans. However, this depth is marked by a characteristic which, rather, creates an illusion of depth, or false depth.

The Balkans are a part of Europe marked by tragic national conflicts the consequence of which is a blurred reality. Although it is difficult to discern the bottom of that reality, its opacity is not an indicator of depth, but of the shallow waters of civilization in which anachronistic occurrences, such as secessions, wars and nation-states, emerged. Therefore, European civilization is at its shallowest in the Balkans, for it turns out that the Balkan blurredness is an obstacle to broader integration processes. The trauma of personal historical experience is highlighted as the fundamental factor in mutual differentiation; but not in order to overcome it by building a successful model of coexistence and multiethnic society; on the contrary, it is reproduced according to the pattern of mutual retribution.

The identity confusion caused by the change in, or dismantling of, the former state framework, has also contributed to the opacity of this region. The example of the destroyed Yugoslavia shows the consequences of the resulting confusion at the level of identity.[14] The destruction of the original framework which gave meaning to both personal and collective identity, gives rise to confusion dominated by a sense of loss, apathy, diminished tolerance and increased aggressiveness. Attempting to find a way out of the state of indeterminacy as existential uncertainty, the individual or the

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[11] E. Kluitenberg, "Politika kulturnog pamćenja" [The Politics of Cultural Memory], *Kulturtreger* 2 (Belgrade, 2001), 4.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] C. Milosz, *Druga Evropa* [The Other Europe] (Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1982), 7.

[14] D. Kecmanović, *Masovna psihologija nacionalizma* (Belgrade: Vreme knjige, 1995), 233–234.

community will accept the offered provisional national identity. However, seeking to found themselves ethnically as well, nations emerging within the new state frameworks are doing it on the oblivion of the cultural past of the population whose culture and tradition they have inherited. As a result, the confused identity emerges when in the process of a new state formation efforts are made to construct national entity as well as a confirmation of presumed ethnic roots.

The depicted opacity of the Balkans can be perceived as an unemancipated dark force marring the completion of rational plans. Although in the context of present-day integration processes every single particularity is anachronistic, obstacles slowing down and blocking the process are expressed in the negative aspect of unacknowledged identity. Beyond any doubt, in this day and age every community can survive by being open towards others and towards the world. In line with the integrative principle which is becoming dominant in Europe and the world, the understanding of collective identity entails that dimension. Being European amounts to assuming, not emphasizing, one's own uniqueness and diversity which is implied in a civilized community. The spirit of European tolerance is reflected in the harmonization of mutual relations, and the construction of a new profile of Europe.

In the process of common identity construction, special importance is attached to the synchronization of personal and common interests at the level of perceiving the identity of each part in relation to the others. As a matter of fact, in the presupposed hierarchy, or vertical structure, every aspect of identity is distinguished by its own different degree of generality. Within such an identity structure, less general factors do not question those more general,[15] and for this reason the parallel, complementary existence of local, regional, national, religious, social, class, state, European and global identities is made possible. Identities at a higher level of generality are most acceptable for those who have confirmed their identity at a lower level. For identities not grounded and secure at a lower level, a very general identity can be a void concept. Transcending and erasing the former national and state frontiers rest on their voluntary rejection. However, the creation of a multicultural community can be accompanied by difficulties associated with the negative aspects of that process. Unlike the identities which on the assumed scale of generality have a more concrete sense, such as people, tribal unions, tribes, fraternities and clans, nations represent "imagined communities", or the ideal typical construct derived from ethnic foundations or founded on the state reality. In contrast with the ethnic model in which a

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[15] M. Prošić-Dvornić, "Modeli 'retradicionalizacije': put u budućnost vraćanjem u prošlost", *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU* XLIV (Belgrade, 1995), 306.

nation is a community whose members share the same language, customs and tradition, the state model defines a nation as a community of all inhabitants regardless of their different national origins. The aforementioned models differ with regard to the prevailing dominant: the natural or the cultural within a nation as an "imagined community" by means of which the wholeness of a community as a historical subject is realized. From the aspect of identity, a nation is not a completed community in the context of its self-confirmation at a higher level of generality.

Since the life of each nation is determined by its relationship with other nations, it is within these relations that a nation confirms its identity. In that sense, complementary nations contribute to the distinctiveness of the European way of life, because living in his/her nation a European citizen lives within the order of nations.[16] Aspiring to be a genuine part of a larger whole, the plurality of identities becomes a principle for establishing commonality. The latent, still unestablished and unemancipated unity has been manifested in history in a negative manner, through intolerance and conflicts. In the wake of the world wars it became evident that the collective display of one's negativity, aggressiveness and destruction in a great armed conflict of nations can easily lead to joint destruction. Hence, the possibility of survival was recognized in the project of unification and joint life resting on the plural identity principle. The unity of the united Europe has become a way of overcoming mutual enmities and hatreds, and preserving one's national and state particularities. However, faced with a challenge such as confirming a higher level of their identity, collectives are exposed to the temptation to regress downwards, towards lower levels.

Temptations of nationalism

Since the ethnic and the national are conveyed in distinction from others and in the capacity to connect with others, a true relation between various identity markers lies in their harmonization. The existing hierarchy and accord are challenged by increased inner conflicts. Their manifested aspects reveal the importance of one's own identity and the ambition to dominate others. Problems arise when a community is closer to the common identity of a higher degree of generality than another community which has a need to confirm its identity at a lower level, and disputes the common identity on a higher and more general plane.

Although narrower than the concept of the cultural, the notion of the national becomes predominant in critical conditions of its affirmation

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[16] A. Thibaudet, "Ka jednoj definiciji Evrope" in *Čovek Evrope*, ed. T. Gavrić (Novi Sad: Prometej, 1994), 4, 12.

and expression: from cultural heritage to natural and geographic space. Primarily identified as a political rather than an ethnic category, the national is a means of mobilizing the population for goals surpassing the immediate national horizons. In that sense, the overemphasized importance of the national opens the issue of a nationalistic response as an indicator of the depth of the identity crisis and its inadequate solution. In order that a sense of national unity can be reinforced, identity is reduced to only one aspect the emphasis of which suppresses all other facets of the collective determination. The consequences of such reduction are evident at the level of specific pseudo-religious phenomena. When an idea, ideology or doctrine is overemphasized, so that it acquires a higher, indisputable meaning, then its supporters and advocates become its worshippers. With a tendency to overcompensate national non-affirmation, nationalism is primarily an indicator of a community's uncertainty about its own identity.

Aspirations for the affirmation of a nation and the policy of national emancipation produce nationalism as a religion of such ambitions. Nationalists are the believers in such national ideas. Nationalism may be confirmed by religious ideas, but its main focus is enchantment with itself. Founded only on itself, the sanctified nationalistic ideology becomes harmful and evil. Superficially liberating, nationalism imprisons and binds any community. Narrow-mindedness accompanied by a desire for the affirmation of one's own nationality at first displays its benign side, but inevitably ends in chauvinism. In the period of the awakening of national consciousness and cultural revival, the affirmation of national was imbued with a positive meaning. However, that meaning remained positive only for a short period during which the national question was raised in order to be solved. Therefore, a Herderian type of nationalism differs from its malignant forms imbuing this notion with a primarily negative sense in present times. There is no doubt that the consequences of both cultural and political nationalisms are negative, but some of them become obvious sooner, while others get to prominence later. Nationalism is a trap for the collective spirit which begins as an illusion of freedom, and locks up the nation within itself. In line with the definition as the "armed people", a nation expresses its aspirations in relation to another nation in a militant manner, perceiving it as a threat and impediment to its own self-confirmation. In nationalism, this readiness for fight is reflected in national homogenization which creates a strike force for liberation that ends up as an illusion of freedom.

An overemphasis on the national can also be a reaction to a period of identity suppression and denial. The process of coexistence between members of two ethnic communities is accompanied by the creation of a dual identity, just as the dominance of one component has as its consequence the suppression, melting and disappearance of the other. In that sense, iden-

tity complexity is reflected in an inner split which emerged because at one point certain identity aspects were considered mutually exclusive. Thus, for instance, to be a communist and a Yugoslav entailed the suppression of one's Serbian national component of identity. Such oblivion was ideologically or religiously programmed, so that even members of new nations, such as Muslims or Bosniaks, suppressed their ethnic roots and thus falsified history.

Hence, starting from this pluralistic concept of identity, it is possible to obtain a much clearer perspective of the consequences resulting from the rejection of the principle of complementariness and openness to the Other. The acceptance of an identity of a higher level of generality becomes difficult if the uniqueness of one's own identity is emphasized, exaggerated and overestimated. Since the reality of personal identity is manifested through attitudes towards the Other, the degree of openness towards the Other depends on the extent to which one is grounded in one's own identity. Those insufficiently grounded in their national and cultural identity feel insecure and endangered in contact with others. Dependence on others, a possibility of melting into others and thus annulling one's own being, is expressed by the fear of identity loss, manifested through anxiety and aggression. In precarious times marked by single-mindedness and coercion, when unification and acceptance of a single idea is required from community members, tolerance of others is diminished. The shallower and narrower the sense of identity, the stronger intolerance of others. Therefore, communities and individuals with a poorly-grounded and disturbed identity have great difficulties in establishing and maintaining genuine communication with others. The community's fears of losing self, of being used as ethnic material and melted into a different national entity, enhances the emphasis on local characteristics situated at a lower level of generality. Ethnocentrism is enhanced in relation to fear of global processes. Such fear is especially widespread among small nations. However, belonging to a common structure at a higher level of generality does not exclude a potential for rivalries and conflicts between some members at a lower level. In this context, perseverance and affirmation of minorities within larger ethnic and national wholes is of great importance. While people, nations and states establish mutual relations and manage to protect their integrity, smaller ethnic and national communities within these wholes are exposed to identity loss. In contrast with national majorities who express their identity in their own states, national minorities tend to hide their identity.[17] This is that other, suppressed

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[17] Ch. Promitzer, "(In-)Visibility of Hidden Minorities in the Balkans. Some Theoretical Remarks" in *Hidden Minorities in the Balkans*, ed. B. Sikimić (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, Spec. Eds. 82, 2004), 14.

and unacknowledged identity which preserves the particularity of an ethnic community. The Other, as hidden and unacknowledged, is a potential object of assimilation and disappearance. Losing their identity, many nations, or their considerable portions, have melted into other nations.

The awareness of one's own particularity and difference from others is an important factor in preserving ethnic and national distinctiveness. An overemphasis on the assumed particularity, however, cannot pass without harmful consequences. In contrast with the consciousness perceiving its own identity as complementary to other identities, the consciousness emphasizing its own identity in order to put it in opposition to others, is a source of conflict. Although a need for communication and togetherness is vital for the survival of individuals and communities, attempts to fulfil the illusion of separation from others and a life lived in isolation always have a high price. The illusion becomes stronger if obstacles on the path of identity confirmation appear to be larger. If, in this process, more than possible is done, more than can be endured, going beyond the limit of one's own abilities results in hybris and brings on retribution in the form of forced confrontation with the reality that one has attempted to escape.

As diversity may be the cause both of accord, harmonization and integration, and of division and separation, plurality manifests itself as either complementariness or conflict. At the level of plural identity, it is the Other, the potential, what will be or might be, that seems to be of special significance. Instead of answering the question where we come from, it is much more important to find out where we are going to. From the standpoint of partial determination, the community is something much broader than what it asserts to be.

Different cultures in the Balkans constitute the reality of cultural diversity. Depicted as a source of danger to European civilization, the Balkans has frequently been a victim of the Great Powers' aspirations for dominance in the region. Causes of conflict in the Balkans partly reside in the opposed interests of the Great Powers and their ambition to preserve supremacy in this part of the world. In that sense, the important issue of the identity of nations and national minorities living in this part of Europe may be approached in a manner that entails complementariness in a democratic, tolerant and multiethnic society. In the postmodern age, every premodern solution aggravates the situation and closes up perspectives. The integration of parts offers a real insight into their interconnection and complementariness. Viewed as parts of a broader reality, they exist in a co-existence of diversities, alongside each other, united on the path to unification on a multicultural civilization level. In a projected common civilization entity, ethnic accord and social harmony will not be possible unless the principle of the complementariness of identities is respected. According to Buber, Us,

always preceding Me,[18] is not a natural and spontaneous basis of identity any longer, but the aim – democratic freedom and tolerance. Seeking for the indispensable Us for one's own Me is not subsuming individual into general, but the preservation of individuality as a measure and criterion of the human universe in a broader sense which can be found in the harmonization of diversity. Affirming the reality of one's own identity amounts to building up the world together with others. In the process of integration every individual state or ethnic entity becomes part of the European legal, social, economic and civilization milieu that enables genuine belonging to the identity at a higher general level.

The complementariness of these different identities is clearly manifested on a vertical plane. As natural differences become reconciled over a long period of time, their cultural harmonization evolves in a shorter time span. Therefore, the awareness of plurality is manifested in the power to integrate diversities and overcome tendencies towards division and separation. Since the harmonization of diversity is the aim of individual and collective development, the awareness of the complementariness of individual identities faces the challenge of confirmation as a universal principle of human existence. Its fruitful influence is reflected today in the formation of a model dissolving inner contradictions. By creating a larger whole, former ethnic, state and regional parts, aware of mutual differences, are given an opportunity to achieve a greater integration, the objective of which is bringing some regions, such as the Balkans, into the state of optimal civilization clarity.

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[18] M. Buber, *Ja i ti* [Ich und Du] (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1977).

Helena Zdravković

The Vernacular Discourses of Historical Victimage of Kosovo Serbs and Albanians

This essay uses ideological criticism to examine how and why victimage, identity and nationalism are produced through everyday discursive practices of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. Wander[1] contends that the ideological turn in criticism confronts and studies what is professed and obscure, and Greene[2] argues that part of this criticism involves unmasking forms of domination. Examining cultural or rhetorical narratives is part of ideological criticism.[3] The narratives in this study can be regarded as competing vernacular memories[4] representative of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. The participants invoke personal and collective memories with official national histories to explain contemporary victimization as a continuance of historical victimage. This use of the past can serve to legitimize their national and political claims, as well as to justify violence against the other group, since historical victimage provides a rationale for hating the other group and perpetuating a vicious cycle of violence.

It is imperative to look at how personal and collective memories interact with official national histories as mutually reinforced and entangled to produce coherent victimization narratives. Through constant reproduction of historical victimage in vernacular discourse, participants re-affirm their

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[1] Philip Wander, "The ideological turn in modern criticism", *Central States Speech Journal* 34, no. 2 (1983), 1-18.

[2] Ronald W. Greene, "The aesthetic turn and the rhetorical perspective on argumentation", *Argumentation & Advocacy* 35, no. 1 (1998), 19-29.

[3] Celeste Condit, "Democracy and civil rights: The universalizing influence of public argumentation", *Communication Monographs* 54, no. 1 (1987), 1-18.

[4] Gerard A. Hauser, *Vernacular voices: The rhetorics of publics and public spheres* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1999); Gerard A. Hauser, "Vernacular dialogue and the rhetoricality of public opinion", *Communication Monograph* 65, no. 2 (1998), 83-108.

respective identities, realities, claims, and righteousness. Some researchers have documented the positive aspects of victimage narratives and identity,[5] but unfortunately the narratives that are examined here foster hatred toward the Other. However, this extreme feeling does not arise out of primordial tendencies, but out of fear from the Other[6] and a desire to eliminate the perceived threat.

While one purpose of this essay is to explore victimage narratives, another goal is to critique objectivist approaches to the study of history and collective memory. This relationship between history and collective memory has been a heated and on-going interdisciplinary dispute.[7] Ideological criticism can be considered part of this debate.[8] Considering collective memory to be mythical, while history is objective, posits a dichotomous view, which is especially dangerous when history and collective memory are invoked to support or disprove victimage.

Traditionally, work on Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia has tended to follow this kind of reasoning, dwelling on the notions of factual truth, objective history and victimage, and how these get distorted and used for political purposes. Therein, collective memories of the groups within Kosovo and former Yugoslavia are contrasted with objective history, and "true victims" are clearly distinguished from "proven villains". I will elaborate on this further in the essay. Many authors write about the "destructive" power of collective memories in Kosovo and the rest of former Yugoslavia, and how activating some of them has been cause for war. For example, some authors have argued for a monolithic Serbian culture that is somehow pathological.[9]

However, most of the studies on Kosovo and former Yugoslavia have looked only at official discourses, such as elite political speeches, media cov-

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[5] Marita Sturken, "The remembering of forgetting: Recovered memory and the question of experience", *Social Text* 57 (1998), 103-125; Barbie Zelizer, "Finding aids to the past: Bearing personal witness to traumatic public events", *Media, Culture & Society* 24 (2002), 697-714.

[6] Veljko Vujacic, "Historical legacies, nationalist mobilization, and political outcomes in Russia and Serbia: A Weberian view", *Theory and Society* 25, no. 6 (1996), 763-801.

[7] Marita Sturken, *Tangled memories: The Vietnam war, the AIDS epidemic, and the politics of remembering* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

[8] Marouf Hasian Jr., "Vernacular legal discourse: Revisiting the public acceptance of the 'Right to Privacy' in the 1960s", *Political Communication* 18 (1997), 89-105.

[9] Branimir Anzulovic, *Heavenly Serbia* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan ghosts: A journey through history* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); Matthew McAllister, *Beyond the Mountains of the Damned: The war inside Kosovo* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Michael Sells, *The bridge betrayed: Religion and genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

erage and history books, and have used these as representative of all groups and voices. To my knowledge there have been few studies of Kosovo,[10] and the former Yugoslavia, which focus on the analysis of daily discursive practices through which ideologies of historical victimage are reproduced. Even less attention has been devoted to how personal and collective memories interact and amalgamate with official historical narratives in vernacular rhetoric to create the historical victim identity. Several scholars in the field of communication have recognized the prevalent focus on "powerful" discourse with "historical" significance, and the corresponding neglect of vernacular communities.[11] They have called for more studies that give voice to previously silenced discourses[12] and have acknowledged the illuminating insight[13] that arises out of taking vernacular discourse seriously.

From an ideological perspective the issues outlined above are problematic, because they not only silence and delegitimize certain voices, while ratifying others, but also provide for simplistic understandings of how vernacular memories interact with official histories to produce conflict-sustaining narratives. This leads to ineffective conflict resolution, of the kind we are witnessing in Kosovo and Bosnia,[14] and helps perpetuate the cycle of violence.

Therefore, this critical study analyzes vernacular discursive practices of historical victimage instead of focusing on privileged and dominant discourses. Rather than judge the truth value of the participants' narratives, it aims to illustrate how their claims are constructed in discourse and the pragmatic aspect of the historical victim identity, in terms of affording sym-

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[10] See Julie A. Mertus, *Kosovo: How myths and truths started a war* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1999).

[11] See amongst others, Bernadette M. Calafell and Fernando P. Delgado, "Reading Latina/o images: Interrogating Americanos", *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 21, no. 1 (2004); Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, "The critique of vernacular discourse", *Communication Monographs* 62, no. 1 (1995), 19-46.

[12] In *Vernacular voices* Hauser suggests that there is a need to conceptualize discourse in ways that account for rhetorical processes by those without official status – actual members of publics – communicate to one another.

[13] Allen Feldman, "Political terror and the technologies of memory: Excuse, sacrifice, commodification, and actual moralities", *Radical History Review* 85 (2003), 58-73; L. A. Wood and H. Rennie, "Formulating rape: The discursive construction of victims and villains", *Discourse and Society* 5, no. 1 (1994), 125-148.

[14] See Noam Chomsky, *A new generation draws the line: Kosovo, East Timor and the standards of the West* (New York: Verso, 2000); C. Clermont, "How not to solve a conflict: The Kosovo question", *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 4 (1999); Lenard J. Cohen, "Kosovo: Nobody's country", *Current History* 99 (March 2000).

bolic, emotional and political resources on a personal, collective and na-
tional level.

　　This ideological essay is divided into several sections. The first seg-
ment engages the debate over the relationship of history and memory, as it
relates to victimage. The next part analyzes the Serb and Albanian vernacu-
lar rhetoric in terms of discursive strategies used in creating the historical
victim identity. The third section explores the functions of these historical
victimage narratives, and attempts to demonstrate why examining them is
important in understanding not only the intractable conflict in Kosovo, but
also other conflicts around the world. By the end of this essay I hope to
demonstrate the importance of problematizing explanations that posit sin-
gular, preferential, and "objective" victimage in relation to conflict interven-
tion and resolution.

The relationship of history and collective memory to victimage

History and collective memory are often thought of as being in opposition
to each other in terms of objectivity/subjectivity, and present/past orienta-
tion and concern. Such a view follows Halbwachs, who, in the first work
on collective memory, differentiates profoundly between history and col-
lective memory.[15] He sees history as an objective process, which seeks to
record the past, to know it and understand it. Collective memory, on the
other hand, Halbwachs explains, is not comprised of objective facts, but
of tradition. Following Halbwachs, many theorists make a clear distinc-
tion between history as objective, systematic and scientific, and collective
memory as mythical, constructed and distorted.[16] In contrast to history, it
is particularistic and time-bound, concerned with experience and feeling
instead of cognition and knowledge. Markovits and Reich say that it "is
most definitely a phenomenon of the present", while "history is a matter of
the past".[17] While history records the past, collective memory re-interprets
it for presentist goals.[18]

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[15] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

[16] See, among others, Hauser, *Vernacular voices*; Andreas Huyssen, "Monument and
memory in a post-modern eye", *Yale Journal of Criticism* 6, no. 2 (1993); Andrei Marko-
vits and Simon Reich, "The contemporary power of memory: The dilemmas for Ger-
man Foreign Policy", *The Communication Review* 2, no. 1 (1997), 89-119.

[17] Markovits and Reich, "Power of memory", 95.

[18] Bruce E. Gronbeck, "The rhetorics of the past: History, argument, and collective
memory", in *Doing rhetorical history: Concepts and cases*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tusca-
loosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998); Pierre Nora, *Realms of memory: Rethinking
the French past*, Volume I: *Conflicts and divisions* (New York: Columbia University Press,
1996).

How collective memory is viewed within this position is not contested, but its oppositional relationship to history as objective is problematic. This view sets up a false dichotomy, wherein vernacular memories, narratives and experiences are measured against a truth standard. This provides for "objective" differentiations between the truly oppressed and the genuine tyrants. However, we must not forget that victims and perpetrators are self-ascribed and shifting categories. As Feldman[19] remarks, "rarely does a pure victim face off with a pure aggressor on the world historical stage. The dyad aggressor/victim merely signifies two forms of victimage or victims turned aggressors, confronting each other in symbiotic gradations of a generic subject position".

Nevertheless, it can be argued that reasoning of the type outlined above has led not only to black-and-white explanations of the conflict in Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia, but has had significant implications in international diplomacy, NATO intervention and conflict resolution efforts in the region. It has helped solidify and legitimize certain narratives of victimization, while silencing and delegitimizing others. As Montalbano-Phelps[20] explains, narratives of victimization are judged according to societal standards of who can be the victim and what victimization is like; narratives and victims that do not conform to the norm are discarded as being fabricated and fake. A clear example, if we look at both media coverage and academic interest concerning Kosovo, is the prolific and widespread writing about the victimization of Albanians at the hands of the Serbs, in stark contrast to the scant and unpopular, even contested, writing about the victimization of Serbs at the hands of the Albanians.

Traditional scholarship on Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia,[21] tends to pay significant attention to the power of collective memories, and

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[19] Feldman, "Political terror", 69.

[20] Lori Montalbano-Phelps, "Discourse of survival: Building families free of unhealthy relationships", *The Journal of Family Communication* 3, no. 3 (2003), 149-177.

[21] See among others, John B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Payam Akhavam and Robert Howse, eds., *Yugoslavia, the former and future: Reflections by scholars from the region* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995); Ivo Banac, "Foreword", in Sabrina Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The disintegration of Yugoslavia from the death of Tito to the fall of Milosevic* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002); Victoria Clark, *Why angels fall: A journey through Orthodox Europe from Byzantium to Kosovo* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Bogdan Denitch, "Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist ideologies and the symbolic revival of genocide", *American Ethnologist* 21 (1994), 367-390; Andre Gerolymatos, *The Balkan wars: Conquest, revolution, and retribution from the Ottoman era to the twentieth century and beyond* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, war and the Great Powers 1804-1999* (New York: Viking, 1999); P. Gowan, *The twisted road to Kosovo* (Oxford: Labour Fo-

activating them for political purposes. Yet, in a general attempt to disprove certain versions and legitimize others, they point out the validity/invalidity of claims and narratives in relation to an "objective" and "unbiased" history. Former Yugoslav historians have been accused of playing a significant role in the wars, because their writings engaged them, and their respective nationalist political elites, in power struggles over renditions of history.[22] As

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cus on Eastern Europe, 1999); Michael Ignatieff, *Virtual war: Kosovo and beyond* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000); Charles Jelavich and Barbara Jelavich, *The Balkans* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965); Tim Judah, *The Serbs. History, myth and the destruction of Yugoslavia* (London: Yale University Press, 1997); Tim Judah, *Kosovo. War and revenge* (London: Yale University Press, 2000); Karl Kaser and Joel M. Halpern, "Historical myth and the invention of political folklore in contemporary Serbia", *The Anthropology of Eastern Europe Review* 16 (1998); Branka Magas, *The destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the break-up 1980-92* (New York: Verso, 1993); Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo. A short history* (London: Macmillan, 1998); Viktor Meier, *Yugoslavia: A history of its demise* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Paul Mojzes, *Yugoslavian inferno: Ethnoreligious warfare in the Balkans* (New York: Continuum, 1994); D. Norris, *In the wake of the Balkan myth. Questions about identity and modernity* (London: Macmillan, 2000); James Pettifer, *Albania & Kosovo* (New York: WW Norton, 2001); Sabrina Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The disintegration of Yugoslavia from the death of Tito to the fall of Milosevic* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002); Laslo Sekelj, *Yugoslavia: The process of disintegration* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1993); Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: TV Books/Penguin, USA, 1995); Jasminka Udovicki and James Ridgeway, *Burn this house: The making and unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2000); Miranda Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian: A history of Kosovo* (London: Hurst, 1998); Miranda Vickers, *The Albanians: A modern history* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1995); Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan tragedy: Chaos and dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995).

[22] Dušan T. Bataković, *Kosovo i Metohija u srpsko-arbanaskim odnosima* [Kosovo and Metohija in Serb-Albanian relations], (Gornji Milanovac-Pristina: Dečje Novine-Jedinstvo, 1992); Dušan T. Bataković, *The Kosovo chronicles* (Belgrade: Plato, 1992b); Dušan T. Bataković, *La spirale de la haine* [The spiral of hatred], (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1993); Dušan T. Bataković, *Kosovo i Metohija: Istorija i ideologija* [Kosovo and Metohija: History and ideology], (Belgrade: Biblioteka Svecanik Hrišćanska Misao, 1998); Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Knjiga o Kosovu* [Book about Kosovo], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1985); Veselin Djuretić, *Razaranje srpstva u XX veku: Ideološka upotreba istorije* [The destruction of Serbianity in the 20th century: The ideological use of history], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Balkanološki institut, 1992); Alex N. Dragnich and Slavko Todorovich, *The saga of Kosovo. Focus on Serbian-Albanian relations* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1984); Branislav Krstić, *Kosovo: Izmedju istorijskog i etničkog prava* [Kosovo: Between historical and ethnic rights], (Belgrade: Kuća Vid, 1994); Andrej Mitrović, *The Serbs and the Albanians in the 20th century* (Belgrade: SANU, 1992); Radovan Samardžić, *Kosovo-Metohija dans l'histoire serbe* [Kosovo and Metohija in Serbian history], (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1990); Radovan Samardžić et al., *Kosovo i Metohija u srpskoj istoriji* [Kosovo and Meto-

history is vital to the existence of a nation,[23] disproving the Other's history is tantamount to denying the Other's national identity.[24] Yet, most of the writing by "outsiders" (primarily Western authors) on former Yugoslavia has been plagued by the same contestations over who is telling the truth and who is not.

The connection between collective memory and official national histories has been examined in a top-down manner exclusively, looking at official political discourses, media coverage and history books as representative.[25] The assertion is that political elites were the ones who tailored the

chia in Serbian history], (Belgrade: SKZ, 1989); Vladimir Stojančević, *Srbi i Arbanasi* [Serbs and Arbanas], (Novi Sad: Prometej, 1994); Atanasije Urošević, *Etnički procesi na Kosovu tokom turske vladavine* [Ethnic processes in Kosovo under Turkish rule], (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1987).

[23] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined communities: Reflections of the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Florian Bieber, "Nationalist mobilization and stories of Serb suffering: The Kosovo myth from 600th anniversary to the present", *Rethinking History* 6, no. 1 (2002), 95-110; Stephen H. Browne, "Reading, rhetoric and the texture of public memory", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81, no. 2 (1995); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992); Edward C. Clark and Raymie E. McKerrow, "The rhetorical construction of history", in Kathleen J. Turner, ed., *Doing rhetorical history: Concepts and cases* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998); Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1952); Patrick Finney, "On memory, identity and war", *Rethinking history* 6, no. 1 (2002), 1-13; Brian S. Osborne, "Landscapes, memory, monuments, and commemoration: Putting identity in its place", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001).

[24] Herbert C. Kelman, "The interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian national identities: The role of the Other in existential conflicts," *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999).

[25] See L. J. Cohen, *The socialist pyramid, elite and power in Yugoslavia* (Ontario: Tri-service Press, 1989); Christiane Eilders and Albrecht Luter, "Germany at war: Competing framing strategies in German public discourse", *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000), 415-430; Reiner Grundmann, Dennis Smith, and Sue Wright, "National elites and transnational discourses in the Balkan War", *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000), 299-320; G. C. Herring, "Analogies at war: the United States, the conflict in Kosovo, and the uses of history", in Albrecht Schnabel & Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Kosovo and the challenge of humanitarian intervention* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000); Philip Hammond and Edward S. Herman, eds., *Degraded capability: The media and the Kosovo crisis* (London: Pluto, 2000); Roland Paris, "Kosovo and the metaphor war", *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 3 (2002), 423-450; Piers Robinson, "Research note: The news media and intervention: Triggering the use of air power during humanitarian crises", *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000), 405-414; Rossella Savarese, " 'Infosuasion' in European newspapers: A case study on the war in Kosovo", *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000), 363-381; Gordon Stables,

nationalist historical discourse, which people bought into. This presents collective memory as static, and denies agency to the people who create, reproduce, negotiate and contest official discourses through narratives of vernacular memories. Few studies have analyzed vernacular discourses in Kosovo and former Yugoslavia, wherein personal and collective memory fuse with official historical discourses.

The importance of such an analysis is crucial, because, as Judah points out, in Kosovo "history is war by other means".[26] History is not a subject that is confined to books, the classroom, and academic debates – it is a live, and wild creature, that is both shaped according to present realities and influences their interpretations. While the boundary between collective memory and history is blurred, both Serbs and Albanians make a distinction, which reflects their acceptance of history as objective and memory as fabricated, and their preoccupation with denying validity to the Other's history, nation and identity. When referring to their own version of events, participants call it history, while when explaining the Other's side, they term it memory, emphasizing its constructed, and therefore false, aspect. This exemplifies the point that the very notion of what constitutes history and what comprises collective memory is determined politically, that it is indicative of power struggles in society[27] and that it has significant political implications.[28] As Conway[29] remarks, the battle over the validity of memory is actually a struggle for the legitimacy of identity.

Because of the problems arising out of the false dichotomy between history and collective memory and its relation to conflict and victimage, I rather agree with Sturken who proposes that memory and history should be

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"Justifying Kosovo: Representations of gendered violence and US military intervention", *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20, no. 1 (2003), 92-115; Daya K. Thussu, "Legitimizing 'humanitarian' intervention?" *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000), 345-361; Richard C. Vincent, "A narrative analysis of US press coverage of Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbs in Kosovo", *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000), 321-344.

[26] Judah, *Kosovo*, 9.

[27] Victoria J. Gallagher, "Remembering together: Rhetorical integration and the case of Martin Luther King, Jr. memorial", *The Southern Communication Journal* 60 (1995), 109-119.

[28] One of the key factors in such power struggles in Kosovo has been the destruction of Orthodox heritage, as a means of disputing the Serbian claim to the land.

[29] Brian Conway, "Active remembering, selective forgetting, and collective identity: The case of Bloody Sunday", *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 3, no. 4 (2003), 305-323.

regarded as *entangled*.[30] As Katriel demonstrates, "the analytical categories of 'history' and 'memory' can be viewed as dialectically related: a historical orientation both builds on and transcends individual memory, and a memory orientation both incorporates and refashions historical knowledge in making it part of an encompassing, commemorative project".[31] Thus, memory and history exist in relation to and not apart from each other. History and memory are both highly selective, impartial and constructed. They are social, rhetorical constructs, changeable in relation to time and place, which make the past coherent and usable in the present.[32]

Moving away from epistemology

Instead of examining official narratives and ascertaining the truth value of collective memories and national histories, this ideological study looks at vernacular discourse as a site where historical victimage is created and re-produced. It rejects the notion that objectivity is the property of history, whereas collective memory is laden with mythical, fabricated and distorted elements. It aims to demonstrate how truth and meaning are accomplished in vernacular rhetoric, and what kind of truth the participants want to be associated with.[33] As Sturken acknowledges, "the debate over truth and falsity is irresolvable";[34] instead of ascribing falsehood, narratives should be examined for the fears and desires they express.

The following excerpts of Serb and Albanian vernacular narratives are taken from a larger corpus of 100 ethnographic interviews that I collected in Kosovo, from June to August 2002. They are a purposive sample, chosen for the brevity and coherence of the narratives, and because they are representative of the vernacular rhetoric of Kosovo Serbs and Albanians in the larger corpus. While this ideological criticism uses selected passages, these may be considered characteristic fragments of larger historical victimage narratives in Kosovo.[35] I view these selections as representative because the

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[30] Sturken, *Tangled memories*, 5 (emphasis in original).

[31] Tamar Katriel, "Sites of memory: Discourses of the past in Israeli pioneering settlement museums", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80, no. 1(1994), 1-20, 1-2.

[32] Clark and McKerrow, "Rhetorical construction of history"; Gronbeck, "Rhetorics of the past"; Sturken, *Tangled memories*.

[33] Laine Berman, "Surviving on the streets of Java: homeless children's narratives of violence", *Discourse & Society* 11, no. 2 (2000), 149-174.

[34] Sturken, "Remembering of forgetting", 104.

[35] I realize that this claim invites criticisms of ignoring multiple voices, perspectives, identifications, and the existence of various vernacular memories, but in the interest of space and brevity I could not include them.

participants identified themselves and spoke as members of their respective ethnic and national groups, expressing official national history and Kosovo's collective memory.

I suggest that the narratives in the following section arise out of a daily repetition or rehearsal of "our version of events". This is a crucial discursive practice, "because the habitus has to be painstakingly reinforced in the face of life-worlds that are frequently in flux",[36] and quite literary so in an area like Kosovo. The everyday discourse about suffering can thus be regarded as a commemoration ritual, or as Burke[37] has termed it a "victimage ritual", which serves not only to express and release trauma, but to crystallize, reconfirm and solidify it. This vernacular discourse is imperative because it becomes the place, or as Kenny[38] suggests milieu, where victimization is reposited – the place where telling about victimization not only makes it vivid, present and meaningful, but also where it becomes larger than life; indeed it becomes historical. Burke's concept of victimage rhetoric posits that such narratives are necessarily melodramatic. They serve to instil hatred and fear of the Other, justify violent actions, because the desire that arises out of the narratives ultimately aims, as Blain says, "to destroy the destroyer",[39] either physically or symbolically. The melodramatic aspect of the victimage rhetoric in these narratives is exemplified in the claim to the absolute historical victim status and the use of great national tragedies to support this. The national tragedies are incredibly complex ideological configurations, and are very often associated with the notion of moral victory.

The narratives of suffering exemplify the amalgamation of personal and collective memories with official national histories. Personal memory becomes collectivized and collective memory is instantiated through autobiographical recollection, which is further reinforced through official discourses.[40] The polysemic nature of memorializing works additively, bringing together both particular and universal memories. Thus, the participants mirror to a certain extent the official history, but do not reproduce it exactly; rather they appropriate and embellish it, making it contemporary and personal. Accordingly, the victimage rhetoric of these narratives is not mono-

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[36] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 55.

[37] Kenneth Burke, *A rhetoric of motives* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1969).

[38] M.G. Kenny, "A place for memory: The interface between individual and collective history", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 3 (1999), 420-437.

[39] M. Blain, "Rhetorical practice in an anti-nuclear weapons campaign", *Peace* & *Change* 16, no. 4 (1991), 355-379, 356.

[40] Kenny, "Place for memory", 420.

lithic, but can be viewed as combining three different levels: the personal or familial, the regional or Kosovar, and the national, i.e. Serb and Albanian.

It is important to explain here the significance of regional collective memories, because the vernacular narratives in this study make use of collective memories specific to Kosovo, which Serbs and Albanians from other regions do not necessarily know or share in. The variation is not only due to divergent historical experiences, but also because collective memories, as notably narratives of who we are and who we were, are not just about ourselves, but necessarily include the "Other". These memories are thus regionally different, because the Other is not necessarily the same for the entire national group. The flow of history forms and re-forms groups and brings them into contact with a shifting range of significant Others. Thus regional, as well as other,[41] variations are significant.[42]

In Kosovo, as Valtchinova[43] and Kostovicova[44] suggest, the Albanian national identity was, and is, clearly delineated in opposition to the Serbs as the ethnic Other. On the other hand, for Albanians living in the southern part of Albania, the others are both the Greeks and the northern Albanian Ghegs.[45] Likewise, for Serbs living in Bosnia, the others are Croats and Bosnian Muslims – Bosniaks,[46] while the Serbs living in Kosovo have constituted their identity in opposition to the Albanians. As there is no unitary, national identity that is identical and variationless across groups, so there

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[41] For example, for the urban Belgrade class the Others during the Bosnian war were not the Bosnian Muslims or the Croats, but rather the Bosnian Serb refugees, in relation to whom the Belgrade population differentiated themselves. Before that, the people of Belgrade constructed their identity in opposition to the rural population. This is just one example, but there are many, since identifications are multiple and fluid, and the Other anchoring them is likewise variable.

[42] Some examples are discussed in V. Y. Mudimbe, *Nations, identities and cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

[43] Galia Valtchinova, "Ismail Kadare's *The H-File* and the making of the Homeric verse: Variations on the works and lives of Milman Parry and Albert Lord", in Stephanie Schwadner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, eds., *Albanian identities: Myth and history* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002).

[44] Denisa Kostovicova, "'*Shkolla Shqipe*' and nationhood: Albanians in pursuit of education in the native language in interwar (1918-41) and post-autonomy (1989-98) Kosovo", in Stephanie Schwadner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, eds., *Albanian identities: Myth and history,* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002).

[45] Gilles de Rapper, "Culture and the reinvention of myths in a border area", in Stephanie Schwadner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, eds., *Albanian identities: Myth and history* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002).

[46] Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian way* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

is no single Other. And as identifications and their anchoring Others are diverse, so are collective memories. Therefore, the narratives in this study are not representative of Serb and Albanian arguments in general, but of the Kosovo Serb and Albanian claims.

Fears and desires in competing narratives of historical victimage

In the following excerpts participants express their fear of the Other and a desire for symbolic or physical annihilation through constructing competing and oppositional narratives of historical victimage. All the, sometimes real and sometimes imagined, injustices and troubles are blamed on the Other. Duijzings[47] remarks that the Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, as other groups in former Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the world, each have their own catalogue of victims, atrocities, destruction and endured injustices, although not capacity to admit and grieve for the hurts of others. And Silber and Little explain:

> To work in former Yugoslavia is to enter a world of parallel truths. Wherever you go, you encounter the same resolute conviction that everything that had befallen the region is always someone else's fault, except one's own side … Each nation has embraced a separate orthodoxy in which it is uniquely the victim and never the perpetrator.[48]

The narratives in this study embody this rigidity, as they are accounts of total and absolute historical oppression.

Because this ideological study looks at vernacular memory, it is not concerned with determining the veracity of claims, or reproducing previous work on the former Yugoslavia. I will not try to give an "objective" historical account for the reader, but will allow for the multivocality of Kosovo Serb and Albanian voices in the following analysis.

In the first subsection of this second segment I present the narrative of an Albanian interviewee, and in the second subsection a dialogue between two Serb speakers. I have not included their names, not only for confidentiality purposes, but also because the participants are speaking here not only as individuals, but as members of their respective ethnic groups. They are therefore identified as such.

Victimization of the Albanians as an historical injustice

In the following excerpt the speaker summarizes, using very strong language, the main points of the general and official Albanian argument of

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[47] Ger Duijzings, *Religion and the politics of identity in Kosovo* (London: Hurst, 2000).

[48] Silber and Little, *Death of a nation*, 390-1.

centuries-long oppression.[49] He emphasizes that there are two sources from which he draws his claims, and those are personal experience and what he calls history. Albanian history for him is the officially ratified version of events, which connotes and implies legitimacy and authenticity.

> *Albanian speaker*:
> The Albanians have always been humiliated, oppressed, victimized and discriminated against. I mean everyone has direct experience with that. And then there's history. Our history teaches us that, too. The Serbs have always been our enemies. They are aggressive, and you can't trust them. They always, throughout the centuries, they always hated us. They colonized Kosovo, and they oppressed us. They have been oppressing us for centuries. I know that for a fact. I know it both from my experience and from our history.

In support of his claim, the speaker then continues to give specific examples. He refers to the victimization of Albanians as common knowledge, when he says "we all know, everyone knows".

> We know what the *četniks*[50] did to us during World War II, and before that. They killed and burned and looted. Nothing was left. And then after the war, we all know, everyone knows what Rankovic did. His policy was to kill as many Albanians as he can, and more than that.

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[49] See I. Berisha, *Serbian colonization and ethnic cleansing of Kosova: Documents and evidence* (Pristina, 1993); Isa Blumi, "The role of education in the formation of Albanian identity and its myths", in Stephanie Schwadner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, eds., *Albanian identities: Myth and history* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002); Nicolas J. Costa, *Albania: A European enigma* (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Monographs, 1995); Kristo Frasheri, *The history of Albania: A brief survey* (Tirana, 1964); Hasan Kaleši, "Kosovo pod turskom vlascu" [Kosovo under Turkish rule], in M. Maletić, ed., *Kosovo nekad i sad (Kosova dikur e sot)* [Kosovo once and now], (Belgrade: Plato, 1973); M. Krasniqi, "The role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in anti-Albanian policies in Kosova", in J. Bajraktari, ed., *The Kosova issue – A historic and current problem* (Tirana, 1996); Anton Logoreci, "A clash between two nationalisms in Kosova", in Arshi Pipa & Sami Repishti, eds., *Studies on Kosova* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1984); Shkelzen Maliqi, *Kosova: Separate worlds, reflections and analyses 1989-1998* (Pristina, 1998); Sami Repishti, "The evolution of Kosova's autonomy within the Yugoslav constitutional framework", in Arshi Pipa & Sami Repishti, eds., *Studies on Kosova* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1984); Stavro Skendi, *Albania* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956); Stavro Skendi. *The Albanian national awakening, 1878-1912* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967).

[50] These were monarchists who were loyal to the exiled King Peter, and who fought against the Nazi occupiers. Because the Albanians joined the Nazis in World War II, these troops fought against them. It is derived from *četa*, a term used for the guerilla groups who fought against the Turkish empire in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

The selective memories that he is invoking are not very detailed, and are considered to be tacit knowledge, in no need of further explication. Yet, they are the most politically volatile. The name *četniks*, even though it is not of re- cent origin, was used during the 1990s Yugoslav wars, both by radical Serbs to characterize themselves in a heroic light, as the keepers of the Serbian nationalist tradition, and by other groups to label their brutal and primitive behaviour. Therefore, while for the Serbs, the word *četnik* is positive, because its reminds of Serbian opposition to Nazism, for other ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia it is very negative, and has strong connotations of irrational, aggressive and even genocidal behaviour. Similarly, the Albanian speaker mentions Ranković, the hated head of UDB (the secret police), in- terior minister (until 1963) and vice-president, until 1966, accusing him of conducting a campaign of extermination.[51] He is cast as a Hitler-like figure, and he comes to embody the Serb people and their intentions throughout the centuries.

The speaker then continues to maintain that the Albanians were not victimized only during the Milošević period, and asserts that Serbs and Al- banians had never lived together peacefully and had never liked each other. He gives a brief disclaimer though, saying that there were some individual exemptions, although he points out that they were not very common. Such narratives tap into what both Serb and Albanian official histories say, but they also acknowledge the polysemic vernacular memories. Most of the participants in the larger study, Serb and Albanian, avow that while group relations were never amicable or peaceful, there were individual interactions that were.[52] However, they are careful to stress that these are exceptions.

> I mean, so it's not just the Milošević period. No, no. Before that, long before that. For a long time, a very long time. I mean, I think I can say that the only golden years for the Albanians in Kosovo were maybe between 74 and 80. Maybe. That's when the local Serbs sup- posedly felt that the Albanians got more rights and more privileges, but everything else, I mean people feel and remember only bad

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[51] However, Ranković imprisoned people and conducted secret investigations to pre- vent 'counter-revolutionaries' and 'Albanian irredentists' from operating in Yugoslavia, as Albania at that time was strictly aligned with the Soviet bloc. Ranković's measures were as much directed against and felt by Serbs and other groups in Yugoslavia, as the Albanians. The years after the war in Yugoslavia were marked by frequent and brutal purges within the Communist Party and its leadership, so that all groups were equally the victims of a paranoid and dictatorial regime, which aimed to pacify all its subjects. The speaker's claim is representative of the collective memory of Albanians, who claim that after Tito fired Ranković they started getting their freedom (Judah, *Kosovo*).

[52] Milan Šuflaj, *Srbi i Arbanasi: njihova simbioza u srednjem vijeku* [Serbs and Arbanas: Their symbiosis in the Middle Ages], (Sarajevo: Književna zajednica Kultura, 1990).

things, only bad memories. There are some people who talk about
friendships and mixed marriages, but it wasn't like in Bosnia, or
other republics. Here, no, I mean the distance was always very big,
very big, because there was always so much injustice. Always. For
centuries the Serbs oppressed us as the colonizers, as the occupiers
of Kosovo. They even changed our names and tried to convert us. I
mean, that's how it was. The Serbs weren't the oppressed *raya*[53] in
the Turkish empire. Don't believe that. Don't believe anything they
say, because Serbian history is a big lie. Our folk poetry says that the
Serbs occupied Kosovo, that they were always the aggressors, the evil
people. Kosovo is Albanian land. I mean, Albania was recognized
only in 1912 as an independent state, but Kosovo always had a ma-
jority Albanian population. Always. And the Serbs always oppressed
them, subjugated and exploited them. We remember everything the
Serbs did to us, through the centuries, in this century, in this recent
period. Everything.

The speaker contends, as he did before, that the Serbs always hated the
Albanians. On the other hand, he does not say that the Albanians hated the
Serbs, but simply that there was a very big distance, for which the cause was
the "injustice" done to the Albanians. He then progresses further along the
timeline, going back centuries and repeating his main argument about Ser-
bian colonizers and occupiers of Kosovo, which he derives from Albanian
history books.

The speaker counters the standard Serb claim of victimization by the
Ottomans and the Albanians, and accuses Serbian history of being "a big
lie". He thus tells a polarizing and totalizing victimage narrative, without
the possibility of even partial truth or validity to Serbian claims of vic-
timization. He is implicitly disputing not only Serbian historiography, but
general historiography about the Ottoman empire and the conditions of
Christians within it.[54] He allows only for singular suffering, wherein he
relies, as he says, on national history, folk poetry, and both collective and
personal memories. He says "people feel and remember only bad things,
only bad memories", which is exemplary of what Nietzsche[55] has pointed
out as one of the primary characteristics of victimage.

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[53] Turkish word signifying ordinary people. The *raya* were a specific class in the Otto-
man empire, which was Christian and had to work for the wealthy Muslim landowners,
spahis.

[54] For examples see Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A short history* (New York: The Modern
Library, 2000). Georgije Ostrogorsky. *History of the Byzantine state* (New Brunswick,
NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Leften S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New
York: New York University Press, 1958).

[55] Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1994).

Invoking the Other's history in order to refute it is a strategy that almost all participants in the larger study use. It is meant to point out inconsistencies and falsities in the Other's history and argument. Participants thus engage the Other in an imagined dialogue, and directly dispute the opposing version of events. Bakhtin[56] calls this the dialogizing of another's discourse, wherein the speaker dialogues between his own position and the position of others.

The Albanians speaker in this excerpt invokes collective memory in the form of folk poetry to corroborate his accusation against Serbian victimage, and refers to the memory of the people several times. He portrays it as the memory of constant, perpetual and centuries-long oppression, as well as of the denial, by the Serbs, of their tyranny. It is exemplary as being an invented tradition,[57] which is part of the enduring memory that I mentioned earlier.

To provide a solid historical basis for his assertions, the speaker goes further back in time, to give the story of origin, as it is postulated by official Albanian historiography. The myth of origin and primordial claims to territorial possession are vital to all nations and their endeavours, but in Kosovo they are especially relevant, contested and explosive, because both groups claims to be the first settlers and therefore the rightful owners of the land. The questions "who came first" and "who is the guest of whom" figure quite prominently in both official and vernacular discourse. As Ramet points out, the Kosovo debate is much like the Israeli-Palestinian issue: "Two ethnic communities with distinct languages and religious traditions lay claims to the same territory with competing historical arguments as evidence."[58]

Burke's notion of the melodramatic is especially exemplified in the Albanian speaker's claim that the history of the Albanian people has been one of constant struggle for freedom and liberty. In the next excerpt, he says "you see, from the very early history of our people, we have always been under attack". This notion of being attacked and under threat exemplifies the fear that motivates historical victimage narratives, and is intimately tied to the innocence of the victim who suffers unjustly. It invokes martyrdom and noble sacrifice for the nation.

> The Albanians are the oldest people in the Balkans. That's the truth.
> Our ancestors are the Illyrians, and we are older even than the
> Greeks. I mean, some famous people, like Aristotle, weren't Greek at

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[56] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

[57] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[58] Ramet, *Balkan Babel*, 174.

all. They were Albanian. Then the Romans came and colonized us. Then the Slavs attacked us and they colonized us. You see, from the very early history of our people, we have always been under attack. All this was once ours, the whole region. Albania, Kosovo, parts of Greece, Macedonia, Montenegro, and also some parts of Bulgaria. I mean, the whole Balkan region was Albanian before all these others came and conquered us. We have archaeological sites to prove it, and our language is living proof. Our language is the oldest. It's ancient. So we have all the rights to Kosovo, as Illyrians and as the majority that has always been oppressed.

The speaker argues that Albanians have rights to the land because they are the first to inhabit it, and also because they have been the victims for so many centuries. The Serbs are not only cast as ancient villains, but are also charged with 'stealing' the Albanian territory. There is a lot of repetition in the speaker's narrative; "always" is repeated thirteen times in his narrative. It emphasizes the constancy of the victim/villain dichotomy and serves to firmly establish the veracity of the speaker's claims.[59]

The Albanian speaker's narrative presents an internally coherent and persuasive argument about the unjust historical victimization of the Albanian people. It is constructed through powerful and selective stories of oppression, derived from personal and collective memory, and reinforced through appealing to official national history. It is important to note however that while official national history provides facts and legitimacy to the personal and the collective, the relationship is reflexive. The speaker's narrative is a testimony to the veracity of the national history and the dominant narrative, and how it figures in vernacular rhetoric.

"History is repeating itself for the Serbs"

In this subsection, the two Serb dialogue partners, relate their immediate suffering to such instances in the past, and claim that historically it has always been this way for Serbs in Kosovo. They expound on their current oppression in detail, but I have decided not to include that part of their dialogue here for the purposes of brevity; the excerpt chosen speaks directly about historical victimage, which is the focus of this ideological study. In the larger study, all Serb participants invariably follow the same line of argumentation, describing in detail their present situation and then linking it to a larger historical context of Serb-Albanian relations. Therein they compress several centuries into the claim that the Serbs have continually been oppressed, thus elevating their status to eternal victims as opposed to the perpetual Albanian aggressors. The speakers in this dialogue maintain that

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[59] Teun A. Van Dijk, *Ideology* (London: Sage Publications, 2000).

"history is repeating itself" in terms of the oppressor-oppressed relationship and the Serbs' contemporary predicament. The past is used not only to make sense of the present, but also to reinforce victimization claims.

> *Serb speaker 1:*
> You know, it has always been this way. During the Turks, they [Albanians] killed our men and raped our women, then the same happened when the Germans and Italians came, in both world wars, and even during Tito, there were so many incidents of kidnapping, killing, and raping, just like today. But everything got covered up, just like now. You know, they always hated Serbs. Always wanted just to kill us all.

The speaker summarizes the main points of the Serb argument, which maintains that the Albanians have always been the villains, while the Serbs have always been the victims. He repeats the same claim that the Albanian makes, namely that of the Other always hating the in-group. He then uses a personal, or rather familial memory to back up his claim.

> *Speaker 1:*
> You know, for instance, they killed my great grandfather while he was working in his field. The Shiptars[60] [Albanians] slaughtered him. And then, later, you know a Shiptar came to take weapons and food and money from my grandfather one day, but my grandfather wouldn't give him anything and he threw him out. But then his brothers, who knew what this Shiptar was capable of doing, they ran after him and gave him what he wanted and pleaded with him to spare my grandfather because of his wife and children. They pleaded with him for a long time, and they barely saved him. But we remember all that. We know who our great grandfathers and grandfathers were, what it was like then, what they did and how they suffered. We know all that.

The speaker's choice of words, such as "slaughtered", in contrast to "pleaded" paints a vivid image of the aggressor/innocence dichotomy. Speaking

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[60] *Shiptars* is a word that Serbs use to refer to Albanians. It is now a pejorative term, derived from the Albanian name for themselves *Shqiptars*. This term was widely used before 1974, and did not have negative connotations. After 1974 though, when the Serbs in Kosovo started feeling threatened, the term acquired derogatory and negative connotations. The Albanians associate the term and its usage with the rise of Serbian nationalism and subsequent violence, considering it a mark of disrespect and denigration. However, I interviewed several Albanians, mostly those living in Serbia proper, who did not like being called Albanian, but requested to be called *Shiptars*. One interviewee said: "I am not Albanian. Pu, pu, pu [spitting]. No way. Albanians are from Albania. I am from Kosovo – I am Shiptar." Likewise, there are some Serbs who do not use the term with negative or derogatory intentions, but use it out of habit. As one Serb interviewee in Kosovo said: "They [Albanians] are Shiptars for us, and they will always be Shiptars for us. Albanians are in Albania. Shiptars are ours."

about his great grandfather and grandfather as victims of Albanian terror is likewise most powerful because in Kosovo, as in the rest of the Balkans and many other areas around the world, grandfathers are revered elders and patriarchs. They are considered the embodiments and containers of national wisdom, courage and honour. They are the guardians of the national spirit and its memories. Therefore, metaphorically, by killing elders, such as the speaker's great grandfather and grandfather, the Albanians are thought to be killing the Serbian identity and collective memory. However, the speaker demonstrates how memories are kept alive, despite such attempts; he says "but we remember all that", asserting that collective memory is alive and well and does not forget such injustice. He is not specific in what it is that people remember, because it is implied that every Serb in Kosovo has similar family stories, and shares the same memories. This suggests that the ideas Serb speaker 1 espouses are not idiosyncratic, but are much more complex ideological configurations. His partner in dialogue uses this "exemplary" incident to paint a wider historical picture and emphasize the pattern of victimization. The speakers together construct, what is for them, a strong, coherent and logical argument. They amplify and confirm each other's arguments.

> *Serb speaker 2:*
> In every war they went about creating a Greater Albania. When the Turk came, they accepted Islam, so the Serbs were the subjugated *raya*. Under the *zulum*[61] of their mercenaries and *zulumćari*[62] Serbs were forced either to suffer or to leave. Then in 1912 when we took back Kosovo we accepted all those mercenaries and *zulumćari*, and we didn't treat them like second-class citizens, but wanted to help them, because we knew what pain, misery and suffering were like. But because they never felt those things, they never knew torture and suffering, they didn't know how to appreciate that, just like today they don't know how to appreciate everything that Yugoslavia has given them. They constantly think that they have to torture someone.

He argues that the Albanians have always sided with the conquerors, and have always taken advantage of their privileged position to destroy Serbs and their claims to the land. On the other hand, like the Albanian speaker before him, and many other participants in the larger study, he does not mention some of the reciprocity in this process, but contends that after Kosovo was won back in 1912 the Serbs were merciful toward the Albanians, because they understood what being victimized means. The dichotomy is between the compassionate Serbs and the ruthless Albanians, who "constantly think

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[61] This is a Turkish word, which signifies intense, unbridled, unrestrained violence and brutality; it has similar connotations as today 'ethnic cleansing' does.

[62] These are the men that perpetrated the *zulum*.

that they have to torture someone". The speaker gives specific historical instances when this was especially prominent further on.

> *Speaker 2:*
> During the First World War when Serbia was attacked by Austro-Hungarians, Germans and Bulgarians, they used our weak state to kill more of us and chase us away from our homes. The same during the Second World War. They created Greater Albania, they had their SS unit, *Skanderbeg*, and they killed so many of us, and expelled everyone. And then the worst enemy of the Serbs, Tito, didn't allow people to come back.

The speaker selectively invokes memories, including and leaving out memories according to their usefulness in constructing a coherent and positive argument about his group. This does not allow for the inclusion of competing or divergent memories, such as those that come from the historiography or the collective memory of the Other. The process of glossing over memories that speak negatively of the in-group, and supplanting them with positive ones, is exemplary of the process, inherent to creating histories and collective memories, of selective remembering and forgetting.[63]

Obviously, this is not typical only in the Balkans. Bruner[64] shows how in Russia and Quebec national identities were (re)created through selective erasure. In West Germany though, the strategy did not call only for a "simple" erasure of National Socialist perpetrators from public memory, but also needed West Germans to identify themselves as victims of National Socialism. Dealing with the same issue, Hughes explains that such a construction was not a matter of "simply ignoring vast stretches of the past", because that would "leave an unsustainable vacuum", while "resorting to obvious untruths [would open] one's claims to easy refutation".[65] Instead inconvenient facts were silently passed over, while useful truths and half-truths were highlighted.

Zerubavel regards such a dynamic as a conscious and deliberate suppression of unfavourable stories about the past;[66] White explains it as "rep-

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[63] R. S. Esbenshade, "Remembering to forget: Memory, history, national identity in postwar East-Central Europe", *Representations* 49 (1995), 72-96; Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* [What is a nation?], in *Oeuvres Completes* [Complete Works], (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1947-61), 887-906.

[64] Michael L. Bruner, *Strategies of Remembrance: The Rhetorical Dimensions of National Identity Construction* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2002).

[65] Michael L. Hughes, " 'Through no fault of their own': West Germans remember their war losses", *German History* 18, no. 2 (2000), 193.

[66] Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered roots: Collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

resentation" and "repression",[67] while Hasian and Frank view it as a matter of debate, recirculation and renegotiation.[68] An example that illustrates this dynamic is Milošević's rise to power. Milošević "tapped into" and raised to the official level, previously repressed collective memories of the Kosovo Serbs and their latent antagonism and resentment toward the Albanians.[69] In former Yugoslavia, especially under Tito's rule, vernacular memories of ethnic hatred and strife were not allowed to circulate, because under the official banner of communist Yugoslavia, "brotherhood and unity" prevailed over ethnic discord. This did not mean that vernacular memories were forgotten. Ratifying some memories as official, Milosevic acquired a solid electoral support for claiming power. This move on his part is most often cited as the most powerful impetus to the subsequent Yugoslav wars.

One of the memories that had previously been repressed, but has since the 1990s been recirculated and renegotiated is that of the prohibition Tito put on Kosovo Serbs, who were exiled during World War II, to return to their land. This is an event that is specific to Kosovo. Therefore, while many other Serbs might agree with the speaker in his characterization of Tito as the "the worst enemy of the Serbs", they might not share the same vernacular memories that are the basis for this speaker claiming so. The Serbs in Kosovo always resented Tito for giving the Albanians too much power and too many privileges,[70] so that this regional memory arises out of a different experience than the one other Serbs in former Yugoslavia have.

However, the Serbian speakers also evoke the official historical version of World War II, one that has been legitimized by the rest of the world, by remembering the Albanian-Italian-German alliance, and the atrocities the Albanians committed as Nazi fighters. The Albanians are thus placed on a par with the Nazis, which is the most vivid and powerful image of a villain. This is a common and rhetorically effective[71] strategy for creating authoritative victimage narratives, not only in the discourse of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, but many others around the world. Moeller suggests that various

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[67] H. V. White, "Foucault decoded: Notes from underground", *History and Theory* 12 (1973), 23-54, 32.

[68] Marouf Hasian, Jr., and Robert E. Frank, "Rhetoric, history, and collective memory: Decoding the Goldhagen debates", *Western Journal of Communication* 63, no. 1 (1999), 95-115.

[69] Carl-Ulrich Schierup, "The post-communist enigma: Ethnic mobilization in Yugoslavia", *New Community* 18, no. 1 (1991).

[70] Bogdanović, *Knjiga o Kosovu*; Krstić, *Kosovo*.

[71] Janice H. Rushing and Thomas S. Frentz, "The Gods must be crazy: The denial of descent in academic scholarship", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 85, no. 3 (1999), 229-246.

groups use the Jewish experience to construct their own victim identities;[72] it is very functional, because, as Doerr explains, the "Jewish genocide provides metaphorical language and a framework to express absolute domination, victimization, and unbearable suffering".[73]

Thus, Holocaust imagery figures prominently in the vernacular discourse of both Serbs and Albanians. We have seen how the Albanian compares Rankovic to Hitler, and portrays scenes of ethnic cleansing and genocide. Likewise, the Serbs use the same tactic, because it is one of the most effective ways of immediately delineating between the victims and the villains. Building on the momentum, the first speaker immediately reinforces this image of the suffering Serb nation. He exemplifies Burke's melodramatic aspect of victimage, by using the word *stradalnici,* which translates literally as "universal historical sufferers". It connotes suffering of historic and heroic proportions, and is only used in an epic context. The word merges martyrdom with innocence and injustice in historically transcendent suffering.

> *Speaker 1:*
> In each war, and we've had too many of them, we were the greatest stradalnici and the most ardent fighters for freedom. In every war the Serbs suffered the most. In World War II, every third Serb was killed. Houses, families destroyed, the intelligentsia murdered, the *raya* was left only to work. Serbia is small, but she has given the most lives and victims for the freedom of Yugoslavia, and the rest of the world. I don't know of another nation that has suffered so much and forgiven so much. After 1389 and the Kosovo Battle, the Serbs have continually been suffering, forced to abandon their ethnic space, where the first royal thrones were, at Prizren and Novo Brdo, where their spiritual and cultural heart started beating. I mean, since that battle, we have just been going downhill.

The melodramatic is further strengthened through the speakers "poetic" words about Kosovo and the ancient royal thrones of Serbian kings, as the places where the Serbian "spiritual and cultural heart started beating". The speaker refers to the pivotal element of Serbian victimage, memorialized through Serbian historiography, epic poetry, and national collective memory – the famous Battle of Kosovo (1389). This battle is engraved into what Durkheim calls the "*conscience collective*", in this case of the Serbian people, like the Jewish Masada, and is considered a "turning point", because five

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[72] Robert G. Moeller, *War stories: The search for a usable past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2001).

[73] K. Doerr, "Memories of history: Women and the Holocaust in autobiographical and fictional memoirs", *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 18, no. 3 (2000), 49-64, 53.

centuries of subjugation under Ottoman rule follow it. The battle is the foundational nationalist claim, and its political, symbolic and emotional significance has been analyzed or at the very least mentioned in, to my knowledge, almost every work that has been written about the Serbs.[74]

For reasons of space I will not go into detail about this battle, but it is important to note that it embodies and symbolizes the Serbian spirit of fighting for Christianity against the "Turkish infidels", dying for freedom and spilling their blood for their sacred land. Therefore, the appeal to this battle not only uses official Serbian historiography, but it calls on the vast repository of national collective memory to create the contrast between the heroic Serbs and their sad history, with that of the Albanians, who "never stood up to anyone". The disparity here is not simply between the victim and the villain, but between a people who fight for their freedom and principles, and a people who don't have morals and who prefer the easy way out, as Serb speaker 1 elaborates further.

> *Speaker 1:*
> In each war they never stood up to anyone. They always sided with the strongest and most ruthless – the Turks, Italians, Nazis. History is the same, only the victor changes. When the Turks ruled, they were with the Turks, then the Austro-Hungarians, the Italians, the Germans, now the Americans, and when they leave, they'll find someone else.

> *Speaker 2:*
> No change whatsoever – everything that was happening then, is happening now. Everything that was before is going on today. That is really a quagmire. I often read a letter that Father Sava sent to the Berlin Congress in 1878. The same thing is happening today. The things that were going on then … Father Sava was the official representative of the Serbian people in Kosovo, and he wrote a letter to the ambassadors of the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress. Then, and now, there is no difference for us Serbs – we are being killed, kidnapped, molested, our churches and monasteries destroyed, there is no life here, as there was none then.

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[74] Lynda E. Boose, "Crossing the river Drina: Bosnian rape camps, Turkish impalement, and Serb cultural memory", *Signs* 28, no. 1 (2002), 71-96; Thomas A. Emmert, "Kosovo: Development and impact of a national ethic", in Ivo Banac, John G. Ackerman and Roman Szporluk. eds., *Nation and ideology: Essays in honor of Wayne S. Vucinich* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1981); Thomas A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo 1389* (New York: New York University Press, 1991); Robert G. D. Laffan, *The Serbs: The guardians of the gate* (New York: Dorset Press, 1989); Olga Zirojevic, "Kosovo in the collective memory", in Nebojsa Popov, ed., *The road to war in Serbia: Trauma and catharsis* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).

The speakers here refer to, and cite as proof of oppression, the letter to the Congress of Berlin (1878), which is another vernacular memory specific to Kosovo. The letter has been reprinted and I have seen it circulated through and read in the remaining Serb houses in Kosovo.

> *Speaker 1:*
> When you read that letter then you really understand that every-
> thing is the same, the powers at play, the events, everything is the
> same. Some of the actors have changed, but the stage is the same,
> and the plot is the same. Everything is the same. Even though
> Kosovo is ours, we have to suffer.

The dominant notion that history is repeating itself is most clearly expressed by Serb speaker 1, who says "history is he same, only the victor changes", and then later, "some of the actors have changed, but the stage is the same, and the plot is the same".

The vernacular discourses in this section illustrate how the rhetoric of victimage as melodramatic is accomplished by integrating personal and collective memories with officially ratified history, wherein each is invoked and used in support of the other. There is true interdependence of these parts, and the boundaries between them are not clear-cut, but overlap and inter-mix, in creating for these participants coherent, well-supported and rational arguments about the historical victimage of their respective group.

While the preceding analysis has been mostly descriptive in illustrating how victimage narratives are constructed through vernacular discourse, the next segment deals with the significance and the functions of claiming historical victimage for the Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo.

The significance and the functions of historical victimage narratives in Kosovo

It would be a mistake to think that the process of constructing and validating one's victim identity, and hence the Other's villain identity, is specific only to war zones, because stories of victimization are vital for creating cohesive national communities. Amato explains that victimage is at the core of national, social or indeed individual identity, saying that "if we have no sufferings or sacrifices to call our own, we have no story to tell, and with no story to tell, we are no people at all".[75] Anderson emphasizes the crucial need for victimization to create a nationally cohesive history when he says that "the nation's biography snatches, against the going mortality rate, exemplary suicides, poignant martyrdoms, assassinations, executions, wars, and

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[75] Joseph A. Amato, *Victims and values: A history and a theory of suffering* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 210.

holocausts. But, to serve the narrative purpose, these violent deaths must be remembered/forgotten as 'our own'."[76] Similarly, Osborne says that

> for reasons which seem obscure to us, collective memory on a national level loves to dwell on negative experiences. In particular, the notion of victim, victimhood and victimization plays a crucial role in the collective memory of virtually every country. Stronger in some than in others, differing in its intensity according to time and space, every country seems to have had at least one trauma in its past which continues to haunt its collective memory.[77]

However, I disagree with Osborne's claim that the reasons for why victim identity is so endemic to every society are always obscure, because my research seems to indicate that they are in certain cases transparent, and can be instrumental for several purposes. After reviewing the above narratives one can content that claiming historical suffering provides moral high ground, garners sympathy and can serve as justification and exculpation, while being cast as the perpetrator invokes guilt, culpability and most importantly, punishment. The primary means through which this is achieved is through invoking collective memories and histories, as these are a key attribute of identity and are ideologically constrained by the Us as victims versus Them as villains opposition.

In order to unpack some of the functions of the competing historical victimage narratives, it is necessary to move beyond mere discovery, and theorize about the practical and pragmatic aspects of this vernacular rhetoric. The three functions that will be examined in this section are: using the past to make sense of the present, denying the Other, and justifying violence.

First function of historical victimage: Making sense of the present

As Zelizer says "the past compels us for what it tells us about the present".[78] The participants construct symbolically their victim identity through using the past to make sense of their contemporary situation. They situate their personal and collective trauma within a broader context, and do not see it as novel, but as a repetition and continuance of the pattern of the nation's victimization. They also do not see the conflict as new, but view it as the perpetuation of "age-old hatreds", and therefore intractable. The Other then becomes the perpetual villain and perpetrator, mired as the "ancient enemy". The participants not only relate to the centuries-long national suffering at the hand of various Others, but locate themselves within it, as witnesses and

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[76] Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 206.

[77] Osborne, "Landscapes", 3.

[78] Zelizer, "Aids to the past", 697.

participants. They seek meaning and confirmation to their present victim-
ization in historical victimage, and their personal and vernacular testimony
provides another building block in the construction of the historical victim
identity. This rhetoric is powerful, because it helps confirm self-perceptions
and identity, but it also legitimizes national historiography. Since the na-
tional histories of the Serbs and Albanians are incompatible and conflicted,
this leads to the second functions of historical victimage.

Second function of historical victimage: Denying the Other

As the above narratives illustrate, histories and memories of the Serbs and
Albanians in Kosovo are in complete contrast and opposition to each other.
Thus, claiming that one's version of events is truthful inherently implies that
the Other's is not. The Albanian speaker directly asserts this, when he says
"don't believe anything they say, because Serbian history is a big lie", but
even without such open statements, this sentiment is implied throughout
the narratives. Because history is vital to the existence of a nation or a com-
munity disputing the Other's history means denying the very identity of
the Other. Therefore, as participants strive to validate their historical victim
status, and simultaneously and inherently the Other's perpetual villain sta-
tus, they are also struggling over the legitimacy of identity, memories, and
even their very nation.

The NATO intervention and UN governance of Kosovo, which gave
de facto independence to the Kosovo Albanians, seriously challenged the
Serb nation and its perception of historical victim, while ratifying the Al-
banian claims to this status. However, in the Serbian case, because NATO
was cast as the villain,[79] and because the KFOR troops did not protect the
Serbian population from Albanian violence after the intervention,[80] it also
simultaneously confirmed and reinforced the victimage master narrative.[81]
In the Albanian case, NATO's endorsement of their historical victimage

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[79] Stef Jansen, "Victims, underdogs and rebels: Discursive practices of resistance in Ser-
bian protest", *Critique of Anthropology* 20, no. 4 (2000), 393–419.

[80] See Judah, *Kosovo*. Stephen Erlanger, "Serbs driven from Kosovo live bitterly in exile",
The New York Times, 2 September 1999; R. Fisk, "Serbs murdered by the hundreds since
'liberation'", *Independent*, 24 November 1999; A. Gray, "Serbs live in fear in Kosovo's
kidnap capital", *Reuters*, 15 September 1999; Jared Israel, "Why French troops stood by
as Albanians burned a Serbian village to the ground", *Emperor's Clothes*, 21 March 2004,
retrieved 22 March 2004 from http://emperors-clothes.com

[81] James P. Gee, "Meaning: choosing, guessing and cultural models", in James P. Gee,
ed., *Social linguistics and literacies*, 2nd ed. (London: Taylor & Francis, 1996); R. A.
Hackett and Y. Zhao, "Challenging a master narrative: peace protest and opinion/edito-
rial discourse in the US press during the Gulf War", *Discourse & Society* 5, no. 4 (1994).

provided a basis for justifying violence against the Serbs,[82] which is the third function examined in this ideological study.

Third function of historical victimage: Justifying violence

Unfortunately, the rhetoric of victimage is used not only to satisfy the moral demands of a community, but is instrumental in justifying oppression, discrimination and violence against the Other. Hauser suggests that invoking collective memories of victimization is useful in collective mobilization, building ethnic cohesion and justifying policies and action, and thus he sees it as indispensable in ethnic conflict.[83] Writing about Bosnia, he says, "conflicting stories of victimization [provide] mutually exclusive justifications for policies and acts of mutual extermination".[84] Nietzsche explains this aspect of victimhood as *ressentiment,* which Schwartzman calls the negative extreme of public memory – revenge.[85]

Since revenge is the privilege of the victim, this becomes the most prized, and yet most dangerous identity to lay claims to. Mertus explains that this is because "once we see ourselves as victims, we can clearly identify an enemy. Steeped in our own victimhood, we no longer feel bound by moral considerations in becoming perpetrators".[86] In Kosovo, "both sides now feel like victims; both sides now feel entitled to take some liberty in "taking back" what is rightfully theirs".[87] Siber similarly argues that "the selective interpretations of history and experience always provide abundant "reasons" for rationalizing one's own behaviour, and proof of guilt can always be found in history, if one looks hard enough".[88] This dynamic leads not only to the inability to empathize with the Other, but to the further intractability of the conflict, through the perpetuation of a vicious cycle of violence.[89]

The relatively frequent power shifts in the region provide the opportunity for the victim to take "revenge" on the villain.[90] In the course of the

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[82] Feldman, "Political terror".

[83] Hauser, *Vernacular voices*, 142.

[84] *Ibid.*, 150.

[85] Richard Schwartzman, "Recovering the lost canon: Public memory and the Holocaust", *Rhetoric & Public Address* 4, no. 3 (2001), 542-583.

[86] Mertus, *Kosovo*, 1.

[87] *Ibid.*, 7.

[88] Ivan Siber, "Psychological approaches to ethnic conflict in the territories of former Yugoslavia", in Dusan Janjic, ed., *Ethnic conflict management: The case of Yugoslavia* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1997), 106.

[89] T. Pick, "Eastern European militant nationalism: Some causes and measures to counteract it", *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 34, no. 4 (1997), 383-393.

protracted conflict in Kosovo, the ethnic minority often becomes the majority, and vice versa, due to changes in state borders, political systems and demographic factors. In such circumstances the new majority always seeks to "even the score" for the discrimination to which its group had been previously subjected.[91] This ideological position is an anchor for both groups' identities and is useful in pursuing particular political goals and claims. It is especially functional in justifying acts of violence by the in-group as warranted retribution.

In my larger sample, when Serb participants are reminded of the policies of Slobodan Milošević, they respond by recalling the centuries of Serbian plight under Muslim Albanian terror and their dominance during the communist rule. Similarly, when confronted with the violent crimes perpetrated by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) against Serbs, and other minorities, as well their cultural and religious heritage, the Albanians invoke their suffering in the 1990s, under Milošević's rule, and the long-standing oppression suffered at the hands of the Serbs.

Unfortunately, these tragic kinds of exclusionary victimage narratives are not only used to justify, but also to motivate and provoke violent action. This is not specific only to the Balkans, but is visible and problematic in other conflicts around the world. They are part of the reason why thousands of people die and their deaths are justified as revenge. However, it is important to note that participation and justification are not identical, and that justification does not necessarily lead to involvement. Even though there is a thin line, as Feldman contends, between violence and inaction, spectatorship and partaking, sharing in the vernacular rhetoric of historical victimage, and reproducing it through everyday discourse, does not guarantee that people will be propelled to action, as several authors writing about Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia have suggested.[92]

Concluding remarks

This ideological study has attempted to problematize explanations that posit singular, preferential, and "objective" victimage in relation to conflict

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[90] Donald G. Ellis, "Intercultural communication in intractable ethno-political conflict", in William J. Starosta and G. M. Chen, eds., *Taking stock in intercultural communication: Where to now?* (International and intercultural communication annual, vol. XXVIII, 2005).

[91] Vladimir Goati, "The impact of parliamentary democracy on ethnic relations in Yugoslavia, 1989-1995", in Dusan Janjic, ed., *Ethnic conflict management: The case of Yugoslavia* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1997).

[92] See Anzulovic, *Heavenly Serbia*; Kaplan, *Balkan ghosts*; Sells, *Bridge betrayed*.

intervention and resolution. It has questioned the interrelationship between claiming historical victimage and using national histories, personal and collective memories to substantiate it.

First, it has argued that looking at history as objective in contrast to collective memory as distorted and mythical, leads to selective sanctioning of victimage narratives and rigid definitions of victims and villains, which leads to ineffective conflict intervention and resolution, helping to perpetuate violence.

Second, looking at vernacular discourses of Kosovo Serbs and Albanians this ideological study illustrated how historical victimage is created and reproduced in everyday melodramatic "commemoration rituals".[93] The analysis demonstrated how official historiographies amalgamate with personal and collective memories, both regional and national, to produce coherent and rational victimage narratives for the speakers.

Third, it has been pointed out that the historical victim status is desirable because it affords emotional,[94] symbolic and political resources,[95] while being the villain implies guilt and punishment. Narratives of historical victimage invoke to past to make sense of the present, serve to create harsh dichotomies of oppressor/oppressed, through which the Other is delegitimized and becomes the target of violence, justified as revenge.

Intractable conflict and the inherently hostile relationship toward the Other, become embedded in everyday life through vernacular narratives of historical victimage. Multi-generational trauma[96] is translated into a victim identity, which is given historical proportions.[97] The conflict becomes mired in fixed binary oppositions of victim versus villain. It is conceptualized and understood as a continuous struggle of the innocent sufferers against the tyranny of the Other. Such rationalizations sustain and perpetuate conflict, making it even more intractable and impervious to resolution; not only is there no room for empathy and implicature, but there is no room for divergent voices and inclusive discourses of victimage.

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[93] Burke, *Rhetoric of motives*.

[94] Leonard Hawes, "Double binds as structures in dominance and of feelings: problematics of dialogue", in Robert Anderson, Leslie A. Baxter and Kenneth N. Cissna, eds., *Dialogue: Theorizing difference in communication studies* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004).

[95] Hauser, *Vernacular voices*.

[96] Daniel Bar-Tal, "The rocky road toward peace: Beliefs on conflict in Israeli textbooks", *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 6 (1998), 723-742.

[97] Piro Misha, "Invention of a nationalism: Myth and amnesia", in Stephanie Schwadner-Sievers and Brend J. Fischer, eds., *Albanian identities: Myth and history* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002).

Instead of looking solely at the surface – that is the official and elite rhetoric – examining the deep and underlying structures of vernacular discourses uncovers the interplay of multiple memories and rhetorical strategies in establishing the Other as the source of all tragedies. Lack of critical attention to the complexities of historical victimage rhetoric leads to claims of primordial hatred and antagonism, and fails to understand how these extreme emotions arise out of the vernacular discourse of the groups involved. This ideological study shows that the conflict in Kosovo is not propelled by such primordial instincts, but that hatred and violence are constructed as legitimate responses to centuries of oppression. By uncovering the complex rhetoric of historical victimage in Kosovo it aims to make a modest contribution to the understanding of intractable conflict dynamics, which revolve around historical victimage. The implications of this study can be applied in other conflicts, such as Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Spain, Chechnya, Cyprus, East Africa, East Timor, Turkey, Iraq, and various others. The goal is to move us away from simplistic rationalizations, remedies and perpetual cycles of violence in these areas.

Dušan T. Bataković

A Balkan-Style French Revolution?
The 1804 Serbian Uprising in European Perspective[1]

Enlightenment vs. Ottomanism

It was not a coincidence that the first Balkan revolution at the beginning of the age of nationalism took place in Serbia. In this northern province of the Ottoman Empire bordering with the Habsburg Empire along the Danube and Sava rivers, the central authority was weaker and foreign influences stronger than elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces in Europe. Compared to Bosnia and Herzegovina, where local Muslim beys firmly safeguarded the conservative Ottoman system despite the fact that two-thirds of the population were Christian (Orthodox and Roman Catholic), Serbia was predominantly Christian Orthodox and maintained more dynamic and more profound contacts with the Western world. Frequent wars, forced migrations and resettlements in the shifting borderland between the two empires intensified contacts among the Christian Orthodox Serbs, despite their different social and political status under two different empires.[2]

It was in the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II that the enlightened reforms in the Habsburg Empire brought the Christian Orthodox Serbs, dispersed in southern Hungary, the Military Frontier (*Militärgrenze*), Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia, under a stronger influence of Western civilization. The Serbian Orthodox bishop of Temesvar (modern Timişoara, Romania) was an admirer of Voltaire and had 384 books of French rationalists in his 910-book library, while the personal 5,246-book library of Count Sava Tekelija, the leading member of the Serbian aristocracy in southern

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[1] This paper was presented at the conference *The First Serbian Uprising: Political, Social and Cultural Legacies,* held at Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, in November 2004.

[2] V. Ćorović, "Die Enstehung der unabhängigen Balkanstaaten", *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* II (Belgrade, 1935), 159-160.

Hungary, included the entire *Grande encyclopédie*. Moreover, besides them, there were dozens of influential Habsburg Serbs that cherished the legacies of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[3]

Strongly impressed by the liberal ideas spreading across Europe in the wake of the French Revolution, the Serbian elite raised the issue of national rights and territorial autonomy as early as 1790, at the ecclesiastical-national diet held in Temesvar and attended by 75 representatives of the aristocracy, high clergy and officer corps. In doing so, they were fully aware of the fact that the Serbs (named by the synonymous term Illyrians, as they had for centuries been officially labelled by the imperial government in Vienna) were yet to become a modern nation. In their petition *Gravamina und postulata*, the Serbs relied on Montesquieu for emphasizing that a people could not be a distinct nation (*corps de nation*) without their territory or territorial autonomy.[4] A variety of possible solutions to the Serbian question produced by Austrian Serbs prior to 1804 reveal a mixture of historicism, drawing on the medieval tradition of the Nemanjić dynasty, and the modern principles of natural rights and popular sovereignty.

In parallel with the rising of national awareness among the south-Hungarian Serbs, their fellow nationals in the troubled province of Serbia raised demands for local autonomy encouraged both by the practice established during the short-lived Habsburg occupation (1718–39) and by the weakening of Ottoman power after the last war with the Habsburgs. Only five of thirty-three petitions the Serbs from the *pashalik* of Belgrade submitted to the Ottoman sultan between 1793 and 1806 refer to agrarian problems, the rest being related to the extent of their local autonomy.[5] Their growing discontent with local administrators, who were significantly reducing the autonomy obtained from Sultan Selim III, eventually triggered yet another uprising, which turned into both a social and national revolution after 1804.[6]

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[3] M. Kostić, "Nekoliko idejnih odraza francuske revolucije u našem društvu krajem XVIII i početkom XIX veka," *Zbornik Matice srpske. Serija društvenih nauka* 3 (Novi Sad, 1952), 1-16; N. Radojičić, "Sava Tekelija", *Istorijski časopis* XII-XIII (Belgrade, 1963), 7-9; N. Gavrilović, "Velika Francuska revolucija i Srbi u južnoj Ugarskoj", *Zbornik Matice srpske. Serija društvenih nauka* 26 (Novi Sad, 1960), 18-39.

[4] N. Petrović, *Temišvarski sabor 1790* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1972), 599-627. Cf. also "Mémoire d'un Serbe de Vienne sur la situation des Serbes de la Hongrie", *Le monde slave* (April), (Paris, 1933), 124-127.

[5] D. Pantelić, *Beogradski pašaluk pred prvi srpski ustanak (1794–1804)*, Posebna izdanja CXLVI (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1949).

[6] For comprehensive accounts of various aspects of the Serbian revolution, see W. Vucinich, ed., *The First Serbian Uprising 1804–1813* (Boulder & New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

Although initially a peasant rebellion against local janissaries, from 1805 on the Serbian uprising was increasingly national in character. The insurgents took up the medieval coat of arms of the Nemanjić dynasty, and in 1805 the *Praviteljstvujušči sovjet* (Governing Council) held its sessions in Smederevo – "the capital of our despots and emperors" – under the portrait of Emperor Stefan Dušan (1331–55). Karageorge's official letters and acts sent to local insurgent commanders, his proclamations and correspondence with representatives of the great powers (including his letter to Francis I), bear his signature as "Serbian commander". In the letter of 1806 authorizing an official Serbian delegation to meet both the Habsburg and Russian emperors, Karageorge describes them as potential "saviours of our nation", and authorizes them to act in the name of the "Serbian nation". "In the name of the whole Serbian nation", the letter is signed by "Karageorge Petrović, supreme commander in Serbia".[7]

In their petition to the Russian emperor in 1806, the insurgents – encouraged by a series of victories over the regular Ottoman troops (at Ivankovac in 1805; at Mišar and Deligrad in 1806), including the capture of Belgrade, the regional strategic stronghold – claim that, should Russia decide to send its troops to the Balkans, "all Serbs from Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia and Albania would joyfully unite and, in a short space of time, create a new 200,000-strong army".[8]

As a matter of fact, such political claims reflected the reality of continuous cooperation with similar anti-Ottoman revolts staged by Serbian clans in Herzegovina and Montenegro. From the very beginning, the insurgents organized their military operations in coordination with the ruler of Montenegro, Prince-Bishop Petar I Petrović-Njegoš, who considered his people "a branch of one Serbian nation".[9] After Montenegrin tribes defeated the Ottoman army in 1796 (the battles of Krusi and Martinići), their semi-independent status was additionally strengthened, paving the way for their more significant role in the subsequent anti-Ottoman movements. As early as January 1804 Prince-Bishop Petar I informed the head of the Serbian monastery of Dečani in Kosovo that both Montenegrins and Serbs were making plans to rise up against the Ottomans.[10]

Although tiny Montenegro remained inactive in the early stage of the insurrection in Serbia, mostly due to Russian interference, a series of lo-

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[7] R. Perović, *Prvi srpski ustanak. Akta i pisma na srpskom jeziku (1804–1808)*, (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1978), vol. 1, 124, 125, 149.

[8] M. Djordjević, *Oslobodilački rat srpskih ustanika 1804–1806* (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1967).

[9] J. M. Milović, "Titule vladike Petrovića," *Istorijski zapisi* LX/1 (Titograd, 1987), 57.

[10] S. Ristić, *Dečanski spomenici* (Belgrade, 1864), 23-24.

cal rebellions broke out in the *sanjak* of Novi Pazar, a small district between the *pashalik* of Belgrade and the mountainous regions of Montenegro; the neighbouring Serb clans in Herzegovina (Drobnjaci, Nikšići, Bjelopavlići and Moračani) also took up arms, while other Serb clans of Montenegro (Kuči and Piperi), as well as Albanian highlanders (Klimenti or Kelmendi tribe), rebelled for greater autonomy.[11] In Kosovo, under the iron-hand rule of local Albanian pashas, unrest was recorded among the Serbs and some of them eventually managed to join Karageorge's rebel forces.[12]

The Herzegovina-based Drobnjaci clan began to launch attacks against Ottoman-held Podgorica as early as 1804, and 1805 saw the out-break of their year-long rebellion against the local Ottoman authorities, pacified only after members of their families had been taken hostage.[13] In 1806 Karageorge issued a proclamation to the rebelling clans of Herze-govina calling them to join the battle against the Ottomans, "for our holy churches and monasteries, for the freedom of our fatherland"; in his letter to Petar I Petrović-Njegoš, he called upon the Montenegrins to build a common Serbian state founded on the same Orthodox faith and the same Serbian blood, and "to become one body, one heart, one soul and loving fel-low citizens".[14]

In response, the Montenegrins launched several assaults on the neighbouring Ottoman forts in Herzegovina, particularly in the Nikšić area. However, the intended unification of Montenegrin and Serbian forces during Karageorge's incursion into the *sanjak* of Novi Pazar in 1809 was thwarted by a sudden Ottoman offensive on the southern front which forced the Serbs to withdraw.

Although a mixture of modern national and romantic historic rights, the Serbian insurgents' political claims were dominated by the ambition for restoring the medieval Serbian state, weakened by the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 and eventually lost to the Ottomans. Dušan's empire, although its core had been far to the south (in the area of Kosovo and Skopje), was an ideal cherished by the leading representative of Serbian monastic histori-cism, Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), whose four-volume *History of Various Slavic Nations, Notably Bulgars, Croats and Serbs*, published in Vienna in 1794/5, became the mainstay of Serbian national ideology in the early nineteenth century. An Ottoman official, held in imprisonment in Serbia during 1806,

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[11] P. Šobajić, "Udeo dinarskih plemena u Prvom srpskom ustanku", *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta Srpske akademije nauka* II-III (Belgrade, 1957), 81-96.

[12] D. T. Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles* (Belgrade: Plato, 1992), 75-77.

[13] A. Aličić, "Ustanak u Drobnjacima 1805. godine", *Godišnjak društva istoričara BiH* XIX (Sarajevo, 1973), 51-54.

[14] Perović, *Prvi srpski ustanak*, 75-177.

reported about the insurgents' plans: "As King [Prince] Lazar once went to Kosovo [in 1389 to confront Ottomans] so they will all come to Kosovo again. They always have at hand the history books [*History* by Jovan Rajić] on the aforesaid King [Prince Lazar], and it is he that puts them in mind of rebellion."[15]

Restoration of Serbia: medieval inspiration, modern demands

The lack of a strong intellectual leadership among the peasant rebels, whose chief ideologist was Matija Nenadović, a priest who drew upon medieval Serbian traditions (*Krmčija* of Saint Sava),[16] was compensated for by political support extended by the enlightened Serbian elite from the neighbouring Habsburg provinces. Following the Temesvar diet of 1790, they came to see themselves as destined to provide political and intellectual leadership for the entire national movement. Enthusiasm for the insurrection both among urban and rural Serbs in southern Hungary (present-day Vojvodina) was so strong that it gave serious cause for concern to the local Austrian authorities. Secret relations were established between prosperous Serbian merchants and church dignitaries in the neighbouring Habsburg provinces and the insurgents, and purchase of arms and ammunition was discussed. As stressed by local Habsburg officials, the Serbs of southern Hungary not only welcomed the insurrection but began to associate their own future with the prospect of a sovereign Serbian state.[17] Gavrilo Kovačević, a Serb intellectual from Zemun (Semlin), dedicated a solemn poem to the insurrection, linking it with the 1389 Battle of Kosovo, while the leading Serbian intellectual, Dositej Obradović, wrote an ode which in time became the ideological hymn of the insurgents: "Rise up Serbia / our dear mother / to become again what you once were. / For you the Serbian children cry / and bravely they're fighting for you."[18] The ode made it clear that the insurrection had revived hopes for the liberation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and other neighbouring lands, seas and islands.

Though referring to the restoration of the short-lived medieval Serbian empire of Stefan Dušan, which in the middle of the fourteenth century stretched from Belgrade to the Peloponnesus, Serbian intellectuals drafted

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[15] R. Tričković, "Pismo travničkog vezira iz 1806. godine", *Politika*, Belgrade, 21 February 1965.

[16] For more, see *The Memoirs of Prota Matija Nenadović*, ed. and trans. Lovett F. Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[17] A. Ivić, *Spisi bečkih arhiva o Prvom srpskom ustanku* (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1937), vol. III, 349.

[18] J. D. Mitrović, *Istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Ćuro, 1993), 308.

territorial claims that were based on the modern concept of national identity defined by a common language, culture, religion and historical traditions.[19]

Considering language as central to the modern definition of national identity transcending religious affiliations, Dositej Obradović stressed that "the part of the world in which the Serbian language is employed is no smaller than the French or the English territory, if we disregard very small differences that occur in the pronunciation – and similar differences are found in all other languages ... When I write of peoples who live in these kingdoms and provinces, I mean the members both of the Greek [Eastern Orthodox] and of the Latin [Roman Catholic] Church and do not exclude even the Turks of Bosnia and Herzegovina [Bosnian Muslims], inasmuch as religion and faith can be changed, but race and language can never be."[20]

The leading historians and linguists of Central Europe generally considered the Serbs, often labelled Illyrians or Slavo-Serbs, as the largest South Slavic group spread over most of the former Roman province of Illyricum in the central and western Balkans. Johann Christian von Engel, a leading authority from the turn of the century, described Serbs as a nation distributed from Istria and Dalmatia to Slavonia, including Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and even some parts of present-day Bulgaria, and sharing the same language, and hence, the same ethnic affiliation. Considering *kaikavian* to be the only genuinely Croatian dialect, von Engel quoted Dobrowski (1774) in order to point that some Renaissance writers had confused the Serbian language of Dalmatia with Croatian due to political ties.[21]

Relying on such assumptions, Count Sava Tekelija (1761–1842), the wealthiest Serbian notable in Hungary, printed a 2,000-copy edition of the *Geographic Map of Serbia, Bosnia, Dubrovnik, Montenegro and Neighbouring Regions* in Vienna (1805), in order to define the potential national claims of the Serbs. The first 500 copies were sent to the insurgent leadership in Serbia. Another Habsburg Serb, Georgije Mihaljević, edited the 1808 issue of the widely read *Almanac for every Serb* giving Karageorge's portrait the place of honour. A baroque portrait of the medieval Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan, printed somewhere in Hungary, was distributed all over Ser-

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[19] For the overall influence of Habsburg Serbs, see I. Banac, "The Role of Vojvodina in Karadjordje's Revolution," *Südost-Forschungen* XL (Munich 1981), 31-61.

[20] D. Obradović, "Letter to Haralampije", in *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradovic*, ed. and trans. G. R. Noyes (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), 135.

[21] J. C. von Engel, "Geschichte von Serwien und Bosnien", *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reiches and sein Nebenlander* III (Halle, 1801), 144-145; M. Ekmečić, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1989), vol. I, 48-49.

bia, southern Hungary and the Austrian Military Frontier (*Militärgrenze*). A former *Grenzer* officer, Nikola Stamatović, reproduced medieval Serbian coats of arms, including those of Serbia, Bosnia, Zeta (Montenegro), Herzegovina and Dalmatia, from Hristifor Žefarović's *Stemmatography* (1741), and distributed the prints.[22]

Although Russia was traditionally considered the main Serbian ally, some influential Habsburg Serbs, such as Count Sava Tekelija, turned to the French and Austrian rulers for their support for the restoration of Serbia, a state that would be the core of a larger political entity. Tekelija's memorandum of June 1804 to the newly-crowned Emperor Napoleon I proposed the creation of a vast Illyrian kingdom, i.e. of a large South Slavic state that would, under the auspices of France, encompass most of the Serb- and Slav-inhabited Balkan regions. A year later, a slightly revised version of the proposal was submitted to the Habsburg Emperor Francis I.[23]

According to Tekelija, the Illyrian kingdom, mostly comprising Serbs as the largest Slavic nation in the Balkans, would be a major contribution to the long-term stability of the region. Stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the kingdom would be a solid barrier to both Russia and Austria. For that reason, Europe should guarantee "a distinguished position and flourishing continuity" to the nation capable of providing that kind of stability: "Right now," Tekelija stressed in his memorandum to Napoleon I, "such a nation is rising its head and throwing off the yoke never to accept it again for any other domestic or foreign influence. It is the Serbian nation, or Serbians, if we take into account only those living in Serbia … When, supported by Europe, they unite into a large Illyrian kingdom joining Bosnia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Dubrovnik, the Serb-inhabited areas of Hungary and Serbia, that kingdom will be a powerful barrier against those powers, namely Austria and Russia, that might attempt to establish their domination in the Balkans." In his memorandum to Francis I a year later (1805), however, Count Tekelija mentioned only Russia as a potential threat to the Balkans.[24]

The main obstacle to merging all these provinces into a single state, as argued by Count Tekelija in his memorandum to Napoleon I, would be religious differences and the backwardness of the population. But to Tekelija, the Revolutionary French example of surmounting religious barriers was a

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[22] H. Žefarović & T. Mesmer, *Stematografija. Izobraženije oružij Iliričeskih* (1741), ed. D. Davidov (Novi Sad: Galerija Matice srpske, 1972).

[23] S. Tekelija, *Opisanije života* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966), 171-187, 379-396. Cf. also D. J. Popović, "Sava Tekelija prema Prvom srpskom ustanku", *Zbornik Matice srpske* 7 (Novi Sad, 1954), 118-125.

[24] S. Gavrilović, *Vojvodina i Srbija u vreme Prvog ustanka* (Novi Sad, 1974), 20-24.

ray of hope that "nationalism might foster the unification of the Serbs and abate religious fanaticism, excluding religious questions and highlighting only nationalism and fatherland".[25]

In defining national identity, Count Tekelija followed the same pattern as Dositej Obradović. Summing up the eighteenth-century scholarly tradition of equating language with nationality, transcending religious affiliation, Obradović stressed: "Serbs from different kingdoms and provinces bear different names: they are Serbians in Serbia, Bosnians in Bosnia, Dalmatians in Dalmatia, Herzegovinians in Herzegovina and Montenegrins in Montenegro. Everywhere they speak the same [language], understand each other perfectly and easily, except for slight dialectal differences ... Even the simplest Serb from the Banat or Bačka [in present-day Vojvodina], when in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and in particular in Croatia, Slavonia or in Srem, finds himself in his own maternal language and nation, whether being of Eastern or Roman [Christian] rite."[26]

Following the same pattern, Count Tekelija considered all the Serbian-speaking Slavic population of the Balkans as Serbs. His inclusion of the neighbouring provinces of Bulgaria and Albania was probably based on ethnic similarities in the case of Bulgaria, or on the assumption that some parts of northern Albania were inhabited by clans of mixed Serbian-Albanian origin.

While the enlightened Serbs from southern Hungary advocated a modern approach to the question of nation, based primarily on common culture and linguistic kinship, the Serbian church hierarchy, both in the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, had a narrower religious approach to the definition of national identity. Disillusioned with the Habsburgs, especially after the Treaty of Küçük-Kaynarca (1774), their obvious choice for an ally was imperial Russia. Although evoking medieval traditions, their projects for the restoration of a Serbian empire hinged on the vast territory in both the Ottoman and Habsburg empires that had been under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć until 1776 rather than on the boundaries of Stefan Dušan's empire.

Various plans for the restoration of the Serbian state were designed throughout the eighteenth century. Under the circumstances, they sought support either from the Habsburg or the Russian empire. The earliest project is dated 1736/7: Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta envisaged "Illyria" as a large autonomous state within the Habsburg realm comprising Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Herzegovina and Albania. Its political status was

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[25] *Ibid.*

[26] D. Obradović, *Prvenac* (Belgrade, 1811).

to be similar to that of Hungary, with its own government, army, nobility, churches and schools. The "Illyrian-Rascian nation" (i.e. Serbs) would be governed by a patriarch as "supreme ruler", while ecclesiastical affairs would remain under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.[27]

Of several projects elaborated in Montenegro, an ambitious one, designed by Prince-Bishop Vasilije Petrović Njegoš in 1782, envisaged the restoration of the medieval Serbian state comprising Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Upper Albania, Dalmatia, Banat and Slavonia. In 1798 the envoy of Montenegrin Prince-Bishop Petar I Savo Ljubiša went to Russia to present a similar project for a "kingdom of Old Rascia", large enough to supply as many as 200,000 soldiers. Based on a seventeenth-century plan of Count George Branković, the project, as described by Ljubiša, was further elaborated with some Greek prelates.[28] Yet another proposal for creating a large "Slavic-Serb empire" that would be under Russian protection and ruled by a Russian prince was submitted to the Russian court in 1803 by the Archimandrite of the Monastery of Morača in Herzegovina (today in Montenegro), Arsenije Gagović, most likely following his consultations with Stefan Stratimirović, Serbian Metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci (Carlowitz).[29]

Metropolitan Stratimirović's confidential memorandum of June 1804 sent to Russian Emperor Alexander I formulated an ambitious plan for re-establishing a large Serbian state that, in addition to the Ottoman-held provinces (Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina), would also encompass the Austrian-held territories: Srem, the Gulf of Cattaro (*Boka Kotorska*) and much of Dalmatia up to the city of Šibenik. The newly-established Serbian state would be an independent monarchy ruled by a member of the Russian imperial family. In 1804 the Serbian Bishop of Bačka, Jovan Jovanović, had on his own initiative sent a petition to the Russian Metropolitan, stressing that the Serbs, an Orthodox nation with traditions of their own, were suffering and expecting help from their Orthodox brethren.[30]

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[27] S. Gavrilović, "Srpski nacionalni program patrijarha Arsenija IV Jovanovića Šakabente iz 1736/7. godine", *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 44 (Novi Sad, 1991), 39-48.

[28] D. Vuksan, *Petar I Petrović Njegoš i njegovo doba* (Cetinje, 1951), 85-87; S. Gavrilović, *Gradja bečkih arhiva o Prvom srpskom ustanku (1804–1810)*, (Belgrade: SANU, 1985), vol. I, 45.

[29] D. Pantelić, *Beogradski pašaluk pred Prvi srpski ustanak (1794–1804)*, (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1949), 367-388.

[30] D. Djordjević, *Révolutions nationales des peuples balkaniques 1804-1914* (Belgrade: Institut d'histoire, 1965), 18-19. For more details, see St. Dimitrijević, *Stevana Stratimirovća mitropolita karlovačkog plan za oslobodjenje srpskog naroda* (Belgrade, 1926).

The Habsburg Serbs' response to the Serbian Revolution

Although highly unrealistic, such political claims were not merely artificial projects with strong historic references. They were soon justified by political upheaval among Serbs in both the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. According to French reports, as early as 1805 songs about Karageorge as *héros libérateur* could be heard in Dalmatia, where the very notion of freedom was associated with his name. The Serbian uprising strongly echoed throughout the Balkans, far beyond the borders of the *pashalik* of Belgrade. A significant stir was observed in the Habsburg Empire – among the Serbs in the Srem and Banat regions of southern Hungary and the Serb soldiers from the Military Frontier surrounding the European Ottoman possessions as a belt stretching along the Sava River, around Bosnia and Dalmatia.

The Austrian authorities registered that south-Hungarian Serbs – from peasants and army officers to priests, teachers and lawyers – were massively crossing into Serbia to join the insurgents. From their ranks the leadership of the uprising got not only capable and highly motivated volunteers, but also its first diplomats, ministers and school teachers. The first Minister of Education of insurgent Serbia was Dositej Obradović, the central figure of the Serbian Enlightenment. During the initial phase of the insurrection, with tacit approval of the local authorities, Serbian traders from the southernmost region of the Habsburg Empire (Srem, Banat, Bačka) supplied the insurgents with arms and ammunition. The chief coordinator of all the efforts to provide financial support and military supplies for Karageorge's troops, the supreme leader (*vrhovni vožd*) of the Serbian revolution, was Metropolitan Stevan Stratimirović, the spiritual leader of Christian Orthodox Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. After the first victories of the insurgents, a significant number of experienced Serbian officers and soldiers arrived in Serbia as volunteers from predominantly Serb-inhabited regions of the Austrian Military Frontier (Slavonia-Srem military district).

As early as April 1807, the Habsburg military commander of Zagreb was very upset about the fact that Orthodox Christians (i.e. Serbs) were spreading the news of Karageorge's great victories across all of the Military Frontier, and reported that the entire population was enthusiastic about the idea of freedom won by the insurgents in Serbia.[31] The number of volunteers from the Military Frontier joining Serbian troops rose to 515 in 1807, including 188 coming from regular Habsburg regiments. Many

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[31] F. Šišić, "Karadjordje, Južni Sloveni i Napoleonova Ilirija," in P. S. Petrović, *Karadjordje. Život i delo* (Belgrade: Narodno delo, 1923), 55-56.

others, as reported by worried Austrian officials, came to Serbia even from Dalmatia.[32]

The first direct effect of the Serbian uprising were two short-lived rebellions of Serbian peasants in what is today Vojvodina (1807 in Srem, and 1808 in the Banat), both striving for national and social liberation. In a memorandum sent to the Russian Emperor prior to the revolt, the Serbs of Srem stressed the intention, shared by their compatriots in the Banat, to liberate themselves "from the German [Habsburg] yoke". Count Sava Tekelija's map in their headquarters showed the lands that should be liberated and united with Serbia. The local Austrian commanders had no doubts that the Serbs, should they obtain their own dynasty, would do everything it takes to restore Stefan Dušan's empire. During the short-lived uprising in Banat, its leader, the priest Dimitrije Georgijević, repeated to his followers that the main goal is the restoration of Stefan Dušan's empire. The commander of Serbian border troops on the opposite side of the Danube, Petar Dobrnjac, invited the Banat Wallachians to rise and join the Serbs, appealing to religious solidarity against foreign (Habsburg) rule, as harsh as that of the Ottomans. The obvious coordination of military efforts of Serbian insurgents in Serbia and the Banat compelled Austrian officials to ban, at least for a while, the distribution of Serbian books in the Habsburg areas bordering with Serbia.[33]

Struggling for the restoration of their own privileges within the Ottoman system in the early stage of the uprising in Serbia (1804–1806), the insurgents issued modest political demands. Claiming limited autonomy from Sultan Selim III, they also offered that Serbia be placed under the protection of Austria and Russia. During the second phase of the insurrection (late 1806 – early 1807), Serbian insurgents, encouraged by the Russians whose army reached the Serbian border on the Danube after they had entered into a new war against Ottomans, openly proclaimed their demand for independence. It was in 1807 that, ordered to supply troops for the Sultan's war against Russia, *knez* Sima Marković, president of the *Praviteljstvujušči Sovjet*, declared: "Serbia considers herself as an independent state, she does not accept to pay any tribute nor will she raise arms against her brothers in faith and allies."[34] It was in 1807 that Karageorge invited all the Christians from Albania, Rumelia and Bulgaria to rise to arms and join the Serbians.

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Ž. Sečanski, *Gradja o Ticanovoj buni u Sremu 1807. godine* (Belgrade, 1952); S. Gavrilović, "Dokumenta Karlovačkog arhiva o Kruščičkoj buni 1808", *Zbornik Matice Srpske. Serija društvenih nauka* (Novi Sad, 1956), 76-87; Gavrilović, *Vojvodina i Srbija*, 63-115, 130-133.

[34] M. Vukićević, *Karadjordje* (Belgrade, 1912), vol. II, 476.

The Serbian leader sent, in addition to his proclamation to these provinces, a standard for each of them.[35] Encouraged by military successes, the leaders of the Serbian Revolution were seeking wider Balkan support for their struggle against Ottoman domination.

Bitterly disappointed by both Austrian hesitations and Russia's attempts to take full control of the Serbian insurrection in pursuit of her own ends, Karageorge pinned all his hopes on a possible alliance with France. Having taken Dalmatia and established the Illyrian provinces stretching from Ljubljana in the Slovene Alps all the way down to the coastal town of Dubrovnik, the French considered Bosnia as the key Ottoman province for transport of their goods towards Anatolia during the continental blockade, while Serbia, under Russian influence, was considered a possible threat to their global interests. It was in 1809, however, following heavy defeats on several fronts, that Karageorge offered Napoleon to take Šabac, a strategic Serbian town on the border with Bosnia, and help the insurgents to negotiate a new status for Serbia with the Sublime Porte.[36]

In 1810, through his special envoy to Paris, Captain Rade Vučinić from the Military Frontier town of Karlovac (Karlstadt), Karageorge proposed to Napoleon the unification into a large French-protected state of Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Illyrian provinces stretching from Ljubljana to Dubrovnik (including Dalmatia with Dubrovnik, portions of present-day Croatia and Slovenia) and the Serb-inhabited lands under Habsburg rule (Banat, Srem, Slavonia), including, if possible, the kindred Bulgarian people. Napoleon could not accept his offer as it would have endangered the territorial integrity of his ally, the Ottoman Empire, but suggested to the French consul in Bucharest to cooperate with the Serbs. This proposal, although not viable, clearly showed that Karageorge saw French support as the only way out of both the Russian and Austrian orbits. However, it cannot be ruled out that Napoleon reorganized the French possessions in Dalmatia, Krajina and Slovenia into the Illyrian provinces (1809–14) in order to counterbalance the Serbian insurrection, seen in Paris as an important instrument of Russian influence in the Balkans.[37]

Disappointed with French reluctance to support the insurrection, the Serbs had to turn to Russia once again. Karageorge's other option, an alliance with the Habsburgs, became impracticable with Serbia, mostly for

[35] M. Gavrilović, *Ispisi iz Pariskih arhiva* (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1904), 143.

[36] For more details, see D. T. Bataković, "La France et la Serbie 1804–1813", *Balcanica* XXIX (Belgrade, 1998), 117-157.

[37] Cf. D. Roksandić, *Vojna Hrvatska. La Croatie militaire. Krajiško društvo u Francuskom carstvu (1809–1813)*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1988), vol. I, 151-153.

military reasons, remaining attached to Russia's Balkan campaigns. Abandoned by Russia after the 1812 Treaty of Bucharest, the Serbs, while expressing readiness to accept a semi-independent status similar to that of the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia), rejected the proposal of more limited autonomy: "We do not recognize clauses of the [Ottoman] treaty with Russia [in Bucharest]. We demand our independent state and we do not accept any other solution."[38]

Lacking external support, the Serbian revolution was brutally crushed by regular Ottoman troops in the autumn of 1813. Some 100,000 Serbs, including Karageorge and most other insurgent leaders, crossed the Sava and the Danube to seek refuge in the Habsburg Monarchy.

The impact on Bosnia, Bulgaria and Greece

The Serbian uprising also had a strong impact on the Christian Orthodox Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to some statistics, the population of Christian Orthodox Serbs there was probably even larger than in rebelled Serbia itself.[39] As early as 1803, secret talks were conducted in Sarajevo on a possible joint uprising by the Serbs in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Serbia. In the summer of 1804, songs were sung in Bosnia about Karageorge's heroic deeds and numerous volunteers kept crossing into Serbia.[40]

The resounding victory of 12,000 Serbians over the powerful 20,000-strong army of Bosnian beys at the Battle of Mišar in 1806 raised hopes among Serbian peasants in Bosnia that Ottoman rule might be replaced by that of Karageorge's Serbia. The victory at Mišar was perceived as the first major victory of the Serbian *raya* over Ottoman troops. A Serbian Orthodox priest from Prijedor wrote the following: "I was patiently bearing the Turkish yoke, as all other Orthodox Christians, hoping that Karageorge will liberate us and put us under his protection."[41] As observed by a French traveller, the Serbian insurrection was the main reason for resolute and more effective defence of Serbian peasants from Muslim violence.[42] A Serbian

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[38] S. Hadzihuseinović-Muvvekit, *Tarih-i Bosna*, quoted in Ekmečić, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije*, 157.

[39] Ekmečić (*Stvaranje Jugoslavije*, 77) quotes a statistics estimating the overall population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as high as 1, 3 million inhabitants.

[40] D. T. Bataković, *The Serbs of Bosnia & Herzegovina. History and Politics* (Paris: Dialogue, 1996), 42-43.

[41] J. Tošković, *Odnosi izmedju Bosne i Srbije 1804–1806 i boj na Mišaru* (Subotica, 1927), 72.

[42] M. Šamić, *Francuski putnici u Bosni i Hercegovini na pragu XIX stoljeća i njihovi utisci o njoj* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1966), 206.

bard from eastern Bosnia, Filip Višnjić, in a contemporary epic song on the insurrection summed up the expectations of the Bosnian Serbs: "Drina water, thou noble boundary / betwixt Bosnia, betwixt Serbia / soon the time will come / when I shall cross thee and into Bosnia come."[43]

Two Serbian revolts broke out in Bosnia, both eventually crushed by the regular Ottoman army and Bosnian Muslim forces. The first broke out in 1807, after the Serbian insurgents crossed the Drina border into eastern Bosnia, while the second, of a larger scope, took place in the northwest of the Bosnian Krajina in 1809, led by Jovan Jančić, a gunsmith from Sarajevo, who had for three years smuggled arms from the Military Frontier in order to arm all Serb-inhabited districts between the Una and Bosna rivers. Supported by Bishop Benedikt Kraljević, Jančić had negotiated about the revolt successively with Serbia, Russia and the French in Dalmatia, but an incident in Banja Luka precipitated its beginning. The revolt soon failed due to the lack of coordination between insurgent units.[44]

Deprived of external military support after the Treaty of Pressburg, Serbian leaders assembled at Smederevo and decided to invite not only Serbs, but other Balkan Christians as well to join them in their struggle against the Ottomans. There was a significant stir in different regions of Slavic Macedonia, while in Bulgaria, particularly in the area of Vidin and Belogradčik, bordering with Serbia along the Danube, Serbian proposals incited movements and occasional revolts of the otherwise passive peasant population. In 1805, a Greek *armatol* leader Nikotsaras prepared his units to support Karageorge, crossing almost the whole of the Balkans from Mount Olympus in mainland Greece to Danube,[45] while in Salonika, already in 1806, a French consul has reported to Paris that, due to the Serbian revolution, many Slav peasants and Greek merchants were arrested under the suspicion of supporting Serbian insurgents.[46] From 1806 the Greek *klephtes* in northern Macedonia and *armatoloi* in central and eastern parts of present-day Greece were encouraged by both the Serbian insurrection and Russian actions in the Aegean in their renewed efforts to organize systematic resistance to the Ottomans.[47]

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[43] Bataković, *The Serbs of Bosnia & Herzegovina*, 45.

[44] V. Čubrilović, *Prvi srpski ustanak i bosanski Srbi* (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1939), 115-125.

[45] M. Lascaris, "Le rôle des Grecs dans l'insurrection serbe sous le Karageorge," in *Les Balkans* (Paris, 1933), 11-12.

[46] C. A. Vacalopoulos, *La Macédoine vue en début du XIX siècle par les consuls européens de Thessalonique* (Thessaloniki, 1980), 65.

[47] D. Djordjevic, "The Impact of the First Serbian Uprising on the Balkan Peoples", in W. Vucinich, ed., *The First Serbian Uprising 1804–1813*, 368-369.

In parallel, in the course of 1806 the Serbian supreme leader armed 5,000 Bulgarians willing to join the struggle against the Ottomans. In 1807, 800 of the 4,000 Bulgarians that came to Serbia immediately joined the Serbian troops.[48] The rebel forces also included a number of Greeks, Bulgarians, Wallachians and Tzintzars (Hellenized Vlachs), most of whom had fought in the ranks of the Russian army during the Russo-Ottoman War. On several occasions Bulgarian envoys from Wallachia requested Serbian assistance for their plans against the Ottomans, while the Serbian example inspired future Greek insurgents in many ways. The first historian of the Serbian revolution was a Greek, Triantafillos Doukas, whose *History of Slavo-Serbs* was published in Budapest as early as 1807. Poetic expression of the Balkan-wide impact of the Serbian Revolution was highlighted in the following verses: "In the army of the Serbian people / Many had joined who did not know each other / For from all parts they gathered / Bulgars as many, Vlachs and Greeks…"[49]

After the initial victories of the Serbian insurgents in 1804, Prince Constantine Ypsilanti of Wallachia, encouraged by the Russian foreign minister Count Adam Czartoryski, developed some federalist ideas about the creation of a large Balkan Christian state that would be ruled by his family. In support of Karageorge, he sent arms, supplies and even a small military unit to Serbia, while most of the Romanian boyars openly expressed their expectations of Serbia's secession "from the Ottoman Empire".[50]

The historical importance of the 1804–13 Serbian revolution – which, overshadowed by the Napoleonic wars, attracted little attention in Europe – was manifold. For the Balkan nations it was a French revolution adapted to local conditions: the principle of popular sovereignty was opposed to the principle of legitimism; a new society was created in which, due to the lack of the aristocracy and well-established middle classes, agrarian egalitarianism was combined with the emerging aspirations of a modern nation.

The legacy of the Serbian Revolution had a far-reaching effect: after 1813 and throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Belgrade remained an undisputed Piedmont-type political centre, and not only for the Serbs, dispersed in the neighbouring provinces of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, but also for most South Slavic ethnic groups. Having in

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[48] V. Stojančević, "Prvi srpski ustanak prema Bugarskoj i Bugarima", *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2 (Belgrade, 1954), 121-145.

[49] Djordjevic, "The Impact", 381.

[50] V. Georgescu, *Political Ideas and the Enlightenment in the Romanian Principalities (1750–1831)*, (Boulder East European Monographs, 1971), 170.

mind its long-term effects on the political and social landscape of the whole region, the eminent German historian Leopold von Ranke described the 1804–13 Serbian insurrection, by analogy with the French example, as the *Serbian Revolution*.[51]

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[51] L. von Ranke, *History of Servia and the Servian Revolution* (London: Benn, 1848).

Milan St. Protić

The Serbian Radical Movement 1881–1903
A Historical Aspect

Following the Serbo-Turkish war (1876–78) an outburst of dynamic po-
litical events culminated in the early 1880s with the formation of modern
political parties in Serbia. This phenomenon resulted from several impor-
tant factors. Although the promulgation of the Constitution in 1869 had
not yet established full parliamentary democracy, it had secured a political
environment in which larger segments of society could take an active part
in political decision making.[1] This political document expressed a compro-
mise between the Crown and the National Assembly by dividing legislative
authority, eliminating the previous oligarchic political tradition and almost
unlimited power of the ruler. Secondly, after the assassination of Prince
Mihailo Obrenović in 1868, Serbia was ruled by his minor nephew Prince
Milan Obrenović who was represented by the Regency. The Regency was
dominated by a strong political personality, later founder of the Liberal
Party, European-educated Jovan Ristić.[2] The ruling circles felt a need to
introduce certain reforms based on Western political experience. Thirdly,
as a consequence of the Serbo-Turkish war and the Congress of Berlin in
1878, Serbia became an independent state with all the prerogatives of power
and importance that such a position acquires. Fourthly, during this period
a number of young Serbian students were sent to European universities
to receive higher education. Exposure to European political developments,
movements, and ideas accompanied them back to Serbia. Finally, Serbian
society politically matured and entered the partisan struggle.

Serbian society, dominated by the peasantry, passed through several
stages of national consciousness. They began by opposing the Ottoman rule
and laying the foundations for a nation-state at the beginning of the nine-
teenth century, progressed through opposing the very same State's estab-

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[1] Slobodan Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića*, vol. I (Belgrade, 1934), 230-31; see also
Ustavni razvitak Srbije u XIX veku, ed. Miroslav Djordjević (Leskovac, 1970).

[2] *Ibid.*

lishment by beginning peasant revolts throughout the 1830s and 1840s, to finally waging war against the Ottomans in 1876 (joined by Russia in 1877) and winning independence in 1878. The Serbian peasantry matured during these years, publicly articulating its own opinions and interests. By the 1880s Serbian society developed a thin, but existing layer of urban bourgeoisie who generally originated from the village, with a peasant consciousness coupled with rudimentary capitalist commercial mentality. At the same time, a third social layer grew within the Serbian society consisting of local intelligentsia (teachers, physicians, priests, local state authorities) who shared the social destiny of peasantry, but had fairly developed political awareness. Headed by Belgrade intellectuals, this was basically the structure of the Serbian society in the 1880s.[3]

The Radical Party was officially organized in 1881 as the first organized political party in Serbia.[4] In its initial stage (until 1903) Serbian Radicalism passed through several phases of political and ideological development. The first period (1869–80) could be named the period of rudimentary Radicalism. The movement was unorganized and stretched between the ideas of socialism, anarchism and peasant democracy. The second period, that of militant Radicalism (1881–86), was marked by the organized and uncompromising opposition to the existing system and the Crown, which culminated in the Timok armed rebellion in 1883. The aftermath was marked by the Radical waving between armed resistance and legitimism. During the period of pragmatic Radicalism (1886–94) there was a recuperation and reorganization of the movement, an inclusion into the existing order as a legitimate political force, a new Constitution in 1888 which had been chiefly influenced by Radical political views, and by the first compromises with other political factors in Serbia. Finally, there was the period of overpowered Radicalism (1894–1903), wherein Radicals made serious compromises with rival parties and the Crown, moderated their political programme, and openly entered into competition for power although preserving their basic ideology.

As any periodization, this one could be subjected to various criticisms. Its major criteria, however, were stages in the ideological development of Radicalism in Serbia.

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[3] See Dimitrije Djordjević, "The Serbian Society in the 1880's: A Cross Section of the Origins of the Radical Party" (in manuscript).

[4] Živan Živanović, *Politička istorija Srbije*, vol. II (Belgrade, 1923-25), 161. See also Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića*, II, 317; Živan Mitrović, *Srpske političke stranke* (Belgrade, 1939), 71; Michael Boro Petrovich, *History of Modern Serbia 1804-1918* (New York: Harcourt Braca Jovanovich, 1976), 411.

The period after 1903 could be justifiably named The Golden Age. After the assassination of the last Obrenović on 29 May 1903,[5] Serbia entered a period of full parliamentary democracy based on the revised Constitution of 1888. From 1903 to 1914, the Radicals were in power most of the time, leading the Serbian State towards complete emancipation. The movement had matured through twenty years of political struggle, experienced numerous challenges and temptations, clarified and modified its ideological and structural foundations, and became capable of playing an instrumental role in the process of Serbia's development into a European state in the cultural sense.

After the First World War and the creation of Yugoslavia, the Radical Party continued to exist and act as a political movement until 1941. However, general political, social, and cultural circumstances became so different that it seems very difficult, if not impossible, to look at it as the same movement before and after 1918.

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The group of Svetozar Marković appeared in Serbian politics in the late 1860s, and remained active until 1875.[6] Svetozar Marković was a young political theoretician and activist who had studied in Serbia, Russia, and Switzerland in the late 1860s. He developed a political doctrine based on ideas of Russian socialism, experiences of *narodniki* movement and anarchism, and later West-European socialism.[7] Once he had returned to Serbia in 1869, together with a group of his fellow Serbian students from Switzerland, he became politically active in Kragujevac, a town in central Serbia. Marković and his associates published a number of political newspapers and organized a dynamic political force. Through innumerable articles and writings, Marković developed his own sociopolitical teaching. Although incomplete and sometimes inconsistent, it was the first socialist doctrine not only in Serbia, but in the entire Balkans.[8] His teaching was somewhat futuristic, romantic, and unrealistic, but nevertheless had strong impact on Serbian political events in his and future times.

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[5] For more details, see Dragiša Vasić, *1903* (Belgrade, 1925).

[6] See Slobodan Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković* (Belgrade, 1920); Jovan Skerlić, *Svetozar Marković, njegov život, rad i ideje* (Belgrade, 1922); Woodford McClellan, *Svetozar Markovic and the Origins of Balkan Socialism* (Princeton, 1964).

[7] Sofija Skoric, "The Populism of Nikola Pasic: the Zurich Period", *East European Quarterly* XIV/4 (Winter 1980).

[8] McClellan, *Svetozar Markovic*, 68.

Marković's teaching could be divided in three major sections: his political concept, his socio-economic doctrine, and his national programme.[9] In his political programme, Svetozar Marković stressed several points. His concepts included a very strong anti-bureaucratic sentiment. He argued in favour of the abolition of a professional administration, which he regarded as the main obstacle on the road to economic and cultural emancipation of the Serbian population: "I consider the destruction of the bureaucratic system as the first necessity in Serbia."[10] Marković also stressed the introduction of communal and regional self-governmental organization in place of the professional administrative apparatus. He favoured elected collective bodies in communes and regions to be supreme authorities in those areas. Communal assemblies would be the ones to incorporate all elected officials in the commune – not only the administrators, the chief of police, and the judge, but also the doctor and the teacher.[11] The whole structure of the State establishment was to derive from the slogan that "the question of bread is the question of local self-government".[12]

The last of Marković's political objectives, the supreme authority of the National Assembly, logically followed the principle of local self-government. Marković argued that the National Assembly, completely elective on the regional basis, constituted the supreme legislative body. Consequently, this line of thought led him to the Convent system of government and further on, to republicanism.[13] The socio-economic segment of Svetozar Marković's teaching suggested the abolition of private ownership and the introduction of communal property. His economic concept was based on the traditional patriarchal family cooperative, the so-called *zadruga*.[14] Fascinated by its democratic organization and spirit, Marković put it in the centre of his socio-economic teaching: "The modern economic ideal is very close to the economic mechanism of the Serbian *zadruga*."[15] In his opinion, it represented "the most advanced communism of ownership, work and pleasure".[16] Marković was heavily influenced by Nikolai Chernyshevsky. This Russian socialist found the ideal pattern for his economic system in a

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[9] Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković*, 21-30.

[10] Svetozar Marković, "Srpske obmane", *Zastava*, Novi Sad, 1869.

[11] Svetozar Marković, *Odabrani spisi* (Belgrade, 1969), 82.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković*, 112.

[14] McClellan, *Svetozar Markovic*, 239.

[15] Svetozar Marković, in *Javnost* 20 (Kragujevac, 1873).

[16] *Ibid.*

traditional Russian institution, the *mir*. Following his teacher, Marković did similarly founding his system on *zadruga*.[17]

The national concept of Svetozar Marković concentrated on the destruction of both empires in the Balkans, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, he pledged for the liberation of all Serbs and their free association with other Balkan nations in a federation achieved through armed revolution:[18]

> The Serbian people have no other option but a revolution in the Balkan Peninsula, the revolution which would end with disappearance of all states which exist today on the road to the unification of free peoples and workers in the union of communes, regions – or states …[19]

The political fermentation in Serbia in the early 1870s witnessed two parallel processes. On one side, the group of Svetozar Marković, which included a handful of young, European-educated men – politically very conscious and leaning towards socialist ideas – developed rather well-organized action especially through political newspapers *Radenik* (The Worker), *Javnost* (The Public), *Rad* (The Labour) and *Oslobodjenje* (The Liberation).[20] At about the same time, in 1874, a group of representatives in the National Assembly began to attract attention by their peasant looks, outspoken attitudes, and public speeches in which they defended the interests of the Serbian peasantry.[21] They came from the countryside, from various regions of Serbia, but all gathered round the same political objective – to work towards the improvement of the socio-economic position of the Serbian peasant.[22]

Thus in the politically undeveloped Serbian environment these two trends found common grounds for joint action – young intellectuals attracted by European socialism which they vigorously tried to implement in Serbia and the group of peasant deputies (among whom some were well educated),[23] who expressed the peasantry's simplified and essentially negativist attitude towards the government. But, much as it looked peculiar and confusing, this combination has a clear explanation. Without any trace of

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[17] McClellan, *Svetozar Markovic*, 24l.

[18] Svetozar Marković, *Celokupna dela*, vol. II (Belgrade, 1892-1921), 35-36.

[19] Svetozar Marković, *Srbija na istoku* (Belgrade, 1872), 167-168.

[20] Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković*, 98.

[21] Rastislav Petrović, *Adam Bogosavljević* (Belgrade, 1972), 42. See also Skerlić, *Svetozar Marković*, 174.

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] Adam Bogosavljević attended Belgrade *Velika škola*, but decided to return to his native village and to agriculture. For more details, see Petrović, *Adam Bogosavljević*.

working class or capitalist economic relations taken as a dominant socio-economic factor, no idea of European socialism could find fertile soil in Serbia. Consequently, the promoters of socialist ideology were forced to look for supporters among the peasants as they were the most numerous social layer in Serbian society. As a result of this mutual influence, the young Serbian socialists mellowed in their ideological exclusiveness and the peasant element obtained solid theoretical guideline for future political action. The best illustration of the common origins of the two trends is the fact that both Svetozar Marković, the leader of the socialist group, and Adam Bogosavljević, the dominant figure among peasant Assemblymen, attended Velika škola (Belgrade School, predecessor of the University of Belgrade) in the early 1860s.[24]

As early as 1875, the group of Adam Bogosavljević came out with a defined political programme which mainly concentrated on anti-bureaucratism and which included three major points: the reduction of state officials' salaries, the abolition of district offices (*okružna načelstva*) and the organization of regional self-government.[25] At the same time, they insisted on the constitutional reforms which would provide all legislative powers for the National Assembly as well as on absolute freedom of the press, association, and public gathering.[26]

It is quite clear that the political programme of Bogosavljević's group had been heavily influenced by Marković's ideas. However, Bogosavljević accepted only the political, anti-bureaucratic aspect of Marković's teaching which obviously was most attractive to the Serbian peasantry.

Both of these political attempts, the socialist programme of Marković's group and the activity of Bogosavljević's group in the Assembly, were in essence rudimentary and short-lived movements. Their importance resides in their role as predecessors of later political developments. They served as early political experiences of individuals who later were to organize the Radical movement in Serbia. Some ideas which later became segments of Radical political ideology had been born in the course of these early attempts. However, they both suffered from inexperience, idealism and simplification of issues. The most important problem of the socialist tendency seemed to be the inability to cope with Serbian realities, with the real problems of Serbian society and the expectations of the peasantry. Imported from abroad, socialist ideas could not possibly correspond to the stage of socially undeveloped and basically peasant Serbian society. On the other hand, the group of Adam Bogosavljević pointed out certain vital discrepancies of the

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[24] *Ibid.*, 76-80.

[25] Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković*, 161.

[26] Jaša Prodanović, *Istorija političkih stranaka i struja u Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1947), 373.

Serbian political system, but was incapable of developing its own positive political alternative. Its attitude was essentially negative, as had been lucidly noticed by the great Serbian historian Slobodan Jovanović.[27]

The socialist venture of Svetozar Marković's group in Serbia did not last more than five years. After the death of its leader in 1875, the movement slowly started to fall apart and its sole substantial attempt at revival in 1876 later became known as the "Red Banner Affair".[28] The city of Kragujevac in central Serbia was the centre of socialist action of Marković's group. In February 1876, the conflict between government forces and the socialists over local elections ended in massive demonstrations and open confrontation. The demonstrators, led by socialist activists and followed by workers from Kragujevac armaments factory, raised the flag with the slogan "Self-government" on it, thus expressing their Markovićevist affiliation.[29] The event was ended by the energetic action of the police and the military forces that same evening. Among the conspirators of the demonstrations, later found guilty and sentenced to time in prison, were old-time collaborators of Svetozar Marković and future founders of the Radical Party Pera Todorović and Pera Velimirović. They, however, managed to flee from Serbia before the trial and were pardoned in 1880.[31]

From that point on, the activity and the existence of this political group in Serbia gradually diminished and eventually disappeared. Due to the war with the Ottomans (1876–1878), which engaged all the mental and physical forces of the Serbian people, as well as later diplomatic events, which decisively influenced the Serbian future (the opposition to the provisions of the San Stefano Treaty and the winning of independence at the Berlin Congress), the internal political questions were put aside. The socialist movement as it had existed in the previous period was never reborn. The action of certain individuals who had belonged to this group, however, continued through their activity in the Serbian National Assembly. This particular grouping consisted of some former members of Marković's movement (Nikola Pašić, Pavle Vuković and Kosta Taušanović) and some peasant Assemblymen (Adam Bogosavljević, Ranko Tajsić, Dimitrije Katić, and Milija Milovanović).[32] In the late 1870s this grouping gradually gained

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[27] Jovanović, *Svetozar Marković*, 83.

[28] See Živanović, *Politička istorija*, II, 137-140; Prodanović, *Istorija*, 402-406; Velizar Ninčić, *Pera Todorović* (Belgrade, 1956), 47-50.

[29] Prodanović, *Istorija*, 402.

[30] Živanović, *Politička istorija*, II, 137-140.

[31] Prodanović, *Istorija*, 402.

[32] Raša Milošević, *Timočka buna 1883 godine* (Belgrade, 1923), 13-18; Živanović, *Politička istorija*, II, 158; Prodanović, *Istorija*, 437-440.

in importance and became the outspoken voice of minority opposition in the Serbian National Assembly.

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The end of the 1970s and the early 1880s witnessed a dynamic political polarization among members of the Serbian National Assembly. The National Assembly in Serbia became the focal political stage and the place from which all political movements and developments began. Serbia's rudimentary political structure led to a kind of parallelism of political powers: there were the ruler and the National Assembly, which, after the Constitution of 1869 became a legislative body.[33]

In the early 1880s three major political camps in the Serbian Assembly were taking shape. Although not yet completely defined in terms of organization and ideology, these informal groupings of Assemblymen, who sometimes switched from one group to another were the nuclei of future political parties.

The Liberals were the oldest political group in Serbian politics. They emerged from the St. Andrew's Assembly of 1858 and dominated Serbian politics from 1868 to 1880.[34] Led by the strong personality of well-educated Jovan Ristić, they introduced some Western liberal ideas to Serbia. Influenced by foreign liberal-national ideologies, the Liberals sought internal progress through national liberation. Their rule was marked by two crucial successes: the Constitution of 1869, which opened the door for parliamentary democracy, and the achievement of Serbian independence in 1878.[35]

The Young Conservatives, who later formed the Progressivist Party, were some of the most brilliant young scholars in Serbia (Stojan Novaković, Čedomilj Mijatović, Milan Milićević, etc.), who together produced a programme of modernization through moderate reforms. Oriented towards the elite of Serbian society, they sought progress in the collaboration of the intelligentsia with the Crown. Despite the group's name, its conservatism "combined with liberal ideas".[36]

The third group was the Radicals who at first collaborated with the Young Conservatives (1879–80), thus forming an opposition group to the Liberal government. This collaboration, however, was temporary and not

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[33] Slobodan Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, III, 411; see also Milivoje Popović, *Borbe za parlamentarni režim u Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1939), 54.

[34] Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, III, 412; see also Gale Stokes, *Legitimacy through Liberalism: Vladimir Jovanovic and the Transformation of Serbian Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975).

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića*, II, 311.

based on similar ideological grounds, but rather on a common interest in opposing the government. As a result of their joint effort, the Radicals and the Young Conservatives were able to force the Liberal government to resign. The Young Conservatives formed their first cabinet under the presidency of Milan Piroćanac at the end of 1880.[37] In those days, the Radicals often promulgated their proclamations and political statements through the Young Conservative newspaper *Videlo* (The Mirror).[38]

The beginning of 1881 was marked by the most decisive moment in the history of Serbian Radicalism. On 8 January 1881 the first issue of the official organ of the Radical Party *Samouprava* appeared, announcing the formal organization of the Radical Party.[39] This was the first officially organized political party in Serbia. It was followed by the formation of the Progressivist Party later that January, and the Liberal Party in October the same year.[40]

The first issue of *Samouprava* presented the general proclamation of Party leadership, defining the organization's rationale, as well as its political stand. The Radical Party's political programme also appeared in this first issue of *Samouprava*, signed by thirty-eight Assemblymen, including Nikola Pašić, Aca Stanojević, Pavle Vuković, Raša Milošević, Kosta Taušanović, Dimitrije Katić, Ranko Tajsić, and Milija Milovanović,[41] followed by another thirty-eight "fellow representatives in the National Assembly".[42]

The Radical Party began a series of dynamic and flamboyant actions. Through everyday writings in political newspapers (besides *Samouprava*, the Radicals issued *Rad* and *Cosa*), they vigorously attacked the government, the Crown, and its policies. They focused primarily on practical, daily issues and political problems. The period from 1881 to 1883 was marked chiefly by this tremendously active work of the Radicals. At the same time, the movement was growing rapidly, mostly spreading among the provincial intelligentsia and peasantry.[43] A result of this growth was the first Congress of the Radical Party at Viline Vode near Kragujevac in the summer of 1882. With over one thousand people present, the convention elected the Party

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[37] Živanović, *Politička istorija*, II, 155.

[38] "Prijateljima naroda", *Videlo* 138, 21 November 1880.

[39] Živanović, *Politička istorija*, II, 161; see also Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića*, II, 317; Živan Mitrović, *Srpske političke stranke* (Belgrade, 1939), 71; Petrovich, *History*, 410-411.

[40] Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića*, II, 318-320.

[41] See Mitrović, *Političke stranke*, 71-75; Alex Dragnich, *Serbia, Nikola Pasic, Yugoslavia* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 163; Petrovich, *History*, 411.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, I, 176.

leadership or rather its Main Committee as it was then named.[44] Nikola Pašić became the first President of the Radical Main Committee, and Pera Todorović was elected Vice President.[45] By 1883, the Radical movement had spread all over Serbia, becoming the most numerous political organization. The Radicals felt strong enough to assume power. If they could not use legal democratic means, they were ready to use other methods. By a machination of the Crown and the Progressivists, the Radicals were prevented from forming their cabinet, although they won a clear majority in the 1882 elections. By 1883, the conflict between the Radicals and the King became so sharp that a clash seemed unavoidable. On one side, there was a young and impatient movement, with a leadership eager to come to power and foster a series of fundamental political reforms, and on the other, there was the ruler and his supporters who wanted to preserve the status quo in which their predominance would not be jeopardized.

The revolutionary dreams of the Radicals finally came true in October 1883. After an article in *Samouprava* in which the Radicals advised the population not to surrender arms to the government,[46] although such a demand had been announced, the peasants in Eastern Serbia started an armed revolt which was soon named the Timok rebellion.[47] The rebellion was led by local Radical leaders, the most distinguished of them being Aca Stanojević, Žika Milenović, Ljuba Didić and the priest Marinko Ivković.[48] Once the army was called from the town of Paraćin, the revolt was crushed in a few days. The members of the Radical Main Committee, although not personally involved, were all taken into custody, except Nikola Pašić who managed to flee to Bulgaria.[49] The local rebellion leaders were either court-martialled and sentenced or managed to flee to Bulgaria.[50] The Radical leadership also stood trial. Three of them, Pera Todorović, Raša Milošević and Nikola Pašić, were sentenced to death, Kosta Taušanović to seven and Paja Milhailović to five years in prison, while Giga Geršić and Andra Nikolić were acquitted.

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[44] Milošević, *Timočka buna*, 144-150.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] "Disarmament of the Popular Army", *Samouprava*, 30 July 1883; "How to Get Rid of Illegal Elections", *Samouprava*, 30 August 1883.

[47] For more details, see Milošević, *Timočka buna*; Dragutin Ilić, *Zaječarska buna* (Belgrade, 1909); Momčilo Veljković, *O Timočkoj buni 1883 godine* (Belgrade, 1936); Dimitrije Djordjević, "The 1883 Peasant Uprising in Serbia", *Balkan Studies* 20,2 (Thessaloniki, 1979).

[48] Ilić, *Zaječarska buna*, 48.

[49] See Milošević, *Timočka buna*, 109.

[50] Ilić, *Zaječarska buna*, 52.

The trials left the Radical movement crushed and disorganized. The King's victory was absolute.

This phase in the Radical movement's history could rightfully be named the period of militant Radicalism. Several important characteristics regarding the very nature of the movement emerged. First, the Radical movement was able to develop its political programme and organization. Secondly, it showed strength in both political attitude and manpower. Thirdly, it became aware of its strength, challenging the authority of the King and displaying an eagerness to take power and proceed with the political reforms previously announced.

The movement remained inexperienced in practical political affairs and overwhelmed by visionary ideas of a revolution. Beyond that, the Serbian Radical movement's impatience involved its members in a rebellion which had been ill-organized and doomed to failure. The power of the bureaucracy and, above all, of the King's standing army were simply too strong for a spontaneous uprising of the peasantry led by local Radical leaders.

The event revealed yet another characteristic of the movement: differences in attitude between the leadership and their followers. Although there were proposals among the Radical Main Committee to join the rebels at a clandestine meeting on the eve of their arrest,[51] they all remained peacefully in Belgrade. By contrast, the local Radicals immediately took the leadership of the rebellion, confronting the existing order.

The final aspect of the Timok uprising seems to be that the rebellion did not spread throughout Serbia. It remained localized in the eastern part of the country. Even the major town in the area, Zaječar, was not caught up in the movement.[52] This pointed to certain differences, or at least there was a certain disunity in the movement. Therefore, the period from the formation of the Radical Party in 1881 to the Timok rebellion in 1883 was a time of rapid rise of Serbian Radicalism and an even more rapid decline. Still, it served as a precious experience for the movement's future. The years that followed were marked by two parallel processes: first, by the attempts of several Radical leaders who remained in Belgrade to recuperate and reorganize the movement on the basis of legal political activity; and secondly, by the activities of the Radical emigrants in Bulgaria led by Nikola Pašić, whose actions were directed towards preparing another armed uprising in Serbia. These two tendencies represented two different faces, or more precisely, the double personality of the Radical movement. Throughout its early history Serbian Radicalism had been torn between these two, essentially opposite

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[51] See Milošević, *Timočka buna*, 110-111.

[52] Ilić, *Zaječarska buna*, 67.

options: to become a legal, democratic political organization, or to accom-
plish political goals by means of force.

In his first manifesto after he had left Serbia, published in December
1883, Nikola Pašić openly called for an armed rebellion against the King:

> Legal and constitutional means are not sufficient to curb the vio-
> lence, abuse and betrayal of the King and his supporters. Laws pre-
> vail over lies, robberies and crimes only when committed by ordinary
> people, but when committed by those who were supposed to protect
> the people – in that case only weapons could help.[53]

In a letter to Nikola Pašić sent from Belgrade in February 1884, one of the
Radical leaders also emphasized the importance of an armed rebellion:

> … but I know that our "struggle through parliament" has to be
> merely formal, or at least second in importance, our main goal has to
> be – the uprising.[54]

The other opinion within the Radical movement during those crucial years
in the wake of the Timok rebellion argued in favour of a gradual and silent
recovery of the Party structure, and the movement's concentration on politi-
cal issues, avoiding sharp confrontations and attacks on the King personally.
Some of the Radical leaders from Belgrade criticized their comrades in
emigration for such statements. Stojan Protić wrote to Nikola Pašić:

> I cannot understand that you, Aca [Stanojević] and Žika
> [Milenović], but you especially, can make such mistakes. Why and
> how come that you came out so openly against the King? I can, but
> only partially, explain the foolishness of your action by your desper-
> ate situation and by your psychological condition.[55]

Instead of a new, forceful uprising, this Radical group suggested to Pašić
the commencement of a new political newspaper intended to re-establish
broken ties among the Radicals and to serve as the basis for future Radical
work.[56]

During 1884 these two streams confronted one another, and the con-
flict was particularly sharp within the leadership in Belgrade. In a letter to
Nikola Pašić, one of Belgrade's Radicals wrote:

> I decided to approach our closest friends in Belgrade Djaja [Jovan],
> Stojan [Protić], Svetozar [Milosavljević] and others … to decide

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[53] Letter of Nikola Pašić, 18 December 1883, private collection.

[54] (Probably Andra Nikolić) to Nikola Pašić, Belgrade, 15 April 1884, private collec-
tion.

[55] (Probably Stojan Protić) to Nikola Pašić, Belgrade, 9 February 1884, private collec-
tion.

[56] *Ibid.*

once and for all: do they think that our Party could accomplish its programme under the rule of King Milan without an uprising. A lot would depend upon this. Accordingly, our future work should be organized with them or without them.[57]

Finally, on 15 September 1885, Nikola Pašić called for an armed rebellion. This is what he said in his message to the Serbian nation:

> Dear compatriots, the time has come to stop and to cast off the yoke of our patrons: they abolished freedom, they neglected the rights of the people, they separated Serbia from Serbdom and Slavophilism … Stop any communication through mail, telegraph or messengers ... Form units, battalions and armies and go to Belgrade if the King is there or to Niš if that is where he is. We are about to cross the border and come to your aid … The army should be with the people, it should not obey any command against the people, its freedom and fatherland…[58]

According to Slobodan Jovanović, the highest authority on Serbian political history of the nineteenth century, the entire first period of Pašić's emigration in Bulgaria (until 1885) concentrated on preparations for an armed rebellion.[59] By the summer of 1885, Pašić managed to secure the money and arms for the uprising. According to Jovanović, this action was hampered by the Plovdiv coup in Bulgaria.[60] If Jovanović's assumption is correct, and it sounds convincing, then it would corroborate the inference that the Radical leadership in Belgrade had been divided.

By the beginning of 1886, however, the Radical movement completely abandoned its revolutionary ambitions. There were several reasons for this shift in political strategy. Firstly, on 1 January 1886, the Radical leaders, imprisoned for their alleged involvement in the Timok rebellion, had been pardoned and freed. The Serbian ruler was forced to step back largely because of his disastrous defeat in the war with Bulgaria in 1885.[61] Secondly, Nikola Pašić and other Radical emigrants in Bulgaria ceased their rebellious activities. Thirdly, the movement had already been reorganized. The process of Radicals re-entering Serbian politics was underway, especially through its newly-launched newspaper *Odjek* (The Echo), which had been started in

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[57] Letter to Nikola Pašić, Belgrade, 11 February 1884, private collection.

[58] Belgrade, Archives of Serbia (hereafter AS), Milutin Garašanin Fond, B6, no. 837.

[59] Slobodan Jovanović, "Pašić u emigraciji", *Srpski književni glasnik* XXI (Belgrade, 1927), 509-511.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Stojan Novaković, *Dvadeset godina ustavne borbe u Srbiji 1883-1903* (Belgrade, 1912), 202.

the fall of 1884, and by the beginning of 1885 had already 900 subscribers.[62] Although moderate in political expressions compared to *Samouprava*, *Odjek* was instrumental in spreading Radical ideas and in legalizing the movement after the Timok rebellion.

The Radicals clearly expressed their tendency towards appeasement in two announcements to the membership published in 1886:

> The attitude of our Party vis-à-vis present circumstances should not be emotional or inspired by great hopes or moral beliefs; rather it should be limited to cautious waiting and unanimous readiness for complex political work.[63]

In another set of instructions concerning the upcoming elections in 1887, the Radical leadership advised its followers:

> – to avoid everything that could give excuse or provoke severer counter-measures by the government.
> – not to listen to anyone; to use decisively and collectively the voting rights; to act intelligently within legal limits.[64]

The movement had obviously matured through the years of dynamic events and definitely accepted a legal path to political power as the only means of democratic struggle. From this point on, Serbian Radicalism finally became the movement of a purely democratic orientation.

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The period of pragmatic Radicalism in Serbia roughly covered the years between 1886 and 1894. It was notable for the movement's definite acceptance into the existing political system, and for the actions aimed at achieving political reforms through that system. The Radicals' first success was the agreement they concluded with the Liberals in the spring of 1886.[65] This agreement was motivated by two important factors: the necessity of legalizing the Radical movement after the Timok rebellion affair and the chance of entering the government. This was possible only through an agreement with the opposition party of the Liberals.

The Radical-Liberal agreement did not signal any ideological rapprochement between the two political groups.[66] It rather was directed towards collaboration during the elections and, in case of electoral victory,

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[62] Stojan Protić, *Odlomci iz ustavne i narodne borbe* (Belgrade, 1911-12), 196.

[63] Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (hereafter ASANU), no. 13682.

[64] *Ibid*.

[65] Jovan Avakumović, "Memoirs", ASANU, no. 9287, p. 5.

[66] *Ibid*. See also Živanović, *Politička istorija*, III, 405.

the possibility of forming a coalition government.[67] The major task of that coalition cabinet, which was actually organized on 1 June 1887, under the Presidency of the Liberal Jovan Ristić, was to foster constitutional reform. For the first time in their history, the Radicals entered the cabinet, receiving the following ministerial sectors: Sava Grujić became the Minister of the Military, Mihailo Vujić received the Ministry of Finances, Pera Velimirović became the Minister of Constructions and Svetozar Milosavljević was appointed the Minister of Education.[68] The coalition between the Liberals and the Radicals did not last long. After several months, on 19 December 1887, the Radicals formed the first purely Radical cabinet[69] under the presidency of General Sava Grujić. The conflict with the King escalated, forcing the Radical government to resign in April 1888.[70]

If the failure of the Timok rebellion was the King's victory over the Radicals, than the promulgation of the new Constitution in December 1888 was the Radical victory over the ruler. Soon after this document's approval by the National Assembly, the King abdicated and left Serbia (22 February I889). A Regency was formed in order to represent the sovereign rights of Milan's minor son Alexander.[71]

Although the Constitution of 1888 came as a result of the work of all three political parties, its spirit basically reflected the programme of the Radical Party. It was one the most liberal constitutions in Europe of that time, establishing the basis for full democracy and opening the door for the development of an advanced political system in Serbia. Briefly, the constitutional act of 1888 can be considered the realization of the Radical political programme.

Soon after the abdication of King Milan, the prominent Radical leader Nikola Pašić was finally pardoned and allowed to return to Serbia. He came back to his native country in 1889 and immediately took over leadership of the Radical movement.

The period from February 1889 to August 1892 was the longest period prior to 1903 in which the Radicals were in power. During those three and a half years they were able to implement and develop a political system based on the Constitution of 1888 and on intensive legislative activity. This period of Serbian history was rightfully named "the Radical regime".[72]

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[67] Liberal-Radical agreement in Avakumović, "Memoirs", 58-65.

[68] Avakumović, "Memoirs", 8.

[69] Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića*, III, 233-235.

[70] Živanović, *Politička istorija*, III, 240-244.

[71] *Ibid*.

[72] Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, I, 190-200.

According to the law on elections of representatives, passed in March 1890, the Radicals succeeded in introducing virtually general voting right without any census. It contained several important reforms which secured a democratic electoral procedure: it introduced the secret ballot, power during the elections was assigned to the president of the electoral committee, without any interference of State authorities, and a detailed penal code was introduced for cases of abuse during the elections.[73]

Two other legal documents were passed during Radical rule and shed a greater understanding of the Radical interpretation of democracy. The law on ministerial responsibility dated January 1891, gave the right of questioning to both the National Assembly and to the King. The ministerial responsibility was both political and criminal.[74] The law on communes, enforced in November 1889, was designed to introduce the concept of local self-government as the most important political system in the country. The application of this system essentially meant the realization of the Radical programme.[75]

Upon his return to Serbia, Nikola Pašić was elected president of the National Assembly in 1889 and promptly formed his first Radical cabinet.[76] The cabinet resigned in August 1892 and was succeeded by the Liberal government of Jovan Avakumović.[77] The Radicals were again an opposition party waiting for new elections that, so they hoped, would be their next chance. Changes in the electoral system, whereby all indebted citizens were denied voting rights, resulted in a close vote. The Liberals were able to keep their government by a tight margin.[78]

Within a year, on 1 April 1893, the minor King Alexander Obrenović, while dining with members of the Regency, supported by the army and government members, proclaimed himself king and took the royal powers. The outcome of the coup d'état was the collapse of the Regency and the cabinet. The young ruler appointed Lazar Dokić, his former professor (member of the Radical Party but friendly with the Court), as President of the Government.[79] The Radicals accepted this change with vigour and acclamation. It

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[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *Ibid.*, 222.

[77] Živanović, *Politička istorija*, III, 253.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] See Raša Milošević, *Državni udar odozgo i Prvi april 1893; svrgnuće krujeg kraljevskog namesništva* (Belgrade, 1936).

was reported that "the Radicals accompanied the King all over Serbia cheering and calling him 'the first Radical' and 'Alexander the Great'."[80] With the exception of the Ministry of the Military, the cabinet of Lazar Dokić was purely Radical.[81] Once again, the collaboration was short-lived. The Radical cabinet was forced to resign and, moreover, the Radicals and the King entered into an open confrontation. Radical public meetings were banned and the Radicals described as just "a mob gathered to disturb public peace and order".[82] The King's final step was his decision to abolish the Constitution of 1888 in May 1894.[83] Once again, the Serbian State was pushed into a period dominated by the ruler and his camarilla. The Radical achievements in political affairs were suppressed and their collaboration with the King proved to be detrimental and misjudged. The period of pragmatic Radicalism seems to have been crucial in many ways. The Radical Party progressed in the aftermath of the Timok rebellion, passing through the painful process of political reorientation, finally succeeding in entering the government and becoming an important political factor. This period was characterized by several significant achievements of the Radical Party in the implementation of parliamentarism and modern democracy. Beginning with the Constitution of 1888, followed by a series of legal documents which had specified the principles established by the Constitution, the Radicals realized much of their political programme.[84] Finally, they collaborated with the Liberals and with the King. This meant that their partisan exclusiveness, which still existed among certain circles in the Party, had been generally eliminated. They entered the phase in which they understood and accepted the rules of the political game; they were not as innocent and clean as they had been in 1881. Instead, they became successful and powerful.

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The phase of Serbian Radicalism from 1894 to 1903 was marked chiefly by peacefulness and unsuccessful attempts to return to power, becoming known as the period of overpowered Radicalism. The political work of the Radical leaders was mainly concentrated on journalistic activities. Through their leading political organ *Odjek*, the newly-started *Narod* (The People) and the literary-political magazine *Delo* (The Deed), the Radicals were able

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[80] Avakumović, "Memoirs", 12.

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] Avakumović, "Memoirs", no. 9287/III, 174.

[83] Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, II, 203–221.

[84] Milivoje Popović, *Poreklo i postanak ustava od 1888. godine* (Belgrade, 1939), 90-91.

to remain a presence in daily politics. Besides everyday issues, their attention turned to questions of European political theory. During this period, the Radicals accepted the theory of British parliamentarism, relying on the work of two of their political writers: Stojan Protić and Milovan Dj. Milovanović.[85]

Once again, the major Radical objective was the demand for a *new* constitution. The government's attempts to form a constitutional committee of all three political parties definitely failed in 1896 as a result of the Radicals' vigorous opposition to collaboration with the Progressivist government of Stojan Novaković coupled with their pressure to reinforce the Constitution of 1888.[86]

The summer of 1896 was marked by a massive Radical meeting held in Belgrade on 28 July. According to *Odjek*, between 35 and 40 thousand people were present.[87] Most of them were peasants who came from all over Serbia.[88] Živan Živanović, a prominent Liberal, claimed that this had been the most massive political meeting ever organized in Serbia.[89]

At the end of 1896 the Radicals entered the cabinet again. After an arrangement with the King, Djordje Simić, one of the less important Radicals in the party hierarchy and a member of its least militant wing, formed a government consisting of neutrals and compromising Radicals. The Radical ministers were Mihailo Vujić, Pera Velimirović, Andra Nikolić and Milovan Milovanović.[90] Behind this group stood Nikola Pašić as a "secret advisor of the government".[91] As a part of the deal with the King, the Radicals agreed to postpone constitutional reform for one whole year. Radical pragmatism became more than obvious. Intent to remain in power, they temporarily betrayed their most important political objective and principle: the demand for the reinstitution of the 1888 Constitution. This cabinet was forced to resign in the fall of 1897, largely because ex-King Milan Obrenović returned to Serbia. The next years marked the time of the personal regime of King Alexander supported and advised by his father Milan. The government was headed by Milan's intimate old friend Vladan Djordjević. Despite all their previous attempts to collaborate with the Crown, the Radicals were again out of power, and more importantly, out of the political mainstream.

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[85] Slobodan Jovanović, *Moji savremenici* (Windsor, Canada, 1953), 128.

[86] See Novaković, *Ustavna borba*.

[87] *Odjek*, 30 July 1896.

[88] *Ibid*.

[89] Živanović, *Politička istorija*, III, 309-310.

[90] Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, III, 148-151.

[91] *Ibid*.

The majority of the laws passed under Radical rule were changed or sup-pressed.

The final attack on the Radical Party came in 1899. An abortive at-tempt on the ex-King Milan's life made by a youngster from Bosnia was used by the government as a pretext to arrest the Party's most outspoken leaders, accusing them of inspiring and organizing the attempted assassina-tion. The Radicals imprisoned were Nikola Pašić, Kosta Taušnović, Stojan Protić, Ljuba Živković and the priest Milan Djurić.[92] The prosecution pa-pers stated that during the meeting of the Radical Main Committee Nikola Pašić openly threatened ex-King Milan; that Ljuba Živković was the author of "The Demon of Serbia", which alluded to ex-Milan, and praised Karad-jordje, the leader of the First Serbian Insurrection; and that the entire public life of Stojan Protić was the life of a revolutionary.[93] The ex-King Milan took the advantage of the event to destroy the leadership of the Radical move-ment.[94] At first, he insisted on the death penalty for Pašić and Taušanović in retaliation for all past and present conflicts and clashes. But, when the Serbian and European, especially Russian public as well as governments reacted against the government accusations, finding that the arrested Radi-cals were innocent, the ex-King decided to make a bargain with Pašić. Pašić agreed to accuse some of his Party comrades (Protić and Živković) of anti-dynastic attitudes and possible inspiration for the attempted assassination and, in return, his and Taušanović's lives were spared. In the end, the ac-cused Radicals were sentenced to twenty years of hard labour, Taušanović to 10 years and Pašić to only five years in prison.[95] These measures were accompanied by organized attacks on the Radicals. They were being fired, persecuted, and purged throughout Serbia.

In 1901, the Radical movement re-emerged in Serbian politics with the death of their arch-enemy, ex-King Milan Obrenović. And once again, as many times before, the Radicals insisted on constitutional reform.

Since 1894 the country had been virtually without a constitution. The document of 1888 had been voided in favour of the old Constitution of 1869 without an official proclamation. In February 1901, the Radical leaders Mihailo Vujić and Milovan Milovanović entered the government. At the end of March, Vujić formed a coalition cabinet with the Progres-sivists and immediately addressed the constitutional question. The king oc-troyed the new Constitution in April 1901. This event was preceded by a Radical-Progressivist agreement, known as the Fusion, which came as a

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[92] AS, Vladan Djordjević Fond, B9, no. 27.

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] *Ibid.* See also Kosta Jezdić, *Ivandanski atentat i Nikola Pašić* (Belgrade, 1926).

[95] Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovića*, III, 352-355.

result of King Alexander's demand.[96] The Constitution was a compromise solution between the two previous Serbian highest charters, of 1869 and 1888. The Constitution of 1901 established a bicameral Parliament with a Senate and National Assembly. The Senate as the Upper House was only partially elective – most of its members (30) were appointed by the King, whereas only 18 were chosen by the voters.[97] The legislative initiative was divided between the King and the Parliament. The Constitution enlarged the prerogatives of the State Council as the supreme administrative-judicial body. Election by secret ballot was re-established, while the Constitution guaranteed only limited civil liberties.[98]

The Fusion with the Progressivists, a compromise on the constitutional question, became the major cause for the split in the Radical movement. A group of younger Radical intellectuals left the bulk of the Party and started the Independent Radical Party in 1901.[99] This was the rupture between the older generation and the younger members of the Radical movement rather than an ideological division between the two groups. The Independent Radicals insisted on returning to the original political programme of 1881 and on the restoration of the 1888 Constitution. From this point on, the Independent Radical Party played an outstandingly important role in Serbian politics. After 1903, the Old Radicals and the Independent Radicals became two leading political camps in Serbia. The old political groups, Progressivists and Liberals, gradually disappeared from the political scene. The Independent Radicals were led by three Ljubomirs: Ljubomir Živković, Ljubomir Stojanović and Ljubomir Davidović.[100]

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The turning point in modern Serbian history came in 1903. That year was marked by the assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga by a group of young Serbian officers.[101] This event marked the end of the Obrenović dynasty which had ruled Serbia with interruptions for more than seventy years (1815–42 and 1858–1903), but more importantly, it opened the door for a constitutional parliamentary democracy. In June 1903, only a month after the King's death, a new constitution, with essentially the same text as that of 1888, was passed by the Grand National Assembly. The Karadjordjević

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[96] *Ibid.*, 381-385.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] *Ibid.*, 391-394.

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] For more details, see Vasić, *1903*.

dynasty replaced the Obrenovićs – Peter Karadjordjević, the grandson of Karadjordje, became King of Serbia. The Radical Party entered its Golden Age. After over twenty years of struggle, rebellion, crisis, compromise and success, it became powerful and mature enough to dominate Serbian politics and decisively contribute to Serbia's emergence as a democratic European state.

Čedomir Antić

Crisis and Armament
Economic Relations between Great Britain
and Serbia 1910–1912[1]

The highest rise and insignificant presence

In 1910 a period of intensive armament of the Serbian army began, and
as the country was not financially strong enough to meet all the projected
expenses, a new and wide-ranging involvement of foreign capital in Serbia
was inevitable. This created a financial contest between the Great Powers
for dominance over the country, and was a quiet prelude to the Balkan Wars
and the First World War.

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[1] Diplomatic relations between Serbia and Great Britain were established on 5 June
1837, when Colonel George Lloyd Hodges handed his credentials to Prince Miloš, thus
becoming the first British General-Agent in the Principality of Serbia. Hodges' activi-
ties were mainly aimed at supporting the autocratic Serbian monarch in his opposition
to the influence of St. Petersburg and Constantinople. Nevertheless, as it was a period
when Russian influence on the Porte was in the ascendant, and as Miloš's misrule was
meeting formidable resistance in Serbia, British diplomacy failed in its efforts. Finally,
Prince Miloš was forced to abdicate, and the first British diplomatic representative in
Serbia, finding his position untenable, left the country as well.

The next British diplomatic representative in Serbia was T. G. de Fonblanque. This
time, British diplomacy decided to avoid any trouble. Nevertheless, Fonblanque was not
impressed by the regime established in Serbia: he despised the weakness of Prince Ale-
ksandar Karadjordjević and pointed out in his despatches the high levels of corruption
in the powerful oligarchy assembled in the State Council. Above all, he never got used
to Serbia and maintained a hostile attitude towards the Serbs. Paradoxically, although
alienated and inimically disposed, Fonblanque had been virtually forgotten in Belgrade
for almost eighteen years. After the 1848/9 revolution in Hungary, he helped to effect
the escape of its leader Kossuth, and so attracted the personal enmity of the Austrian
Emperor Franz Joseph. When, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, Russia and Austria
threatened to occupy Serbia, it was Britain that temporarily won the greatest influence
on Serbian affairs. But, as the Paris Peace settlement did not significantly enhance the
position and status of the Principality of Serbia, British prestige promptly decreased.

For Serbia, the question of army modernisation became a burning priority after the report by Colonel Mašin, submitted to the Serbian Government in 1907, reviled the Serbian army not only for lagging behind its mighty imperial foes, the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary, but for

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Restoration of the Obrenović dynasty in 1858 did not bring much change in Anglo-Serbian relations. During the 1860's Serbia was trying to win complete independence and to liberate neighbouring districts. The next British consul, Langworth (1860–1875), perceived Serbia as a battlefield for the two equally dangerous movements for the European balance of power: Pan-Slavism and South-Slavism. When, in the Eastern Crisis Russia defeated the Ottoman Empire and Pan-Slavism appeared to be triumphant in the Balkans, Great Britain stood up as the last protector of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the crisis opened a formidable rift between the approach of British politicians to the Balkans and the attitude of the public. Some politicians, as was the case with Disraeli, were motivated by political pragmatism to support the Porte, and at the same time were almost completely without interest in the Ottoman reform and the position of Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire. On the other side were the Liberals, strongly supported by the British public, who became very sensitive to any news about unrestrained oppression in the Ottoman Empire. The most famous proponent of this policy was Gladstone.

The 1880's and 1890's were a period when Serbia and Romania, although formally independent since 1878, were gradually becoming politically and economically dependent on Austria-Hungary. Even though, in 1886, the British diplomatic representative in Belgrade was promoted in rank to Minister Extraordinary and Envoy Plenipotentiary, direct political interest in Serbia was in a process of decline. At the turn of the century the situation changed to a certain degree. The Macedonian uprising of 1903 and the assassination of the Serbian royal couple attracted the attention of the British public and government. The Macedonian uprising triggered European mediation and the common reforming action of the Great Powers towards Turkey-in-Europe. On the other side, the brutal murder of King Aleksandar Obrenović and Queen Draga left a long-lasting mark on relations between London and Belgrade. Diplomatic relations were broken for three years, and remained estranged until 1913. The British Government's conditions for their restoration involved the elimination from public life of the officers who had played major roles in the conspiracy. As the new regime and the Karadjordjević dynasty were still weak, and relied heavily on the support of the army, genuine normalisation required considerable time. Before that could happen, the economic rivalry and political dispute between Serbia and Austria-Hungary had already started, while Britain did not take part in the first stages of the economic contest between the Great Powers over the provision of loans for Serbia and the establishment of an armament programme for the Serbian army. So when in 1906 a new British Minister, John B. Whitehead, was appointed, Britain was lagging behind the other Great Powers as far as influence on Serbian affairs was concerned. The British position improved somewhat during the Bosnian crisis of 1908, but British diplomacy limited the signs of its new benevolence towards Serbia strictly to moral support. Serbia became interesting to the Foreign Office mainly because Serbia's adversary was Austria-Hungary, a devoted ally of Germany. Beyond that fact there was nothing about Serbia that was attractive for British diplo-

lagging behind Bulgaria as well.[2] Another impulse came with the humiliating Annexation crisis and the Austrian actions in Sandjak, Malissori and the Kosovo-Metohija region. Alongside the military issues, Serbia had felt strong economic pressure from its mighty neighbour Austria-Hungary. The period after 1903 witnessed an intensifying economic contest between the two countries, which culminated in the Customs War in 1906. An economic outlet onto the sea of one of its neighbours thus became the principal political obsession of Serbian politicians and capitalists, and it was usually identified with the independence of the country. As has already been mentioned, 1910 was the year when the idea of a military and political alliance between the Balkan countries attracted once more the attention of local politicians. Whether such an alliance would be anti-Austrian or anti-Ottoman, peaceful or aggressive, was being kept an obscure secret, for Balkan politicians were fully aware that their freedom of action would mainly depend on the complex balance between the Great Powers.[3] Successful reform and armament of the Serbian army was the main precondition that such an alliance would be effectively negotiated, and that Serbian interests would be well placated within it.

When Sir Ralph Paget[4] arrived in Belgrade, economic relations between Great Britain and Serbia were twofold. The range of potential financial and commercial activities in Serbia was limited, and that was why

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macy. Serbia was not perceived as worth considering as a possible future ally. The obvious instability of the Karadjordjević dynasty, the fragility of the new parliamentarian political system, and the questionable virtues of the Serbian army all raised concerns that internal crises in Serbia might well affect relations between the Great Powers in the future.

[2] Whitehead to Grey, General Report on the Kingdom of Servia for the year 1907, Belgrade, 2 April 1908, 291-293, in *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print*, gen. eds. Kenneth Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, Part I, From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War, series F: Europe, 1848–1914, ed. J.V. Keiger, vol. 16 (University Publications of America, 1989; further referred to as *BdoFA*).

[3] D. Djordjević, *Milovan Milovanović* (Belgrade, 1997); Ch. Heilmreich, *The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars, 1912–13* (London, 1938).

[4] Sir Ralph Spencer Paget (1864–1940) was in British diplomatic service from 1889. He was British Minister in Guatemala, Siam, Bavaria, Serbia and Denmark. In 1919 he was sent to Rio de Janeiro as the first British Ambassador to Brazil. Paget was British Minister in Belgrade from 1910 to 1913 (during the Balkan Wars 1912–13) and in 1915 spent several months in Serbia as High Commissioner of British Red Cross. Ralph Paget was Assistant Under-secretary of Foreign Affaires in 1916, when together with Sir William Tyrell drafted the first official British plan of post-war composition of Europe. Cedomir Antic, "Sir Ralph Paget and British Policy towards Serbia from 1910 to 1913" (MA thesis, Bristol, 2002).

it only attracted small and not particularly influential British companies. Although occasionally raised very loud, their voice had only a modest effect on the Foreign Office, which found many political obstacles to a wider involvement of British capital in Serbia. Animosity towards the Serbian army, in which the detested regicides preserved much of their previous influence, was still alive, as was an undisguised contempt for corrupt Belgrade politicians and the feeble Karadjordjević dynasty.[5] The Balkans were also a region in which Britain did not have any direct political or economic interest, but this was not the case with British imperial allies and adversaries. In this context, the region had a disproportional importance for British foreign policy. So, it was natural that British diplomats defined Britain's economic relations with Serbia in vague terms. They had tried to explain the apparent political obstacles and pressures for a wider involvement of British capital in Serbia by the absence of any major British investment or any already-existing economic presence.[6]

Above all, Great Britain was very interested in the destiny of the Ottoman Empire, and was naturally anxious about the pro-Ottoman feelings of a hundred million of its Muslim subjects in India.[7] Relations with Russia were also the source of considerable unease for Great Britain and made it very reluctant to become involved. In 1907, an alliance was concluded between the two old adversaries. However, while Persia had been the last and most formidable obstacle to overcome before that alliance was concluded, the Balkans, which were to become the centre of two major crises that ushered in the First World War, were not particularly discussed. When, about 1910, Great Britain tried to move closer to Austria-Hungary, the Foreign Office did not consider that a common stand with Russia over the Balkans was necessary.[8] On the other hand, France, the closest British ally, was eager to take the place of Austria-Hungary as the financial patron of Serbia. The bids to provide Serbian loans thus turned out to be a contest between French and German capital and ultimately resulted in a compromise, which

[5] Many authors consider xenophobia and corruption as the main reason for modest involvement of foreign capital in Serbia, cf. M. Palairet, *The Balkan Economies, c. 1800–1914* (Cambridge, 1997), 331, 333.

[6] Paget expressed dissatisfaction with the value of commercial exchange between the two countries, although aware of its potential for steady increase. *BdoFA*, 405.

[7] J. Heller, *British Policy Towards the Ottoman Empire (1908–1914)*, (London, 1983), 58.

[8] Russia tended to reinforce its political influence on the Balkans with economical involvement, but after the 1905 revolution and the redefinition of its foreign policy aims, this ceased to be a priority. Just before the Balkan War, Russian Balkan policy became highly limited and dependent upon the Straits question.

finally imposed French economic supremacy in Serbia. The participation of France in two major loans that Serbia raised in 1909/10 and 1913 was so significant that France became the owner of more than three-quarters of all the debts of the Serbian State.[9] In the struggle to give loans, Great Britain, which restored relations with Serbia in 1906, was a newcomer. British diplomats did not believe that any expected profits could be worth even the slightly possible deterioration of Britain's otherwise good relations with France.

Although the issue was not important enough to provoke rivalry between Britain and France, the Serbian loans were still a very tempting and attractive investment. The Serbian political elite considered armament and the Danube–Adriatic Railway an urgent matter, crucial for the survival of the State. This was the reason why the Serbian Government was not willing to become economically dependent on Germany or, especially, on Austria-Hungary. So it was almost entirely up to financial syndicates from the countries of the Triple Entente to define conditions and to impose them, without expecting many difficulties. Successive loans of 150 and 250 million francs had been taken mostly from France. Their conditions were so unfavourable that in the case of the second loan the total sum designed to be repaid by 1963 was supposed to reach 677.5 million francs.[10] Aware that its efforts to preserve political independence could have the possible effect of making the country highly dependent on France, the Serbian Government at first tried to attract Russian and British capital, and then to involve industrial investments from both countries, in order to make the French pressure lighter.

The Serbian Government had not been completely frank about its real aims. Although French predominance in Serbian loans and armament had already been decided before Ralph Paget was appointed British minister to Belgrade, the efforts of Serbian diplomats to attract British capital did not cease right up to the beginning of the First World War. However, despite all the promises, British capital largely remained uninvolved, and only few of the smaller orders for military material were placed in Britain. The real aim of Serbian politicians became obvious after a while to the representatives of the British Legation in Belgrade: British financial syndicates and military industry were frequently pursued only with the purpose of using them to negotiate down French conditions, in case they were too harsh. In reality,

[9] In all loans that Serbia had raised between 1867 and 1913 the French share was 79%, while the Austro-German was 21%. Lj. Aleksić-Pejković, *Odnosi Srbije sa Francuskom i Engleskom 1903–1914* (The Relations between Serbia, France and Great Britain from 1903 to 1914), (Belgrade, 1965), 812.

[10] *Ibid*., 350.

British support was rarely seriously considered as an alternative.[11] This made British representatives in Serbia even more suspicious of and closed towards potential offers, even when, as was the case with Sir J. B. Whitehead, Paget's predecessor, they were personally interested.[12]

At the beginning of 1910, British diplomacy made major efforts to acquire a share in the 30 million franc loan that the Serbian State Mortgage Bank was negotiating with French creditors. Under the burden of previous loans concluded in France, and despite very unfavourable conditions, the Bank finally gave priority to Paris again.[13] As the conclusion of the loan was immediately followed by negotiations for the orders of armaments, British diplomacy was trying to negotiate its involvement directly with the French. The negotiations began informally in Paris, where the British ambassador Sir Francis Bertie received the representatives of the French Bank group, who recommended that he should inquire of the French government whether there was any possibility of part of an artillery order being placed in Great Britain.[14] The share that the French bankers promised to Bertie was moderate but appeared to be satisfactory, for out of 44 million francs reserved for military purchases (of the 150 million franc loan), Britain was promised 5½ millions.[15] However, although first reactions from Serbia were very optimistic,[16] the British plans came to nothing when they met the resolute opposition of French diplomacy and, more surprisingly, the joint resistance of the governing Serbian parties.[17] Subsequently, Whitehead tried to save some smaller orders, namely machine guns, for Vickers, Sons and Maxim Company. Even so, neither the British minister nor his superiors harboured any illusion that the final decision would be in favour of the British applicant.[18] That impression was confirmed only three weeks later,

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[11] After one such case in February 1910, the British Minister made an official protest, but the Serbian Bank did not abolish the concluded loan, nor did it resume negotiations. Whitehead to Grey, Belgrade, 1 March 1910, FO 371/982. Indicative was the reaction in the Foreign Office. Sir Edward Grey, after a meeting with the Serbian Chargé d'Affaires, remarked that the negotiations were not "a matter in which HMG could intervene diplomatically". Grey to Whitehead, London, 4 March 1910, Minute.

[12] Aleksić-Pejković, *Odnosi*, 324.

[13] Whitehead to Grey, Belgrade, 17 February 1910, Serbia FO 371/982.

[14] Bertie to Grey, Paris, 10 January 1910, FO 371/982.

[15] Caillard to Bertie, Hotel Chatam, Paris, 10 January 1910, FO 371/982.

[16] Whitehead to Grey, 13 January 1910, FO 371/982.

[17] In conversation with the Serbian Prime Minister Pašić, Whitehead naturally got assurances that the main guilt for the rejection was on Pašić's coalition partners, the Independent Radicals. Whitehead to Grey, 18 January 1910, FO 371/982.

[18] Hardinge remarked that British "only play the part of letter box in entire affair", Opt. Cit. Minute.

when the efforts of another British applicant, Armstrong, Whitworth and Company, to sell 32,000 rifles to Serbia met the same fate.[19]

On the other hand, sometimes the British government appeared to be the main obstacle for the immediate interests of the British military industry. Sir Ralph Paget had already been formally appointed British minister to the Court of Serbia when a "Dreadnought affair" attracted the attention of the sensitive British public. In June 1910, a Major Maunsell visited Belgrade as a representative of the Vickers, Sons and Maxim Company. Maunsell offered the Serbian Government an opportunity to purchase "one or two powerful gunboats" for service on the Danube and Sava rivers.[20] As the border between Serbia and Austria-Hungary was an ambiguous issue, so was the defence of the Serbian capital, and the Foreign Office promptly denied any help or support to the British visitor. Bridge suggests that Whitehead, despite his family ties with one of the company's owners, strongly warned Grey that the £120,000 contract, however beneficial it might have been for British industry, could cause a serious deterioration in relations with Austria-Hungary.[21] The presence of a British major, and his activities in Belgrade, aroused the suspicion of Austrian diplomats. The British ambassador in Vienna was asked for an explanation, while the Austrian minister in Belgrade made it known to his British colleague that the entire operation was being carefully monitored.[22] The reaction of the Foreign Office was very tense. As the Serbian government had just asked for some expertise, a form of assistance which the British government had usually given willingly, the response now was negative, and any official connection with Maunsell was again denied.[23]

The contract was not concluded. The already-familiar pattern was repeated, but this time it was motivated by British diplomatic priorities. However, the British press, another important factor, interfered almost immediately. The entanglement surfaced in Vienna, where no one expected it would, when Alfred Steed, Austrian correspondent of *The Times*, made a

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[19] Whitehead to Grey, 29 March 1910, FO 368/456.

[20] Whitehead to Grey, Belgrade, 6 June 1910, FO 371/982.

[21] F.R. Bridge, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary 1906–1914* (London, 1972), 152-53, BD VII, 696.

[22] Count Forgach even mentioned them as "dreadnoughts", adopting the same term that had been used in offer to Serbian Government. Whitehead to Grey, Belgrade, 6 June 1910, FO 371/982.

[23] Edward Grey remarked: "We can not urge… to help Serbia in arms against Austria and it is perfectly futile for her to attempt to do it. Two gunboats on the river, however good, would not save Belgrade from the Austrian army. If Servia orders the gunboats she can do so, but we can not lend opinion." Opt. Cit. Minute.

carefully premeditated effort to embarrass the British Government. Steed, already well-known as an eager supporter of Balkan Christians, pursued the campaign against Austro-Hungarian policy towards Crete in June 1910, which had much embarrassed Whitehall.[24] This time, probably provoked by the failure of Maunsell's mission, Steed transmitted in full an otherwise unnoticed article that had originally appeared in *Tagblat*. The Austrian newspaper had written that official relations between Serbia and Britain had been strained due to the alleged refusal of the Serbian Government to give orders for war material to British firms, and even announced a rupture between the two countries. For Cartwright, the British ambassador in Vienna, it seemed obvious that Steed's main intention was to suggest to the British public that Austria-Hungary had inspired the rumour. Steed's manoeuvre was also obvious and unpleasant for the Serbian government, which not only hastened to publish a refutation, but preferred to do so in *The Times*.[25]

So, for the sake of good relations with Austria-Hungary, the Foreign Office withheld the contract worth a quarter of the annual British export to Serbia, and prevented its conclusion. Even so, in his Annual Report for 1910 the Secretary of the British Legation in Belgrade put the entire blame for the symbolic British presence in the Serbian economy on the "rotten system of placing army contracts in Serbia".[26] But, while France managed to become the main creditor of the Serbian State, its part in the much more modest Serbian commercial world remained insignificant.[27] When, as a result of recovery after the Annexation crisis, Serbian imports in 1910 increased by 24%, it was the increased British share in it that proportionally overtook the increases of other Great Powers.[28] The decline in commercial exchange with Austria-Hungary, which came as a consequence of her Customs War with Serbia, made the rise in Serbian exports to Great Britain much more spectacular. After Serbia had chosen the British outpost of Malta as the transit station for the export of its cattle, the total amount of Serbian exports to the United Kingdom increased by 7500% (from a fairly modest £695 to £52,173). The Serbian enthusiasm for foreign commerce was only temporary, since it was inspired by the strong influence of the

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[24] Bridge, *Great Britain*, 155.

[25] Having in mind possible consequences, Grey was outraged. For him, Steed was nothing more than "a mischievous person". Cartwright to Grey, Vienna, 7 July 1910, FO 371982, Minute.

[26] *BdoFA*, 369.

[27] *Ibid.*, 376-77.

[28] The rise in British trade with Serbia of almost 70%, from £212,538 to £368,276, can only be compared with that of Germany. *Ibid.*, 377.

Annexation crisis. However, despite the constantly tense political relations with Austria-Hungary, by 1912 the neighbouring monarchy had again become the principal buyer and supplier of Serbia, a trend disrupted only by the Balkan Wars and the First World War. That was why Sir Ralph Paget considered the British share in Serbian commerce to be unsatisfactory, although in comparison with 1909 its increase was evident.[29]

Despite all this, any increase in commerce with Serbia was to a very high degree related to the readiness of foreign countries to extend credit to her. In 1911, the Ethelburga (Financial) Syndicate competed for a Belgrade municipal loan of 40 million francs.[30] As might have been expected, the proposal was rejected even though it was the lowest bid. British diplomats suspected the unwritten provisions and "provisional arrangements" with French financiers as a main reason for this new defeat of British interests. On the other hand, as was the case with the military industry, although it was officially interested in involving British capital in Serbia, the Foreign Office did not show a great deal of intention to support commercial initiatives politically and to harmonise political activities with the fruitless efforts of British capitalists. In 1911 it became apparent that the Ottoman Government was going to reject Serbian proposals for the construction of the Danube–Adriatic Railway. Requested to support the representation to the Porte, HMG declared that it "*did not care to take the initiative in any steps at the Porte to promote the enterprise for which is not directly interested*".[31] The attitude would soon be seen to be regrettable, for only a year later British diplomacy had to stand behind a British company which was seeking to be contracted to construct the port of Prahovo (one planned terminus of the Danube–Adriatic Railway). The company was *J&W Stewart* (*Mc Laughlin*), which specialised in concrete constructions and was trying to compete for the contract against the Russian-backed *Taburno*. There was something minimalist in the approach that the British company assumed. Allegedly backed by certain circles in the British Government, *J&W Stewart* did not even succeed in establishing a good contact with the British Legation in Belgrade. This was despite the fact that Sir Ralph Paget was tirelessly trying to win over the support of the Serbian Prime Minister Pašić for the application. His efforts were sincere, but Paget, on the grounds of previous experiences, did not even for a moment have any doubts that the fi-

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[29] The imports from the United Kingdom had risen by 78% in 1912 in comparison with 1909, but the rise was just 3% in comparison with 1910. At the same time the tremendous Serbian export rise of 7500% recorded in 1910 was replaced with a modest and more realistic, but statistically still fantastic, 500%. *BdoFA*, 377, 405-406.

[30] *Ibid.*, 385.

[31] *Ibid.*, 391.

nal response would be negative.[32] Again the British company had offered the lowest price and better conditions, but Paget was strongly convinced that the open favour the Serbian government showed towards Mr. Taburno would be decisive. Paget did not become any more optimistic even when the Serbian Parliament rejected Taburno's offer. The course of events proved him right, because after the outbreak of the First Balkan War the entire Danube–Adriatic Railway project was abandoned.[33]

On the eve of the First Balkan War, it appeared for a moment that British financiers had finally decided to take a firm position in Serbia by establishing the Anglo-Servian Bank. The sum of £800 000 (20 million francs) that was offered as initial capital seemed to be a firm assurance that the concession would eventually be granted. This time, however, Sir Ralph Paget was doubtful not just about the frankness of the Serbian negotiators.[34] The talks were very long and were eventually interrupted by the war; nevertheless, at the very beginning, even before he received instructions from the Foreign Office, the British minister had not been particularly eager to give any assistance to Mr. Neff, the representative of the British trust (a financial syndicate). Paget's wariness was ultimately justified, for his initial qualms about Mr. Neff were reinforced by intelligence that the British trust was merely a smokescreen for Hungarian capital.[35] Between October 1912 and August 1913, the Ottoman Empire, one of four European empires that met their demise in the First World War, had begun to crumble. The Balkan Wars were the first Imperial crisis and they ushered in the First World War, which had a direct impact on the European states. The armies of the small Balkan states, which through efforts which had previously been unimaginable brought about the end of Ottoman dominance in the Balkans, had been financed and armed by the Great Powers. In the complicated balance between the Great Powers, those countries only achieved importance when their united armies reached a size that not even some of the Great Powers were able to raise two years later.[36] Serbia was the greatest surprise of the Balkan War for Austria-Hungary, but the Serbian army could never have risen to become a first rate power on the peninsula without French loans and armaments. Among the Great Powers, Great Britain had the weakest economic ties with Serbia, and only indirect political interests. That fact enabled Britain to act as the main mediator in the crisis and to make a

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[32] Paget to Grey, Belgrade, 23 September 1912, FO 368/724.

[33] *BdoFA*, 400.

[34] Paget to Grey, 16 September 1912, FO 368/724.

[35] *BdoFA*, 400.

[36] A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (London, 2001), 484.

crucial contribution to peace negotiations. As has already been mentioned, the main factors in the rapprochement between Great Britain and Serbia were a consequence of the needs of general and internal British policy. The British public, and to a lesser degree British diplomacy, had already become hostile towards the Turks and were to some extent anti-Austrian. However, British diplomacy had many reasons not to become pro-Serbian. The difference between the British and French attitudes rested mainly on the fact that France was economically involved in the region. The absence of economic interests, however, did not exclude the economic factor from British policy towards the Balkans. British industry had interests in expansion in Serbia, and although those interests were in their early stages before 1912, they most certainly existed.[37] But while British involvement was insignificant, the influence of Sir Ralph Paget on the development of economic links between the two countries during the period that he was at the head of the British Legation in Belgrade had a much wider importance. The main characteristics of Paget's economic policy towards Serbia were caution and restraint. He was careful not to run the risk of competing with Britain's ally – France, and was far too suspicious of Russia to encourage British rivalry with Germany and Austria-Hungary.

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[37] In the *Annual Report for 1913*, the Chargé d'Affaires in the British Legation Dayrell Crackanthorpe expressed his belief that Serbia, which in the War had "proved herself capable of acquiring a solid position among European nations", would manage to weaken the predominating economic influence of France and Germany on her economy, *BdoFA*, 411-412. As Serbia had spent a sum of its three annual budgets (370 million dinars) during the Balkan Wars it seems obvious that the country could only become more economically dependent. M. Cornwall, "The First World War", in *Serbia, Decision for War 1914*, ed. K. Wilson (London, 1995), 58.

Vojislav Pavlović

Le conflit franco-italien dans les Balkans 1915–1935.
Le rôle de la Yougoslavie

Le conflit franco-italien dans les Balkans est la conséquence directe de la Grande guerre. Cette dernière modifie profondément les constantes géostratégiques de la région. La disparition des Habsbourg et des Romanov, la défaite de l'Allemagne et de la Turquie, créent une situation inédite. Pour la première fois, aucune des puissances traditionnellement engagées dans les Balkans n'est en mesure d'y exercer une influence dominante. Les Balkans semblent s'être affranchis de toute domination étrangère, puisque le monde anglo-saxon ne fait preuve que d'un intérêt sporadique pour la région. Mais le calme de ce vide géostratégique n'est en fait qu'apparent : le conflit franco-italien pour la primauté dans les Balkans est déjà amorcé.

La guerre mondiale dans sa dimension balkanique se présente sous la forme d'un conflit austro-russe. Or, une hégémonie austro-allemande sur les Balkans était au moins aussi inacceptable pour les deux pays latins que la domination russe sur la région. Unies dans le refus des solutions régionales proposées par la Double Monarchie ou la Russie, les deux diplomaties latines étaient par ailleurs en complet désaccord entre elles. Le conflit franco-italien naît lors de la Grande guerre, comme une conséquence du contentieux territorial entre les nationalismes italien et yougoslave que la diplomatie française doit modérer. Ce conflit se prolonge sous des formes nouvelles bien au-delà de la fin des hostilités. Après la disparition des deux dynasties séculaires, l'enjeu du conflit franco-italien devient la réorganisation du vaste espace de cette Europe centrale limitée à l'Est par la République des Soviets et à l'Ouest par la République de Weimar. Le retour de l'Allemagne devenue hitlérienne dans le bassin danubien au milieu des années trente met fin à ce conflit franco-italien. La crainte d'une mainmise allemande sur l'Europe centrale pousse les deux diplomaties à s'entendre à nouveau. L'entente franco-italienne est scellée par les accords Mussolini–Laval de janvier 1935.

Nous nous proposons d'analyser seulement un aspect de ce conflit franco-italien : le volet yougoslave. En effet, la naissance de la Yougoslavie est la cause immédiate du conflit franco-italien. De ce fait, le volet yougoslave du conflit franco-italien prend la forme d'un contentieux italo-yougoslave, dont la diplomatie française devient en fait l'arbitre attitré. L'enjeu de ce contentieux dépasse largement le cadre d'un litige territorial portant sur la rive orientale de l'Adriatique. La particularité de ce triangle diplomatique (Paris, Rome, Belgrade) est à géométrie variable : il entremêle le contentieux franco-italien et le conflit italo-yougoslave, avec ses particularités nationalistes à multiples facettes. Le caractère multinational du nouvel État slave (teinté, certes d'idéologie yougoslave), voit la mise en place de son côté d'un double agenda nationaliste, serbe et croate. En conséquence, le volet yougoslave du conflit franco-italien se transforme en une série de négociations parallèles entre Rome, Belgrade et Zagreb, sous l'étroite surveillance de la diplomatie française dont l'enjeu était la survie même de l'État yougoslave.

Pour étudier le volet yougoslave du conflit franco-italien, nous nous proposons d'analyser :

1) ses origines, qui correspondent à la naissance de l'État yougoslave,

2) les objectifs et les stratégies de l'Italie et de la France dans le volet yougoslave du conflit franco-italien.[1]

I) Les origines du conflit franco-italien dans l'espace yougoslave

À l'origine du contentieux franco-italien dans l'espace yougoslave dans un premier temps les intérêts économiques étaient primordiaux. Les fonds français sont présents en Serbie depuis les années quatre-vingt du XIX siècle. La France est, au début du XXème siècle, le principal bailleur de fonds du petit Royaume.[2] Ce dernier est engagé à partir de 1906 dans un conflit économique avec la Monarchie voisine, dont l'enjeu est son indépendance économique et politique. C'est pourquoi les gouvernements des Radicaux

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[1] Tout discours sur l'histoire yougoslave nécessite quelques précisions terminologiques. Lorsque nous parlerons de la Yougoslavie, il est sous-entendu que nous nous référons au Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes qui ne disparaît qu'au début de 1929. Étant donné que le roi Alexandre Karadjordjević, et les partis politiques serbes, et notamment les Radicaux, gouvernent le pays tout au long de la période qui nous intéresse, il est évident que lorsque nous évoquerons les vues officielles de la Yougoslavie, nous sous-entendons leur point du vue.

[2] Jusqu'à juillet 1914 la somme totale des investissements français en Serbie s'élevait à 814,546 millions de francs. Dans les Balkans les investissements français n'étaient plus importants qu'en Grèce (825,802 millions de francs) et surtout en Turquie (2891,251 millions de francs). Rapport de Maurice Bompard, Paris, le 21 septembre 1917, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Yougoslavie, vol. 121, p. 8.

présidés par leur chef emblématique Nikola Pašić, cherchent avant tout une possibilité d'accéder aux marchés internationaux par une voie qui ne serait pas contrôlée par l'Autriche-Hongrie.[3] Ainsi naquit l'idée d'un chemin de fer de l'Adriatique reliant Belgrade à la côte albanaise. Ce projet jouit en 1908 des soutiens russe et français mais aussi italien. Lors de la mise en place du consortium censé financer ce projet, le ministre des Affaires Étrangères italien de l'époque, Tommaso Tittoni, fait pression afin d'y associer les banques italiennes.[4] C'est une des premières manifestations de l'intérêt de l'Italie pour la région, d'autant plus importante que l'esprit de l'entreprise était clairement antiautrichien. Or, l'Italie était membre de la Triple Alliance.

Cependant, l'exemple de cette coopération franco-italienne n'est qu'une exception à la règle, car tout au long des crises qui secouent les Balkans avant la Grande guerre, la diplomatie italienne se range aux côtés de ses alliés de la Triple Alliance. C'est notamment le cas après la première guerre balkanique. À l'époque, lors de la conférence des ambassadeurs à Londres, réunie afin de dessiner la carte des Balkans après la défaite des Ottomans, le Marquis de San Giuliano, Ministre italien des Affaires étrangères dans le gouvernement Giolitti, soutien la création d'un État albanais voulu par l'Autriche-Hongrie et combattu par la Serbie.[5] La position italienne lors de la conférence de Londres n'est pas motivée par le souci de soutenir les projets balkaniques de son allié. La Consulta a son propre agenda dans les Balkans. L'État albanais doit lui servir de porte d'entrée à une expansion économique dans les Balkans. C'est pourquoi San Giuliano s'oppose aux revendications serbes et même grecques sur la côte albanaise. Il accorde ainsi une crédibilité supplémentaire à l'idée, déjà très présente dans les milieux économiques et politiques de l'Italie de l'époque, de l'existence d'un grand marché balkanique représentant un potentiel immense pour l'expansion de

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[3] Voire au sujet du chemin de fer de l'Adriatique : Ljiljana Aleksić-Pejković, « Italija i Jadranska železnica » (L'Italie et le chemin de fer de l'Adriatique), *Istorijski časopis* 34 (Belgrade, 1987), 255-270; Dimitrije Djordjević, « Projekat Jadranske železnice u Srbiji 1896–1912 » (Le projet du chemin de fer de l'Adriatiqe en Serbie 1896–1912), *Istorijski glasnik* 3-4 (Belgrade, 1956), 3-33.

[4] Après une vive pression italienne sur le ministre français des Affaires étrangères de l'époque, Stephan Pichon, fut créée une société pour la construction de la ligne de chemin de fer avec participations française (Banque Ottomane) à hauteur de 45%, italienne 35%, russe 15%, et serbe 5%. Barrère à Pichon, Rome, le 30 avril et le 12 mai 1908, Documents Diplomatiques Français (par la suite DDF) (1871–1914), série II, vol. 11, doc. 343 et 356.

[5] Giorgio Candeloro, *Storia della Italia Moderna. La Prima guerra mondiale. Il dopoguerra. L'avvento del fascismo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1984), vol. VIII, 26.

l'industrie italienne. Certes, les exportations italiennes occupent la première place dans le nouvel État albanais, tandis que les exportations italiennes en Serbie, en Bulgarie et en Roumanie de 1907 à 1912 se voient multipliées par cinq. Cependant elles restent largement inférieures aux exportations italiennes vers l'Autriche-Hongrie, et ne représentent que 2 % de la totalité des exportations italiennes. Néanmoins, les entrepreneurs italiens demeurent convaincus que les Balkans sont un débouché naturel pour leur industrie.[6]

Cependant, les Balkans n'occupent pas une importance décisive dans l'orientation de la politique étrangère du gouvernement Giolitti. Son objectif principal était l'expansion coloniale. Or, la guerre contre l'empire ottoman pour la conquête de la Libye, ravive des tensions franco-italiennes dans la Méditerranée. L'accord franco-anglais de 1912 permettant à la France de concentrer toute sa flotte en Méditerranée, ne fait qu'augmenter davantage les tensions entre les deux «sœurs» latines. L'accord naval de 1913 avec l'Autriche, prévoyant une étroite coopération en cas de guerre avec la France, est la réponse italienne. En revanche, après les guerres balkaniques, Giolitti se refuse à cautionner la politique autrichienne de pression sur la Serbie, provoquée par des contentieux frontaliers entre l'Albanie d'un côté et la Serbie et le Monténégro de l'autre. Qui plus est, l'expulsion des Italiens de l'administration municipale de Trieste et les promesses non tenues sur la création d'une université italophone dans la même ville, créent de nouvelles tensions entre Rome et Vienne.[7]

Finalement la diplomatie italienne se voit contrainte à mener une politique de «containment» aussi bien envers l'Autriche-Hongrie que la France et la Serbie. Il lui était nécessaire de limiter toute velléité d'une domination française dans la Méditerranée, tout en s'opposant à la volonté autrichienne de contrôler la rive orientale de l'Adriatique en instaurant une influence prépondérante au Monténégro et en Albanie. Quant à la Serbie, son programme yougoslave, même s'il était encore à l'époque à l'état d'ébauche, provoquait certaines préoccupations en Italie. On craignait qu'une Grande Serbie, ou un État yougoslave puissent devenir un adversaire formidable sur l'autre rive de l'Adriatique.[8]

Le déclenchement de la Grande guerre modifie complètement les postulats de la politique étrangère italienne. Dorénavant, la question balkanique devient étroitement liée à celle de l'avenir des provinces italophones de la Double Monarchie. Le gouvernement d'Antonio Salandra, chef de

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[6] En avril 1914, les chambres de commerce de Milan, Venise, Ancone et Bari, se déclarent favorables à ce que la Serbie obtienne un débouché sur l'Adriatique. Brunello Vigezzi, *Da Giolitti a Salandra* (Florence : Valecchi Editore, 1969), 17-19.

[7] Candeloro, *Storia della Italia Moderna*, 24.

[8] Franco Gaeta, *Il nazionalismo italiano* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1981), 171.

file de la droite libérale, en place à partir de mars 1914, se trouve devant un dilemme important. Membre de la Triplice, l'Italie ne peut achever son intégration nationale qu'aux dépens de l'Autriche-Hongrie. En revanche, le contentieux avec la France dans la Méditerranée l'empêche d'imaginer une adhésion à l'Entente, d'autant plus que la vaste coalition des libéraux italiens est toujours majoritairement «tripliciste», car persuadée de la victoire des Puissances Centrales. C'est pourquoi le Marquis de San Giuliano, demeurant à son poste dans le gouvernement de Salandra, cherche dans un premier temps à obtenir des compensations territoriales de l'Autriche-Hongrie au cas où cette dernière arriverait à occuper voire annexer la Serbie. Le projet italien visant à obtenir la cession du Trentin dans le cas d'un éventuel élargissement dans les Balkans est repoussé catégoriquement par la Double Monarchie.[9]

Après la disparition de San Giuliano en octobre 1914, Salandra, en capacité de Ministre des Affaires Étrangères par intérim, définit l'orientation de la politique étrangère italienne comme «le sacro egoismo».[10] Il proclame ainsi publiquement la volonté italienne d'utiliser la guerre pour avancer ses intérêts nationaux et géostratégiques. Dans l'analyse de Salandra et de Sidney Sonnino, son ministre des Affaires Étrangères,[11] seule la guerre contre la Double Monarchie peut permettre à l'Italie d'accomplir pleinement son union nationale. Au-delà de ces derniers vestiges du *Risorgimento*, les deux hommes d'État italiens ont des objectifs plus vastes. Ils conçoivent l'État italien non seulement comme le cadre de l'union nationale, mais comme l'expression de la nation organisée, qui doit accroître son territoire et répandre son influence économique, pour ne pas succomber face à l'inévitable expansionnisme des autres États.[12] À leur avis, les Balkans assurent les plus grandes possibilités pour l'expansion italienne. Cependant, selon Sonnino, outre l'Autriche-Hongrie, le mouvement yougoslave représente le principal obstacle aux projets italiens. San Giuliano en était déjà conscient. En

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[9] Selon l'article VIII de la Triple Alliance il était prévu qu'en cas d'elargissment territorial d'une partie, l'autre avait droit à des compensations. San Giuliano aux ambassadeurs italiens à Berlin, Bollati, et à Vienne, Avarna, Rome, le 24 juillet 1914, Documenti Diplomatici Italiani (par la suite DDI), série IV, vol. 12, doc. 468; le 27 juillet 1914, DDI, série IV, vol. 12, doc. 576; Mémoire de l'Ambassade de l'Autriche-Hongrie à Rome, le 11 août 1914, DDI, série V, vol. 1, doc. 196.

[10] Le discours de Salandra eut lieu le 18 octobre 1914, Geoffrey A. Haywood, *Failure of a Dream. Sydney Sonnino and the Rise and Fall of Liberal Italy 1847–1922* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1999), 392.

[11] Sonnino dirigera de novembre 1914 à la fin de la guerre la diplomatie italienne.

[12] Gentile Emilio, *La Grande Italia. Ascesa e declino del mito della nazione nel ventesimo secolo* (Milan, 1997), 106.

septembre 1914, il écrit à l'ambassadeur italien à Petrograd, Carlotti, en résumant ainsi les raisons pour lesquelles l'Italie pouvait entrer en guerre :

> Comme Votre Excellence le sait, la raison fondamentale en vertu de laquelle l'Italie pourrait se décider de changer complètement l'orientation de sa politique étrangère est la menace que représente la politique austro-hongroise pour ses intérêts vitaux dans l'Adriatique. On ne peut pas passer du cauchemar de la menace autrichienne au cauchemar de la menace slave.[13]

L'orientation antiyougoslave de la politique étrangère italienne est confirmée par Sonnino en mars 1915 :

> Il ne vaudrait pas la peine d'entrer en guerre pour nous libérer de l'arrogante domination autrichienne dans l'Adriatique si nous devions retomber tout de suite après dans les mêmes conditions d'infériorité et d'un danger constant face à l'alliance des jeunes et ambitieux États yougoslaves.[14]

La volonté italienne d'empêcher à tout prix l'union yougoslave est traduite dans les faits en février 1915 lors de la formulation des conditions italiennes à l'entrée en guerre aux côtés de l'Entente. Dans cet exposé des buts de guerre de l'Italie, Sonnino confirme sa volonté d'endiguer la menace yougoslave.

D'abord il veut le faire par l'étendue des revendications territoriales italiennes. Sonnino demande l'annexion de : Trente, Trieste, Gorizia, Gradisca, l'Istrie jusqu'à Volosca, les îles de Quarnero, et la Dalmatie avec toutes ses îles. Il justifie l'importance des revendications territoriales par des raisons stratégiques. À son avis, la domination sur l'Adriatique ne peut être assurée que par le contrôle de la côte orientale avec ses îles et ses ports, car la côte italienne en est presque entièrement dépourvue. Pour justifier le découpage de la rive orientale, Sonnino avance aussi des raisons ethniques, affirmant que les Italiens étaient majoritaires dans les villes en Dalmatie. Or ses revendications révèlent des objectifs autrement concrets. Sonnino souhaite éloigner autant que possible les Yougoslaves de la côte, et lorsque cela est impossible, il devient primordial d'interposer une Dalmatie italienne entre le littoral croate au nord et les rives orientales de l'Adriatique revendiquées par la Serbie et par le Monténégro. C'est pourquoi, la côte entre Volosca et la Dalmatie est laissée à la Croatie, soit qu'elle devienne indépendante soit qu'elle demeure partie intégrante de l'Autriche-Hongrie, et la côte au sud de la Neretva est consentie à la Serbie et au Monténégro. De ce découpage de la côte adriatique se dégage la stratégie de Sonnino. Il veut remplacer

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[13] San Giuliano à Carlotti, Rome, le 16 septembre 1914, DDI, série V, vol. 1, doc. 703.

[14] Sonnino à Impériali, Tittoni et Carlotti, Rome, le 21 mars 1915, DDI, série V, vol. 3, doc. 164.

la Monarchie des Habsbourg par une série d'États suffisamment faibles pour être dominés économiquement et politiquement. Au cas où la Double Monarchie serait diminuée territorialement et économiquement, elle peut en faire partie. À côté de cette dernière, ou de la Croatie si cette dernière vient à Le remplacer, la Serbie, le Monténégro et l'Albanie devront tous avoir leur part de la côte, mais indépendamment les uns des autres. Cette politique d'annexion et de dépeçage de la côte Adriatique est scellée par le traité de Londres du 26 avril 1915. Par cet accord, l'Italie ne pose pas simplement ses conditions pour adhérer à l'Entente, mais elle dévoile aussi son ambition d'imposer sa domination dans l'Adriatique et dans les Balkans.[15]

Les déclarations de Sonnino et San Giuliano ainsi que les termes du traité de Londres, désignent la Serbie, et le mouvement yougoslave, comme les principaux rivaux du programme d'expansion italienne dans les Balkans. Sonnino confirme cet axiome de sa politique balkanique dès l'été 1915 ; il s'oppose résolument à l'union entre la Serbie et la Croatie. Évoquant le caractère secret du traité de Londres, il refuse à ce que les Alliés informent la Serbie de la partie de la côte qui lui est réservée par cet accord, et surtout il s'oppose catégoriquement à ce que les Alliés promettent à la Serbie de pouvoir s'unir avec la Croatie. Il s'agissait à l'époque de promettre à la Serbie la possibilité d'union avec la Croatie pourvu qu'elle cède une partie de la Macédoine à la Bulgarie afin de recréer l'alliance balkanique, et d'empêcher ainsi la Bulgarie de se joindre à la Triplice. Or, Sonnino récuse catégoriquement l'idée essentielle de cette stratégie, à savoir la volonté d'orienter l'alliance balkanique vers l'Ouest. Pour Sonnino, les défauts de cette réorganisation des Balkans sont doubles. D'abord la Serbie sera poussée vers l'Adriatique, tandis que son union avec la Croatie donnera naissance à ce grand État yougoslave capable de représenter une menace bien plus importante pour l'Italie que ne l'était la Double Monarchie.[16]

La défense inconditionnelle du traité de Londres sera tout au long de la guerre la préoccupation principale de Sonnino. Cette attitude était motivée à la fois par son caractère, par sa conception des relations internationales, et par son analyse des rapports au sein de la coalition alliée. Sonnino était un homme de conviction, dur, renfermé et peu sensible aux pressions et influences extérieures. Tout au long de sa carrière politique dans l'Italie

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[15] Sur les postions de Sonnino voire : Haywood, *Failure of a Dream*, 418-422. Pietro Pastorelli, «Le relazioni tra Italia e la Serbia dal luglio 1914 all'ottobre 1915», in *Miscellanea in onore di Ruggero Moscatti* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1985), 741-746. Le texte du traité de Londres se trouve dans : DDI, série V, vol. 3, doc. 470.

[16] Barrère à Delcassé, Rome, le 8 juillet 1915, AMAE, Guerre 1914–1918, Balkans, Serbie, vol. 393, p. 43; Barrère à Delcassé, Rome, le 12 août 1915, AMAE, Guerre 1914–1918, Balkans, Serbie, vol. 393, pp. 76-77bis. Pastorelli, « Le relazioni », 748, 749.

libérale, Sonnino lutte pour assurer à sa patrie le statut de grande puissance
européenne. Sa conception de la politique étrangère était celle de la *realpo-
litik* chère à Metternich. Concevant la politique étrangère comme une con-
currence politique, économique et militaire sans merci, Sonnino était large-
ment offusqué par une certaine condescendance avec laquelle l'Italie était
traitée au sein de l'Entente. Ses papiers témoignent de sa conviction que
l'Italie était contrainte de mener sa propre guerre contre l'Autriche-Hongrie
presque sans l'aide de ses alliés. D'ailleurs, ses prévisions pour l'après-guerre
prévoyaient déjà une série de conflits avec les alliés, dont le contentieux avec
les Yougoslaves n'était même pas le plus important.[17] En conséquence, sa
méfiance envers les Alliés donnera lieu à une défense quasi religieuse des
termes du traité de Londres, car ce traité était à son avis la seule garantie
pour la réalisation des objectifs italiens, et de ce fait la seule justification
pour l'entrée en guerre de l'Italie. Cette approche défensive, voire formaliste,
face à des conflits de caractère nationaliste s'avérera catastrophique lors de
la mise en place de l'armistice en novembre 1918.

Par décision de la conférence alliée du 30 octobre 1918, dans le cadre
de l'armistice avec l'Autriche-Hongrie, l'Italie obtient le droit d'occuper
tous les territoires prévus par le traité de Londres.[18] Or, cet accord avait
été signé à l'époque où la Double Monarchie était un des piliers essentiels
de l'équilibre européen. En revanche, en novembre 1918 la Monarchie des
Habsbourg n'existe plus et les forces serbes commencent leurs avancées vers
l'Ouest. Quelles que fussent les dissensions entre les Serbes, les Croates et
Slovènes, ils étaient tous unis dans leur volonté de s'opposer à la mainmise
italienne sur la côte adriatique. C'est pourquoi la tâche de Sonnino, lors de
la mise en place des termes de l'armistice et pendant la conférence de la paix,
était particulièrement ardue. Qui plus est, sa position était aggravée par une
forte agitation nationaliste en Italie, qu'il avait lui même fomentée afin de
mobiliser l'opinion politique italienne en défense du traité de Londres. Or,
il s'est avéré que Sonnino était aussi mal à l'aise avec les nationalistes italiens
qu'avec leurs confrères yougoslaves. Dans la surenchère nationaliste, il n'était
pas à la hauteur des tribuns tels que Mussolini ou d'Annunzio. Sonnino,
avec son flegme habituel, négligea leurs revendications, les jugeant exces-
sives. En revanche Vittorio Orlando, président du gouvernement italien,
fut contraint de les prendre en compte et notamment celle qui portait sur
le port de Fiume. Précisons que Sonnino avait prévu de laisser ce port à
l'Autriche-Hongrie ou à la Croatie, dans sa stratégie de morcellement de

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[17] Roberto Vivarelli, *Il dopoguerra in Italia e l'avvento del fascismo (1918-1922),* (Naples
1967), 356.

[18] Conditions d'armistice avec l'Autriche-Hongrie, Quai d'Orsay, le 30 octobre 1918,
AMAE, Série Y, Intérnationale 1918–1940, vol. 15, p. 35.

la côte Adriatique. En conséquence la délégation italienne se présente en janvier 1919 à Versailles en ordre dispersé : Sonnino exigeant le respect du traité de Londres pour des raisons stratégiques, tandis qu'Orlando ajoute aux demandes italiennes le port de Fiume, évoquant les droits des Italiens qui y constituaient la majorité de la population.[19]

A Versailles, l'Italie de Sonnino se voit donc contester les fruits de sa victoire par une coalition hétéroclite. D'une part, les Yougoslaves se heurtent sur le terrain à l'armée et à l'administration italiennes dans les territoires désignés par le traité de Londres. Ce conflit prend une dimension nouvelle lorsque les Yougoslaves se réclament du droit des nations à disposer d'elles-mêmes. Ils trouvent naturellement un champion de leur cause dans le président américain, Woodrow Wilson, qui avec sa déclaration dite des «14 points» avait, en janvier 1918, inauguré une nouvelle diplomatie, axée sur le respect des droits nationaux. En tant que membre à part entière du Conseil de quatre à Versailles (auquel les Yougoslaves n'avaient pas accès), Wilson refusa de reconnaître la validité même du traité de Londres.[20] Au-delà de leurs adversaires directs, le gouvernement et l'opinion publique italiens furent particulièrement contrariés par l'attitude de la France. La résistance yougoslave ne pouvait s'expliquer, à leur avis, que par un soutien officieux de l'Armée d'Orient et de la marine française dans l'Adriatique, relayés par les efforts dissimulés de la diplomatie française à Versailles. La France de Clemenceau était donc désignée comme le principal responsable de ce qu'on appelait déjà à la fois à Montecitorio et dans les principaux quotidiens italiens «la vittoria mutilata».[21]

Or, le dénouement de la guerre bouleversait complètement les axiomes de la politique balkanique de la France. La disparition de l'Autriche-Hongrie déclenchant le conflit italo-yougoslave fut la cause d'une instabilité régionale que la France avait voulu éviter. La survie de la Double Monarchie, en tant que Grande puissance assurant l'équilibre des forces en Europe, était un des axiomes traditionnels de la politique étrangère française.

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[19] Sur la stratégie italienne lors du Conférénce de Versailles voir : James Burgwyn, « Sonnino and the Paris Peace Conference », *Storia delle Relazioni Internazionali* VII/2 (Florence, 1991), 243-299. Joel Blatt, "France and Italy at the Paris Peace Conference", *The International History Review* VIII (1986), 27-40.

[20] Sur la politique de Wilson envers la Yougoslavie voir : Victor S. Mamatey, *The United States and East Central Europe, 1914–1918* (Kennikat Press, 1972). Ivo J. Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference: A study in frontiermaking* (Yale University Press, 1963).

[21] Barrère à Pichon, Rome, le 24 novembre 1918, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Italie, vol. 88, p. 145. Barrère à Pichon, Rome, le 5 décembre 1918, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Italie, vol. 77, pp. 144-146. Note de MAE, Paris, le 9 décembre 1918, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Italie, vol. 77, pp. 149-153.

L'ambassadeur de France à Petrograd, Maurice Paléologue le rappelle en janvier 1915 :

> Tant qu'il existera une Allemagne et une Italie, nous serons intéres-
> sés au maintien de l'Autriche.[22]

Lors de la conclusion du traité de Londres, des voix s'étaient élevées contre l'affaiblissement de l'Autriche-Hongrie au profit de l'Italie. Le président de la république, Raymond Poincaré disait en mars 1915 :

> S'il est vrai que l'Autriche demande la paix à la Russie nous voici
> au croisement de deux chemins. Convient-il de poursuivre l'alliance
> avec l'Italie ? Si cette puissance entre en action, les exigences qu'elle
> manifeste risquent de prolonger la guerre, car il faudra écraser
> l'Autriche et la partager pour lui donner satisfaction.
> Ne vaudra-t-il pas mieux obtenir de la Russie qu'elle se mon-
> tre modérée vis-à-vis de l'Autriche, qu'elle demande seulement
> quelques avantages pour elle et pour la Serbie et qu'elle tourne avec
> l'Angleterre et nous, toutes ses forces contre l'Allemagne et contre la
> Hongrie !
> Si nous suivons le premier chemin, nous aurons le concours, sans
> doute de l'Italie et probablement de la Roumanie et de la Grèce,
> mais une multitude de problèmes se poseront ensuite. Nous agrand-
> irons nous-mêmes l'Italie, nous désagrégerons l'Autriche et per-
> mettrons la résurrection d'une confédération germanique.
> Si nous poursuivons la seconde voie, nous pourrons tourner toutes
> les forces des Alliés contre l'Allemagne et abréger la guerre.[23]

L'optique française restait toujours centrée sur le conflit avec l'Allemagne et c'était le critère décisif pour orienter sa politique balkanique. Après la percée du front de Salonique en septembre, la victoire italienne à Vittorio Veneto en octobre 1918, et la dissolution successive de l'Autriche-Hongrie, impo-sent la question de la réorganisation des Balkans et de l'Europe Centrale. Dans cette situation inédite, la menace de la création d'une «confédération germanique» ou d'*Anschluss*, était toujours la préoccupation primordiale de la diplomatie française. A cela il s'ajoutait le problème du conflit entre les ambitions italiennes dans la région, et la volonté serbe et celle de leurs con-frères vivant dans les provinces yougoslaves de la défunte Double Monar-chie de créer un État commun. Les diplomates, les hommes d'États et les publicistes français, en analysant l'orientation de la stratégie française dans l'optique de la double menace d'*Anschluss* et du conflit italo-yougoslave, se divisèrent en deux écoles de pensée. Les partisans de la création d'un État

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[22] Paléologue à Poincaré, Petrograd, le 16 avril 1915, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Papiers Stephan Pichon, vol. MS 4397.

[23] *Ibid.*, 197.

yougoslave, censé être à la fois la barrière contre l'expansionnisme italien et la digue efficace conte l'avancée de germanisme, se heurtaient aux nostalgiques de la Double Monarchie qui souhaitaient la création d'un nouvelle confédération danubienne, seule capable à leur avis d'apporter la stabilité à la région. Les différences entre ces deux courants s'exprimaient à propos de la création de l'État yougoslave.

Dès le mois d'octobre 1918, Paul Cambon, l'ambassadeur à Londres, et un des diplomates français le plus renommés de l'époque, estime que la création de l'État Yougoslave est nécessaire pour modérer les ambitions italiennes :

> Nous avons intérêt à la constitution, à l'Est de l'Adriatique, d'un État aussi fort que possible, qui serve de contrepoids à une Italie agrandie. La disparition ou l'affaiblissement de l'Autriche-Hongrie conféraient à l'Italie une puissance excessive et la création de petits États, bien vite rivaux, risquerait d'instituer avec des nouveaux Balkans une menace perpétuelle de crises et de guerres. Nous devons donc désirer l'installation d'un fort État Yougoslave, une union de la Croatie, la Slavonie, la Bosnie, l'Herzégovine et la Serbie.[24]

Joseph de Fontenay, l'envoyé français auprès de la cour serbe, à la fin d'octobre 1918 considère que la Yougoslavie sera suffisamment forte pour assurer la paix dans les Balkans tout en étant un maillon essentiel de la chaîne d'états allant de Baltique à Adriatique et formant la barrière de revers contre Allemagne.[25] La position des partisans français d'un État yougoslave était peut - être encore mieux résumée par Robert de Caix, un publiciste français, rattaché aux Qui d'Orsay :

> Nous avons évidemment intérêt à écarter les obstacles à la création d'un État sud-slave dont la force nous servira contre le germanisme ou contre l'Italie. Mais nous ne pouvons faire d'observations à cette puissance si elle reste dans les limites de ce que nous lui avons promis par le pacte de Londres et, de plus, nous n'avons pas intérêt : s'ils Américains veulent lui dire " bas les pattes " tant mieux et si on laisse les Italiens prendre à l'est de l'Adriatique des langues de terre qui leur assureront des ennemies et non de la force ce sera pour nous même un gage de tranquillité en face de l'impérialisme agité de nos voisins.[26]

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[24] Paul Cambon à Pichon, Londres, 10.10.1918, N° 744, AMAE, Europe 1918–1940, Autriche, vol. 51, p. 48.

[25] Fontenay à Pichon, Paris, 24.10.1918, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Autriche, vol. 51.

[26] Lettre de Rohilde Caix? Paris, 3.11.1918, AMAE, Série A-Paix 1914–1920, travaux préparatif de la Conférence de la paix, Politique de la Yougoslavie et Monténégro, vol. 296, p. 76-77.

La position officielle de la diplomatie française était bien plus réservée. Le gouvernement Clemenceau ne partage par l'avis d'un certain nombre de ses diplomates. Lié par le traité de Londres, le gouvernement français veillait sur la bonne application des termes d'armistice. Cependant, la manière agressive dont l'armée et l'administration italiennes s'employaient à les appliquer changèrent progressivement l'attitude française. Tout d'abord, la volonté italienne d'outrepasser le cadre prévu par l'armistice, notamment par une avancée vers Ljubljana, se voit fortement critiquée par les autorités françaises. Le contentieux au sujet du port de Fiume voit se mettre en place une coopération officieuse entre les autorités serbes et françaises dans le dessein de s'opposer à l'intention italienne de donner un caractère exclusif à l'occupation de la ville. La volonté italienne de considérer l'occupation des territoires prévus par le traité de Londres dans le cadre de l'armistice comme un processus irréversible, et de l'accompagner par une campagne intensive d'italianisation de ces provinces, se voit largement désapprouvée par le Quai d'Orsay.[27] C'est pourquoi dès le 31 octobre 1918 la diplomatie française exprime ses réserves face à l'attitude italienne :

> La France, en effet, par sa position, qui la rend désintéressée, par son prestige dans les Balkans, qui l'emporte sur celui de toutes les autres nations, est l'arbitre désigné des litiges yougoslaves et macédoniens. Elle n'a en vue que la paix dans la péninsule, et son intérêt est d'abord qu'un nouvel état formé par l'accord des Serbes du Royaume et des Yougoslaves de l'Autriche, s'accorde à son tour avec l'Italie si celle-ci se rallie à une politique d'avantage économique due à l'esprit d'entreprise et au travail. Ce point de vue est également celui des États-Unis et de l'Angleterre, à qui les Yougoslaves d'Autriche sont particulièrement sympathiques. Quant à l'Italie, sa politique dans cette affaire apparaît plutôt confuse que complexe, avant tout portée, avec l'aide éventuelle du Monténégro, à aggraver le trouble dont elle espère tirer quelques petits profits par son intrigue. Comme elle est à la fois incertaine des choix qu'il lui faut faire, et jalouse de la France, on l'entendra se plaindre dans quelque sens que cette dernière agisse. Aussi est-ce principalement à l'endroit de l'Italie que la France, dans son rôle de l'arbitre, doit appliquer sans défaillance une politique sûre, uniquement inspirée par la justice, concertée avec Washington et l'Angleterre, qu'il y a lieu de mettre en garde contre une interprétation du pacte du Corfou dans le sens d'une confédération d'États qui facilitera le jeu de division italien.[28]

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[27] Note de MAE, Paris, le 16 novembre 1918, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Autriche, vol. 52, pp. 39-40. Pichon à Barrère, Paris, le 16 novembre 1918, Série A-Paix, vol. 296, pp. 154-155. Pichon à Barrère, Paris, le 22 novembre 1918, Série A-Paix, vol. 296, pp. 186.

[28] *Ibid.*

Au sein de la diplomatie française, on s'opposa à la stratégie italienne de morcellement de l'espace yougoslave estimant qu'une telle politique pouvait affaiblir les Balkans, et ouvrir la voie non seulement à une expansion italienne, mais, ce qui était bien plus dangereux, au retour de l'Allemagne dans la région. Or, c'était ce danger-là qui préoccupa avant tout les plus hait dignitaires français. Dans cette perspective, une confédération danubienne était continuellement considérée comme une solution bien plus préférable à un conflit italo-yougoslave. C'est pourquoi, en octobre 1918, Poincaré exige l'organisation de plébiscites en Croatie et en Slovénie comme préalable à toute union yougoslave.[29] L'attachement français à une solution confédérale, pour des raisons géostratégiques, exigeait que la volonté des provinces yougoslaves de se joindre à la Serbie soit confirmée par un vote. Clemenceau, en novembre 1918, confirme, lors de son entretien avec Ante Trumbić, président du Comité yougoslave, sa préférence pour une solution confédérale :

> L'Adriatique ne peut pas devenir italienne. Il n'y aura pas de «Mare Nostrum» …Vous aurez votre état unifié … Nous ne pouvons pas permettre que les Autrichiens s'unissent à l'Allemagne. Pour l'empêcher il faut créer une confédération des nations de l'ancienne Autriche-Hongrie...
> Lorsque je parle de confédération, je n'envisage pas des liens étroits qui pourraient mettre en danger votre indépendance, mais je pense à créer un fondement sur lequel s'établiront des liens qui pourraient attirer les Autrichiens afin qu'ils s'orientent vers vous.[30]

Le discours de Clemenceau montre bien qu'elles étaient les priorités de la politique étrangère française. Il fallait d'abord empêcher l'*Anschluss,* et seulement ensuite aborder la question soit des exigences italiennes soit de la création d'un État yougoslave. Malgré les avis des partisans de la création d'un État yougoslave, tels Cambon, ou Fontenay, il était évident que ni le président de la République, ni le président du Conseil n'étaient convaincus que l'État yougoslave représente une garantie suffisante contre le retour de l'Allemagne dans les Balkans. C'est pourquoi, vu la position de Poincaré exprimée en mars 1915, et celle de Clemenceau du novembre 1918, il est possible de conclure que dans les plus hautes sphères de la République, le soutien à une solution confédérale pour l'Europe Centrale n'avait pas faibli tout au long de la guerre. En conséquence la naissance de la Yougoslavie n'était pas une des priorités de la politique française. En octobre 1918, la position française était notifiée à la fois et à Pašić et à Trumbić.

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[29] Procès verbal de conversations de Fontenay avec Clemenceau, puis de Pašić avec Clemenceau, Paris, 21.9.1918, AMAE, PA-AP, Fontenay, 347, vol. 103.

[30] Dragoslav Janković et Bogdan Krizman, *Gradja o stvaranju jugoslovenske države* (Documents sur la formation de l'État yougoslave), (Belgrade, 1964), vol. II, 601, 602.

La création, le 1er décembre 1918 à Belgrade de l'État yougoslave était le fruit d'une collaboration du gouvernement serbe avec des émigrés croates et slovènes réunis au sein du Comité yougoslave. Cette collaboration ressemblait à un parcours semé d'embûches. Du côté serbe, l'éclatement de la Grande guerre avait été compris comme une possibilité unique d'achever l'intégration nationale entamée lors des guerres balkaniques. Dès septembre 1914, Pašić désigne comme objectif principal de son gouvernement la création de la Yougoslavie, délaissant l'idée d'une Grande Serbie. Il est alors persuadé que seul un État réunissant tous les Slaves du Sud peut définitivement écarter la menace autrichienne. Pour Pašić, il était indispensable que tous les Yougoslaves soient réunis au sein d'un même État, car la création de deux états aurait créé la possibilité pour des intérêts étrangers de fomenter des contentieux territoriaux et de susciter la concurrence entre plusieurs états yougoslaves.[31] Du point de vue géostratégique, les objectifs serbes avaient donc indiscutablement un caractère yougoslave. Or, la raison pour laquelle Pašić avait renoncé à l'idée d'une Grande Serbie, pour lutter contre la mise en place d'un État yougoslave concurrent, accordait à son projet un caractère exclusivement serbe. Le projet serbe (qui annulait dès le début toute possibilité de création d'un autre état yougoslave, voire d'une solution fédérale), ne pouvait qu'être considéré par les autres nations yougoslaves comme un projet expansionniste visant à leur imposer la domination serbe. Autrement dit, le projet serbe tout en étant yougoslave par ses étendues géographiques, par son caractère était un projet de Grande Serbie. Les membres croates et slovènes du Comité yougoslave étaient les premiers à s'en apercevoir.

C'est pourquoi, lors de la Conférence de Genève (6–9 novembre 1918) à laquelle ont participé Pašić, l'opposition serbe d'un côté, et Antun Korošec en sa capacité de président du Conseil national SHS de l'autre, Trumbić se fit avocat d'une Yougoslavie confédérale. Soutenu par l'opposition serbe, Trumbić et Korošec ont réussi à imposer à Pašić leur vision de l'organisation intérieure du futur État yougoslave. Les deux entités - la Serbie et les provinces yougoslaves de l'ancienne Double Monarchie - devaient être dirigés par une sorte de directoire commun composé de six membres qui siégerait à Paris, sans que ni Trumbić, ni Pašić ni Korošec n'en fassent partie.[32] Selon cet accord les deux parties, la Serbie et les provinces yougoslaves, auraient confié à ce gouvernement commun le pouvoir de gérer au quotidien un nombre limité d'affaires, gardant la vaste majorité de pouvoirs entre leurs mains, en

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[31] Belgrade, Archives de la Yougoslavie, Papiers Jovanović, 80-4-673-682.

[32] Dutasta à Pichon, Berne, 9.11.1918, N° 1876, AMAE, Série A-Paix 1914–1920, travaux préparatif de la Conférence de la paix, Politique de la Yougoslavie et Monténégro, vol. 296, p. 106.

attente de la Constituante censée définir la forme de l'État commun.[33] En même temps le gouvernement serbe à reconnu Narodno veće SHS comme le gouvernement légal dans les provinces yougoslaves de l'ancienne Double Monarchie, et le Comité de Londres comme son représentant légitime de l'étranger.[34] Ainsi le gouvernent serbe, c'est à dire Pašić, a dû s'incliner devant les exigences des Yougoslaves, et il s'est formellement engagé de défendre toutes leurs aspirations territoriales face à l'Italie. Il faut souligner que le gouvernement français était informé du contenu des négociations à Genève sans qu'il y ait eu des commentaires.

Or, le prince Alexandre dès 14 octobre manifeste son désaccord avec les décisions de Genève, car elles ne prévoyaient pas que le futur état soit une monarchie sous l'égide de sa maison royale.[35] De l'autre côté, à cause du veto italien le Narodno veće SHS n'a jamais été reconnu par les Alliés, et il devenait de plus en plus clair que le seul moyen pour les Yougoslaves de l'Autriche-Hongrie de faire valoir leurs droits, c'était par l'entremise du gouvernement serbe. Sous la menace d'une avancée italienne, les négociations commencèrent entre les représentants de Narodno veće et le prince Alexandre lui-même. L'État yougoslave naquit sur le terrain, comme conséquence directe de la menace italienne qui incita le Conseil national de Zagreb à abandonner toute précaution et à accepter la création d'un État commun sans que les modalités de l'organisation intérieure soient définies. Le mobile à une telle volte-face était la nécessité d'opposer à l'impérialisme italien un front commun représenté par l'État yougoslave.[36] Or, cet État n'était pas reconnu et ses frontières n'étaient pas définies. Un contentieux existait avec la plupart de ses voisins, mais le conflit avec l'Italie s'annonçait

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[33] Sur la conférence de Genève voir : Dragoslav Janković, « Ženevska konferencija o stvaranju jugoslovenske zajednice 1918. godine » (La Conférence de Genève sur la création de l'État yougoslave en 1918), in *Istorija XX veka* (Belgrade, 1961), 225-262. Bogdan Krizman, « Ženevska konferencija o ujedinjenju 1918. godine » (La conférence de Genève sur l'union de 1918), *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2 (Belgrade, 1958), 3-34.

[34] Vesnić à Pichon, Paris, 9.11.1918, AMAE, Série A-Paix 1914–1920, travaux préparatif de la Conférence de la paix, Politique de la Yougoslavie et Monténégro, vol. 296, p. 109.

[35] Fontenay à Pichon, Paris, 14.11.1918, AMAE, Série Z, Europe 1918–1940, Yougoslavie, vol. 31.

[36] Sur l'union yougoslave du premier décembre 1918, voir : Bogdan Krizman, « Srpska vrhovna komanda u danima raspada Austro-Ugarske 1918 » (L'État-major serbe pendant la dissolution de l'Autriche-Hongrie en 1918), *Historijski Zbornik* 14 (Zagreb, 1961), 167-216. Bogdan Krizman, *Raspad Austro-Ugarske i stvaranje jugoslavenske države* (La dissolution de l'Autriche-Hongrie et la création de l'État yougoslave), (Zagreb, 1977).

comme le plus grave. L'enjeu en était la plus grande partie de la côte orientale de l'Adriatique.

Le conflit italo-yougoslave fut résolu par le Conseil des Quatre à Versailles. Dans le conflit qui les opposait à l'Italie, les Yougoslaves se sentant abandonnés par la France,[37] se tournèrent vers le président américain.[38] Quant au gouvernement français, son attitude, encore une fois ne fut pas dictée par les considérations balkaniques, mais par le problème allemand. Dans sa recherche des garanties pour la frontière rhénane, Clemenceau privilégia la coopération américaine. Étant donné que Wilson faisait de l'Adriatique une question de principe, le choix de Clemenceau était vite fait. Dans le conflit opposant Wilson au gouvernement italien, Clemenceau sans états d'âme se rangea du côté américain. La raison en était la garantie américaine de la frontière allemande et non le soutien à l'État yougoslave. [39]

Lorsqu'en avril 1919 la délégation italienne quitte provisoirement Versailles pour protester contre l'attitude philo-yougoslave du président américain, Clemenceau et Lloyd George en profitent pour revenir sur leurs engagements coloniaux envers l'Italie, notamment en Afrique et en Asie Mineure. En conséquence, les revendications territoriales du nationalisme italien et l'inexistence d'une alternative coloniale se conjuguent pour créer, aussi bien au sein de la diplomatie que dans l'opinion publique italienne, la conviction que c'est dans les Balkans que se décide l'avenir de l'Italie et que c'est là aussi qu'elle joue son statut de Grande Puissance. Quelles que fussent les motivations de Clemenceau, son attitude à Versailles était jugée par l'opinion publique italienne comme hostile à l'Italie et favorable à la Yougoslavie. Or, dans les Balkans, les ambitions italiennes se heurtaient à l'opposition du nouvel État yougoslave. En conséquence, la seule voie d'expansion encore ouverte pour l'Italie était bloquée par l'État yougoslave qui se trouvait sous l'officieuse protection française. Ce sentiment italien d'être asphyxié sinon encerclé par une France omniprésente serait à l'origine du conflit franco-italien dans les Balkans.

II) Les objectifs et les stratégies des parties concernées

Même si le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes est officiellement reconnu par la France, le 4 juin 1919 ses frontières ne sont pas fixées par la Conférence de la paix, et le contentieux italo-yougoslave n'est pas résolu

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[37] Fontenay à Pichon, Belgrade, le 7 mars 1919, AMAE, Papier d'Agents, Archives privées, 347, Fontenay, vol. 83.

[38] Dragoljub Živojinović, "America, Italy, and the birth of Yugoslavia (1917–1919)", *East European Quarterly* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

[39] Blatt, « France and Italy ».

avant la signature du traité de paix avec l'Allemagne. Cependant, le conflit franco-italien dépasse désormais l'espace yougoslave pour se focaliser sur les projets de la réorganisation de l'Europe danubienne. Qui plus est, après le refus du Sénat américain de ratifier le traité de Versailles, l'appui italien pour le maintien de ce traité prend une importance accrue pour le gouvernement français. C'est dans ce contexte géopolitique inédit que se déroulent les stratégies respectives des parties concernées dont les objectifs peuvent être résumées de la façon suivante :

1. pour l'Italie : expansion dans l'Europe danubienne
2. pour la France : recherche d'un équilibre entre :
- la nécessité d'avoir la garantie italienne pour le maintien du système de Versailles et
- la volonté de modérer les ambitions italiennes dans l'Europe danubienne.

A. L'expansion italienne dans l'Europe danubienne

Selon les circonstances, cette volonté d'expansion italienne s'articule autour de différentes priorités. Après la conclusion du traité de Versailles, les derniers gouvernements de l'Italie libérale s'emploient à la fois à :

- trouver une solution au conflit territorial dans l'Adriatique, et
- tracer la voie d'une expansion italienne au-delà de l'Adriatique vers le bassin danubien.

En revanche, Mussolini et ses ministres vont plus loin car ils aspirent à la création d'une zone d'influence exclusive dans la région.

1) Les derniers gouvernements de l'Italie libérale

L'échec subit à Versailles provoque la chute du gouvernement Orlando, remplacé le 23 juin 1919 par le gouvernement de Francesco Saverio Nitti avec Tittoni comme nouveau Ministre des Affaires Étrangères. Le changement de gouvernement apporte un changement profond dans l'orientation de la politique étrangère italienne. Nitti n'était pas un interventionniste de la première heure comme Sonnino ou Salandra, ni un partisan convaincu d'une expansion territoriale. Éminent économiste, Nitti jouit du soutien de Giolitti dont il partage aussi la conviction qu'après une guerre longue, coûteuse et meurtrière, il faut accorder la priorité absolue à la reconstruction économique, sociale et politique du pays. Délaissant la politique étrangère, Nitti n'abandonne pas l'idée d'expansion ni la volonté d'assurer à l'Italie le statut de Grande puissance. À la différence de Sonnino, il considère que la garantie nécessaire pour le prestige italien en Europe ne se trouve pas sur les rives orientales de l'Adriatique mais dans son potentiel économique. Selon

Nitti, l'agrandissement territorial, comme fondement d'une expansion dans l'Europe danubienne, ne sera d'aucune utilité pour l'Italie si elle ne dispose pas des moyens pour en profiter.[40] Or, l'Italie sortie exsangue de la guerre, ne peut imaginer une reconstruction qu'à condition de bénéficier d'un soutien financier des États-Unis. Cependant, toutes les lignes des crédits américains sont arrêtées dès le mois du juillet. Qui plus est, le délégué américain à Paris, Polk, exige qu'une solution soit trouvée pour le conflit territorial italo-yougoslave, avant toute nouvelle attribution de crédits à l'Italie. De cette façon, la ligne générale des gouvernements Nitti, puis Giolitti, est définie, c'est-à-dire : volonté de chercher un compromis dans l'Adriatique, tout en accordant une priorité absolue à la reconstruction du pays. Cette nouvelle orientation de la politique étrangère italienne est mise en pratique par Tittoni, son successeur Vittorio Scialoja, et par le comte Carlo Sforza qui est d'abord secrétaire général de la Consulta et ensuite Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Giolitti. Cependant cette politique officielle est accompagnée par une politique officieuse qui continue dans la voie tracée par Sonnino. Cette politique alternative est celle des milieux nationalistes, militaires, voire des nostalgiques de cette politique annexionniste de Sonnino au sein de la diplomatie italienne. Même si cette politique alternative représente une menace directe pour la survie même des derniers gouvernements libéraux, (citons à ce titre la prise de Fiume par d'Annunzio), ni Nitti ni Sforza ne se privent d'en faire usage, soit pour faire pression sur leurs interlocuteurs yougoslaves, soit pour avancer officieusement le grand projet d'expansion italienne dans l'Europe danubienne.

a) La politique de compromis territorial dans l'Adriatique

Dès son arrivée à Paris en juillet, 1919, Tittoni s'efforce de redresser l'image de l'Italie et de rétablir la confiance auprès des Grandes Puissances. Pour briser l'impression d'une Italie nationaliste et égoïste laissée par Sonnino, Tittoni multiplie les contacts en assurant ses interlocuteurs de la volonté italienne d'arriver à un compromis raisonnable dans l'Adriatique. Ainsi, la proposition italienne d'août 1919 abandonne au Royaume SHS toute la Dalmatie sauf la ville de Zara et quelques îles, tandis que pour Fiume le statut de ville libre sous la protection de la Société des Nations est proposé. Cette première proposition italienne témoigne d'une volonté manifeste d'apaisement, mais elle se heurte à une fin de non recevoir de la part

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[40] Sur la politique du gouvernement Nitti et la situation économique en Italie après la guerre voir : Candeloro, *Storia della Italia Moderna*, 222-314; Alatri Paolo, *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919–1920)*, (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1959); Roberto Vivarelli, *Storia delle origini del fascismo* (Bologne: Il Mulino, 1991).

du président Wilson. En revanche, l'initiative Tittoni réussit à convaincre définitivement Clemenceau aussi bien que Lloyd George de la sincérité des intentions italiennes, ce qui modifie profondément l'atmosphère dans laquelle se déroulent désormais les négociations. L'intransigeance américaine perd une grande partie de son importance lorsque le 19 novembre 1919, le Sénat américain refuse de ratifier le traité de Versailles, et la délégation américaine, en conséquence, quitte Paris le 10 décembre 1919. Dans cette nouvelle situation l'attitude italienne prend une importance accrue. C'est pourquoi, en janvier 1920, Nitti peut travailler en étroite collaboration avec Lloyd George et Clemenceau pour préparer la nouvelle proposition italienne. Cette fois-ci les conditions sont bien plus favorables à l'Italie car la ville de Fiume est censée lui revenir avec un accès à la ville sous son contrôle. Le changement dans les relations entre les Puissances européennes est évident lorsque Lloyd George et Clemenceau exigent avec insistance que le gouvernement SHS accepte la proposition italienne. Une dernière intervention du président Wilson diminue la pression sur le Royaume SHS, mais il est désormais manifeste que l'Italie bénéficie d'un soutien réel de la part des gouvernements français et anglais. Les raisons de ce soutien sont multiples.[41]

La disparition de la garantie américaine mise à part, le gouvernement Millerand issue des élections de janvier 1920, est très sensible aux conséquences des troubles économiques et sociaux en Italie. Pendant l'année 1919 on dénombre en Italie 1800 grèves avec 1,5 millions de participants. Qui plus est, lors des élections de novembre 1919 le parti socialiste obtient 32,4 % des voix exprimées, et avec 157 députés il devient la plus importante force politique du pays. Le parti populaire connaît aussi une réussite remarquable avec 20,6 % des voix et plus de 100 députés.[42] Or, Camille Barrère, l'ambassadeur français à Rome, estime que les deux nouvelles forces politiques sont plus que dangereuses. À elles seules elles conjuguent les deux plus grands dangers pour la France, c'est-à-dire la peur du bolchevisme et la peur de l'Allemagne à laquelle, selon Barrère, le parti populaire est inféodé. Le début de l'année 1920 est marqué par le débordement des conflits sociaux dans l'espace agraire. Les grèves des journaliers et des métayers débouchent sur des occupations de terres dans Lazio et dans le Mezzogiorno. Confronté à tous ces périls, et notamment à la possibilité de retour au pouvoir de Giolitti, Barrère considère Nitti comme le dernier rempart contre l'anarchie en Italie, voire contre son rapprochement avec l'Allemagne. Pour renforcer le

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[41] Allessandra Rossi, « La diplomatie française et le problème de la frontière orientale italienne de 1918 jusqu'au traité de Rapallo », Mémoire présenté pour le DEA du XXᵉ siècle, (Paris : IEP, 1995), 111-118.

[42] Candeloro, *Storia della Italia Moderna*, 300-305.

gouvernement Nitti, le gouvernement français s'empresse de soutenir les initiatives italiennes dans l'Adriatique.[43]

Malgré les dissensions franco-italiennes apparues lors de la conférence de San Remo en avril 1920, le gouvernement italien peut toujours se prévaloir d'un soutien sans faille de la part des gouvernements français et britannique dans la question adriatique. En conséquence, les premières discussions directes entre les représentants italiens et yougoslaves peuvent commencer en mai à Pallanza. Ces discussions progressent considérablement, mais elles sont interrompues par la crise du gouvernement Nitti. Les négociations ne seront pas reprises avant la chute de gouvernement Nitti en juin 1920. Cette tâche incombe désormais à Sforza qui avance une toute nouvelle stratégie balkanique.

Le comte Carlo Sforza était, pendant la guerre, l'envoyé italien auprès du gouvernement serbe à Corfou. Non seulement il connaît bien le dossier yougoslave, mais il a la réputation d'être un francophile convaincu. Pour toutes ces raisons, il est considéré comme le garant des bonnes dispositions du gouvernement Giolitti envers la France, car ce dernier était jusqu'alors accusé par Barrère de germanophilie prononcée. Or, Sforza est déjà depuis juin 1918 le secrétaire général de la Consulta. En tant que tel, il connaît déjà le dossier et, qui plus est, il a une conception offensive dans la question yougoslave. Il observe la tendance du gouvernement Millerand à délaisser partiellement son soutien aux gouvernements héritiers de la Double Monarchie (comme le Royaume SHS ou la Tchécoslovaquie), pour privilégier : soit la formation d'une vaste alliance économique dans le bassin danubien dont le pivot doit être la Hongrie, soit la création d'une alliance anti-bolchévique composée de la Pologne, de la Hongrie et de la Roumanie. Sforza propose alors que l'Italie reprenne la place libérée par la France. Une identité des intérêts entre l'Italie et les pays héritiers, (à savoir l'opposition à toute solution confédérale économique, ou même politique avec le projet du retour des Habsbourg en Hongrie), permet à Sforza d'imaginer que l'Italie puisse reprendre l'influence française dans les pays héritiers. C'était un projet ambitieux dont l'objectif était d'ouvrir à l'Italie l'accès au bassin danubien à travers le Royaume SHS.[44]

Dans cet objectif, la décision italienne d'août 1920 d'évacuer l'Albanie, et d'abandonner le protectorat sur ce pays , qui lui était accordé par le traité de Londres, est la preuve que le gouvernement Giolitti délaisse définitivement toute velléité d'une politique expansionniste dans les Balkans. En même temps, le gouvernement italien devient le garant de l'indépendance

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[43] Rossi, « La diplomatie française », 120.

[44] Carlo Sforza, *L'Italia dal 1914-1944 quale io la vidi* (Rome: Mondadori, 1945), 90-91.

de l'État albanais. De ce fait, Sforza peut se targuer de suivre une politique qui respecte scrupuleusement le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. C'est dans ces termes que Giolitti présente à Millerand, lors de leur rencontre de septembre 1920 à Aix-les-Bains, la politique italienne dans l'Adriatique. Comme dans toutes les autres grandes questions de l'époque, telles que les réparations et le désarmement allemand, les deux hommes d'État sont en parfait accord. Le gouvernement Millerand s'efforce d'exercer toute son influence à Belgrade afin d'inciter le gouvernement de Milenko Vesnić à reprendre les négociations directes avec l'Italie.[45]

Les pourparlers directs reprennent en novembre 1920 à Santa Margharita de Ligure et à Rapallo. Cette fois, Sforza se trouve dans une position de force et il est en mesure d'imposer les conditions italiennes : indépendance de Fiume, continuité territoriale entre la ville et l'Italie, et souveraineté italienne sur Zara et l'île de Cherso. Ces conditions étaient bien plus favorables pour les Yougoslaves que les termes du traité de Londres, mais elles étaient aussi bien moins que les solutions défendues par le président Wilson à l'époque de la Conférence de la paix. En effet, tout le travail effectué entre temps par Tittoni et Sforza leur permit non seulement de redresser l'image de l'Italie, mais aussi d'inverser complètement l'attitude des gouvernements français et britanniques. Dans un cadre européen, l'Italie de Nitti et Giolitti reprend sa place de Grande Puissance raisonnable, respectant les termes et l'esprit de la Conférence de la Paix, tandis que les revendications yougoslaves apparaissent désormais comme intransigeantes voire nationalistes. C'est pourquoi, Vesnić et Trumbić, n'ayant plus aucun soutien, n'ont plus d'autre choix que de signer le 12 novembre 1920 le traité de Rapallo reprenant les termes proposés par Sforza.[46]

Le bilan de cette politique officielle d'apaisement dans l'Adriatique était plus que positif. Non seulement l'Italie avait réussi à sortir de l'isolement diplomatique du temps de la Conférence de la paix, mais elle avait aussi repris la coopération économique et politique avec ses alliés. De ce fait, le contentieux territorial avec la Yougoslavie changeait de nature, pour devenir une question frontalière qui s'estompait devant l'importance retrouvée de l'Italie dans le concert européen. Qui plus est, les termes du traité de Rapallo étaient favorables à l'Italie, car non seulement elle avait conservé des endroits stratégiques en Adriatique, tels que la presqu'île de l'Istrie et la petite île de Sasseno devant Valona, mais elle jouissait désormais d'une influence considérable dans le Royaume SHS, ce qui était finalement l'atout majeur de sa politique balkanique.

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[45] François Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs diplomatiques. Une grande ambassade à Rome (1919-1925),* (Paris : Fayard, 1961), 133-135.

[46] Rossi, « La diplomatie française », 131.

En revanche, la politique de Sfoza n'était pas dépourvue d'arrières pensés expansionnistes. Le retrait de l'Italie de l'Albanie était finalement un coup dur pour le Royaume SHS. En se retirant de l'Albanie, Sforza anéantissait aussi toute possibilité de revendications serbes sur l'Albanie septentrionale et sur la côte albanaise. Or, encore au début de 1920, Pašić oeuvrait pour l'accès serbe à la côte albanaise.[47] Ce n'était pas seulement un projet cher aux hommes d'États serbes, mais aussi une alternative viable à Fiume dont le sort devenait de plus en plus incertain. En effet, la solution trouvée à Rapallo mettait en question la viabilité géostratégique du port de Fiume, car elle était conditionnée par les bons rapports avec l'Italie. Qui plus est, Sforza s'efforçait aussi de favoriser les bonnes relations entre le Royaume SHS et la Bulgarie afin de faciliter la solution du problème macédonien, et en conséquence d'ouvrir l'accès à la mer Égée pour les exportations serbes et yougoslaves. L'idée sous-jacente à une telle stratégie était de réorienter l'intérêt de la Yougoslavie pour l'Adriatique vers la mer Égée. C'était déjà la vision géostratégique de Sonnino qui avait cherché à l'imposer à la Serbie. En revanche, Sforza, en changeant de méthode, ne change pas d'objectif : la prépondérance italienne dans l'Adriatique. De cette façon on voit que la politique de Sforza et de Sonnino se rejoignent, à l'instar de la politique officielle et officieuse des derniers gouvernements de l'Italie libérale.

b) La politique officieuse de l'expansion italienne dans les Balkans et dans l'Europe danubienne

Les objectifs de la politique d'expansion italienne avaient été tracés par Sonnino lors de la conclusion du traité de Londres. Pour empêcher la création d'un Etat yougoslave, il avait déjà cherché, même pendant la guerre, à nouer des contacts avec des États dont les revendications territoriales et nationales étaient opposées à celles de la Serbie ou de la Yougoslavie. En premier lieu, les Hongrois avaient été les interlocuteurs privilégiés de Sonnino et de ses disciples. Pendant la guerre, l'idée était d'inciter la Hongrie à conclure une paix séparée qui aurait considérablement affaibli la Double Monarchie. Bien sûr, la survie de la Hongrie dans toute son étendue aurait aussi empêché la création d'un État yougoslave.[48] Après la fin de la guerre, les relations italo-hongroises étaient basées sur une commune hostilité au Royaume SHS. Cependant la perspective n'était pas identique de deux côtés. Tandis que les gouvernements hongrois, depuis celui de Kàrolyi, puis

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[47] Andrej Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na konferenciji mira (1919-1920),* (La Yougoslavie à la Conférence de la Paix), (Belgrade, 1968), 169-177.

[48] James H. Burgwyn, « Sonnino et la diplomazia italiana del tempo di guerra nei Balcani nel 1915 », *Storia Contemporanea* XVI/1 (1985), 128-129.

le gouvernement des Conseils, jusqu'à Horty, cherchaient le soutien italien pour empêcher le dépeçage des terres de la couronne de Saint Stéphane, la diplomatie italienne, elle, se refusait à adhérer à une politique ouvertement révisionniste. Les contacts de Sonnino avec des envoyés hongrois aussi bien que les actions des militaires et des diplomates italiens à Budapest avaient un objectif bien plus modeste. D'abord, empêcher la disparition ou l'affaiblissement trop important de la Hongrie, et s'assurer d'une influence considérable de l'Italie à Budapest. L'intérêt majeur était toujours d'affaiblir la Yougoslavie à travers une pression constante de la part de la Hongrie. Les réserves italiennes face au révisionnisme hongrois étaient motivées par la crainte de voire une Grande Hongrie apparaître sur les rives de l'Adriatique. Néanmoins la Hongrie était l'élément indispensable de la coalition anti-yougoslave (Hongrie, Roumanie, Bulgarie) que la diplomatie italienne cherchait à organiser dès 1915.[49]

La clé de voûte de cette stratégie d'encerclement de la Yougoslavie se trouvait dans le contentieux territorial entre la Hongrie et la Roumanie. Or l'attitude de Nitti, face à ce problème difficile, resta toujours ambiguë. D'une manière générale, Nitti était opposé à l'imposition de conditions trop dures aux vaincus de la guerre, notamment dans le domaine économique. Cette approche était assez favorablement accueillie par les gouvernements hongrois successifs. En revanche l'incapacité, voire le manque de volonté du gouvernement italien de mener une politique ouvertement révisionniste, notamment dans le cas de la Transylvanie, incita Horty à chercher à résoudre ses conflits territoriaux avec l'aide de la France.[50]

En menant cette politique officieuse d'expansion, la diplomatie italienne se démarqua des milieux nationalistes en Italie par son refus de fomenter des troubles intérieurs en Yougoslavie, et notamment en Croatie.[51] Les divergences entre les milieux nationalistes et le gouvernement Giolliti apparaissent dès l'été 1920. L'attitude trop réservée face aux conflits sociaux, notamment lors de l'occupation des usines en septembre 1921, l'abandon de l'Albanie, les négociations avec les Yougoslaves étaient les griefs les plus graves reprochés au gouvernement Giolliti par les milieux nationalistes.[52] L'influence accrue des nationalistes, des fascistes, et de la droite du parti libéral fut évidente lors des élections de mai 1922. La vaste coalition des

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[49] Alessandro Brogi, « Il trattato di Rapallo del 1920. La politica danubiano-balcanica di Carlo Sforza », *Storia delle relazioni internazionali* V (1989), 6.

[50] Francesco Guida, « Ungheria e Italia dalla fine del primo conflito mondiale al trattato del Trianon », *Storia contemporanea* XIX/3 (1988), 398.

[51] *Ibid.*, 392.

[52] Gaeta, *Nazionalismo italiano*, 208.

libéraux, nationalistes, fascistes, agraires, social-réformistes, représentait la majorité gouvernementale avec 265 sièges. Cependant, même au sein de la majorité gouvernementale, la politique étrangère de Sforza était l'objet de réserves importantes, ce qui poussa Giolliti à démissionner le 27 juin 1921.[53] En effet, la politique balkanique de Sforza était rejetée par la majorité des libéraux, sans parler des fascistes et des nationalistes. La radicalisation de la vie politique en Italie à cause des actions et pressions des fascistes fut largement saluée par l'Italie libérale comme une tentative de réinstaurer l'ordre en politique intérieure bien sûr, mais aussi en politique extérieure. En dernière instance, cette connivence avec les fascistes porta Mussolini au pouvoir en octobre 1922, en lui laissant le champ libre d'appliquer sa vision de la stratégie italienne dans les Balkans et dans l'Europe danubienne.

2) Mussolini et l'Italie fasciste

Mussolini et ses ministres des Affaires Étrangères radicalisent à la fois les objectifs et la stratégie italienne. L'objectif est désormais d'évincer l'influence française en Yougoslavie, et au-delà dans les Balkans et en Europe centrale, pour en faire une zone sous domination italienne exclusive. En même temps, la stratégie se radicalise en apportant son soutien aux mouvements indépendantistes en Yougoslavie avec l'objectif soit de faire rentrer le pays dans le giron italien, soit de le disloquer en favorisant son remplacement par une série d'États plus faciles à influencer. Les relations de Mussolini avec la France et la Yougoslavie connaissent trois étapes : de coopération avant Locarno, de confrontation de 1926 à 1932, de lutte commune contre les menaces d'Anschluss ensuite.

a) La coopération

Après son arrivée au pouvoir, Mussolini et le secrétaire général de la Consulta, Salvatore Camillo Contarini, continuent la politique tracée par Sforza, à savoir celle de coopération avec la France. Contarini, à l'instar de Sforza, était considéré par Barrère et son successeur Charles-Roux, comme un garant à la fois de la continuité de la politique italienne et de bonnes dispositions du nouveau gouvernement envers la France.

Pourtant, des contacts entre Mussolini et la France avaient été déjà établis lors de la campagne pour l'entrée de l'Italie en guerre aux côtés de l'Entente. Selon les diplomates français, l'atout majeur du nouveau gouvernement était sa capacité à arrêter tous les conflits sociaux, pratiquement du jour au lendemain. Lorsque Mussolini, en décembre 1922, fait savoir à

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[53] Candeloro, *Storia della Italia Moderna*, 369-371.

Charles-Roux son intention de soutenir la position française dans le contentieux portant sur le montant des réparations allemandes, les bases d'une entente franco-italienne se voient fermement posées. En effet, lors de la conférence de Paris de janvier 1923, le délégué italien vote avec ses collègues français et belges pour la continuation des réparations allemandes, et contre le délégué britannique. En conséquence l'occupation franco-belge de la Ruhr, comme moyen de pression sur Allemagne, obtient le soutien de Mussolini. L'importance de l'appui italien devient ainsi primordiale pour la France, mais du plus mauvais augure pour les intérêts yougoslaves dans l'Adriatique.[54]

L'incapacité à mettre en pratique les termes territoriaux du traité de Rapallo, laisse entier le contentieux territorial. Fort du soutien français et fidèle à sa conception du prestige italien, Mussolini, dès juillet 1923, informe le gouvernement de Pašić de son intention de résoudre le problème de Fiume, en annexant la ville et en accordant le port de Baroš au Royaume SHS.[55] En absence d'une réponse satisfaisante de Belgrade, Mussolini y nomme le 16 septembre le général Giardini. Cette pression italienne ne provoque aucune réaction à Paris.[56] Dans ces conditions, confrontés aux pressions italiennes, persuadées qu'une aide française, diplomatique ou militaire, est plus qu'improbable, Pašić et le roi Alexandre indiquent à Mussolini qu'ils peuvent, sous certaines conditions, accepter sa proposition sur Fiume. Or, désormais Mussolini ne songe pas seulement à un accord territorial mais aussi à la conclusion d'un traité d'amitié entre les deux pays. Pour neutraliser une réaction française, d'ailleurs assez improbable, à sa stratégie yougoslave, Mussolini, par la voix de Contarini, propose à Barrère la conclusion d'un accord à trois.[57] À la lecture du texte de l'accord italo-yougoslave, Poincaré se limite à faire objection à la clause prévoyant des compensations territoriales pour l'une des parties contractantes lorsque l'autre aurait agrandi son territoire. À son avis, il s'agissait de la volonté italienne de pousser la Yougoslavie vers l'Égée, c'est-à-dire vers Salonique, afin de pouvoir exiger les compensations en Adriatique.[58] En effet, lors de la visite du roi Alexandre à Paris

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[54] William I. Shorrock, *The Enigma of Fascist Italy in French Diplomacy, 1920-1940* (London: The Kent State University Press), 24-28.

[55] Negroto Cambaisso à Mussolini, Belgrade, le 11 juillet 1923, DDI, série VII, vol. 2, doc. 126.

[56] Spalajković à Ninčić, le 18 septembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923; Antonijević à Ninčić, Rome, le 20 septembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923.

[57] Summonte à Mussolini, Belgrade, le 24 octobre 1923, DDI, série VII, vol. 2, doc. 446; Mussolini à Sumonte, Rome, le 27 octobre 1923, DDI, série VII, vol. 2, doc. 457.

[58] Poincaré à Spalaikovitch, Paris, 28.11.1923, AMAE, série Z, Europe, Yougoslavie, vol. 69, p. 13-14.

en décembre 1923, l'ambassadeur italien Romano Avenzana s'efforce de le persuader de se saisir du port de Salonique. Comme on l'a déjà vu, c'était une constante de la politique balkanique de l'Italie depuis Sonnino.

En l'absence d'une réaction française, le gouvernement de Pašić se décide en janvier 1924 à signer le traité proposé par Mussolini, comportant la clause laissant Fiume à l'Italie.[59] C'était seulement à ce dernier moment que le gouvernement Poincaré cherche à adhérer à ce traité, mais ces ouvertures tardives se voient repoussées par Mussolini.[60] Le traité, signé le 27 janvier 1924, est une victoire importante pour Mussolini. Non seulement il a annexé Fiume, mais il croit avoir réalisé les objectifs que s'était déjà posés Sforza, c'est-à-dire faire rentrer le Royaume SHS dans le giron italien. Cette réussite non négligeable est due notamment à l'entente franco-italienne, qui avait pris une dimension nouvelle lors des préparatifs pour la conclusion du traité rhénan. Lorsqu'à Locarno Mussolini accepte le pacte rhénan, il se croit en mesure d'entreprendre une vaste campagne d'expansion à l'Est. La tendance britannique d'accorder à Mussolini une autorité spéciale dans la région renforce sa détermination.

Il conçoit le projet d'encerclement de la Yougoslavie à travers une quadruple alliance avec la Bulgarie, la Roumanie et la Hongrie. En même temps il renforce son emprise sur l'Albanie par les traités de Tirana de 1926 et 1927. Or, les contentieux frontaliers entre les pays intéressés empêchent la réalisation d'une alliance à quatre. Mussolini doit se contenter d'alliances bilatérales avec Bucarest (16/9/1926) et Budapest (5/4/1927) dont la dernière seulement a le caractère révisionniste souhaité par Mussolini.

b) La confrontation

Lorsque les moyens de la diplomatie traditionnelle s'avèrent insuffisants pour faire plier la Yougoslavie, Mussolini radicalise sa politique révisionniste en apportant son aide à des mouvements indépendantistes. Dès 1927, des contacts sont établis avec les Macédoniens de l'IMRO. L'attentat dont est victime Radić en juin 1928 et les troubles intérieurs qu'il provoque en Croatie donnent à Mussolini la conviction que le nationalisme croate est le levier idéal pour disloquer la Yougoslavie. Lorsque Maček, l'héritier de Radić, déclare aux Hongrois que l'objectif du HSS est l'indépendance totale de la Croatie, Mussolini décide d'apporter tout son soutien aux nationalistes croates émigrés en Hongrie. Des fonds et des armes sont donc envoyés en

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[59] Mihailović à Ninčić, Paris, le 28 décembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923; Summonte à Mussolini, Belgrade, le 7 janvier 1924, DDI, série VII, vol. 2, doc. 537.

[60] Barrère à Poincaré, Rome, le 25 janvier 1924, AMAE, série Z, Europe, Yougoslavie, vol. 69, p. 81-85.

Hongrie avec pour objectif d'organiser une révolte en Yougoslavie. Or, les Croates s'avèrent incapables de troubler sérieusement l'ordre intérieur de la Yougoslavie. L'échec de l'action croate en Lika en 1932 finit par convaincre Mussolini que la Yougoslavie ne va pas s'écrouler sous la pression des mouvements nationalistes. Il continue son soutien aux émigrés croates tout en leur défendant de mener des actions sur sol yougoslave, car le retour de l'Allemagne sur la scène danubienne transforme la Yougoslavie en une alliée potentielle contre le pangermanisme.

c) Lutte contre l'Anschluss

Pour contrecarrer les projets de l'union douanière entre l'Autriche et l'Allemagne, Mussolini cherche à lier fermement la Hongrie et l'Autriche en tant que premier rempart contre l'Anschluss. Au-delà de cette première ligne de défense contre l'avancée allemande, il en conçoit une deuxième dont la Yougoslavie doit faire partie. En concevant de tels projets, Mussolini, une fois de plus, fait abstraction aussi bien du révisionnisme hongrois que des tensions italo-yougoslaves. Lorsque son vaste projet danubien s'effondre, il ne peut signer les protocoles de Rome qu'avec Gömbos et Dollfuss. Cependant, l'assassinat de ce dernier impose l'entente franco-italienne comme seul moyen de freiner le retour allemand dans le bassin danubien. C'est pourquoi Mussolini signe les accords avec Laval en décembre 1934. Ayant obtenu une garantie supplémentaire pour la stabilité en Europe il est en mesure de se consacrer à l'aventure éthiopienne.

B) La recherche française d'équilibre entre l'Italie et la Yougoslavie

Les accords Mussolini-Laval démontrent que la menace de l'Anschluss est le principal facteur d'une entente italo-française dans le bassin danubien. D'ailleurs, comme cela a été déjà dit, depuis Poincaré la diplomatie française ne croit pas l'Italie capable, à elle seule, d'empêcher l'emprise allemande sur l'Europe danubienne. Les potentiels économiques et politiques de l'Italie sont jugés insuffisants pour réorganiser les Balkans, voire pour y imposer durablement la domination italienne. En revanche, on est persuadé que l'incursion italienne dans les Balkans ne finirait qu'en y fomentant la discorde. De cette façon, les défenses de la région seraient davantage affaiblies et une éventuelle expansion allemande facilitée. Or, depuis la guerre, le premier objectif de la diplomatie française était justement d'empêcher toute présence allemande dans la région. Dans cette perspective, deux tendances se dégagent nettement : 1) soutien à une vaste alliance régionale sous la forme de l'alliance danubienne; 2) volonté française d'apaiser le conflit italo-yougoslave afin de créer une barrière efficace à la vague pangermaniste.

1) L'alliance danubienne

L'attachement de Poincaré et de Clemenceau à la survie de la Double Mon-
archie a été démontré précédemment. Dans le même ordre d'idées Paléo-
logue, en tant que secrétaire général du Quai d'Orsay, se laisse entraîner
dans une série de contacts informels avec les Hongrois en 1920. Les agendas
des deux parties lors de ces contacts n'étaient pas les mêmes. Tandis que les
Hongrois avaient des objectifs clairement révisionnistes, Paléologue, fidèle
à ses convictions exprimées dès 1915, explorait les possibilités pour la mise
en place d'une structure à l'échelle régionale.[61] Cette initiative personnelle
confirmait le manque de confiance, déjà exprimé aussi bien par Poincaré
que par Clemenceau, dans les capacités des alliés des Français d'assurer la
stabilité de la région. Les alliés des Français, terrifiés par le révisionnisme
hongrois, se coalisent pour mettre fin à toute velléité de solution confé-
dérale au sein de la diplomatie française. Dès l'été 1921, les pays héritiers
de l'Autriche-Hongrie, imposent à la diplomatie française leur alliance,
la Petite Entente.[62] Certes, depuis l'automne 1920 et le remplacement de
Paléologue par Berthelot, la diplomatie française est bien moins défavor-
able à une solution régionale composée exclusivement des alliés français.[63]
Néanmoins, il faut souligner que le soutien français à la Petite Entente se
manifeste après qu'il s'est avéré impossible d'organiser une solution com-
mune pour toute l'Europe centrale.

　　　C'est donc seulement au début des années vingt que la diplomatie
française se tourne vers les pays héritiers de la Double Monarchie dans
le cadre des projets d'une alliance de revers ou d'un cordon sanitaire. Or,
même dans ce cas, elle ne regarde que du côté de la Pologne ou de la Tché-
coslovaquie, car c'est seulement avec ces deux pays que la France conclut de
véritables alliances dotées d'un volet militaire. En revanche, l'alliance avec
la Yougoslavie est signée la dernière, seulement en 1927 et, qui plus est,
sans aucun engagement militaire. L'essence de la stratégie française à l'est
de l'Europe est clairement résumée par le Maréchal Foch lorsqu'il refuse de
prendre quelque engagement que ce soit envers un État qui n'est pas limi-
trophe de l'Allemagne.[64]

　　　Les limites du système français dans l'Europe danubienne vont ap-
paraître au début des années trente avec l'annonce, en mars 1931, de l'union

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[61] Wandycz Piotr, *France and her Eastern Allies* (Minneapolis, 1962), 196.

[62] Note de Montille, « La Petite Entente », Paris, le 14 janvier 1921, AMAE, serie Z,
Tchécoslovaquie, vol. 65, pp. 182-185.

[63] Leygues à Panafieu, Paris, le 30 septembre 1920, AMAE, Série Z, Tchécoslovaquie,
vol. 65, pp. 112, 113.

[64] Note de MAE, Paris, le 31 janvier 1924, AMAE, série Z, Europe, Yougoslavie, vol.
69, pp. 107, 108.

douanière austro-allemande. La réponse française prend de nouveau la forme de demande d'une solution commune pour toute la région. Successivement André Tardieu, puis Louis Barthou, cherchent à instaurer une vaste alliance dans les Balkans et dans le bassin danubien en y incorporant aussi l'Italie.[65] Les contentieux persistants entre les pays révisionnistes et la Petite Entente s'avèrent une fois de plus être l'insurmontable obstacle à l'organisation de la région. La seule alternative possible est l'entente avec l'Italie.

2) La France, arbitre du conflit italo-yougoslave

Depuis la naissance de l'État yougoslave, ce dernier est l'obstacle principal à une coopération italo-française dans les Balkans et dans l'Europe danubienne. Cependant les rapports entre les deux sœurs latines dépassent largement le cadre balkanique. Comme cela a été déjà dit, Clemenceau à Versailles cherche à assurer la garantie américaine pour la frontière rhénane. C'est pourquoi il soutient la position américaine, et à cause d'elle défend les intérêts yougoslaves dans l'Adriatique. La perspective française change considérablement après le refus du Congrès américain de ratifier le traité de Versailles. La disparition de la garantie américaine accorde une nouvelle importance à l'attitude italienne. Or, les troubles internes qui secouent les dernières années l'Italie libérale inquiètent vivement la diplomatie française. On craint l'arrivée au pouvoir des communistes en Italie. C'est pourquoi la rhétorique et la manière forte de Mussolini rassurent. L'arrivée au pouvoir de ce dernier est unanimement saluée aussi bien par l'Ambassadeur Barrère que par le gouvernement Poincaré.

Les liens entre la diplomatie française et Mussolini existent d'ailleurs dès l'automne-hiver 1914–1915 et l'agitation interventionniste en Italie. La coopération avec Mussolini s'avère profitable, car ce dernier apporte son soutien au gouvernement Poincaré lors de la crise de la Ruhr en 1923.[66] A son tour, Poincaré soutient l'Italie lors de la crise de Corfou en septembre 1923, malgré les protestations de la Yougoslavie et de la Tchécoslovaquie.[67] Il mobilise la diplomatie française pour donner satisfaction à Mussolini dans son conflit avec la Grèce, tout en évitant que la Ligue des Nations condamne l'occupation italienne de Corfou. La reconnaissance française pour l'appui

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[65] Voir à ce sujet : Vojislav Pavlović, « La Yougoslavie et le plan Tardieu », *Revue d'Europe Centrale* V/2 (1997); Vojislav Pavlović, « Dans l'ombre de Mussolini : le roi Alexandre et Barthou », *Revue d'Europe Centrale* VII/2 (1999).

[66] William Shorrock, « La France, l'Italie fasciste et la question de l'Adriatique », *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 194 (1980), 97-99.

[67] Spalajković à Ninčić, Paris, le 6 septembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923.

italien à l'occupation de la Ruhr ne s'arrête pas là. Poincaré ne s'oppose non plus à la conclusion de l'accord italo-yougoslave de janvier 1924.[68]

La tendance de la France à donner des gages de bonne volonté à l'Italie a néanmoins des limites. Après Corfou, Poincaré fait clairement comprendre à Mussolini qu'il ne permettra pas que la Yougoslavie soit mise devant le fait accompli à Fiume, comme la Grèce l'avait été à Corfou.[69] D'ailleurs, les relations bilatérales avec la Yougoslavie connaissaient à l'époque des avancées non négligeables. Le prêt français à la Yougoslavie a été approuvé par le Sénat en décembre 1923 et l'aide militaire française arrive en Yougoslavie à partir de l'année suivante. Malgré les rapprochements respectifs à la Yougoslavie et à l'Italie, la stratégie française consiste en une recherche d'équilibre des forces dans la région. D'un côté, sur l'échelle européenne, tout est fait pour s'assurer la coopération italienne. De l'autre, une aide est apportée aux Yougoslaves de façon à ce que ces derniers soient en mesure de résister à la pression italienne.

Certes, la diplomatie française accorde toujours plus d'importance à la coopération avec l'Italie qu'avec la Yougoslavie, ce qui est naturel car l'alliance italienne est jugé indispensable pour s'opposer à l'Allemagne ou pour la contrôler. C'était notamment le cas lors de la conclusion du traité de Locarno. Pour assurer l'adhésion de Mussolini à ce traité, Briand était prêt à accorder à Mussolini une certaine préséance dans les questions balkaniques.[70] Pourtant, lorsque Mussolini n'en fait pas une condition pour adhérer au pacte rhénan, la proposition française est immédiatement retirée. Certes, l'appui italien est indispensable, mais la diplomatie française se réjouit que le prix à payer ne soit pas la domination italienne dans les Balkans. Lorsque le danger d'une expansion germanique dans les Balkans est absent, la diplomatie française s'efforce de modérer les ambitions italiennes. C'est pourquoi, le soutien français à la Yougoslavie est confirmé par le traité bilatéral de 1927, en pleine campagne mussolinienne de déstabilisation de l'État des Slaves du Sud.[71]

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[68] Mihailović à Ninčić, Paris, le 28 décembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923; Summonte à Mussolini, Belgrade, le 7 janvier 1924, DDI, série VII, vol. 2, doc. 537.

[69] Spalajković à Ninčić, le 18 septembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923; Antonijević à Ninčić, Rome, le 20 septembre 1923, AY, Ministère à Paris, 1923.

[70] James Burgwyn, *Italy's foreign policy in the Interwar Period 1918-1940* (London, 1998), 30.

[71] Vojislav Pavlović, « L'aspect militaire des relations franco–yougoslaves dans les années vingt », Actes du colloque, *Batir une nouvelle sécurité : La coopération militaire de la France avec les pays d'Europe centrale dans les années 1920*, Centre d'études d'histoire de la défense et Service historique de l'Armée de terre (Paris, 2001).

Pourtant, lorsque les ambitions allemandes se font sentir de nouveau dans l'Europe danubienne en 1931, la diplomatie française cherche à sortir de l'impasse où la mène le conflit italo-yougoslave. Le renouveau de l'idée d'une coopération entre la France et l'Italie dans le bassin danubien était conçu par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Joseph Paul-Boncour. Il envoya Henry de Jouvenel à Rome en janvier 1933, comme ambassadeur dans une mission spéciale de six mois. Les instructions de Jouvenel étaient claires. Il devait poser des bases d'une entente durable entre la France et l'Italie tout en empêchaient la création de deux blocs rivaux en Europe centrale, la Petite Entente et le bloc italien composé de l'Autriche et la Hongrie.[72] En effet, les craintes communes d'une Allemagne revigorée par l'arrivée au pouvoir de Hitler facilitèrent la mise en pratique du projet français. Le souci principal, (et de ce fait le catalyseur d'une alliance franco-itailenne) était la défense de l'indépendance autrichienne face aux tentatives de déstabilisation des nazis. Le cadre de cette alliance fut posé par Mussolini lorsqu'il avança le 17 mars l'idée d'un pacte à quatre entre l'Allemagne, la France, l'Angleterre et l'Italie, dont l'objectif était d'encadrer l'Allemagne par un bloc franco-italiano-anglais. Cependant, le projet italien accorda dans l'article 2 la légitimité aux idées révisionnistes. Ainsi apparut toute la difficulté de la tâche française. Il fallait d'un côté modérer les ardeurs révisionnistes des pays vaincus tels que la Hongrie soutenu par l'Italie, et de l'autre inciter ses alliés traditionnels de la Petite Entente à coopérer, dans le domaine économique au mois, avec leurs adversaires d'hier, afin de créer une entente capable d'arrêter la percée allemande dans le bassin danubien. La diplomatie française était convaincue que la solution de ce problème était une entente franco-italienne suivie par l'amélioration des rapports entre l'Italie et la Yougoslavie. En conséquence, dans un premier temps et sous la pression de ses alliés, la diplomatie française s'employait à neutraliser l'aspect révisionniste du pacte à quatre, afin de pouvoir le parapher finalement le 7 juin, posant ainsi des bases pour les entretiens sur une alliance franco-italienne.[73]

Dans cette atmosphère d'entente, Jouvenel, lors de son entretien avec Mussolini, posa le 13 juin 1933 la question des relations franco-italiennes, dont notamment celles concernant le bassin danubien. Après avoir constaté l'identité de vues sur la nécessité de s'opposer à l'Anschluss, Jouvenel proposa à Mussolini d'associer le bloc austro-hongrois, jouissant du soutien italien, avec la Petite Entente, pour mieux contrecarrer l'avancée allemande. Cette proposition, sous condition qu'une telle alliance économique soit orientée

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[72] Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *La Décadence 1932-1939* (Paris, 1979), 71.

[73] *Ibid.*, 72; Aloisi à Mussolini, Genève, le 25 mai 1933, DDI, série VII, vol. 13, doc. 687; Pignati à Mussolini, Paris, le 29 mai 1933, DDI, série VII, vol. 13, doc. 732.

vers Rome, fut favorablement accueillie par Mussolini.[74] Paul-Boncour approuva l'initiative de son ambassadeur en lui précisant la teneur du projet français pour le bassin danubien :

> C'est à une politique d'entente à cinq entre l'Autriche, la Hongrie et les trois états de la Petite Entente qu'il convient de s'attacher. Aussi bien cette grande oeuvre de réorganisation économique danubienne, jusqu'ici irréalisable faute d'entente entre la France et l'Italie, devait être-là suite immédiate du rapprochement franco-italien favorisé par la pacte à Quatre.[75]

Finalement la mission de Jouvenel aboutit à un accord verbal avec Mussolini sur les 3 points suivants : 1) Abandon de toute idée révisionniste et de toute revendication territoriale, notamment celle italienne envers la Yougoslavie. 2) Accord sur la nécessité de défendre l'indépendance autrichienne. 3) Création d'une alliance économique homogène entre l'Autriche, la Hongrie et le pays de la Petite Entente, par le biais des conventions économiques entre eux.[76]

Après le départ de Jouvenel, la diplomatie italienne relança vers la fin août la question du projet danubien auprès du nouvel ambassadeur français à Rome, le comte de Chambrun.[77] La proposition italienne fut chaleureusement accueillie à Paris. Paul-Boncour confirma la volonté française d'oeuvrer en accord avec l'Italie pour une coopération économique entre les cinq pays du bassin danubien.[78]

Néanmoins, des deux côtés des Alpes, on ne percevait pas de la même manière ce projet danubien. Mussolini explique à Chambrun, le 4 septembre 1933, qu'on peut arriver à une solution pour l'Europe centrale seulement par étapes. La première en était la sauvegarde de l'indépendance de l'Autriche. La deuxième serait un accord entre l'Autriche et la Hongrie, d'ailleurs déjà en préparation, soutenu par l'Italie. Enfin la dernière étape aurait été une entente entre tous les pays danubiens, favorisée par toutes les grandes puissances. Il propose d'y inclure la France, en même temps que l'Allemagne, seulement dans la dernière étape.[79]

La volonté, même pas dissimulée, d'écarter la France de l'Europe centrale, provoqua immédiatement la réaction de Chambrun. Évoquant la

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[74] Jouvenel à Paul-Boncour, Rome, le 13 juin 1933, DDF, série I, vol. 3, doc. 386.

[75] Paul-Boncour à Jouvenel, Paris, le 17 juin 1933, DDF, série I, vol. 3, doc. 400.

[76] Jouvenel à Paul-Boncour, Rome, le 12 juillet, DDF, série I, vol. 3, doc. 478.

[77] Chambrun à Paul-Boncour, Rome, le 23 août 1933, DDF, série I, vol. 4, doc. 133

[78] Paul-Boncour à Chambrun, Paris, le 25 août 1933, DDF, série I, vol. 4, doc. 143.

[79] Compte rendu de l'entretien entre Mussolini et Chambrun, Rome, le 4 septembre 1933, DDI, série VII (1922-1935), vol. 14, doc. 145.

présence et l'engagement français important dans la région, l'ambassadeur français affirma que la France devrait dès le début être associée avec le projet mussolinien. Selon lui, elle pourrait, en faisant pression sur la Petite Entente, faciliter son rapprochement avec l'Autriche et la Hongrie. Mussolini accepta cette proposition, tandis que Fulvio Suvich, le sous-secrétaire au Ministère des Affaire Étrangères italien, insistait sur la particularité de la position italienne, soutenant que l'Italie, étant, un des pays successeurs de l'Autriche-Hongrie, devrait pouvoir établir des accord spéciaux avec les autres pays de la région.[80]

Confronté à l'intention italienne de favoriser la création d'un bloc austro-hongrois, la diplomatie française présenta formellement à Rome le 12 septembre un aide-mémoire contentant son projet danubien. Soulignant la nécessité d'oeuvrer en étroite collaboration avec l'Italie afin de permettre une alliance économique entre les cinq pays danubiens, Paul-Boncour y insiste particulièrement sur les deux points suivants : 1) que l'alliance proposée doit être dépourvue de tout caractère politique; 2) que tous les pays doivent être mis sur un pied de parfaite égalité.[81] La nette volonté de Paul-Boncour de s'opposer à la création d'un bloc italien obligea la diplomatie italienne à temporiser. En conséquence Suvich, proposa en septembre à Mussolini la solution suivante :

Confronté à la difficulté de faire avaler par les autres l'union douanière (entre l'Italie, l'Autriche et la Hongrie, avec ou sans Yougoslavie) il faudrait d'abord commencer en leur présentant le projet danubien.

> Si celui, - cela est improbable - était accepté, dans le contexte et
> pour les raisons précitées, et dans la nécessité de devoir adopter
> quelque disposition, il représenterait une solution favorable. Si le
> projet était rejeté, on aurait une raison suffisamment plausible pour
> recourir à l'union douanière, ce qui représente pour nous la solution
> intégrale.

Naturellement, même dans le cas d'un accord danubien, il est possible à continuer de travailler pour l'union douanière.[82]

Les réserves françaises obligèrent donc la diplomatie italienne à renverser l'ordre des actions prévues par Mussolini. Par conséquent Suvich présenta le 30 septembre à Paul Boncour à Genève son projet danubien limité à la coopération économique entre les pays danubiens selon les principes suivants : a) Accords bilatéraux. b) Traitement préférentiel pour les céréales et autres produits agricoles des pays danubiens. c) Traitement préférentiel

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[80] *Ibid.*

[81] Mémoire français sur le bassin danubien, Rome, le 12 septembre 1933, DDF, série I, vol. 4, doc. 193.

[82] Mémoire de Suvich, Rome, septembre 1933, DDI, série VI, vol. 14, doc. 231.

pour la production agricole autrichienne. d) Amélioration de la balance commerciale des pays danubiens et augmentation de leurs exportations. e) Mesures visant à diriger le flot du trafic de ces pays vers ses voies naturelles et par cela aptes à faciliter le trafic même. f) Mesures à adopter pour améliorer la balance de paiement des pays danubiens, que les accords dont on souhaite la conclusion pourraient indirectement préparer et faciliter. [83]

En le recevant Boncour salua d'abord l'ébauche d'une action commune italo-française dans le bassin danubien.[84] Cependant les experts français soulignèrent le refus italien d'accepter un accord collectif des pays danubiens, et la tendance italienne à se tailler une place de choix dans l'économie des pays intéressés.[85] Cette ébauche d'entente entre Paris et Rome était le seul bénéfice du projet italien, car les pays intéressés, et notamment les membres de la Petite Entente, se montrèrent plus que réservés. Le président tchécoslovaque, Eduard Bénes, était le plus réticent, n'acceptant pas que les industries autrichienne et italienne soient favorisées au dépens des intérêts de son pays.[86] La Roumanie par contre se montra favorable au projet italien, mais le Ministre des affaires étrangères, Nicolae Titulescu, considéra impossible un accord économique avant que toutes les velléités de l'esprit révisionniste du coté magyar n'aient disparu.[87]

Des raisons d'ordre politique motivaient aussi les réserves yougoslaves. La méfiance envers la régime mussolinien régnait à Belgrade, malgré la pression de la diplomatie française afin d'arriver à un accord avec l'Italie. Lorsque Bogoljub Jeftić, le Président de conseil yougoslave fut informé de la teneur des pourparlers entre Jouvenel et Mussolini, il avertit l'envoyé français à Belgrade, Paul Emil Naggiar, le 20 juillet, qu'une entente économique n'était pas possible sans qu'il y ait un accord politique au préalable. En effet, il réclama que l'Italie abandonne formellement toute aspiration révisionniste, avant d'envisager un éventuel accord avec Rome.[88] Il craignait surtout que l'entente franco-italienne se fasse aux dépens des intérêts de son pays.

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[83] Memorandum italien pour l 'Europe danubienne, Rome, le 29 septembre 1933, DDI, série VII (1922-1935), vol. 14, doc. 232.

[84] Compte rendu de l'entretien entre Suvich et Boncour, Genève, le 30 septembre 1933, DDI, serie VI, vol. 14, doc. 237.

[85] Note de Germain-Martin, délégué français dans la SDN, Genève, le 6 octobre 1933, DDF, série I, vol. 4, doc. 281.

[86] Guido Rocco, envoyé italien à Prague, à Mussolini, Prague, le 24 octobre 1933, DDI, série VII, vol. 14, doc. 320.

[87] Ugo Sola, envoyé italien à Bucarest, à Mussolini, Bucarest, le 6 décembre 1933, DDI, série VII, vol. 14, doc. 450.

[88] Naggiar à Paul-Boncour, Belgrade, le 20 juillet 1933, DDF, serie I, vol. 4, doc. 24.

C'est pourquoi, il suivait attentivement et avec appréhension depuis juin les contacts entre les deux diplomaties latines.[89]

Après l'échec des efforts de Boncour et de Jouvenel, la dernière renaissance d'une stratégie d'alliances françaises fut conçu par le vétéran de la Grande Guerre, Louis Barthou, avec comme interlocuteur du côté yougoslave aussi un ancien du temps du front de Salonique, le roi Alexandre. Le retour aux affaires de la veille génération des hommes d'État français avec le gouvernement Doumergue en février 1934, amena au Quai d'Orsay Louis Barthou. Ce vieux parlementaire français était toujours dans les années trente préoccupé d'abord par la sécurité de la République, menacée depuis peu par la naissante force du mouvement national-socialiste allemand dont le chef était depuis l'année précédente le chancelier allemand. Confronté à la menace d'un réarmement allemand, craignant qu'un contrôle efficace ne soit pas possible à cause des réserves de l'Angleterre, il se décida à renouveler le système d'alliances françaises.

Lors des rencontres entre Barthou et Litvinov, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères soviétique, le 18 mai à Genève, fut évoqué surtout le projet d'alliance réunissant les voisins de l'Allemagne, et l'URSS, censée garantir la sécurité de l'Europe orientale. L'objectif de cette entente étant de mieux contrôler l'Allemagne, Barthou avança aussi l'idée d'un pacte méditerranéen composé notamment de l'Italie, la France, et la Yougoslavie, et à fortiori la Roumanie et l'URSS, dont l'objectif aurait été de fortifier le seul point faible du dispositif français, l'Autriche. L'obstacle principal à une telle entente étant le différend italo-yougoslave, Barthou chercha à le surmonter lors de ses entretiens avec Jeftić et le roi Alexandre

Lorsque Barthou s'entretint avec Jeftić à Paris, son interlocuteur avait été déjà informé de la teneur d'un pacte de stabilité à l'Est, réunissant la France, l'Allemagne, l'URSS et tous les autres voisins de l'Allemagne. Jeftić prit connaissance de ce texte le 30 mai à Genève en même temps que ses collègues de la Petite Entente. Ainsi, il put se prononcer sur ce volet des alliances françaises, tandis que Barthou lui présentait le volet méditerranéen de son système des alliances. L'accueil réservé au projet français d'un Locarno de l'Est ne fut pas très chaleureux. Jeftić l'accueillit avec circonspection, déclarant que son gouvernement n'était pas prêt d'établir des relations diplomatiques avec l'URSS, posant comme condition préalable que Moscou arrête les activités des communistes yougoslaves visant à déstabiliser le pays. D'autre part, avant même d'accepter de considérer l'entente franco-italienne, il demanda que la France prenne les obligations suivantes : 1) de s'opposer en même temps à l'Anschluss et à la mainmise italienne sur l'Autriche; 2) de

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[89] Galli à Mussolini, Belgrade, le 24 juin 1933, DDI, série VII, vol. 13, doc. 837.

contrecarrer les revendications territoriales italiennes sur la Yougoslavie; 3) d'empêcher la restauration de l'Autriche-Hongrie.[90]

Les projets français furent reçus avec autant de réserves par le souverain yougoslave lors de la visite de Barthou à Belgrade les 24 à 26 juin. La visite se déroula en grand cérémonial. Barthou fut accueilli avec une attention particulière, et les autorités yougoslaves firent tout pour souligner l'importance de la traditionnelle amitié franco-serbe et yougoslave. Pour le souverain yougoslave, la visite de Barthou confirmait le soutien de la France à l'ordre établi par les traités et de ce fait il conclut que la Petite Entente et l'Entente balkanique étaient largement renforcées par les visites de Barthou à Bucarest et à Belgrade. En conséquence, Naggiar crut pouvoir espérer un meilleur accueil au projet méditerranéen en disant :

> Maintenant que nous avons, publiquement un proposition de la manière la plus claire contre le révisionnisme, nous pourrons nous montrer d'autant plus actifs à Rome dans un but de conciliation sans soulever d'inquiétude à Bucarest, à Belgrade ou à Prague.[91]

L'envoyé français à Belgrade était nettement trop optimiste. A l'instar de son ministre des Affaires Étrangères, le roi Alexandre posa plusieurs conditions avant d'accepter les projets d'alliances françaises. Selon le souverain yougoslave, le pacte méditerranéen était envisageable seulement à condition que l'Italie garantisse l'indépendance de l'Autriche et de l'Albanie, et respecte l'intégrité territoriale de son royaume.[92] D'autre part il accepta l'entrée de l'Union Soviétique dans la Société des Nations.[93] Mais, en même temps Purić assura l'envoyé italien, Galli que la Yougoslavie n'avait nullement intention d'adhérer au pacte oriental. Selon lui l'amitié avec la France se limitait à la participation aux ententes déjà existantes.[94]

Malgré les réserves de Belgrade, Alexis Léger avança l'idée d'un pacte méditerranéen lors de l'entretien avec l'ambassadeur italien à Paris, le comte Pignati. En disant que la France ne voulait pas prendre d'initiative à se sujet, néanmoins il lui fit comprendre qu'elle serait prête de suivre l'Italie si elle le faisait.[95] C'était d'ailleurs la manière dont le Quai d'Orsay voulait mettre sur pied le pacte méditerranéen, c'est-à-dire, en incitant l'Italie à en prendre la direction. Barthou revint à la charge seulement après avoir obtenu l'accord de l'Angleterre et de l'Italie à son projet de pacte oriental. Ainsi Chambrun

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[90] Vinaver, *Jugoslavija i Francuska,* 263, 264.

[91] Naggiar à Barthou, Belgrade, le 5 juillet 1934, DDF, série I, vol. 6, doc. 432.

[92] Shorrock, *From Ally to Enemy*, 87.

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] Galli à Mussolini, Belgrade, le 27 juin 1934, DDI, série VII, vol. 15, doc. 452, n. 1.

[95] Pignati à Mussolini, Paris, le 27 juillet 1934, DDI, série VII, vol. 15, doc. 453.

tenta d'en persuader Suvich, mais le sous-secrétaire aux Affaires Étrangères repoussa nettement ce projet.[96] Mussolini, lorsqu'il fut sollicité à son tour par Chambrun, lui cita les accords existants entre l'Italie, d'une part et à la fois l'URSS, la Turquie, et la Grèce, d'autre part, afin de démontrer l'inutilité du projet français. Même si Chambrun évoqua, dans cette perspective la Yougoslavie, Mussolini n'en voulait pas.[97]

Sollicité et par Rome et par Belgrade, Barthou avança dès le 31 juillet l'idée d'une action diplomatique commune de France, de Grande Bretagne et d'Italie à laquelle seraient associé par la suite les pays de la Petite Entente.[98] Cependant, cette grande alliance fut mal accueillie et à Rome et à Belgrade. Mussolini voulait une entente avec Paris, laissant de côté le problème de la Yougoslavie. Le roi Alexandre par contre, craignait précisément un tel accord. Désormais il était prêt à accepter l'idée d'un rapprochement entre Paris et Moscou en déclarant le 22 août à Naggiar :

> Une alliance franco-russe serait pour nous autres yougoslaves un très grand et très heureux événement.[99]

Ayant de cette manière prouvée son attachement au système d'alliances françaises, le roi Alexandre ajouta qu'il n'acceptait pas que l'Autriche devienne un protectorat italien. Pourtant il se déclara prêt à signer la déclaration franco-italo-britannique de 17 février.[100] L'accord de principe de roi yougoslave permit à Barthou de se concentrer d'abord sur l'accomplissement d'un accord avec Rome, pour ensuite y joindre la Yougoslavie. Il proposa donc le 3 septembre encore une fois que les accords de Rome de 17 mars soient élargis afin d'y incorporer les pays de la Petite Entente. Cette proposition d'un politique commune envers l'Europe Centrale fut accompagnée par la mise en garde concernant la Yougoslavie. Barthou s'empressait à souligner que la France accorde une importance toute particulière aux intérêts de la Yougoslavie.[101]

Tandis qu'il s'efforçait de trouver résoudre les différences entre les deux voisins sur l'Adriatique, les journaux yougoslave et italiens se lançaient dans une virulente campagne de dénigrement. Encore une fois il a fallu que

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[96] Compte rendu de l'entretien entre Suvich et Chambrun, le 14 juillet 1934, DDI, série VII, vol. 15, doc. 525

[97] Chambrun à Barthou, Rome, le 20 juillet 1934, DDF, série I, vol. 6, doc. 487.

[98] Barthou à Chambrun, Cambon, Naggiar, Paris, le 31 juillet 1934, DDF, vol. 7, doc. 29.

[99] Naggiar à Barthou, Belgrade, le 25 aôut 1934, DDF, vol. 7, doc. 149.

[100] Naggiar à Barthou, Belgrade, le 25 aôut 1934, DDF, vol. 7, doc. 147.

[101] Barthou à Chambrun, Paris, le 3 septembre 1934, DDF, vol. 7, doc. 220; Barthou à Chambrun, Paris, le 5 septembre 1934, *ibid.*, doc. 233.

la France s'empresse à calmer les esprits.[102] Finalement Barthou arrive le 25 septembre à Genève à obtenir l'accord et de Rome et de Londres pur une nouvelle déclaration renforçant celle de 17 février.[103] A cette occasion il fut prévu que Barthou se chargerait d'y persuader le pays de la Petite Entente d'adhérer à la déclaration. De cette façon l'entente dans le triangle Rome, Paris et Belgrade dépendait de l'issu du voyage du roi Alexandre à Paris.

Lorsque le roi Alexandre arriva à Marseille, son accord est indispensable pour que le dernier des projets Barthou puisse se réaliser. L'assassinat de deux vétérans de la Grande Guerre mit un terme au projet Barthou et bousculait profondément le système des alliances françaises. Déjà le rapprochement entre Belgrade et Berlin présageait la fin de système de Versailles. L'importance accrue de l'Italie y mit définitivement un terme. Ses ambitions en Europe Centrale s'avérèrent incompatibles avec le vison français de la stabilité dans la région. L'Italie mussolinienne se refusait d'être partie intégrante du système français, cherchant au mois d'en être auteur à part entière sinon d'y instaurer son système alternatif. Le roi Alexandre et Barthou, refusaient, chacun dans sa manière de l'accepter. Leurs successeurs respectifs acceptaient nettement cette nouvelle donne de la politique européenne.

III) Les enjeux géostratégiques et économiques du conflit franco–italien

L'enjeu géostratégique est de réorganiser les Balkans et le bassin danubien après la disparition de la Double Monarchie. Le principal obstacle est indiscutablement le contentieux entre les pays héritiers et ceux qui se sentent lésés par le traité de Versailles. Toute tentative française de réunir tous les pays de la région au sein d'un unique système d'alliances se heurte à des animosités insurmontables entre les vainqueurs et les vaincus. Aucune possibilité d'entente entre la Hongrie et ses voisins n'existe. C'est pourquoi la Petite Entente est la seule solution possible, tout en n'étant pas la solution souhaitée par la France.

L'Italie a une position ambiguë. Appartenant à la coalition victorieuse, elle montre une volonté révisionniste qui la pousse à se lier avec la Hongrie. Cherchant à disloquer la Yougoslavie et à travers elle le système des alliances françaises qui reposent sur la Petite Entente, l'Italie en arrive à être à l'origine de l'instabilité dans les Balkans. Or, même ses projets d'une alliance anti-yougoslave se heurtent aux mêmes obstacles que le projet français de confédération danubienne. La Roumanie, en tant que pays devant assurer les liens entre la Hongrie d'une part et la Bulgarie de l'autre, refuse d'adhérer aux projets italiens à cause des contentieux territoriaux.

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[102] Vinaver, *Jugoslavija i Francuska*, 273.

[103] Barthou à Chambrun, Genève, le 25 septembre 1934, DDF, vol. VII, doc. 361.

Au-delà des problèmes géostratégiques, la situation économique montre toute l'incohérence des projets français et des projets italiens. La dissolution de la Double Monarchie entraîne la disparition de réseaux économiques établis au fil des siècles. Les disparitions du marché allemand, et jusqu'à un certain point autrichien, laissent les pays agraires sans débouchés. Aucune alternative viable n'est proposée par les deux sœurs latines qui se disputent la primauté dans la région. L'action économique française reste cantonnée à la logique des prêts intergouvernementaux. La fidélité des classes dirigeantes, telle que celle des Radicaux serbes, est ainsi assurée, mais les problèmes économiques restent entiers. Les tentatives italiennes d'expansion économique, à l'instar des investissements de la Banca Comerciale en Hongrie, vont dans le bon sens mais s'avèrent largement insuffisants.

En dernière instance, les deux sœurs latines n'avaient ni le potentiel économique ni la force politique pour imposer une solution durable à la région traditionnellement dominée par les Habsbourg. La complémentarité du marché allemand avec les économies agraires des pays balkaniques rend plus crédible la renaissance du projet allemand de Mitteleuropa. D'ailleurs, l'Allemagne est la seule à proposer des arrangements d'échanges en nature, et de ce fait devient la seule prête à s'investir dans le commerce avec les Balkans. Pour décrire une situation complexe, on est tenté de conclure que la France avait peut-être des moyens, mais la volonté de s'investir dans la réorganisation des Balkans lui faisait défaut. En revanche, la volonté italienne n'est pas en question tandis que ses moyens étaient simplement insuffisants.

Jovan Zametica

Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Italo-Yugoslav Crisis over Albania February-May 1927

The famous British historian A. J. P. Taylor described Mussolini as a "vain, blundering boaster without either ideas or aims". In respect of Mussolini's foreign policy, however, this assessment can be disputed. Even Taylor himself goes on to add: "Fascist foreign policy repudiated from the outset the principles of Geneva."[1] If there is a single area of Mussolini's activities where he demonstrated ideas, aims and indeed consistency, it is to be related to Italy's foreign policy from 1922 when he assumed power. He proved this very quickly, in 1923, when his fleet bombarded Corfu, blaming this incident on a completely innocent Greek government and showing utter contempt for the League of Nations which he was known to consider as an 'academic' organization. Among his bombastic early declarations stands out the one in which he argued that treaties were not eternal, that they were not irrevocable.

Mussolini's early foreign policy aimed, somewhat implausibly given the awesome naval power of Britain and France (notwithstanding their rivalry), at making the Mediterranean Italy's *mare nostrum.* But the ambition was real enough, founded as it was on Mussolini's vision of creating "a new Roman Empire", something which could only mean aggrandizement, peaceful or not, in Africa and the Balkans. As regards the Balkans, Mussolini's policy was bound to bring Italy into an early dispute with the newly-established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, just across the Adriatic. Already referred to as "Yugoslavia" even before the official change of its name in 1929, the country had clashed with Italy at the Paris Peace Conference over the so-called "Adriatic Question" in which Italy had demanded from the Allies (in the secret Treaty of London) large chunks in the eastern Adriatic as a reward for her entry into the war in 1915. But President Woodrow Wilson, known for opposing secret treaties, would have none of that and Italy became, even before the advent of the Fascist regime,

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[1] A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1974), 85.

a revisionist power seeking to improve on its "mutilated victory".[2] In 1920 France and Britain came up with a proposal that would form part of a general 'compromise' to resolve the Adriatic Question whereby northern Albania should become an autonomous province of Yugoslavia, Greece being rewarded generously in the south, with the remainder becoming Italy's mandated area. But President Wilson predictably objected.[3]

The Adriatic Question dragged on for a while, but a significant achievement was reached in 1920 when Italy and Yugoslavia signed the Treaty of Rapallo which settled the frontier between the two countries, although the disputed city of Fiume continued to constitute a problem. This matter was solved in January 1924 when the Yugoslav prime minister Nikola Pašić signed with Mussolini the Pact of Rome by which Italy received Fiume and its port. But the Pact also contained an undertaking that Italy and Yugoslavia should in the event of international complications consult together before either country took measures likely to affect the interests of the other. This, as will be seen, was to prove a highly contentious issue between Italy and Yugoslavia. Another significant diplomatic development in the early 1920s was the establishment of what became known as "The Little Entente", a series of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav-Romanian defensive conventions, concluded between August 1920 and June 1921, and aimed against the revisionism of the defeated Hungary and Bulgaria. This series of treaties was strongly backed by France.[4] Italy, in fact, also had a good reason to support the Little Entente as it certainly did not wish to see a restoration of the Habsburg Empire, though its subsequent policy proved very different as it was to extend support to Hungary and Bulgaria.[5] What brought Italy on a collision course with Yugoslavia, however, was the Albanian question.[6]

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[2] For an early account of this question, see Edward James Woodhouse and Chase Going Woodhouse, *Italy and the Jugoslavs* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1920). See also Dragan R. Živojinović, *America, Italy and the Birth of Yugoslavia (1917–1919)*, (New York: Columbia University Press, East European Quarterly, Boulder, 1972); Ivo J. Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study in Frontiermaking* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963); and René Albrecht-Carrié, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1966).

[3] See C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe: A History* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 133.

[4] See Robert Machray, *The Little Entente* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1929).

[5] See Vuk Vinaver, *Jugoslavija i Mađarska 1918–1933* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1971), and the same author's *Jugoslavija i Francuska između dva rata* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1985).

[6] Among contemporary British, almost uncritically pro-Albanian accounts, the following should be mentioned: J. Swire, *Albania: The Rise of a Kingdom* (London: Williams & Norgate Ltd., 1929); Ronald Matthews, *Sons of the Eagle: Wanderings in Albania* (Lon-

Now, just as Belgium had been seen historically by Britain as a country of the utmost strategic importance – as Napoleon had remarked, the city of Antwerp being a pistol pointed at the heart of England – "Albania has been defined as the Italian Belgium."[7] This actually made a lot of sense. With a highly indented eastern Adriatic coast, not to mention the unparalleled possibilities of stationing major naval forces in the Gulf of Cattaro, Italy had a legitimate strategic interest in preventing a major power establishing itself across the Adriatic with only so few nautical miles away from its practically defenceless eastern shores. It was thus not without reason that Italy had been against Austria's attack on Serbia in 1914. For this was serious political and military business, entirely understood by the Italian politicians who negotiated the secret Treaty of London. Concerning Albania, Article 6 of the Treaty stipulated: "Italy shall receive full sovereignty over Valona, the island of Saseno and surrounding territory of sufficient extent to assure defence of these points." Article 7 further stipulated: "Should Italy obtain the Trentino and Istria … together with Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands … and if the central portion of Albania be reserved for the establishment of a small autonomous neutralized state, Italy shall not oppose the division of northern and southern Albania between Montenegro, Serbia and Greece should France, Great Britain and Russia so desire. Italy shall be charged with the representation of the State of Albania in its relations with foreign powers…"[8]

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don: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1937); J. Swire, *King Zog's Albania* (London: Robert Hale and Company, 1937); and Nigel Heseltine, *Scarred Background: A Journey through Albania* (London: Lovat Dickinson Limited, 1938). To this should be added contemporary British pro-Fascist works such as that by Ion S. Munro, *Through Fascism to World Power* (London: Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1933). A pro-Yugoslav British work, which unfortunately stops in 1922, is that by Henry Baerlin, *A Difficult Frontier (Yugoslavs and Albanians)*, (London: Leonard Parsons, 1922). For a sympathetic contemporary Serbian view of Zogu, accompanied by a sharp criticism of Belgrade's policy towards Albania, see Milosav Jelić, *Albanija: zapisi o ljudima i događajima* (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1933). Most modern accounts understandably concentrate on Kosovo rather than Albania proper. Two useful works are Nicolas J. Costa, *Albania: A European Enigma* (New York: East European Monographs, 1995), and Miranda Vickers, *The Albanians: A modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1995). See also Ramadan Marmullaku, *Albania and the Albanians* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1975). Noel Macolm's celebrated *Kosovo: A Short History* (London: Macmillan, 1998), which covers Albania to a considerable extent, is remarkable only by its grotesque distortions, presumably motivated by the author's well-known anti-Serbian views. This "work" is best left to gather dust on bookshelves.

[7] Maxwell H. H. Macartney and Paul Cremona, *Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy 1914–1937* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 96.

[8] Quoted in George Slocombe, *The Dangerous Sea: The Mediterranean and its Future* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1936), 83.

Thus Italy cannot be accused of exaggerated greed regarding Albania: it merely sought to obtain there a small client state, a bridgehead for some future expansion in the region, while the rest of the country could be conveniently divided between its small Balkan neighbours precisely in order to keep any stronger powers out. What, however, the Italians failed to envisage in 1915 was that a potentially strong Yugoslavia would emerge at the end of the war. And if Italy had valid reasons to bring Albania into its sphere of influence, so did Yugoslavia, and especially Serbia. In the first place, since its creation in 1913, Albania proved Europe's most unstable country, something that Belgrade could not contemplate with equanimity. And second, the Serbian province of Kosovo, bordering on Albania, contained a large population of ethnic Albanians deeply hostile to the Serbs.[9] Already in 1915, before they were forced to retreat in the face of the combined Austrian-German-Bulgarian onslaught, the Serbs had successfully invaded Albania where they received at least a partial welcome.

Hardly surprising, then, that Belgrade was always going to take a deep interest in the chronically chaotic affairs of Albania. The country had changed government no fewer than six times between 1920 and 1922.[10] Its first head of state, the young and hopelessly incompetent Prince Wilhelm of Wied, abandoned his new country after only six months in September 1914, never to return again to such a hotbed of cloak and dagger politics.[11] The Serbs had, already during the First World War, an important ally in Albania. This was Essad Pasha Toptani who had declared himself President at Durazzo. His chief domestic rival was Ahmed Bey Zogu, a political oppor-

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[9] The Kosovo Albanians had established a "Kosovo Committee" with a military wing (the so-called *kaçak* movement), carrying acts of violence against the Serbs.

[10] The French used to describe Albania thus: *Pays balkanique, pays volcanique*. For a massive documentary background to Serb (and Yugoslav)–Albanian relations, see Ljubodrag Dimić and Djordje Borozan, eds., *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, vol. I, 1998, vol. II, 1999). See also Emilija Aleksić, ed., *Iz istorije Albanaca* (Belgrade: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika SR Srbije, 1969); Djoko Slijepčević, *Srpsko-arbanaški odnosi kroz vekove sa posebnim osvrtom na novije vreme*, 4th rev. ed. (Himmelsthür [W. Germany], 1983); Radovan Samardžić *et al.*, *Kosovo i Metohija u srpskoj istoriji* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1989); Dušan T. Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles* (Belgrade: Plato, 1992); Djordje Borozan, *Velika Albanija: porijeklo, ideje, praksa* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski institut VJ, 1995); Miodrag Marović, *Balkanski džoker: Istorijska hronika nastajanja i razvoja albanskog pitanja* (Bar: JP Kulturni centar, 1995); Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Knjiga o Kosovu*, 4th ed. (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga and Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1999); and Sreten Draškić, *Evropa i albansko pitanje* (Belgrade: Mala biblioteka SKZ, 2000).

[11] The majority Muslim Albanian population harboured suspicions of this Protestant prince.

tunist of the first rank, a true "aficionado of the art of *realpolitik*"[12] who, just like Toptani, was not above offering his political services to Serbia. Toptani was in 1916 forced to flee to Italy, thus leaving Zogu to fill the gap which he did by ingratiating himself to the occupying Austrians who awarded him the rank of Colonel and apparently also gave him gold to finance battles against the Italians who had landed with their forces in the southern port of Valona in the south claiming compensation for the Austrian invasion of Serbia.[13] But during the First World War, although Albania was formally neutral, the country had no government as such, and it was only in January 1920 that a provisional administration came into existence at the Congress of Lushnjë. Zogu became the interior minister and commander in chief of the army. In the same year Albania became a member of the League of Nations. In November 1921 the Conference of Ambassadors (Britain, France, Italy and Japan) made a curious but in any case pragmatic decision whereby it recognized that any violation of the frontiers or independence of Albania might constitute a danger for the strategic safety of Italy, and agreed that, should such a danger arise, it would instruct its representatives on the Council of the League of Nations to recommend that the restoration of the territorial frontiers of Albania should be entrusted to Italy. This, it has to be said, represented a major diplomatic triumph for Rome – for Italy's protectorate over Albania had thus been explicitly acknowledged – and Mussolini later used this to good effect.

Toptani was in June 1920 assassinated in Paris by a fellow Albanian, something which could not have displeased Zogu. But the Yugoslavs then invaded northern Albania in August, reaching as far as Mati, Zogu's home turf. An important result of this, it seems, was Zogu's secret understanding with Belgrade not to meddle in Kosovo, something which the Kosovo Albanians described as an act of treason.[14] Belgrade really meant business in Albania. In July 1921 it helped organize the secession from Albania of the northern province of Mirdita (inhabited largely by Catholics), and its "Republic of Mirdita" clients were by October 1921 within thirty miles of Tirana, causing Lloyd George to get considerably upset by the Yugoslavs who were forced to withdraw.[15] Already in 1915 Zogu had established relations with the Serbs at Niš. After the assassination of Essad Pasha Toptani,

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[12] E. Garrison Walters, *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945* (New York: Dorset Press, 1990), 266.

[13] By far the best, though not flawless, account of Zogu is the recent biography by Jason Tomes, *King Zog: Self-made Monarch of Albania* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003).

[14] See Tomes, *King Zog*, 42.

[15] Tomes, *King Zog*, 46-47.

Belgrade was looking at Zogu as its next ally and helped him to establish himself in power towards the end of 1922.[16] It did not know then that Zogu was the master in a policy of double-cross.

Britain's influence on Zogu was considerable at this time, especially through its minister Harry Eyres (Britain's representative in Albania since January 1921) who was recommending Zogu to develop closer relations with Italy to offset the pressure from the Serbs.[17] But not even Eyres could help his friend Zogu to stave off a major rebellion against him in 1924 which forced him, in June, to seek refuge in Yugoslavia, the helms of power being now taken by Fan Noli, a controversial Orthodox bishop, Harvard-educated and known for his pro-Italian, anti-League of Nations and anti-British views, but more important, someone who was talked about as a politician not averse to seeking the help of the Soviet Union, which particularly irritated the intensely anti-Bolshevik Belgrade.[18] In Belgrade, Zogu waited for his next opportunity to return to power. By late December 1924, thanks to Yugoslav arms and money (and to General Wrangel's White Russian forces based in Yugoslavia), Zogu managed to overthrow Fan Noli and thus acquired the reputation of Serbia's man.[19] In January 1925 he became Albania's dictator-president. However, as C.L. Sulzberger wrote about Zogu: "Ambition is an infectious disease."[20] For Zogu lost no time in turning against his erstwhile allies, although, in fairness to him, he gave Belgrade the villages of St. Naum and Vermash in a display of not particularly exaggerated gratitude for being able to carry out his *coup de main* in Tirana. He had relied at this time on advice of Colonel Stirling, a British ex-officer, who saw Yugoslavia as Albania's obvious ally, a country that could help him consolidate power. But Belgrade failed to produce the necessary money (and Greece, in internal turmoil, was even less capable to

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[16] Živko Avramovski, "Akcija jugoslovenske vlade protiv Zoguovog režima u Albaniji preko Cena bega Kryziu (1926–1927.)", *Albanološka istraživanja* (Prishtina: Filozofski fakultet, 1965), 225.

[17] Tomes, *King Zog*, 56. Competent studies dealing with Yugoslavia's interwar international relations include Desanka Todorović, *Jugoslavija i balkanske države 1918–1923* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga and Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1979); Dunja Hercigonja, *Velika Britanija i spoljnopolitički položaj Jugoslavije 1929–1933* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1987); and Enes Milak, *Italija i Jugoslavija 1931–1937* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1987).

[18] Tomes, *King Zog*, 63-70. In Belgrade, Zog took up residence in Hotel Bristol where he quickly gained the reputation as "a lion with the ladies". Tomes, *King Zog*, 71.

[19] *Ibid.*, 71–73.

[20] C. L. Sulzberger, *A Long Row of Candles: Memoirs and Diaries 1934–1954* (London: Macdonald, 1969), 63.

help at this stage), so there is a sense in which Zogu really had no choice.[21] "The loyalty of an Albanian Bey," it has been so rightly observed, "was worth no more than the money with which it was bought, and lasted as long as the money."[22]

Given the permanent internal instability in Albania, Mussolini's "new Roman Empire" could most easily begin to take shape in that country. But it was only in 1923, after viewing with suspicion Germany's economic attempts to establish a foothold in Albania, that Italy took the decision to build a serious economic and political position in Albania, receiving concessions regarding the woodlands and seeking to obtain permission for oil exploration. The 1st Tirana Pact (November 1926) between Italy and Albania entailed an even greater economic penetration. And much more than that: Article I declared: "Italy and Albania recognise that any disturbance threatening the political, legal and territorial *status quo* of Albania is contrary to their common interest."[23] Thus a new Italian protectorate over Albania had been de facto established (following the practically formal decision of the 1921 Conference of Ambassadors to give Italy a free hand in Albania), causing the resignation in Belgrade of foreign minister Momčilo Ninčić who correctly saw the Pact of Tirana as an essentially hostile measure against Yugoslavia, in flagrant contradiction to the Pact of Rome.[24] "Italy could now threaten [Yugoslavia] from her two frontiers, north and south, and also from across the Adriatic."[25] In truth, however, Ninčić and Belgrade had also violated the Pact of Rome when they helped Zogu, in 1924, to return to power, timing this decision brilliantly as Mussolini had the Matteoti affair on his hands. But Zogu now dumped his former Yugoslav protectors and sought, perhaps not unwisely, but certainly treacherously, Italy's support to develop his backward country economically. Already in January 1925 he addressed Mussolini with an offer of strengthening relations between Albania and Italy. And by September of that year Italian banks had provided capital for the „National Bank of Albania".

[21] M. W. Fodor, *South of Hitler* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1938), 102.

[22] Gaetano Salvemini, *Prelude to World War II* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1953), 105.

[23] Quoted in Muriel Currey, *Italian Foreign Policy 1918–1932* (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson Ltd, 1932), 189. For useful details on the Italian side, see Gabriele Paresce, *Italia e Jugoslavia dal 1915 al 1929* (Florence: R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1935). For a still useful contemporary French account, see Jacques Ancel, *Les Balkans face à l'Italie* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1928), 128.

[24] See Milak, *Italija i Jugoslavija*, 38-41.

[25] Doros Alastos, *The Balkans and Europe* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1937), 104-105.

Things with Zogu, however, were never as simple as that. Whilst seeking economic aid from Italy, he also played a parallel game with Britain. Harry Eyres was succeeded early in 1926 by Edmund O'Reilly. Also at this time a new Italian representative arrived in Albania. This was the notorious womanizer Barone Pompeo Aloisi, Mussolini's darling diplomat, but also the darling of the wives in the Tirana diplomatic corps – he had no problem in charming them. In any case, the other main preoccupation of Aloisi was to convince Zogu to accept an Italo-Albanian treaty, a task in which he succeeded in the end when the Pact of Tirana was signed. But Zogu had before then attempted to interest O'Reilly in an Anglo-Albanian commercial treaty. Lord Vansittart recalls perceptively in his memoirs: "O'Reilly said dryly that the Pact was incompatible with Albanian independence. The Duce was in turn furious and protested to Austen, who removed O'Reilly and got us a bad name."[26] When O'Reilly advised Zogu not to yield to Mussolini's pressure, the reaction in London was cool. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the new foreign secretary, saw no direct British interest in Albania except that he wanted to avoid Italo-French-Yugoslav complications and extricate Britain from any such possibilities. O'Reilly was soon succeeded by William Seeds.[27] What was certainly not the case, as will be seen, was that "Chamberlain had decided that stability in the Adriatic was best served by treating Albania as an Italian sphere of influence."[28] That is far too simplistic a way of describing Chamberlain's policy. And what Chamberlain could not have known at the time (August 1925) was that Mussolini had concluded with Zogu a secret military treaty which provided for cooperation in war with Yugoslavia, complete with a promise of Kosovo to Albania. In fact, both the Italian foreign ministry and Mussolini himself began to have second thoughts about this arrangement: why should Italy risk being dragged by Zogu into a war for Kosovo?[29]

The position of Great Britain in the ongoing Italo-Yugoslav affair over Albania must be viewed primarily in political rather than economic terms. True, oil exploration was not a negligible factor. Already in 1921 Albania signed a preliminary agreement with D'Arcy Exploration, a subsidiary of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in which Britain owned a controlling stake. However, this paled into insignificance in comparison with Britain's political considerations. The British government was from November 1924 again headed by Stanley Baldwin, perhaps the dominant British politician

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[26] Lord Vansittart, *The Mist Procession* (London: Hutchinson, 1958), 325. Vansittart was Stanley Baldwin's Principal Private Secretary.

[27] Tomes, *King Zog*, 83-88.

[28] *Ibid*., 86.

[29] *Ibid*., 82.

in the interwar period, three times prime minister (1923–24, 1924–29, 1935–37) and Lord President of the Council from 1931 to 1935. Subsequently blamed for the failure of Britain to rearm in the face of the growing menace of Germany under Hitler, he was famous for not being interested in foreign affairs in the slightest. His knowledge of Europe "hardly extended beyond Aix-les-Bains, the French spa to which he and his wife were in the habit of resorting each year to take the waters."[30] Just as well that his foreign secretary (1924–29) was the Cambridge-educated Sir Austen Chamberlain, a man with considerable previous government experience and a deep knowledge of European affairs.[31]

Chamberlain's chief diplomatic achievement is generally regarded to be the conclusion, in 1925, of the Treaties of Locarno, which brought Germany back to the mainstream of European affairs and generally seemed to herald a new, prolonged era of peace. Of course, France's Aristide Briand and Germany's Gustav Stresemann were no less responsible for Locarno, but Chamberlain had demonstrated genuine interest in international cooperation. Signed by France, Germany and Belgium, Locarno was guaranteed by Britain and – significantly – Mussolini's Italy, until then hardly treated as a first class power. But what did Locarno really mean? While it settled the Franco-German differences in the West, it left the frontiers of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria completely unguaranteed against Germany – "and herein lay the seeds of the Second World War".[32] Britain and Italy, as the guarantor powers, in effect guaranteed nothing, they only had "a moral obligation, a mere form of words". They could not undertake to prepare for the fulfilment of their guarantees since the aggressor would not be known until he actually appeared.[33] And this was perfect for Britain – play the benevolent peacemaker, but make sure your own vital interests are not threatened. It was *realpolitik* of the first order. No wonder that Hughe Knatch-

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[30] E. Royston Pike, *Britain's Prime Ministers* (Feltham: Hamlyn Publishing for Odham Books, 1968), 388. According to Lord Home, Baldwin was "ill at ease with foreigners," going so far as to contrive that he "need not sit next to them at meals". In May 1936, Baldwin told Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary: "We must get nearer to Germany," and when Eden asked him "How?" Baldwin replied: "I have no idea, that is your job." Quoted in Frank Longford, *Eleven at No. 10* (London: Harrap, 1984) 24.

[31] Austen Chamberlain was the son of Joseph Chamberlain, the famous British imperialist who became the Colonial Secretary in the Unionist government of 1895. Neville Chamberlain, the unfortunate British prime minister who succumbed to Hitler at Munich in 1938, was Austen's half-brother. For a good biography of Austen Chamberlain, see David Dutton, *Austen Chamberlain: Gentleman in Politics* (Bolton: Ross Anderson Publications, 1985).

[32] Richard Lamb, *The Drift to War 1922–1939* (London, 1989), 20.

[33] See Taylor, *The Origins*, 82-83.

bull-Hugessen, a Foreign Office diplomat, commented on Locarno that, whereas Chamberlain was jubilant, the "French were more matter-of-fact and more sceptical".[34] Italy, too, was in fact somewhat sceptical as Mussolini wished the Franco-German problem to stay on the Rhine, fearing that Germany would next turn to Austria and the question of Alto Adige.[35]

Even more important for an understanding of British postwar policy (and this would later be demonstrated by Chamberlain in his final handling of the Italo-Yugoslav crisis over Albania in 1927) is its rejection, before Locarno, of the Geneva Protocol which attempted to make more efficient the instruments of the League of Nations in preserving peace and deterring aggression or, broadly speaking, to make every member of the League guarantee the frontiers of Europe (in other words to commit itself to waging war), and this was meant to be done by means of compulsory arbitration of all disputes. Although the initiative for the Geneva Protocol lay with the Labour prime minister Ramsay MacDonald, the true guardians of British foreign policy were the Conservatives who returned to power in November 1924. The British Dominions were dead against the Geneva Protocol, but this only served the new foreign secretary Chamberlain as an excuse to reject it. Although he paid lip-service to Britain as a country "only twenty miles off the Continent of Europe" which should not engage in "short-sighted isolation",[36] he was fully aware of the dangers of undesired foreign entanglements in which Britain had no interest whatsoever. He knew perfectly well that Britain was much more an imperial than a continental power: why accept something that would only increase the burden of its obligations?[37] Knatchbull-Hugessen again: "The Geneva Protocol was still-born: it was quite impossible for us to accept its liabilities. If German and Italian policy developed on the lines feared and if the League remained unarmed and powerless, France would be driven to something more practical. She already had her friends in the Little Entente, a system of alliances reminiscent of pre-war methods. Italy for her part showed signs of collecting all the malcontents under her wing."[38]

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[34] Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, *Diplomat in Peace and War* (London: John Murray, 1949), 52.

[35] Sally Marks, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe 1918–1933* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1976), 86.

[36] Quoted in G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A Short History of International Relations 1920–1939*, 4th ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 71.

[37] For this, see also A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and its Enemies: A Study in British Power*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 288-289.

[38] Knatchbull-Hugessen, *Diplomat*, 59.

Indeed, this was the key to Chamberlain's subsequent Balkan policy. As F. S. Northedge has written, through the Geneva Protocol Britain "might be involved in conflicts which neither British opinion nor opinion in the Empire could regard as having as their issue the life or death of Britain". The Protocol, Northedge remarks, "was contrary to the approach to foreign policy to which Britain, by every inclination and interest, was committed and which she had followed at least since the French Revolution." And he quotes Chamberlain himself: "Only in the case where her interests are immediately at stake and where her own safety must be directly of any change has Great Britain ever consented to bind herself beforehand to specific engagements on the continent of Europe." The Protocol, according to Chamberlain, multiplied offences but did nothing to strengthen remedies.[39] In March 1925 Chamberlain formally informed the Council of the League of Nations that Britain would not accept the Protocol.

Italy and Yugoslavia had in the meantime worked hard on improving their relations. On 21 July 1925, after extensive previous negotiations, they signed at Nettuno (near Rome) a series of agreements dealing with matters financial, legal and political. However, the Croats (and especially the Dalmatians) considered that Belgrade had given away too much, and in the face of their opposition the agreements were not ratified in Yugoslavia.[40] This put an end to any hopes Chamberlain may have entertained of creating a "Balkan Locarno".[41] There is no question that he had developed a certain fondness for the Italian dictator. But he was far from starry-eyed about him. He wrote in December 1926: "I am disposed to say that Mussolini needs ten years of peace before he undertakes any adventure [a remarkably correct prediction]. In five years I shall begin to watch him closely – which is not to say that I keep my eyes shut now."[42] In fact, as things turned out, he had to begin to watch him very carefully only a few months later.

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[39] F. S. Northedge, *The Troubled Giant: Britain Among the Great Powers 1916–1939* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1966), 242-245.

[40] See Currey, *Italian Foreign Policy*, 152.

[41] See Vuk Vinaver, "Engleska i italijansko 'zaokruživanje Jugoslavije' 1926–1928" in *Istorija XX veka*, Zbornik radova VII (Belgrade, 1966), 77–78. Vinaver's article, however, should be treated with a degree of scepticism as he cannot resist, without fully explaining, to lambaste what he sees as an essentially pro-Italian British policy. His use of Yugoslav, Italian, French, German and Russian sources considerably outweighs his British material which is in any case constituted by secondary sources (mainly newspapers) and worse still, he relies too heavily on Yugoslav diplomatic accounts from the legation in London. Primary British material is conspicuous by its absence in this article. For a more balanced account, see Živko Avramovski, *Balkanska antanta (1934–1940)*, (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1986), 14-29.

[42] Quoted in Dutton, *Austen Chamberlain*, 293, n. 18.

The Foreign Office was alerted about the fast deteriorating Italo-Yugoslav relations over Albania towards the end of February 1927. Howard Kennard, the British Minister at Belgrade sent to London a despatch in which he drew attention to the fact that the Italian Legation were spreading the most alarmist reports for which, according to Kennard, there appeared to be "but slight justification". Kennard noted that even General Visconti, the Italian military attaché, took a far moderate view than his colleagues. But it is clear that Kennard himself was far from sure about what was really going on. He allowed for the possibility that the Yugoslav military were about to spring a "coup d'état" in Albania since "in the Balkans one never knows what folly the soldiers may be up to". His despatch to London, however, really amounted only to guesswork. Thus he speculated that General Bodrero, the head of the Italian Legation, who was quite keen to stay on in Belgrade, was deliberately sending exaggerated reports to Rome in order to contradict the view "which may be held in Rome" that he was too conciliatory towards the Yugoslavs. He also added that one could not judge Italian diplomacy by ordinary standards as the Italians often wished to "fare figura" (to make an impression) without there existing any Machiavellian plots. In truth, Kennard just had no idea, but he was in a pessimistic mood. While he noted that "poor little [Ninko] Perić", the new Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, seemed to be showing good sense, he also considered the Yugoslav press and public opinion to be so Italophobe that it was useless to try to control this tendency. And he feared that Rome-Belgrade relations were drifting to the channels existing between Vienna and Belgrade before the war.[43]

Only a few days later, on 1 March, Chamberlain was personally told about the state of Italo-Yugoslav relations by Marchese della Torretta, the Italian Ambassador to London. The wider context of this meeting related to President Calvin Coolidge's invitation to a conference which would negotiate a further treaty on naval disarmament, following the Washington Treaty of 1922. Mussolini's position was that Italy should not participate unless the basis for discussions should be accepted whereby France and Italy would enjoy parity in regard of smaller naval craft. Chamberlain had no intention of supporting Mussolini on this, knowing that the French would never agree to the principle of parity, and he diplomatically discouraged Torretta. The latter, incredibly, argued that Yugoslavia, for example, had no navy for the time being, "but was showing indications of an intention to create a naval force to which Italy could not be indifferent". Chamberlain

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[43] Kennard to Sargent, 25 February 1927, in W. N. Medlicott, Douglas Dakin, and M. E. Lambert, eds., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, ser. Ia, vol. III, "European and Naval Questions, 1927" (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1970; hereafter referred to as *DBFP*), No. 25.

used this opportunity to enquire whether there had been any improvement in Italy's relations with Belgrade since the appointment of Milan Rakić, the new Yugoslav Minister to Rome. Predictably, Torretta gave a negative reply, blaming "the military influences" which he claimed dominated the Yugoslav government, and which were "hostile to any accommodation and constituted a serious danger to peace". But Chamberlain was not going to swallow this without dissenting comment which, characteristically, he couched in assuaging language. He stated that he had never doubted Italy's peaceful intentions towards Albania, and yet at the same time it was "clear" to him that the suspicions and apprehensions entertained in Yugoslavia about Italian policy "were not a mere excuse". However ill-founded this was, he pointed out, it had taken possession of a large part of Yugoslav opinion, and this was something "which statesmen had to take into account". At the end, Chamberlain warned Torretta that it was dangerous to allow the Yugoslav suspicions regarding Italian aims to grow "until they became convictions which nothing could shake", something which placed other affected nations in a considerable dilemma.[44]

Despite such admonitions to Italy by Britain, in the following days the tensions between Yugoslavia and Italy continued to increase. On 3 March Kennard telegraphed to Chamberlain that there were incidents off the Yugoslav coast regarding Italian fishing vessels, prompting the Italian Legation in Belgrade to practically issue an ultimatum threatening that fishing vessels would be escorted by warships. Kennard also reported that he was "favourably" impressed by Rakić, who was about to take up his post in Rome, and who assured him the Italian rumours about Yugoslav military activity were without foundation.[45] Indeed, Colonel Giles, the British military attaché to Belgrade, confirmed at this time his previous view that the rumours of Yugoslav offensive military action were "groundless".[46] Nevertheless, the Italians kept up the pressure relentlessly. On 18 March Torretta called on Chamberlain again, handing him a memorandum (presented also to the governments of France and Germany) which cited a number of measures ostensibly being taken by Yugoslav military authorities with the aim of preparing for early hostilities against Italy, with the bulk of forces concentrated on Albanian and Slovene frontiers. Torretta told Chamberlain that power in Yugoslavia had by now "passed wholly into the hands of the army and the King", and that Signor Mussolini wished to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the serious situation that was arising.[47] This,

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[44] Chamberlain to Sir Ronald Graham (Rome), 1 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 30.

[45] Kennard to Chamberlain, 3 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 34.

[46] *Ibid*., n. 2.

[47] Chamberlain to Graham, 19 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 49.

however, was a view entirely dismissed by the British Legation in Belgrade. Kennard had been informed about Chamberlain's meeting with the Italian ambassador, and in the early hours of 21 March, he sent his comments to London, which, point by point, entirely dismantled Torrettta's memorandum on Yugoslav military preparations. And it was, Kennard thought, "hardly justifiable to say that power in Yugoslavia is chiefly in the hands of the army and the King. Present government is weak and the King no doubt exercises more influence under these circumstances." Kennard also emphasized that it would be natural for the Yugoslavs to endeavour to bring up their army to some standard of efficiency following the conclusion of the pact of Tirana, but that this army was "lamentably deficient" in everything except manpower to undertake military operations on a large scale.[48]

Only a few days earlier Kennard had already recommended to London that the remedy for the Yugoslav-Italian mutual suspicion was to send experienced neutral observers who would inspect the frontier on both the Yugoslav and Albanian sides and produce an unbiased report.[49] The Yugoslav government thought along the same lines, and Chamberlain now welcomed the suggestion which J. T. Marković, the Yugoslav assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, had made to Kennard, that various military attachés should be invited to proceed to the Albanian frontier with the task of rendering an objective report. Chamberlain therefore instructed Kennard to act on this matter in Belgrade.[50] He had already been very disturbed by reports that it was actually the Albanian government, not Yugoslav, that was concentrating troops on the frontier (the figure in circulation was 10,000 Albanian troops on the frontier towards Prizren) and had asked Seeds to investigate this matter. Seeds did so, informing Chamberlain that both the Italian claims about Yugoslav military preparations, and the rumours of Albanian troop concentrations were being exaggerated. But he also recommended that unless steps were taken soon to secure a "Serbian-Italian accommodation to put a mistrust arising out of Tirana treaty present situation is infallibly bound to result in an explosion".[51] Chamberlain subsequently ordered Seeds to keep quiet in Albania pending further instructions. "The situation," he wrote to Seeds, "is engaging my serious attention."[52]

Thus, since the very beginning of the Italo-Yugoslav crisis over Albania, the Foreign Office and all its representatives in the region genuinely

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[48] Kennard to Chamberlain, 21 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 50.

[49] *Ibid.*, n. 4.

[50] Chamberlain to Kennard, 21 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 51.

[51] Seeds to Chamberlain, 21 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 52.

[52] *Ibid.*, n. 3.

believed that the whole affair amounted to a storm in a teacup, a totally manufactured crisis. It was especially sceptical about the Italian claims. But at the same time it was more than sensitive to the possible repercussions of a crisis which could easily slip out of control. And this was the essence of Britain's policy: to try to defuse a crisis which it had absolutely no interest in being sucked into. But now it was the turn of the Yugoslav government to be unhelpful. For Perić, faced with sharp parliamentary criticism over the proposal that a commission of military attachés should conduct an enquiry, explained to Kennard that it would be preferable to have this exercise conducted by the League of Nations. The British reaction was bordering on helpless impatience as Kennard suggested to the Yugoslav Foreign Minister that whatever the decision, it should be taken "at once".[53] The news of direct Italian-Yugoslav talks was also discouraging. Rakić had seen Mussolini in Rome on 17 March and Graham reported to London that no headway had been made.[54] This was a particular disappointment to Chamberlain who had hoped, perhaps naively, that the arrival of Rakić in Rome would lead to the resumption of friendly relations between Italy and Yugoslavia on the basis of the reaffirmation of the 1924 Pact of Rome. He therefore instructed Graham to seek an immediate interview with Mussolini, informing the Ambassador at the same time that sections of public opinion in Britain were already demanding that the British government should invoke Article 11 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.[55]

Mussolini, however, was not at all keen that the crisis should be handled by the League of Nations, something which Gustav Stresemann in Germany was already hinting should be done. The Quai d'Orsay was informed that Mussolini considered such an action as "entirely inadmissible". The French position in this crisis, in fact, was infinitely more conciliatory towards Italy than Britain's. It can even be argued that there can be no comparison. Philippe Berthelot, the French General Secretary of Foreign Affairs, told the Marquess of Crewe, the British ambassador to Paris, that France had been counselling the Yugoslavs "extreme moderation". Indeed. Even the Marquess of Crewe was so shocked by the French that he felt it

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[53] Kennard to Chamberlain, 22 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 58.

[54] *DBFP*, No. 59, n. 2.

[55] Chamberlain to Graham, 22 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 59. Article 11 of the Covenant stated: "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." For the full text, see Arthur Berriedale Keith, ed., *Speeches and Documents on International Affairs 1918–1937* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), vol. I, 13-14.

necessary, in his telegram to Chamberlain informing him of his conversation with Berthelot, to italicize what the latter had told him about the French effort to convince the Yugoslavs to show the utmost restraint "*even in the event of an armed Italian landing in Albania*". The French had even got the Czechoslovak foreign minister Edvard Beneš to urge moderation in Belgrade. Moreover, as Berthelot told Crewe, France had already informed Italy that it was not going to conclude the friendly treaty of understanding with Yugoslavia (March 1927) which had been initialled, but not signed, because it did not wish to raise Italy's suspicions that such a treaty was directed against it, being desirous that beforehand Italy and Yugoslavia should sign their own treaty. Paris thought it advisable, and pressurized Miroslav Spalajković, the Yugoslav Minister in Paris, that Yugoslavia should ratify the 1925 Nettuno agreements with Italy. It was thus not a little contradictory of Berthelot to, admittedly correctly, identify the Treaty of Tirana as something "unfortunate", in that Italy could intervene in Albania in the event of the political status quo being changed, "which in effect means", as he told Crewe, "in the event of the forcible overthrow of the Albanians themselves of Ahmed Zogu".[56] In other words, the French were blowing hot and cold.[57]

Chamberlain was at this stage almost completely preoccupied by the Italo-Yugoslav affair. What he could still not understand was the reasoning behind Mussolini's memorandum which Torretta had given him on 18 March, a document listing the Italian view of Yugoslav military preparations. Given that the Italian paper had also been sent to Paris and Berlin, Chamberlain naturally felt that he had been placed in an embarrassing position. He openly told Torretta on 22 March that he was "considerably perplexed" and "puzzled" by this formal communication of the Italian government. What exactly, he asked the Italian ambassador, had been in Mussolini's mind? Sincerely or not, Torretta replied that he himself had no answer to this question. The British Foreign Secretary was subtle enough to point out to Torretta that the Italian government had not appealed to the League of Nations, something which suggested that it did not want this course to be adopted. At the same time, he praised Perić for using moderate language which appeared to him "entirely commendable".[58]

At long last Mussolini provided some answers. Graham saw him in the evening of 23 March. *Il Duce* explained that his memorandum to the

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[56] Crewe to Chamberlain, 22 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 60.

[57] A commendable account of France's international policy during this period is by J. Néré, *The Foreign Policy of France from 1914 to 1945* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975). The original French version was published in 1974.

[58] Chamberlain to Graham, 22 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 61.

governments in London, Paris and Berlin served the purpose of avoiding "an immediate explosion". Without offering any hard evidence, he told Graham that the Italian government had known of Yugoslav aggressive preparations and organization of bands on north Albanian frontier for incursion during the spring. This, he claimed, was the work of the Yugoslav "military party". But his communication to the three Powers had had the desired effect, and the danger, he said, was already diminishing as shown by press in both Rome in Belgrade. He further argued that, in this new context, there was no need to go the League of Nations, something that would merely entail undesired public debate and press polemics. Mussolini then revealed what he was essentially after. The best solution, he suggested to Graham, would be if the Yugoslavs made some friendly gesture, such as ratification of Nettuno conventions.[59] The British, however, were frankly sceptical, and indeed very realistic, about Mussolini's proposal. On 25 March Graham reported to Chamberlain that he had alluded to Mussolini about "the feeling of nervousness in Belgrade", pointing out to him that the Yugoslavs had had enough of a problem in the past presenting the Nettuno conventions to their parliament, a problem that was even greater now in the light of the current tension between the two countries. Graham bluntly told Mussolini that the government in Belgrade "could not be expected to give the appearance of yielding to Italian pressure".[60]

However, the Yugoslav government now began to soften up. Perić, who had previously expressed misgivings about a commission of enquiry made up of foreign military attachés to inspect the Yugoslav-Albanian frontier, succumbing previously to parliamentary pressure to favour the role of the League of Nations instead, surprised the British and Italian ministers at Belgrade by telling them that military experts could proceed with this task, thus catching the Italian minister in a state of "confusion".[61] But this was hardly Perić's own initiative. In Paris the Marquess of Crewe found out from Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, that it was France which had discouraged the Yugoslavs from pursuing their complaint against Italy at the League of Nations. Briand told Crewe that affairs had not reached the point at which such an action could properly be taken. Nevertheless, Briand reiterated what London had already known about the French view of the Treaty of Tirana. This treaty Briand assessed as a "danger point", given that it could enable Italy to act not only in the event of an attack on Albania from outside, but also in the event of the existing regime being threatened internally. He took the view that the terms of the Treaty should in some way

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[59] Graham to Chamberlain, 23 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 64.

[60] *Ibid*., n. 2.

[61] Kennard to Chamberlain, 23 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 65.

be altered to arrive at its interpretation which would neutralize this danger. "Unless this is done," he told Crewe, "there must be perpetual unrest in that quarter of Europe."[62] What Briand did not tell Crewe was that within the French government there were serious misgivings about Britain's policy towards the Italo-Yugoslav conflict. Sir Charles Mendl, the British press attaché in Paris, informed London, "in strict confidence", that Louis Barthou and André Tardieu, respectively Minister of Justice and Minister of Public Works, believed that British foreign policy was, "often without reason", running contrary to that of France. As the main example, Mendl reported the view held by Barthou and Tardieu that Britain had allowed without protest the signature of the Treaty of Tirana, which they believed had demonstrated London's favour towards Italy to lay hands on Albania.[63] But this was somewhat rich of the French who conveniently forgot that the November 1921 Ambassadors' Conference in Paris, which of course included France, had already practically given Italy a free hand in Albania, and that it was precisely this move which had given rise to subsequent tensions between Italy and Yugoslavia. For good measure, Mendl also reported about the French unhappiness over London's "uneasiness" over the Franco-German rapprochement, something which, according to the French, Britain now wished to offset by a new entente with Italy.[64]

Upon reading this despatch, Chamberlain was furious to say the least. He protested that Mendl's note about the French view that Britain was seeking a new entente with Italy because of the Franco-German rapprochement was "so silly that it is really difficult to deal with it", and that Britain had in fact worked hard for that rapprochement. Writing about Britain's relations with Italy, he added bitterly: "They are not an off-set to a friendship with France, nor a counterpoise to the Franco-German *rapprochement*. They are a necessary consequence of the Treaty of Locarno, and but for them France would be in danger of seeing Italy fall once more under purely German influences." On the Italian-Yugoslav difficulties, he explained that his policy had been to exert influence steadily but quietly to press moderation on Italy. And he did not view the Treaty of Tirana in such alarmist terms as they were read in France. He emphasized that he never lost an opportunity to remind Mussolini of what the latter had told him already during their first meeting in December 1924, that Italy had no aggressive designs on Albania. "My influence," he explained, "was used towards securing friendly

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[62] Crewe to Chamberlain, 23 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 66.

[63] Mendl to Gregory, 23 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 70.

[64] *Ibid.* For the November 1921 Ambassadors' Conference in Paris, see E. H. Carr, *International Relations Between the Two World Wars 1919–1939* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 69-70.

explanations of the terms of the Treaty." Chamberlain was left wondering, in the end, whether the French actually realized what the true interests of their policy were.[65] It has to be said that, far from wishing to establish any new friendly relationship with Italy, as the somewhat paranoid French seemed to be implying, the British foreign secretary was displaying remarkable firmness in not giving an inch away to Mussolini, and in particular so over Yugoslavia. He regarded Mussolini's suggestion that the Yugoslavs should at once prepare for ratifying Nettuno Conventions as "impossible". The proposed ratification, he wrote to Crewe in Paris, was unobtainable by itself, but might be secured by Italian friendly explanations to the Serbs that the Treaty of Tirana was not merely a veiled protectorate over Albania designed to maintain Ahmed Zogu both against external and internal threats to his rule.[66]

Thus, the most that can be said about Chamberlain's attitude towards Mussolini is that he was prepared to give him the benefit of the doubt, whilst at the same time he not only clearly understood Yugoslav fears and apprehensions, he actually actively defended them. And not just Chamberlain, but the British ministers on the ground held practically identical positions on this question. From Durazzo Seeds reported to Chamberlain that even the Albanian government was not so much preoccupied with any Serbian military preparations. He suggested that the scare about those preparations in fact emanated from Italian sources in Yugoslavia and from Rome itself, anxious as it was to demonstrate to world in general and to Albanian public opinion the benefits of an Italian protectorate over Albania. Seeds agreed with Kennard in Belgrade who had "rightly minimized" the alleged Serbian military activities. And he added that Zogu himself had told him the Serbian main attack would not develop before August.[67] Kennard was also in total agreement with Chamberlain. He thought it "impossible" at this juncture to secure ratification of Nettuno Conventions unless Yugoslavia received adequate compensations. He considered that the Yugoslav government was "too weak", adding that public opinion in the country was angry about Mussolini's attack not only against the government, but also against the King personally. And Kennard also took the view that, in the circumstances, "friendly gesture should come from Rome in the first instance rather than from Belgrade".[68] His personal view was that the existing and clearly troublesome Pact of Tirana should be scrapped, to be replaced by a new one.[69] Similarly, Graham in Rome, in frequent contact with Rakić,

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[65] Memorandum by Chamberlain, 24 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 75.

[66] Chamberlain to Crewe, 24 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 73.

[67] Seeds to Chamberlain, 25 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 76.

[68] Kennard to Chamberlain, 25 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 77.

[69] *Ibid.*

described the situation to Chamberlain as "a vicious circle": Mussolini was prepared to offer satisfactory explanations of the Tirana pact, but only if Belgrade ratified Nettuno Conventions. "No doubt with truth," Graham observed, the Yugoslavs were saying that immediate ratification was impossible.[70] But Graham also warned Chamberlain that Kennard's private idea of doing away with the pact of Tirana was a non-starter since Mussolini was in the habit of using his foreign policy to enhance his prestige for purposes of internal affairs: "He will not contemplate anything in the nature of a climb-down."[71]

Towards the end of March, however, Chamberlain's attitude towards Yugoslavia began to shift, certainly not dramatically, but a shift was nevertheless clearly evident. In a letter marked "Private", he confessed to Kennard that he was more concerned about what was happening in Yugoslavia than in Italy. "I am convinced," he wrote, "that Mussolini contemplates no aggression on Albania, but I would not be answerable for the consequences if another revolution broke out there and above all if it started from Yugo-Slavian territory." In part, there was a sense in which Chamberlain was merely stating the obvious: no reports, no intelligence reaching the Foreign Office had suggested that Italy was about to go into Albania with military force. There was simply no reason for such an action given the pro-Italian policy of Ahmed Zogu. For the time being, it did not even suit Mussolini to resort to arms given that he had been declaring to the world his peaceful intentions. Of course, what the Treaty of Tirana had given Mussolini was the option to use force if and when he deemed such action necessary. Realistically, this could only take place in the event of an interventionist course adopted in Belgrade towards Albania. But all the information that Chamberlain had been receiving was precisely that Belgrade was not contemplating an intervention. What, then, was his latest thinking? The only explanation, such as it was, that he offered to Kennard was that he had certain reservations about the intentions of King Alexander I, and this only from his "memory" about a conversation the King had with Kennard back in December 1926, when the King, according to Chamberlain, had used "very ominous language". The question thus arises: had the British foreign secretary fallen for the recent Italian propaganda identifying the King as falling prey to the so-called Yugoslav "military party"? The answer must be a cautious no. As Chamberlain elaborated to Kennard: the weakness of the government in Belgrade "make them difficult people to help, but I do not wish you to think that I have thrown myself unconditionally into the Italian camp and am pursuing an Italian policy to the detriment of Yugo-Slavia.

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[70] Graham to Chamberlain, 25 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 79.

[71] Graham to Chamberlain, 29 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 88.

On the contrary, I have steadily sought to bring Mussolini to a conciliatory and reasonable frame of mind." And he also made the following important point to Kennard: "My capacity for usefulness depends upon my retaining Mussolini's confidence and friendship."[72]

During the month of March there had been much talk in the triangle London-Paris-Berlin about sending to the Yugoslav-Albanian frontier a commission of enquiry made up of British, French and German officers (joined by an Italian and Serbian officer). This was essentially Chamberlain's idea. Mussolini was against, Belgrade would rather have nothing to do with it, but the French government accepted the proposal, and the Germans had nothing against it, either. Nevertheless, Paris was rightly sceptical about what this could achieve at all. Thus the diplomatic initiative passed on to the French who suggested to Chamberlain that the proposed commission "would not be solution of real cause of Italian-Serbian differences i.e. provisions of treaty of Tirana". And so, while the government of France had no objection that the commission should proceed with its work, this would "not in any way prevent direct conversations between Italy and Serbia with a view to reaching a permanent agreement". The government in Paris at the same time acknowledged that Britain was best qualified to speak to Rome on this subject, while for its part it promised to use its influence in Belgrade "in order to bring about firstly the ratification of Nettuno conventions and secondly desired interpretation of treaty of Tirana".[73] It can be observed that, apart from the suggested order of priorities (first the Nettuno Conventions, and only then the Treaty of Tirana), the French had got it exactly right, for they addressed the substance of the Italo-Yugoslav problem, rather than its manifestations.

Chamberlain liked Briand's proposal and informed Graham in Rome to that effect. He also sent him a personal message to pass on to Mussolini, authorizing the British ambassador to make at his discretion any modifications to the message if he considered it necessary. In this message he frankly informed Musssolini that as long the existing strained relations between Italy and Yugoslavia continued, there could be no guarantee that further incidents could not occur at any time. He was convinced, he continued, that the obvious and indeed the only cure was an "unconditional" dialogue between Italy and Yugoslavia, including the clarification of "the ambiguous provisions of the treaty of Tirana".[74] And not only did Chamberlain urge Mussolini that these conversations should begin "as soon as possible",

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[72] Chamberlain to Kennard, 29 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 90.

[73] Crewe to Chamberlain, 26 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 82.

[74] Chamberlain to Graham, 31 March 1927, *DBFP*, No. 95. Graham felt free to change Chamberlain's assessment of "the ambiguous provisions of the treaty of Tirana",

he also suggested that Italy should be the country "to take the initiative in opening the discussions without imposing preliminary restrictions or conditions". This, of course, constituted potentially a big favour to Belgrade on the part of Britain, as Mussolini had consistently insisted that Yugoslavia should first ratify the Nettuno Conventions. Indeed Chamberlain pressed this point. He argued that Yugoslavia should not be asked to make any preliminary gesture with regard to the Nettuno Conventions which, as he correctly observed, "deal with matters entirely foreign to the question at issue". To sweeten this bitter pill for Mussolini, Chamberlain undertook to ask the French to advise Belgrade to give Italy an undertaking that the Conventions should be submitted to the Parliament "*as part of a general settlement*". Beyond this, Chamberlain wrote to Mussolini, "it would be unreasonable to press the Yugoslav government".[75]

In other words, within days Chamberlain had reverted to his previous position of defending the Yugoslav case, and now more so then ever. The fact that the French had played a role in this makes little difference. They had not written his personal message to Mussolini, they had merely identified the main problem, leaving it to Chamberlain to articulate it most eloquently. Moreover, Chamberlain had thrown out Briand's recommendation that the Nettuno Conventions should be made the starting point of discussions.

Most predictably, Mussolini did not embrace Chamberlain's message with any enthusiasm – to say the least. During the night of 1 April Graham communicated Chamberlain's missive to Mussolini. "His Excellency," Graham telegraphed to his foreign secretary, "was in a difficult mood. I did not expect him to relish message and he read it with ill concealed irritation." In a dark mood indeed, *il Duce* told Graham that if the expectation existed that Belgrade should be offered an explanation regarding the Pact of Tirana, "he would do nothing of the kind", since the Pact was perfectly clear and required no explanation. But the British ambassador was not having any of this nonsense: "I said this was to put it mildly an exaggeration." Graham even put this to Mussolini: there were points in the Pact of Tirana "which no one understood", for example to what extent the provision to uphold Albania's political, juridical and territorial status quo committed Italy to support Ahmed Zogu "personally in all circumstances?" Under attack, Mussolini produced an answer – of a kind. He said that in a country like Albania the chief of state meant the state itself; if Zogu were overthrown, his suc-

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substituting this with words "including al outstanding between the two countries", on the grounds that Mussolini had never seen anything ambiguous in the Treaty. See Graham to Chamberlain, 2 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 105.

[75] *DBFP*, No. 95.

cessor would probably denounce various pacts, conventions, etc., between Italy and Albania, and this Italy could never tolerate. But Musssolini was also quick to say that if a successor to Zogu recognized the existing arrangements, "that would be quite a different matter". This was, it has to be admitted, opportunism of a very high order on the part of Mussolini. And then he played on British strategic sensitivities: Albania, he said, was as a vital point for Italy as were Gibraltar and Malta for Britain, and Italy could never allow Albania to fall into the hands or under the influence of potentially hostile powers such as Yugoslavia or Greece. In good measure, Mussolini tried to impress Graham with his statesmanship. Not so long ago, he told Graham, the former Yugoslav foreign minister Ninčić had proposed to him a partition of Albania, whereby Italy would get Valona, and Yugoslavia Scutari. He, Musssolini, claimed that he had rejected this proposal.[76] He also boasted that it was only his recent "pull of alarm bell" which had prevented an immediate European conflagration caused by Yugoslavia.

But Graham was far from convinced by the Italian dictator's statesmanship. He openly told him that his attitude would cause Chamberlain "much disappointment": the Yugoslavs sincerely desired the restoration of better relations, but if things were left as they were, there existed the danger of an incident at any moment. Mussolini did admit to Graham that the Albanian government had taken "meagre defensive measures" on the frontier against Yugoslavia, but was it really serious, he asked, that Albania would attack Yugoslavia? Equally, how could one believe that Italy contemplated aggression against Yugoslavia? In what was possibly a moment of carelessness, Mussolini said that, if Italy unfortunately did have to attack Yugoslavia, it would choose "a very different line" for such an attack, leaving the rugged and inhospitable terrain of the Albanian-Yugoslav frontier well alone. What Graham also discovered was that Mussolini was absolutely furious with the French, complaining about the "virulent" French press, and about France concentrating large numbers of troops and tanks on the Italian frontier. "France," he thundered, "endeavoured to thwart Italy at every turn." Graham protested that Briand was doing all he possibly could at Belgrade, but privately concluded that it was this Mussolini's irritation with France which may well have caused him, at least partly, to be difficult over Yugoslavia. He then told his host in no uncertain terms that there seemed no alternative to the Italo-Yugoslav problem over Albania except to bring

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[76] Graham to Chamberlain, 2 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 105. In fact, the Central Department of the Foreign Office had recorded that Ninčić "had flatly denied this." *Ibid.*, n. 7. According to a different account, it was in fact Mussolini who had (probably in 1924 according to *DBFP*, No. 105, n. 7) offered Ninčić a division of Albania, but Ninčić refused this. See C. F. Melville, *Balkan Racket* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, n.d.; *ca* 1942), 25.

the whole question to the League of Nations. Evidently getting fed up with his British guest, Mussolini now produced a characteristic outburst: "His Excellency replied," Graham reported to Chamberlain, "that Albania was of such vital importance to Italy that not even the League of Nations could prevent her from defending legitimate interests there and if League attempted to do so so much the worse for the League."[77]

So much for Mussolini's view of the new world order. Nonetheless, this important meeting left Graham satisfied – up to a point. For he relentlessly kept pressing Mussolini on the question of the Pact of Tirana, being careful enough to emphasize that the immediate ratification of the Nettuno Conventions "was not in the field of practical politics". Obviously tired, Mussolini finally gave in to this British diplomatic assault. He declared that if Rakić came to him with instructions from Belgrade asking either in a written note or verbally for explanations regarding the Pact of Tirana, he "was perfectly ready to give them". Moreover, Mussolini added, if Rakić's enquiry were couched in friendly terms, the answer would be in a similar spirit. Graham could hardly believe what he had just heard and jumped at this: was it the case, he asked Mussolini, that he "no longer insisted on a friendly gesture from Belgrade in the first instance? Signor Mussolini replied in the affirmative". This was, Graham reported modestly, all the result he could achieve, "but it may be a first step".[78]

Not only in Rome, but also in Belgrade things appeared to be moving in a positive direction. Kennard informed Chamberlain on 3 April that Perić thought the ratification of Nettuno Conventions "could be secured", and also that, following Graham's talk with Mussolini, he would send requisite instructions to Rakić in Rome.[79] Moreover, there was now agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia that military officers (British, French and German) could inspect the Yugoslav-Albanian frontier if the occasion arose. Chamberlain himself defined such an occasion: "(*a*) unrest on the frontier, or (*b*) allegations regarding military movements made by any of the governments concerned."[80] At the same time, clearly very encouraged by Graham's recent account of his encounter with Mussolini, Chamberlain asked Kennard to tell Perić that Rakić should be given early instructions to approach Mussolini verbally on the lines suggested. Possibly lacking com-

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[77] *DBFP*, No. 105.

[78] *Ibid.* Graham strongly recommended to Chamberlain that, should Rakić approach Mussolini on lines suggested, he should do so verbally and not in writing.

[79] Kennard to Chamberlain, 3 April 1927, *DBFP*.

[80] Chamberlain to Crewe, 5 April 1927, *DBFP*. On 8 April Kennard reported that he and his French and German colleagues had already constituted a committee and were examining the question of procedure. *Ibid.*, n. 4.

plete confidence in Rakić's diplomatic skills, he wanted Kennard to strongly urge the Yugoslav foreign minister that his man in Rome "should be guided by Sir R.Graham as to the time and manner of his representations".[81] What now complicated matters, however, was the panic that had set in Albania, or to be more precise, the fear that had gripped Ahmed Zogu himself. From Durazzo, Seeds informed Chamberlain that Zogu and his advisers were extremely unhappy at the prospect that Italian-Serbian conversations could redefine the Treaty of Tirana in a way that could weaken the force of words "political and juridical *status quo*". But Seeds was no fool. He explained to Chamberlain that the real meaning of these words was "support thereby given to Ahmed Bey personally". The regime of Zogu, as the latter had openly confessed to Seeds, "might end rapidly" should Italy's support be withdrawn, or even if the impression gained ground, especially among his political opponents, that this was going to happen.[82]

In Rome, Graham shared the thinking of Seeds, which he passed on in a despatch to Chamberlain. He had talked to A. C. Bordonaro, the Secretary-General of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the man whom Mussolini was about to send to London as the new ambassador. Bordonaro told Graham that Mussolini "was considerably upset" over Chamberlain's message to him of 31 March – a piece of information that could hardly have been news to Graham. But Bordonaro also said to Graham that any weakening of Italy's support to Zogu "meant that latter would lose not only his position but probably his life". Typically, the British diplomat was not going to shed tears over such a possibility. In the same despatch, Graham notified Chamberlain that Rakić had got the necessary instructions from Belgrade and therefore asked Mussolini whether he would be ready to begin conversation with the Serbian minister. *Il Duce*, however, replied that he was taking a holiday and would not be ready until after Easter. And he could not resist telling Graham that, according to the information he had, Belgrade was already celebrating a diplomatic victory, but he was going to disillusion the Serbs. Very coldly, Graham commented that he would much regret "if His Excellency approached discussions in this frame of mind", adding that the Yugoslav government seriously desired to arrive at a friendly understanding. Far from being overawed by Mussolini, Graham merely displayed polite contempt for a second-class power which Italy, despite all its pretensions under a Fascist dictator, had been and still remained.[83]

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[81] Chamberlain to Kennard, 5 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 114.

[82] Seeds to Chamberlain, 6 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 119.

[83] Graham to Chamberlain, 9 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 136. In Belgrade, Kennard disagreed about Mussolini's claim about a Serb diplomatic victory. *Ibid.*, n. 2.

By now Graham had taken Rakić completely under his wing. It can even be argued that it was British diplomacy that was in important ways shaping Yugoslavia's troublesome relations with Italy. Graham had convinced Rakić to drop the idea of commencing talks with Mussolini by delivering a note – this, as has been seen, had already been agreed between Graham and Chamberlain. To start proceedings with a note would be "fatal" according to Graham: the only result "would have been an exchange of mutually unsatisfactory notes which would have rendered further conversations difficult if not impossible". Graham noted with evident pleasure that, happily, no one was more persuaded of this than Rakić who had managed to obtain from a reluctant Belgrade government permission to proceed along the line suggested by Britain. Graham also gave Rakić a pep talk on the Italian position: (1) Italy had secured by the Pact of Tirana a privileged position which it would not readily surrender; (2) whilst the Italians would probably give satisfactory general assurances regarding the Pact, it would be difficult to induce them to offer detailed explanations; (3) the interests of the Italians were bound up with Ahmed Zogu, and they would never willingly agree not to intervene on his behalf before he had been comfortably disposed of; and (4) the Italians would not consent to bring the question of Albania to the League of Nations, and although this could actually be forced on them, the result would put an end to all hope of friendly relations between Italy and Yugoslavia.[84]

The interesting thing here was that France, generally believed to be Yugoslavia's greatest ally, seemed in fact to be almost totally out of the picture. However, true gentleman that he was, Chamberlain had sent a private letter to Briand via De Fleuriau, the French ambassador to London, commenting on aspects of French policy. Briand replied in the same informal and confidential manner, addressing his main points to Italo-Yugoslav relations. He wished to inform Chamberlain that the Yugoslav government were "in a state of great nervousness and were particularly suspicious of British policy. They thought that the British Government was helping and encouraging Signor Mussolini in an unfriendly policy to Yugo-Slavia". Briand's views were either hopelessly ignorant or malicious. This was not a comment on what Belgrade actually felt, it was a thinly disguised attack on the Foreign Office. Predictably, Chamberlain was less than impressed by this message, but kept his calm. For throughout the Italo-Yugoslav crisis, he made sure to keep Paris informed about British policy. He told De Fleuriau, who had communicated to him Briand's thoughts, that, surely, he, De Fleuriau, should know how he had spoken to him "with such frankness" about his communications with Italy, and that he should also know "how

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[84] Graham to Chamberlain, 11 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 141.

unjustified these suspicions were and how hard I had worked to help Yugo-Slavia. I had in fact strained whatever influence I possessed with Mussolini to the very limit".[85]

Apart from not being able to resist pricking Chamberlain, the French were nevertheless seriously alarmed about the developments in the Balkans. Nikola Uzunović's government in Belgrade resigned on 16 April, to be succeeded by that of Velja Vukićević, with Vojislav Marinković as the new Foreign Minister. Two days earlier Italy issued an official communiqué which stated that there could be no question of negotiations respecting the Treaty of Tirana, as this did not concern the Serb-Croat-Slovene state.[86] Clearly, the Italian position was hardening, and Mussolini had evidently and shamelessly lied to Graham during their conversation in Rome on 1 April when he promised that he would give Milan Rakić a friendly interpretation of the Treaty of Tirana. Now De Fleuriau hastened to see Orme Sargent in the Foreign Office, bringing along a fresh telegram from Briand. The latter believed that the change of government in Belgrade was due to the King who "intended that the new government, representing a definite Serbian bloc without admixture of Croats or Slovenes, should adopt a firmer and bolder foreign policy than its predecessor". De Fleuriau also told Sargent that, according to French reports from Belgrade, there were in the new government "elements" opposed to avoiding a war with Italy "on the ground that Italian military operations in Albania would be so unpopular as to undermine and possibly bring about the collapse of the whole Fascist regime". Briand, according to De Fleuriau, trusted that the Yugoslavs would not really embrace "the fantastic belief" that the régime in Italy could in any way suffer by a war over Albania. And Briand felt that Chamberlain was "the only person" able to influence Mussolini. He expressed the belief that, if Chamberlain threatened Mussolini by telling him that Britain would not countenance an Italian policy in Albania which could at any moment lead to war, Mussolini would back down.[87]

However upset Chamberlain may have felt about the recent French criticisms of British policy, it did not really matter what Briand and the French thought or believed about London's handling of the Italo-Yugoslav question. And Chamberlain could now feel the satisfaction that Paris was

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[85] Record by Sir A. Chamberlain of a conversation with the French Ambassador, 14 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 151. Apart from French ignorance about British efforts to help Belgrade, at this time Chamberlain also had a grievance towards Paris concerning lack of French support for British policy in China. *Ibid.*, n. 1.

[86] Chamberlain to Graham, 19 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 155, n. 1.

[87] Record by Mr. Sargent of a conversation with the French Ambassador, 19 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 156.

frankly investing all its hopes in the Foreign Office, implying that its influence in Rome was practically non-existent. In the end it turned out that it was not a great power like France, nor indeed Chamberlain himself, but rather a relatively minor British diplomat who proved decisive in determining the final outcome of the crisis. This was William Seeds. He wrote, on 18 April, what must be seen as a most important letter to Chamberlain, although the Foreign Office received it as late as 2 May. Seeds discussed the internal situation in Albania, amusing himself in particular with observations on Fan Noli, the former head of the Albanian government. "Fan Noli," he reported to Chamberlain, "would be justified in adding the title of Prophet to his highly irregular dignity of 'Bishop' as he is apparently not without honour save within the frontiers of his own country." Noli had given an interview to a newspaper in Vienna, in which he said that the Pact of Tirana was imposed on Albania by Italy and Britain, and that in the event of a war between Italy and Yugoslavia the Albanians would be fighting on the side of Yugoslavia. Ahmed Bey, Noli added correctly, was thoroughly unpopular, maintaining his position only thanks to Italy. The existing situation in Albania, Seeds noted, was such that ambitious politicians anticipated the forthcoming Italo-Serbian conversations weakening, "or of some more violent event wiping out, the regime of Ahmed Bey". And this was precisely what worried Seeds. He was himself convinced that Italy would support Zogu "through thick and thin", but there always existed the danger that some accident would deprive Albania of its present head. In this connection, Seeds referred to an unsuccessful plot against Zogu towards the end of March. And since, Seeds argued, Zogu's enemies may believe that this was the time for action, "it is advisable to consider at any rate the possibility of Ahmed Bey's disappearance, and its consequences".[88]

Seeds did not even try to hide his "warm regard" for Zogu, but placed his entire letter to Chamberlain in the context of "a serious calamity" that would be entailed by Zogu's downfall. Ahmed Bey, he declared, was "irreplaceable", no one else was fit to step into his shoes. The only alternative person whom Seeds could identify was Musa Bey Juka, the minister of public works and previously the interior minister, but he thought that Juka's personal unpopularity was a fatal obstacle. "Consequently," Seeds wrote, "hopes of finding a suitable successor to Ahmed Bey – given Albanian methods of régime-changing – must be founded on the mere possibility that out of the inevitable chaos and turmoil some outstanding though hitherto unrecognized personality may in time emerge. But parturition will be difficult, and Albania would not be given useful help by her Italian and Serbian midwives whose efforts will most probably result in the produc-

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[88] Seeds to Chamberlain, 18 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 154.

tion of twins cursed with a grievous incompatibility of temper and with no very sound constitutions." In the past, Seeds observed, Albanian régimes alternated regularly between the adherents of Italy and Serbia. But now, he argued, conditions had completely changed: it was no longer a question of what Italy or Yugoslavia may hope to gain from a new president, "but quite definitely of what Italy may be almost certain to lose". In Seeds' view, the advantages that Zogu had promised the Serbs in return for returning him to power at the close of 1924 were "paltry" in comparison with what Italy had since gained "and must preserve at all costs". He thought that the action which Italy would take in the event of a revolution against Zogu was "too obvious to discuss". Seeds concluded his letter thus: "In Ahmed Bey the Italians have now a valuable and unique instrument; for no other man … possesses those personal qualities which can keep him in power without an unduly provocative display of Italian force. Should he disappear, there seems no present chance of either the Italians or the Serbians finding any candidate who would be much above puppet rank. The struggle between these puppets and their foreign supporters may, or may not, result in the extinction of Albania as an independent State, but bids fair in any event to mean the success of an individual dependent for his existence on very obvious alien bayonets."[89]

The impact of Seeds' latest thinking on Chamberlain was truly considerable and is examined below. But on 25 April Signor Bordonaro handed Chamberlain a major memorandum by Mussolini on the subject of Italo-Yugoslav relations, dated 20 April. In this document *il Duce* accused Belgrade, for the umpteenth time, of "a decidedly anti-Italian tendency", evident, he claimed, by "an intense military preparation". He wrote, most vaguely, of "certain political and military circles in Yugoslavia possessing great influence, both open and secret", something which constituted a grave danger to peace – but he named no one in particular. He went to contradict himself immediately, as "it now seems improbable … that Jugoslavia desires to persist in stimulating the proposed spring invasion of Albania". And he persisted that any discussion concerning the Pact of Tirana was "absolutely inadmissible". Staying on this subject, he wondered why Chamberlain attached so much attention to the clause in which Italy declared its interest in the maintenance of the political status quo in Albania, a clause, he observed, interpreted "as an obligation to support the present internal régime". He added cynically: "Italy has no reasons of her own for interfering in the internal politics of the Albanian State," whereas Yugoslavia desired to make Albania, practically, politically and perhaps territorially, a "vassal". Whatever Yugoslavia's aims in Albania, it must have occurred to Chamberlain

[89] *Ibid.*

that Mussolini was actually stating his own country's ambitions in Albania for which there already existed all the evidence.[90]

A few days later, Orme Sargent argued in a Foreign Office memorandum that Britain had no direct interest in Albania other than a general concern to prevent friction in Europe. This was of course stating the obvious. But Sargent also expressed scepticism about Mussolini, believing that in his conversation with Rakić (which still had not taken place) he would flatly refuse to give assurances that the Treaty of Tirana did not endanger the independence of Albania and was not directed against Yugoslavia, or that he might argue that the Treaty entitled him to intervene in Albania in the support of the existing government against internal opposition and insurrection. "In these circumstances," Sargent observed, "the Yugoslav government would be fully entitled to take the matter to the League."[91]

With regard to Seeds' letter Chamberlain gave his comments not to hi man in Tirana, but to Graham in Rome in a letter dated 9 May. He referred to the memorandum which Mussolini had sent him on 20 April. And he did not hide his displeasure: "M. Mussolini, for the first time, definitely states in writing that he interprets Article I of the Treaty of Tirana as entitling him to interfere to protect and defend any friendly régime in Albania, not merely against foreign aggression, but presumably against internal opposition. This claim to interfere in the internal administration of Albania is precisely the claim which the Yugoslav Government have all along feared, and which they consider would constitute a threat to their own security by converting Albania from an independent country into an Italian protectorate … his Excellency now defines this claim in such a manner that it becomes impossible for me to treat it otherwise than as representing the official and considered policy of the Italian Government." And this, Chamberlain explained to Graham, put him "in a position of some difficulty".[92]

Chamberlain then outlined three possible courses open to him: (1) he could keep silent and reserve the right to protest if and when Italy took some action which could be held to constitute unjustifiable interference in the internal matters of Albania; (2) he could remind Mussolini that Britain was unable to accept or approve the present Italian claim; and (3) he could "tacitly acquiesce" in the Italian claim. The first option did not appeal to Chamberlain since it could easily lead to trouble for Britain at a later date. The second option he at first thought "the most consistent and logical", but he also had to consider Mussolini's possible violent reaction and, more importantly, if Belgrade found out about Britain's rejection of Mussolini's

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[90] *DBFP*, No. 162, enclosure.

[91] Memorandum by Mr. Sargent, 26 April 1927, *DBFP*, No. 163.

[92] Sir A. Chamberlain to Sir R. Graham, 9 May 1927, *DBFP*, No. 183.

claims, it might encourage it to adopt an uncompromising attitude, and possibly lead to a fresh revolution in Albania.[93]

He then addressed Seeds' "very illuminating despatch". He explained that he had always held that Britain had no direct interest in Albania, and that the only reason he wanted to see Italy's penetration in Albania confined within certain limits was that, if such penetration were unlimited, it would arouse the fear of neighbouring states and thereby endanger peace. What Seeds had convinced him of, however, was that the factor which was even more likely to endanger peace would be the disappearance of Ahmed Bey and his government since: "Should Ahmed Bey disappear, the result is likely to be civil war, during which Albania as a separate State might cease to exist or become subject to a puppet Government still more dependent on foreign bayonets than the present one … Were His Majesty's Government now to veto M. Mussolini's policy of supporting Ahmed's Government against both internal and external aggression, and were he subsequently to be over-thrown, it is not difficult to foresee the Italian arguments whereby His Majesty's Government would be held responsible for the resulting chaos and the consequent damage to vital Italian interests, and even for the eventual conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia."[94]

Chamberlain also enclosed a memorandum addressed to Mussolini – a sickening piece of work in which he bent over backwards to make conciliatory statements to the Italian dictator, concluding thus: "I take note with particular satisfaction of the very frank and precise assurances with which Signor Mussolini's message concludes, namely, that the situation created by the Ambassadors' Conference resolution of 1921 and by the Treaty of Tirana guarantees the independence of Albania and does not threaten in the least Jugoslavia or any other State bordering upon Albania; that Italy casts no aggressive glances either in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic or elsewhere; and lastly, that Italy will do nothing which might disturb the peace of Europe. It is so that I have throughout understood and interpreted his policy."[95] When Briand met Chamberlain at the Foreign Office and enquired about Italo-Yugoslav relations, to his credit Chamberlain at least replied that "one could never speak confidently about so temperamental a person as Signor Mussolini".[96]

The question thus arises: did Chamberlain actually decisively shift Britain's policy towards the Albanian rift between Italy and Yugoslavia?

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[93] *Ibid.*

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] *Ibid.*, enclosure.

[96] Record by Sir A. Chamberlain of a conversation with M. Briand at the Foreign Office on 18 May, 1927, *DBFP*, No. 201.

And the answer, surely, is that he did not do so in any meaningful sense. As he and his diplomats kept endlessly repeating, Britain had no interest in Albania except to keep the country pacified lest Britain found itself involved in a crisis, or a conflict which served her no purpose whatsoever. Here, Britain was actually more suspicious of France with her Little Entente system than of Italy. And, if anything, as the records show, the Foreign Office was far more frequently backing Yugoslav complaints against Italy than the other way round. In this case at least, it was not the case what Professor Slobodan Jovanović told William Strang, the young British diplomat at Belgrade in the early 1920s: "No allied country, he said, had been more generously friendly to Jugoslavia than Great Britain, and no allied country politically so hostile."[97] What so frightened Chamberlain in May 1927 was the possibility that Zogu could easily be removed, that no suitable replacement could be found for him, and that a Balkan conflagration could ensue, something which Britain absolutely wanted to avoid. This was sheer pragmatism on Britain's part, hardly a change of policy. It should be remembered that Britain's rejection of the Geneva Protocol in 1925 had created the essential basis for her postwar international behaviour: avoid all foreign commitments at all costs unless your own direct interests are under threat. And it is wrong to argue that the Treaty of Tirana was made possible by British acquiescence: "Having just blocked any substantial Italian gains at the expense of Ethiopia and Turkey, Britain was glad enough to allow Mussolini a little balm for his ego in Albania which, from 1921 on, had been recognized by the Conference of Ambassadors as a special Italian sphere of interest."[98] Indeed, it was precisely the Treaty of Tirana which confirmed an already existing state of affairs between Italy and Albania, and British preoccupations in Ethiopia and Turkey had nothing to do with it: they were entirely separate issues with entirely separate possible consequences. Britain was an imperial power with vast interests in the Near and Middle East. She had had no pretensions in the Adriatic at least since the Napoleonic period.

And thus the almost hysterical Italo-Yugoslav crisis over Albania in the spring of 1927 soon petered out. Yugoslav-Albanian relations deteriorated further, with diplomatic relations being broken off in June 1927, only to be restored again in August.[99] But Yugoslavia, economically and militarily far weaker than Italy, had long since lost Albania which now became Italy's satellite state in all but name, this being a state of affairs which in reality represented merely "a political technicality" at least since the Treaty

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[97] Lord Strang, *Home and Abroad* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1956), 55.

[98] Marks, *The Illusion of Peace*, 87.

[99] See Mirko Avakumović, *Prekid i obnova diplomatskih odnosa između Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i Albanije 1927. godine* (Belgrade: Štamparija Privrednik, 1934).

of Tirana.[100] Which, it may be argued, was just as well. As a contemporary British observer wrote, the "Albanians have given convincing proof that they are unfitted to govern themselves, whereas a protectorate would result in bringing peace to a distracted land".[101]

The rest of the story is well-known. Zogu made himself King in 1928, thus rounding off his somewhat cinematic career. But there existed no constitutional monarchy in Albania to speak of. He made attempts to modernize his country, whilst in foreign policy he pretended to be independent of Italy – a claim that fooled no one. And it was the rivalry between Mussolini and Hitler that ultimately decided the fate of Zogu and Albania. The Germans marched into Prague in March 1939, an action that threw *il Duce* into an infantile mood and, influenced by his foreign minister Conte Ciano, he sent his troops to occupy Albania in April, a military operation not particularly distinguished by its brilliance, but nevertheless successfully completed by the middle of April when the crown of Albania was offered to the Italian King Victor Emmanuel. Zogu went to exile, rumoured to carry $4,000,000 in treasure.[102]

After the Second World War Tito's Yugoslavia briefly asserted some influence over Tirana, but the People's Albania preferred to try other versions of the Socialist experiment – first Soviet, then Chinese – before settling on her own isolationist and famously paranoid model.

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[100] Alan Palmer, *The Lands Between: A History of East-Central Europe since the Congress of Vienna* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 242.

[101] E. Alexander Powell, *Embattled Borders: Eastern Europe from the Balkans to the Baltic,* (London: John Long Limited, 1928), 110–111.

[102] Joseph S. Roucek, *Balkan Politics: International Relations in No Man's Land* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948), 141.

Thanos Veremis

Western Amateurs in the Balkans and the End of History

The Balkans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have attracted Western amateurs of great variety. Some offered their life-long devotion to the subjects of their affection, as did Edith Durham to the Albanians (*High Albania*, 1909), or Rebecca West to the Serbs (*Black Lamb and the Grey Falcon. A Journey Through Yugoslavia*, 1941). Others unleashed creatures of darkness in the Balkan habitat as did Bram Stoker with his famous *Dracula* and Eric Ambler with *The Mask of Dimitrios*. Another category of amateurs made headway in an unsuspecting readership with much sound and fury disguised as history. Robert Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* even penetrated the inner sanctum of the White House.[1]

The case of the Princeton-based scholar of antiquity Eugene Borza is more complicated. In his own Balkan past he partook in the local sport of appropriating the past or denying it to one's ethnic rivals. His brief excursion into modern history is both sly and innocent. Sly in intent but innocent of the modern terrain. Borza was "stunned" (p. 251) by the discovery of a gravestone in the Baldwin cemetery of Steelton Pennsylvania, describing its inhabitant as a "Macedon". This he concluded was evidence of ethnogenesis. Had he visited other immigrant communities in the northwestern United States he would have discovered a plethora of Macedonian (Greek, Bulgarian or Albanian), Peloponnesian, Cretan etc, appellations signifying local, rather than ethnic origin. Such designations of clubs, newspapers and tombstones since the early twentieth century abound throughout the habitat of immigrants with a strong attachment to their locale of origin.[2]

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[1] For more examples, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997) and Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritanie. The Imperialism of the Imagination* (Yale University Press, 1998).

[2] Eugene N. Borza, "Macedonia Redux", in Frances B. Titchener and Richard F. Moorton, Jr, *The Eye Expanded* (University of California Press, 1999), 249-266.

Former US Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbot's article "Self-Determination in an Interdependent World"[3] is indicative of how one's foreign policy can lead to unexpected developments when the diagnosis of the ailment is based on questionable premises. Mr. Talbot's attempt "to apply the concept of self-determination in a way that is conducive to integration and not to disintegration" succeeded in producing the opposite outcome. Even after the events of 1999, he believes that his administration is trying "to remake the politics of the region without, this time, having to redraw the map, without splitting up large, repressive, or failed states into small, fractious ministates that are neither economically nor politically viable". A quick look at the Western Balkans confirms Mr. Talbot's worst fears.[4] His view of Bosnia is that this country has tried to "give all citizens reason to feel that they belong to a single state – not so much a nation state, as a multiethnic federal state. There is reason for cautious optimism about reaching this goal".[5] Yet Bosnia remains as segregated as ever. On Kosovo he insists that "the Kosovars have historically wanted – and under Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito enjoyed – a high degree of autonomy. Then, under President Slobodan Milošević, they suffered a decade of Serbian oppression and more than a year of ethnic cleansing. Now they want more than just self-determination: They want total independence".[6] However, the history of the Albanian Kosovars since they found themselves unwillingly in the Kingdom of Serbia (1913) does not conform with Mr. Talbot's view that their option for independence is the exclusive outcome of Milošević's repression.

The fact that the unification of Kosovo with Albania during the Second World War was well received by the Albanian population and the subsequent uprisings of the Albanian element against Tito's arrangements, defy Mr. Talbot's interpretation. His assessment that autonomy is still an option for the Kosovars "within a larger democratic, federalized, multiethnic state",[7] if Serbia becomes democratic, is wide off the mark. A democratic regime could have materialized in Serbia if the Kosovar Albanians had chosen to throw their full electoral weight against Milošević in past and recent elections. They chose to abstain, to avoid legitimizing a state they did not want to be part of. Some, according to rumours, even secretly voted for Milošević to precipitate the breakdown that would lead to their independence.

Mr. Talbot's line is shared by many Western commentators. Most refuse to come to terms with a reality of warring ethnic nationalisms that

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[3] *Foreign Policy* (Spring 2000), 152-163.

[4] *Ibid.*, 155.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 156.

[7] *Ibid.*

resist reconciliation through democratic symbiosis. When, for example, this author put the question to George Soros whether a democratic Serbia would induce the Kosovars to return to the fold of FRY as an autonomous entity or a Republic, he did not get a clear answer. Western officials pay lip-service to the goal of acculturating multiethnic states to the ways of the free market economy and multicultural existence without explaining how this will come to pass. According to former US Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann, "If the world is to support the idea of multiethnicity as an organising principle for states … then it will have to do more to ensure the protection of minorities within multiethnic states."[8] Yet five years after Dayton, Bosnia is more of a segregated, aid-dependent protectorate than ever.

Mr. Talbot's unhistorical mantra is repeated by the authors of *Winning Ugly*.[9] "The fact that Kosovo's Albanians are now effectively in charge of the province – and that they should remain in control of at least most of it, whether through autonomy within Serbia, republic status within Yugoslavia, or eventual independence – has nothing to do with original claims to the land. It has instead to do with the treatment of the Kosovar Albanians by Slobodan Milosevic and his fellow Serb nationalists in recent times." The overlapping and conflicting irredentisms of Serbs and Albanians have everything to do with the present state of affairs in Kosovo. To say that latter-day nationalists in Serbia bear the sole responsibility for current developments is like saying that the Franco-German rivalry was invented by Hitler.

A brief review of Balkan developments may be necessary to place this author's premises in perspective.

The Balkans[10] have never constituted a regional continuum, except during the centuries of Ottoman rule that gave them their name. In ethnic and cultural terms they have been as diversified as any geographic region of Europe be it Western, Northern, Southern or Central. In ethnic and linguistic terms, Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia are similar, while FYROM and Bulgaria share linguistic and cultural legacies. Although Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and FYROM have Christian Orthodox majorities, this has not prevented them from fighting on opposite camps. The Muslim element in Bosnia, Albania, Serbia and FYROM have not cooperated in the past, except as ethnic Albanians. Having remained outside Europe's mainstream

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[8] Warren Zimmermann, *Origins of a Catastrophe* (New York: Times Books, 1999), 239.

[9] Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly. NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), 8.

[10] The term here includes Yugoslavia (and its successor states), Albania, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria.

for centuries, Balkan societies failed to synchronize their development with the state-building process of Western Europe.

The disparate record of emerging Balkan states in attaining independence throughout the nineteenth and even as late as the twentieth century and their intermittent efforts at constructing administrative and parliamentary institutions, were never free of European politics. Their irredentist wars against Ottoman rule and the resultant borders were closely supervised by foreign patrons and regulated by the principles that governed European relations. If the First World War restructured the boundaries of the Balkans and afforded a period of relative freedom from great power involvement, the communist era that followed the Second World War imposed Soviet influence and impeded Balkan development along Western lines.

The process of Yugoslavia's disintegration began a decade before the fall of the Berlin Wall when the need for economic and administrative reform came at odds with long standing trends of the Federation's decentralization. Yugoslavia's access to Western capital markets throughout the sixties and seventies, and its inability to service its Western debts after the second oil shock, confronted the Federal leadership with a dire predicament. The measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) required constitutional reform to strengthen the central Government's ability to implement an austerity policy. In 1983 the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) leadership appointed a party commission to discuss the political system. The Commission's preliminary proposals for amendments to the 1974 Constitution soon entered public debate which revealed the anti-federalist sentiments of the more prosperous Republics. Furthermore the pressure of the West, favoured less, rather than more, government interference in the economy, free-market reform and privatization. In other words, Yugoslavia was getting mixed messages from its Western creditors and its Western political friends to increase and to reduce central authority at the same time.[11] Those Republics whose views on this matter seemed more liberal and Western were in fact catering to the interests of the ethnic groups they represented. They were of course the first to bolt the Federation.[12]

Of the states and institutions outside the region of Southeastern Europe, the European Union initially wielded the greatest influence. From its early support for the unity of Yugoslavia as a precondition for future

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[11] Susan Woodward's analysis, among the many that attempted to trace the causes of Yugoslavia's implosion, is perhaps the most observant of the Federation's history. *Balkan Tragedy. Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), 4-5, 17, 50, 60-62.

[12] *Ibid*.

application to the Brussels EPS meeting of the twelve Foreign Ministers on 16–17 December 1991, the EU performed an about face. Within "half a year the EC had moved from a unified position on the maintenance of the Yugoslav state, to a common but harshly discordant policy on inviting those republics seeking independence to submit applications and undergo the procedure identified."[13] This decision was prompted by Germany's insistence on the immediate recognition of Slovenia and Croatia which initiated a trend that could not be confined to the two Republics.

Washington at first supported Serbian reluctance to abandon Yugoslav unity. However, in his July 1991 visit to Yugoslavia, Secretary of State James Baker stated that his government would not object to a peaceful process leading to independence, however unlikely that was. By the Spring of 1992, the US had cast its lot for the recognition of the Republics.

Politicians and diplomats, well-versed in regional politics and irredentist strife, warned the EU of the violence that a break-up of Yugoslavia would unleash. Their prediction was that recognition of secessionist unitary states, in which preponderant ethnic forces held sway over their own minorities, would provoke a chain reaction until, eventually, the process of disintegration led to a plethora of ethnically pure but unworkable neighbourhood entities. In a conference on Balkan developments, jointly sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft in Potsdam (23–26 June 1992), this author expressed his own worries over the future of the region:

> The most ominous development in Yugoslavia is the proliferation of weak and mutually hostile state entities in a region, which does not at the present moment constitute a high priority for the West. In that sense the Balkans are no longer the powder keg of Europe but a decaying backwater cut off from the prospect of communication with the Western Community. The implosion of nationalist strife of Yugoslavia can still create a chain reaction of developments that would undermine the economies of adjacent states and determine the future of the Balkans as the third world of Europe.[14]

Since 1991, the adjacent states have lost valuable trade and, as a result, smuggling and corruption have prevailed in a sizeable black market economy. Furthermore they were cut off from the rest of Europe, as a result of embargoes and political decisions that directly affected their capacity for growth.

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[13] James Gow, *Triumph of the Lack of Will. International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (London: Hurst, 1997), 63-64.

[14] T. Veremis, "Eine Neudefinition der Sicherheitsbehange in Südosteuropa", *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* 2/33 (1993), 141.

The 1995 bombings by NATO put an end to Serbian advance in Bosnia. The Dayton Agreement of 21 November 1995 that followed was engineered by a superpower whose timing was perfect. In the summer that preceded the bombings, the Croatian forces evicted the Serbs from Krajina, while the Serbs cleansed most of Eastern Bosnia. The contours of an ethnically segregated Bosnia were officially settled on paper. The American success in pacifying the region may have been partly a question of good timing but it also signified the failure of the EU to produce and enforce a viable solution.

The Dayton achievement in freezing the Bosnian conflict made Bosnia-Herzegovina totally dependent on the West. Even the development of its democratic institutions is supervised by outside forces and some of its elected leaders are sacked when they fail to meet Western standards. The three ethnically cleansed sectors of the state, however, continue their separate lives without promoting the multicultural coexistence which became the hallmark of Western intervention.

For Americans the role of arbiter in Western Balkan affairs has been a novel experience. With an administration that considers the region an embarrassment rather than a strategic asset, the US has since tried to apply its panacea of free market and democratic institutions with little patience. So we are now beginning to realize that such institutions take time to develop and that therefore a premature withdrawal of the SFOR or the KFOR could cause havoc to recur.

Serbia's superior command of firepower had been its greatest weakness in the depiction of the Yugoslav conflict by the Western media. Having committed the largest percentage of atrocities among the belligerents, she steadily became the main target of CNN and US attention. As a result, there was a marked change in Western policy favouring the adversaries of Serbia as the weaker parts in the conflict. Naturally, the Kosovo Albanians were the weakest of all the victims.

Was it only a question of principles that led to military involvement in Bosnia, or did this also serve special interests of the EU and the USA? The report of the *International Commission on the Balkans,* in one of its more candid moments, explains why "the fate of Islam in Bosnia is of importance for reasons going beyond the country or even the Balkans: 1) it has become a factor in the West's relations with the Islamic world; 2) it might become important for Turkey's relationship with Europe; and 3) it has implications for the Islamic communities of Western Europe".[15] There is no mention in the report as to why the Serbs should consider the West's relations with the

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[15] *Unfinished Peace*, Report of the International Commission on the Balkans (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for Peace and Aspen Institute, 1996), 18.

Islamic world their own priority. If there had been, the Serbs could have been gently ushered into a communality of interests with a European community that they aspired to join.

Western policy vis-à-vis Kosovo was prompted by the Bosnian precedent, and the Dayton Accord. Unlike Bosnia, however, Kosovo has been a province of Serbia since the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 and a territory replete with Serbian history and religious shrines. Whereas Dayton confirmed a fait accompli in the field, Kosovo had remained under firm Serb administration, until the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) began to challenge the authority of Belgrade. Apparently the goal of the UCK was to provoke the Serb authorities into violent reprisals that would capture the attention of the West and compel it to act. In the cat-and-mouse game that ensued between the Serb forces and the UCK, an outside intervention could only keep them apart by committing ground troops of the SFOR type.

Mr. Holbrooke's agreement with Milošević in October 1998 for a partial Serb withdrawal from Kosovo failed to address the absence of ground troops that could have prevented the UCK from filling the vacuum in the field. Although Milosevic was adverse to the presence of foreign troops in what he considered to be Serbian sovereign territory, at the same time he was compelled by UCK action to launch large-scale operations that compromised Serbia internationally. Before the West came to Rambouillet, the possibility of committing an SFOR type of contingency to supervise the October 1998 agreement had not been exhausted. The participation of Russians in a force that would have ensured the orderly departure of large numbers of Serb troops and the passivity of the UCK, might have been possible if the Americans had not persisted in excluding the Russians. The Holbrooke-Milosevic agreement brought back displaced Albanians to their homes, but the absence of an enforcement mechanism exposed the agreement to contraventions by the adversaries. An accurate picture of the excesses committed between October 1998 and March 1999 when the bombing began, is probably included in the report of the 1,300 OSCE observers in Kosovo. The Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia James Bissett[16] noted that this valuable piece of evidence, which has so far escaped the attention of commentators, has not been given to the public by the OSCE.[17] Regardless of whether the report is damning to Serb operations, or not, the Rambouillet ultimatum was seen by Milošević as a violation of his country's territorial integrity. NATO's demand to be granted access to the entire FRY

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[16] In the Canadian *Globe and Mail*, 10 January 2000.

[17] Neither Tim Judah, *Kosovo-War and Revenge* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), nor Daalder and O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly*, mention this lacuna.

gave the then Federal President the opportunity to present his refusal as an act of resistance against foreign occupation.[18]

If actions are not to be judged by intentions but by outcomes, then the operation of bombing the FRY was a mistake. NATO devastated a centrally located Balkan state in order to rid its people of Milošević, to save the imperilled Kosovar Albanians and to secure multiethnic coexistence in an autonomous province. However, it succeeded in achieving the opposite on all counts. After Bosnia, Kosovo is (or will soon be) yet another ethnically cleansed protectorate of the West with a Liberation Army (UCK) that has declared its irredentist designs against the neighbouring states.[19] In the ethnic antagonisms over territory, NATO has clearly taken sides[20] and the US agenda for a multiethnic, multicultural Western Balkans has failed.

Of all the commentators of US policy in Kosovo, Henry Kissinger is the great exception that verifies the rule. His Hobbesian view of human nature, his historical erudition and his careful computation of national interest, make him perhaps the most accomplished of the anti-Lockean mavericks of American officialdom. With a series of articles (April 15, May 31 and June 21, 1999) Kissinger strove to salvage European history from the administration's onslaught. In the grand tradition of nineteenth-century conservative statesmen that he admires, he is wary of humanitarian causes with unpredictable outcomes. His criticism of Mrs. Albright's achievement in Kosovo and his remedy to the present impasse certainly challenge mainstream views on the subject, "If we try to implement the UN resolution for any length of time, we will emerge as the permanent party to arcane and bitter Balkan quarrels. It would be far wiser to cut the Gordian knot and concede Kosovar independence as part of an overall Balkan settlement – perhaps including self-determination for each of the three ethnic groups of Bosnia. In such an arrangement, the borders of Kosovo and its neighbours should be guaranteed by NATO or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. As in Bosnia, the international forces would then patrol both sides of these borders for at least a substantial interim period."[21] Kissinger's admonitions do not sound hollow. By intervening, the US has made its presence a determining factor in shaping the future of the region. The Western Balkans have therefore become again a great power's protec-

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[18] The accounts of the Rambouillet deliberations, especially that of Judah, leave little to be desired. Judah, *Kosovo–War*, 197-226; Daalder and O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly*, 84-90.

[19] Chris Hedges, "As UN Organizes, Rebels are Taking Charge of Kosovo", *The New York Times*, 29 July 1999.

[20] See view of Deputy Commander in Chief of US European Command, Charles G. Boyd, "Making Peace with the Guilty", *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 1995), 22-38.

[21] Henry Kissinger, "As the Cheers Fade", *Newsweek*, 21 June 1999.

torate, as they have been so often in the past. The paradox in this exceptional Western involvement in an ever growing number of protectorates (Bosnia, Kosovo, FYROM, Albania) is that unlike the Cold War period, the region does not constitute a US, NATO or EU priority, but is more of an exporter of immigrants and a generator of trouble for the rest of Europe. Given the scarcity of Western resources allocated for the reconstruction of the region, the Yugoslav black hole may become the cause of a wider contagion of economic decay.[22]

The miraculous change of regime in the FRY following the September 2000 elections has become the single most heartening development in the Western Balkans for a very long time.

A permanent slide into barbarism is not among the likely contingencies that threaten the Western Balkans. Such strife as we have seen throughout the Kosovo crisis will recede. We should also not forget that nation states in most European cases have been unicultural institutions promoting their own exclusivity at the expense of the "others". It was the immense, material and moral devastation of WWII, as well as the Soviet threat, that induced the Europeans to take up the experiment of multilateralism and multiculturalism in the post-war period. The Balkans as an appendage of Western Europe adopted the state-building process and the ideological trappings of its Western prototype with some delay. The dissolution of Yugoslavia revealed the other side of irredentism – ethnic cleansing. If a state cannot expand its territory, it can certainly cleanse it from its undesirable ethnic minorities, especially if they are perceived as a security threat.

The US did not intervene in Bosnia and Kosovo to facilitate ethnically pure microprotectorates, but multicultural democratic federations, after its own image. The Americans are dedicated to multiculturalism although they remain a multiethnic society with a single political culture. Their virtuous undertaking in the Western Balkans foundered in this misconception and in the structural American contempt for history. When the founding fathers turned their backs to the English throne, centuries of convoluted history froze and the future was illuminated by the manifest destiny of the new nation. The end of history happened in the eighteenth century for the Americans; they expected it to occur at the end of the twentieth century for the rest of the world.

What can the West do to prevent the regional rift from widening?

1) Qualify economic aid and channel it to the restoration of the infrastructure. (The Marshall plan after all was about development not financing

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[22] Martin Sletzinger, "The Consequences of the War in Kosovo", in *Kosovo* & *NATO. Impending Challenges* (Washington DC: The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, East European Studies, 1999), 3-5.

Western advisers and NGOs.) 2) Stop believing that Democracy can be transplanted on fallow ground. 3) Encourage regional and local cooperation initiatives as an ante-chamber to future EU accession. 4) Keep a Western military presence in Bosnia and Kosovo to maintain order and help the locals restore a stable and predictable state of affairs. The UNMIK should gradually give way to local authorities. 5) If Serbia remains the economic black hole it is today, its population will continue to leave a land that can no longer support them. 6) Western and especially American policy-makers should become more reverential of history. Its end is nowhere in sight.

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ABSTRACTS

Nikola Tasić

BRONZE AND IRON AGE SITES IN SREM AND THE STRATIGRAPHY OF GOMOLAVA

Systematic excavation at Gomolava conducted almost interruptedly between 1953 and 1985 provided an almost full insight into the human occupation of the southern Pannonian Plain from the Early Neolithic to the successive arrival of Celts and Romans. This fact makes it possible for many of the excavated short-lived or horizontally-stratified settlements to be defined in relation to Gomolava's stratigraphic sequence. As a result, the paper attempts to establish a relative chronology for Bronze and Iron Age sites in the area between the Sava and Danube rivers. By way of illustration, it offers four maps suggesting synchronous developments. Thus Map 1 shows chronological parallelism between the Early Bronze Age layers and late Vučedol and Vinkovci sites (such as Pećine near Vrdnik, or Belegiš, Vojka and Batajnica) belonging to the final Eneolithic and Early Bronze, while Map 2 shows synchronisms between Gomolava IVb–c and the Vinkovci layers at the sites of Gradina on the Bosut, Gradac at Belegiš, Petrovaradin Fortress, and Asfaltna Baza on the outskirts of Zemun. The end of the Bronze Age represented by Gomolava IVb1 to IVc is shown to be synchronous with the settlements, necropolises and hoard horizons of an Ha A1 and A2 date. Finally, Early Iron Age sites are easy to fit in with the Srem sites owing to systematic excavations at Gradina on the Bosut near Šid, Kalakača near Beška and numerous hoards of bronze artefacts marking a clear boundary between the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. At Gomolava this transition is reflected in horizons Va to Vd: the earliest is represented by black channelled pottery of the Gava type, while the other three are connected with the evolution of the Bosut-Basarabi complex.

Ivan Jordović

DID THE ANCIENT GREEKS KNOW OF COLLECTIVE TYRANNY?

The significance of the question as to whether the ancient Greeks had the notion of collective tyranny results not only from the fact that the answer may help us understand the evolution of Greek political thought, but also from the fact that the study of the oppressive regimes whose exact nature was open to controversy should not consider them only in terms of oligarchy or tyranny, since contemporary attitudes to such regimes were often powerfully influenced by stereotypes. For that reason this study focuses on the notion of *dynasteia* and shows that it, not identical but very similar to the modern notion of collective tyranny, was known to the Greeks.

Minna Skafte Jensen

PHOENIX, ACHILLES AND A NARRATIVE PATTERN

Book 9 of the *Iliad*, universally considered one of the most marvellous in the poem, has also been a bone of contention in many scholarly debates. Suggesting that an important aspect of the speech Phoenix gave as a member of Agamemnon's embassy to Achilles has nevertheless been overlooked by scholars, the paper makes it the focus of its interest. Unlike most researchers, who have taken the side of the envoys, the author casts a different light on Achilles' reasons for declining the embassy and suggests that the text invites the readers to share their sympathies between the characters.

Živko Mikić

ANTHROPOLOGICAL TRACES OF SLAV PRESENCE IN KOSOVO AND METOCHIA

At the current level of anthropological research on medieval populations of Kosovo and Metochia, the total of five skeleton series is available: Matičane, Djonaj, Rezala, Kuline and, partly, Novo Brdo. The necropolises roughly cover the period between the tenth and sixteenth centuries. Their anthropological contents indicate curvoccipital dolichocranial Slavs, and a planoccipital brachycranial population buried mostly around Orthodox churches.

Sonja Petrović

CHARITY, GOOD DEEDS AND THE POOR IN SERBIAN EPIC POETRY

The analysis of relation between the poor and the concept of charity in Serbian epic poetry is initiated as part of the research project "Ethnic and

social stratification of the Balkans", which includes study of social margins and subcultures in oral literature. Charitable activities directed toward the poor are discussed as social models, but also as a complex way of social interaction between the elites and the poor, which left its mark on oral tradition and epic poetry. Care for the poor, almsgiving and charitable deeds were a religious obligation, and in the course of time, the repetitiveness and habitual character of poor relief became an important issue in structuring cultural patterns. Ethical, educative and humanistic potential of charity, and its being founded on cases witnessed in real life, directly connect charity to the shaping of poetic narrative models. Epic models reflect and poeticize socio-cultural patterns and characters, which is represented both in medieval documents and in epic tradition, in similarity of their themes and formulas on the level of contents and structure. This resemblance has led to the conclusion that charitable giving, care for the poor and salvation of soul existed as specific patterns and intergeneric symbols, which were handed down in various oral and written forms.

Bojan Jovanović

THE CHALLENGE OF PLURAL IDENTITY

The complexity of collective existence is expressed through an awareness of its real identity, which then entails an appropriate attitude towards its own negativity. Within the hierarchically structured identity, different levels of its generality make it possible to consider them as factors of a plural reality. If negativity is raised to consciousness, then its dark side is dismantled. Thus, instead of being a factor of conflict, negativity becomes an element of complementariness and a factor in the construction of a shared identity at a higher level of generality.

Helena Zdravković

THE VERNACULAR DISCOURSES OF
HISTORICAL VICTIMAGE OF
KOSOVO SERBS AND ALBANIANS

This ideological criticism study examines the vernacular discourses of historical victimage of Kosovo Serbs and Albanians. The participants amalgamate personal and collective memories with official national histories to explain present victimization as a continuance of historical victimage. This use of the past legitimizes their national and political claims, and also justifies violence against the other group. Historical victimage offers a rationale for hating the Other and perpetuating a vicious cycle of violence in intractable conflict.

Dušan T. Baktaković

A BALKAN-STYLE FRENCH REVOLUTION?
THE 1804 SERBIAN UPRISING IN EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

The Serbian uprising of 1804-13, initially a peasant rebellion against abuses of power by local janissaries, turned into a national and social revolution from 1806. During its second phase (late 1806 – early 1807), Serbian insurgents openly proclaimed their demand for independence. Encouraged by their military achievements, the insurgent leaders began to seek wider Balkan support for their struggle against Ottoman domination. Although its political claims were a mixture of modern national and romantic historic rights, the uprising gave hope to all Balkan Christians that the Ottoman defeat was an achievable goal. For the Balkan nations it was a French Revolution adapted to local conditions: the principle of popular sovereignty was opposed to the principle of legitimism; a new peasant-dominated society was created in which, due to the lack of the aristocracy and well-established middle classes, agrarian egalitarianism was combined with the rising aspirations of a modern nation. Its long-term effects on the political and social landscape of the whole region justified the assessment of the eminent German historian Leopold von Ranke who described the uprising, by analogy with the French example, as the *Serbian Revolution*.

Milan St. Protić

THE SERBIAN RADICAL MOVEMENT 1881–1903
A HISTORICAL ASPECT

Focusing on the initial stage (until 1903) of the Serbian Radical movement, the paper attempts to delineate and explicate the main phases of its political maturation. In its initial stage Serbian Radicalism passed through several significant phases. The earliest phase (1869–80) may be named the period of rudimentary Radicalism. The movement was unorganized and oscillated between the ideas of socialism, anarchism and peasant democracy. The year 1881 saw the founding of the Radical Party as the first organized political party in Serbia with its own internal structure and programme. It opened the second phase, known as a period of militant Radicalism (1881–86), marked by its organized and uncompromising opposition to the existing system and the personal regime of king Milan Obrenović, culminating in the Timok rebellion in 1883. The period of pragmatic Radicalism (1886–94) saw a recuperation and reorganization of the movement, its inclusion as a legitimate political force into the existing order, the passing in 1888 of a new constitution predominantly influenced by Radical political views and the Party's first compromises with other factors on the domestic political

scene. Finally, there was a period of overpowered Radicalism (1894–1903). Without abandoning their fundamental ideological tenets, the Radicals were forced to make some serious political compromises and moderate their political programme in order to remain in the race for power.

Čedomir Antić

CRISIS AND ARMAMENT
ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SERBIA 1910–1912

On the eve of the 1914-18 war, Great Powers had competed for influence in the Balkans. While preparing for the war with the Ottoman Empire the Balkan states were ready to take huge war credits and to place big orders for weapons and military equipment. Foreign Office did not show any interest in involving British capital and industry in this competition. British diplomacy even discouraged investments in Serbian military programme before 1914.

Vojislav Pavlović

LE CONFLIT FRANCO-ITALIEN DANS LES BALKANS 1915–1935.
LE RÔLE DE LA YOUGOSLAVIE

The conflict between France and Italy in the Balkans in fact was an attempt at reorganizing the Balkans and Central Europe following the disappearance of the Habsburg and Romanoff. The two Latin powers now had a unique opportunity to dictate a rearrangement of the Balkans, but their positions were diametrically opposed. Italy sought to establish domination in the Adriatic and the Balkans, whereas France sought to reorganize the region with the view to precluding Germany from recovering its former influence. At the same time, after Wilson's political defeat in the Senate in 1919, Italian guarantees of the French-German border became vitally important to France. A compromise between Paris and Rome turned out to be unfeasible for several reasons. Expansionism of both the last liberal governments and Mussolini met with resolute opposition from Belgrade. Moreover, Paris was convinced that Italian domination not only would not bring stability to the Balkans, but on the contrary, that it would shatter the region's Little Entente-based inner cohesion and facilitate Germany's comeback. Thus most of diplomatic initiatives coming from Paris and Rome were mutually neutralized, while German economic influence in the region irresistibly grew from the early 1930s. The agreement Mussolini-Laval reconciled the two Latin powers, but it was now in the new circumstances created by the rise of Nazi Germany as a dominant force in Central Europe and the Balkans.

Jovan Zametica

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN AND
THE ITALO-YUGOSLAV CRISIS OVER ALBANIA
FEBRUARY–MAY 1927

In the Spring of 1927 a major European crisis was developing in the Balkans. It concerned the rivalry between Mussolini's Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes over Albania in which, though a small and backward country, both Rome and Belgrade claimed to have legitimate political and security interests. At the time, the Italo-Yugoslav crisis was seen by many observers as containing the potential of turning into a war, the Italian government in particular insisting that Belgrade was engaged in military preparations in order to launch an invasion of Albania. An important factor that made the Italo-Yugoslav rivalry over Albania possible in the first place was the country's perennial political instability. Thus the crisis attracted considerable attention in Europe. Given the fact that France and Italy experienced strained relations, and that the Weimar Germany had only recently returned to the mainstream of the affairs of Europe following the treaties of Locarno, it was Great Britain that emerged as the chief player in attempts to defuse the emergency. Historians have paid relatively little attention to this, by now largely forgotten, episode in the diplomatic history of interwar Europe. The existing literature, however, mistakenly tends to interpret the efforts of Great Britain as favouring the Italian claims in Albania. This article, which makes extensive use of primary sources from the Foreign Office, demonstrates that Foreign Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain and all his relevant officials handled the crisis in an even-handed manner throughout and that, at times, if London exhibited any sympathy and understanding at all for either side, it was towards Belgrade rather than Rome.

Thanos Veremis

WESTERN AMATEURS IN THE BALKANS AND
THE END OF HISTORY

The article deals with the image of the Balkans and its politics during the 1990s as perceived by Western politicians, public-opinion makers and even scholars. The author makes an attempt to recognize the origins of misinterpretations and stereotypy, and to recommend change of political approach.