DOI: https://doi.org/10.18485/fpn_ctes_mic.2023.ch4

Slobodan G. Markovich,
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade

EUROPEAN CULTURAL TRANSFER IN 19TH-CENTURY SERBIA AND HOW TO ANALYSE THE EUROPEANISATION OF SERBIA?*

Abstract: The paper sketches the conditions in Serbia in the early 19th-century when the process of Europeanisation was almost non-existent in Serbia. It poses the question of how to analyse a traditional society that has left scarce written sources. In the 19th century, most of the population of Serbia lived in rural areas and was overwhelmingly illiterate. In terms of what has already been done to understand that society, the paper analyses the importance of proto-ethnographers, especially Vuk Karadžić, but it also discusses the limits of findings of that kind. The contributions of "literary archaeology" and ethnographic histories are also covered. Among the numerous methodological challenges that researchers of European cultural transfer to Serbia may face, the author singles out the ambiguous legacy of Western travelogues and the problems of Western perceptions in constructing images of Serbia. The symbolic geography of Serbia was the subject of occidentalisation and re-orientalisation processes during the 19th century, and this issue is also covered. The paper identifies migrations as an important catalyst for Europeanisation and cultural transfer, particularly in the first half of the 19th century. The paper identifies as the main agents of European Cultural Transfer the following groups: 1. Habsburg/Transriparian Serbs who moved to Serbia, 2. Serbian state-funded students educated at Western European university centres ("planned élite"), and 3. foreigners from Western and Central Europe who moved to Serbia. The contribution of each of these groups is analysed.

Keywords: cultural transfer, traditional society, occidentalisation, migrations, Habsburg Serbs, "planned élite", foreigners,

In analysing a traditional contemporary society, a researcher may easily implement the ethnographic method. However, the question arises of what a historian should do when analysing a traditional society from the past that left very scarce written sources. Christian peasants in the Ottoman Balkans in the 18th century and most of the 19th century very often lived in societies of that kind.

An expert in Balkan history of Braudelian orientation, Traian Stoianovich, described the culture(s) of early 19th-century Balkans as zones in which Neolithic patterns were still widely present. Features of that culture, or the "Balkan Civilisation", as he called it, were the Earth Mother, Kouroi, Green Georges, and the rekindling of fires. That was a culture

* This research has been supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, project No. 7747152, Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia from the 19th to the 21st century – CTES.

"of Paleolithic origin but so thoroughly remodelled that we may call it Neolithic. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the folk culture of the Balkans was fundamentally an earth culture of this kind, a culture of survivals and anachronisms."[1]

What John R. Lampe called "peripheral retardation"[2] is what happened with imperial borderlands in terms of their economies during the Habsburg-Ottoman wars. In the period from 1688 till the beginning of the 19th century, those lands (the area between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, including Serbia) were overrun six times by one of the belligerent sides. The situation in the 17th-century and early 18th-century Balkans probably included an absence of population growth and a declining economy. During the 18th century, the predominant land regime in the Serbian and Greek lands became that of the upland village.[3] This means that the overwhelming majority of Christians in those areas were pastoralists. In terms of Walt Rostow's phases of growth, it was a society of the first phase. It was a "traditional society", a type of society that encompassed the whole pre-Newtonian world.[4] But within the wide range of societies covered by Rostow's term, the Serbian society of the early 19th century was among the least developed. If one would need to categorise that society, as a subsystem in the Ottoman Empire, within the types of preindustrial political systems, it would not be an easy task since it included elements of both non-centralised and centralised political systems – in other words, it had tribal elements, but it also included characteristics typical of chiefdoms.[5]

Since the Balkan rural world survived until the end of the 19th century as "a system of earth cultures" that was "bound religiously, psychologically, and economically to the soil and surrounding space", elitist cultures had limited potential to penetrate them. Stoianovich assessed that only after 1850 groups of new élites could succeed "in institutionalizing a succession of rival productivist ideologies–capitalist (1840–1940), war economic and socialist (1940–90), and (from a short-term perspective)

1 Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds. The First and Last Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), 13.

2 John R. Lampe, "Imperial Borderlands or Capitalist Periphery? Redefining Balkan Backwardness, 1520-1914, in Daniel Chirot (ed.), *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe; Economics and Polities from the Middle Ages until the early Twentieth Century* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1989), 189.

3 Ibid, 184, 189.

4 W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth. A non-communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1971, 1st ed. 1960), 4-6.

5 For an overview of the categorisation of pre-industrial political systems see: Ted C. Lewellen, *Political Anthropology. An Introduction* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 15-41.

capitalist again (since 1990)."[6] Only that succession could cause "a radical transformation of old Neolithic cultures."[7]

Stoianovich's claims may serve as a good guide for reflections on how deep and far-reaching the modernisation of the Balkans was in the period prior to WW2. One may easily detect the impacts of the European cultural transfer in the 19th century urban Balkans. The situation is much more complex in terms of villages. Serbia was 90% rural during most of the 19th century and was still 86% rural as late as 1900.

In deciphering various testimonies on Serbian rural life in the 19th century, one is faced with the fact that most of them come from urban sources. Foreign travellers, journalists and diplomats left their testimonies that were inevitably affected by the *Zeitgeist*, including preconceptions that would, in scholarly terms, be called Eurocentrism, Orientalism, and Balkanism. These views were significantly affected by Serbia's peripheral position, lack of industrialisation and modernisation, and, also, certain cultural, religious, and ethnic stereotypes. Domestic sources are not very different. Even the Habsburg Serbs shared cultural stereotypes about their southern "brethren". Educated Serbs from Serbia that left memoirs or diaries or who contributed to Serbian newspapers and periodicals either studied at West European university centres (around 70% of them) or were substantially influenced by various European ideas. So, although most of them were of peasant origin, they also viewed the underdevelopment of Serbia's countryside through a European or at least European-like lens.

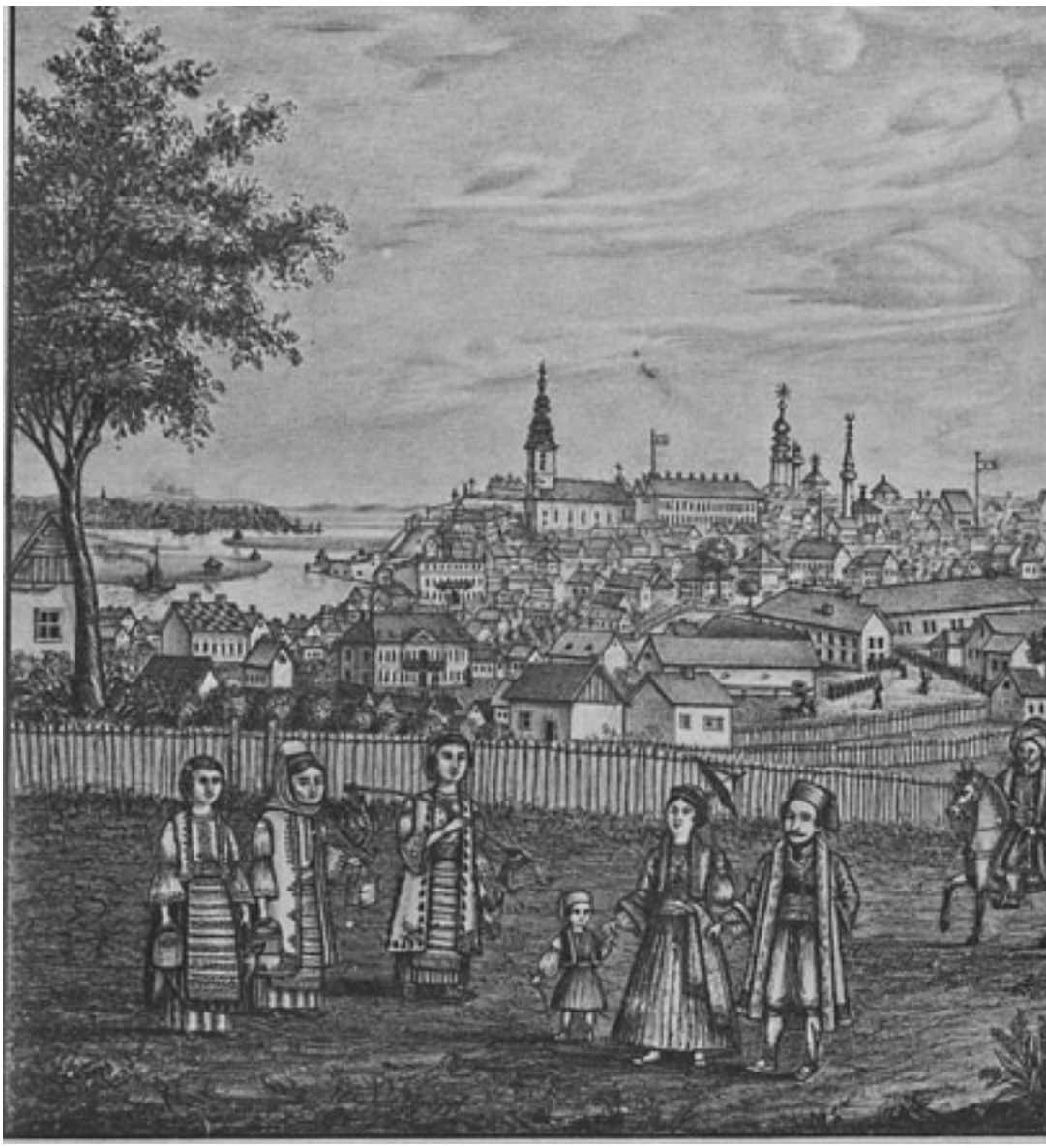
One can easily identify in the intellectual narratives of prominent Serbs two streams about the Serbian countryside and traditional values: one favourable and often romantic and the other unfavourable and critical, sometimes even sarcastic. Although the available testimonies can be totally opposite, they are without exception based on different European ideological currents. Those prone to romanticism idealised Serbian rural life and alleged heroic Serbian traditions. Such traditions were supposed to facilitate the task of national unification. The opposite group preferred positivist trends and wanted to Europeanise and modernise everything. For this group whatever was considered "European" was taken for granted and seen as "progressive", and its positive valorisation was considered unquestionable. In many cases, Serbian intellectuals combined the two narratives.

Geographer Jovan Cvijić belonged to both groups. He divided the Balkans into various "civilisational zones" and called one of them the zone of the patriarchal regime.[8] In his taxonomy, this area was inhabited by the "Di-

6 Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds*, 42.

7 Ibid.

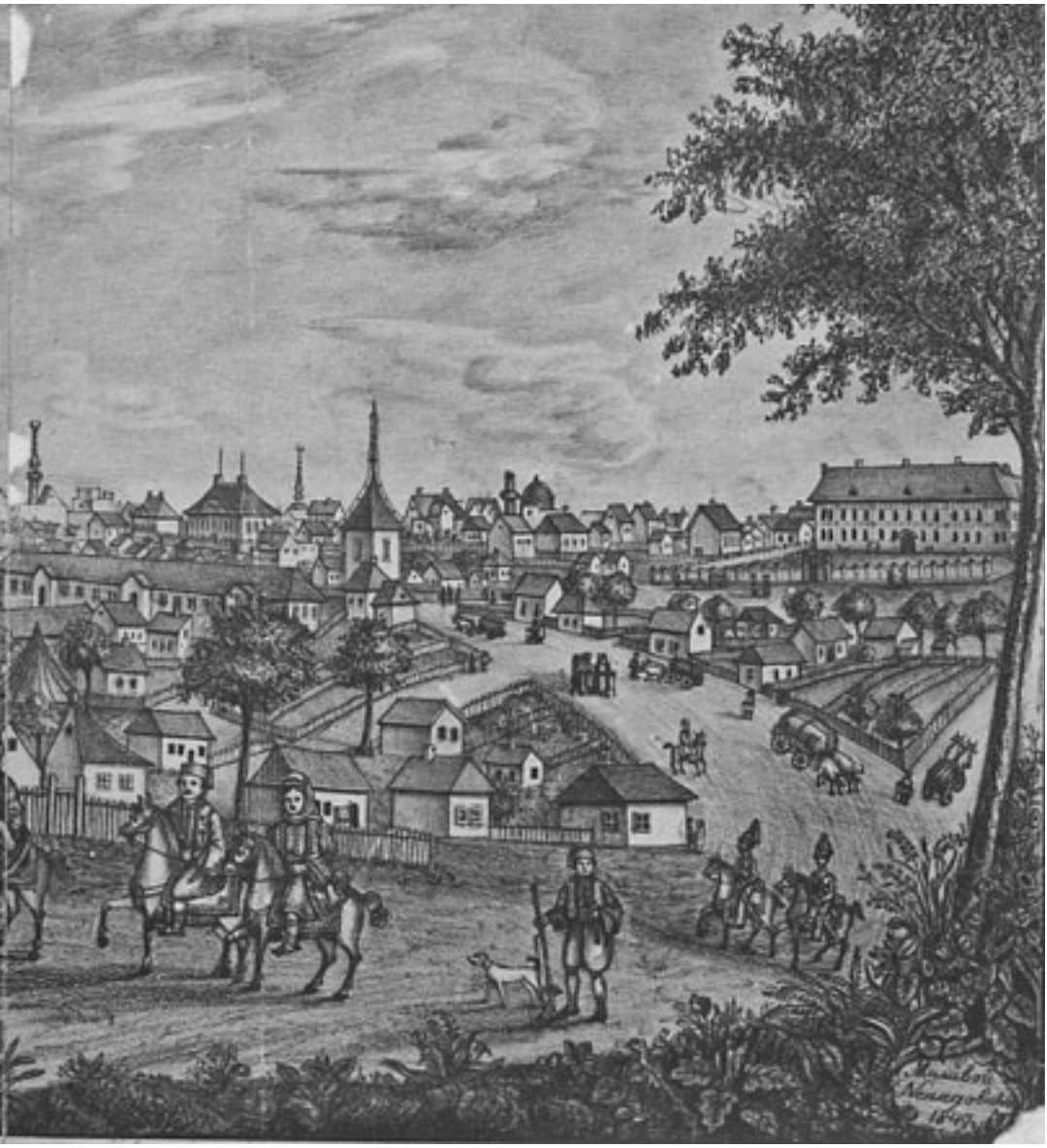
8 Jovan Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique. Geographie humaine* (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1918), see chapter IX of the book.



Belgrade in 1849 when it had around 15,000 inhabitants. This lithography by Milivoj Nenadović depicts a mixture of rural and urban and of Oriental and Occidental in Belgrade.

naric type". While Cvijić viewed the Dinaric type as an ideal version of the heroic man capable of fulfilling the task of national unification, the father of Serbian ethnography had a rather different view of the same "zone of civilisation". Tihomir Djordjević (Tichomir Georgevitch) claimed in 1909:

> The Servian people are primitive and patriarchal in many ways, a fact best proved by their superstitions and traditions, which rule them to a



great extent even at the present day. These superstitions reflect primitive thought, understanding, and observances concerning the most diverse aspects of physical, psychic, and social life.[9]

9 Tichomir Georgevitch, "Superstitions and Traditions", in *Servia by the Servians* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 158.

Although Djordjević thought that Serbian historical tradition was very strong, he also described cultural transfer by using the terms of his own age:

> A portion of the Servians were under the influence of Italy and other Western States, whence literary or other elements also entered Servian popular tradition. With the arrival of the Turkish rule Eastern elements were also introduced. Many foreign elements of Servian tradition have undergone great changes, so that it is only by close study and comparison that their origin can be ascertained; on the other hand, there are some which can be recognized at once as foreign. With regard to popular tradition in the Balkan Peninsula, there have been so many movements, distortions, appropriations, adoptions, influences, vicissitudes, and interminglings that it is very hard to discern what belongs to a particular people. It appears that the principal traditions of the Balkan people have been so amalgamated that they are identical.[10]

Djordjevic's description at the end of the quoted section resembles the definition of hybridity, and it is precisely hybridity that creates additional problems in the analysis of European cultural transfer to Serbian villages. A combination of hybridity and local adaptations may hide many layers of cultural transfer. The scarcity of sources makes the task even more difficult.

1. Problems in the analysis of the Europeanisation of 19th-century Serbia

The social and cultural conditions in Serbia in the second half of the 18th century suggest that Europeanisation was non-existent. It was only during the short Austrian rule over Serbia in 1789–1791 that the population of Serbia came into contact with some aspects of Europeanisation. The first bearers of Europeanisation were the several dozen Austrian Serbs who joined Serbian insurgents during the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813). The most prominent among them was Dositey Obradovich, the leading Serbian philosopher of the Age of Enlightenment, who opened a primary school in Belgrade in 1807, established the College of Belgrade in 1808, and even briefly served as Serbia's minister of education in 1811.[11] But all the results of these endeavours came to an abrupt halt in 1813 when the Uprising was put down.

The economy of Serbia during the First Serbian Uprising and just after it was on a subsistence level. In the early 19th century, pastoralism

10 Ibid, 168.

11 Slobodan G. Markovich, "Dositey Obradovich: The Man who introduced Modernity to the Serbs", *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 3-4 (2011), 22-24.

prevailed in Serbia over agriculture, and mining was almost unknown.[12] The Europeanisation of Serbia showed its first signs in the 1820s and really became visible in the 1830s. It had to be initiated in a very traditional society. Nothing even remotely similar to the legacy of the Renaissance, which had led "to a measure of European cultural homogeneity", or the legacy of the early modern French cultural model, "the influence of which extended from Lisbon to Moscow", could be used as a basis."[13] Everything had to start within an economy based on a subsistence level, in a society that was almost totally illiterate and rural.

a) The issue of illiteracy in Serbia

In 1800, on the eve of the First Serbian Uprising, there were only two elementary Christian schools in the Sanjak of Smederevo, commonly known as the Pashalik of Belgrade, at that time a northern province of the Ottoman Empire. In both schools, in Belgrade and Šabac, the language of instruction was Greek. Even most priests were illiterate, and monks were slightly above their level.[14]

The situation was rather more favourable in towns where eagerness to increase literacy had appeared very early. However, in 1834, only 6% of Serbia's population lived in towns. When, in 1843/44, British traveller Andrew Archibald Paton visited Serbia, he spoke with the Orthodox bishop of Šabac. The bishop told him that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities worked side by side in the field of education, adding: "When I was a young man, a great proportion of the youth could neither read nor write: thanks to our system of national education, in a few years, the peasantry will all [learn to] read. In the towns, the sons of those inhabitants who are in easy circumstances, are all learning German, history, and other branches preparatory to the course of the Gymnasium of Belgrade, which is the germ of a university."[15] Similar bold statements were often given by Serbian officials. In reality, the country remained dominantly

12 Tihomir R. Djordjević, *Iz Srbije kneza Miloša* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1983, 1st ed. 1922), 9-14.

13 Wolfgang Schmale, "Processes of Europeanization", in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010b-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20101025144 [YYYY-MM-DD], 13.

14 Barthelemy-Sylvestre Cunibert, *Essai historique sur les revolutions et l'independance de la Serbie depuis 1804 jusqu'd 1850*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1855), voI. 1, 17. Serbian translation: Dr Bartol. Kunibert, *Srpski ustanak i prva vladavina Miloša Obrenovića*, tr. Milenko R. Vesnić (Belgrade: Zadužbina I. M. Kolarca, 1901), 9.

15 Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia. Youngest Member of the European Family* (London, 1845), 113-114.

illiterate throughout the existence of autonomous (1815/30–78) and independent Serbia (1878–1918). As late as 1884, only 5% of the rural population was literate.

Year	Urban Illiteracy Rate	Rural Illiteracy Rate	Total Illiteracy Rate
1866	73.35	98.37	95.82
1874	66.39	96.35	93.28
1884	72.39	94.65	90.67
1890	61.40	93.02	88.84
1895	57.08	90.76	86.11
1900	52.54	88.01	83.01[16]

Hybridity clearly manifested itself in introducing modern institutions to Serbia since modern transfers had to accommodate traditional patterns. In 1844, the regime of the "Constitutionalists" (*ustavobranitelji* in Serbian) introduced the Civil Code in Serbia, based on the Austrian Civil Code of 1811, and, two years later (1846), they introduced a supreme court. In 1912, the leading Serbian inter-war jurist and historian Slobodan Yovanovich (1869–1958) turned the attention of Serbian readers to the underqualified "judges" in charge of the implementation of the Serbian Civil Code. He observed that, in 1844, among the presidents of courts in Serbia, three were illiterate, ten could only sign their names, three had some sort of training above primary school, and only one was a lawyer. The situation with the judges was no less concerning: 21 were illiterate, 14 were "barely literate", and 15 had some training above the primary school level. Only one was a lawyer. Unsurprisingly, Yovanovich concludes: "Therefore, it was not an overestimation at all when an opponent of the new judicial system claimed that, when the new Civil Code was issued, there were not more than four men in all the courts who could read it and understand it 'from the point of view of jurisprudence'".[17] At the same time, it "was the first effort to replace old patriarchal with modern European courts." The problem was that the concept of the courts introduced by the Constitutionalists took it for granted that the judges would have legal training. Instead, illiterate, or poorly educated people were put in charge, and such a court system "must have functioned poorly."[18] The fact that Yovanovich depicted this kind of situation as an

16 Holm Sundhaussen, *Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834-1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1989), 534.

17 Slobodan Yovanovich (Slobodan Jovanović), *Ustavobranitelji i njihova vlada (1838-1858)*, in Collected Works of Slobodan Yovanovich, vol 3 (Belgrade: BIGZ, Jugoslavijapublik and SKZ, 1990, 1st ed. 1912), 37.

18 Ibid, 47.

obvious anomaly, even in a still dominantly illiterate society in the early 20th century, is a testimony to how much European legal concepts were internalised within Serbia's cultural élite by that time.

I have used the term hybridity here mainly for descriptive purposes, aware that it can have different connotations.[19] What is important to note is that, in Serbia, traditional and modern got mixed and became inseparable during the course of the 19th century. A way to contextualise the effects of European cultural transfer is to make a comparative analysis of Serbia and other Balkan Christian states in terms of Europeanisation. A broader comparison should also include Spain, Portugal, and Italian lands. As Steven K. Pavlowitch put it, speaking of Balkan states in the 19th century: "In spite of distortions derived from grafting Western models onto societies that had evolved in wholly different circumstances, one should not be unduly critical of the institutional arrangements made by that time as being no more than imitative trappings, without comparing them with those of other European states – Southern, or even Northern."[20]

Very high illiteracy rates create problems in analysing rural Serbian society and identifying the presence and progress of European cultural transfer in Serbian villages during the 19th century. Some aspects of the transfer were recorded in urban testimonies, but some pieces of information can hardly be substituted in all those cases when one cannot use direct rural accounts and testimonies. The problem is particularly acute when analysing Serbian rural society of the early 19th century.

b) Serbia as an overwhelmingly rural country

The population of Serbia was overwhelmingly rural throughout the 19th century, and that was also the case with the rest of the Balkans. In the first half of the 19th century, only Constantinople had more than 100,000 inhabitants. Bucharest reached that number around 1850, Athens in 1880, while Belgrade had not even reached 90,000 by 1910.[21]

At the end of the 18th century, the Christian population of Serbia was almost totally rural, with Greek, Tsintsar (Vlach) and Serbian merchants being the only exceptions. Vuk Stefanović Karadžić made a somewhat simplistic observation in 1827: "Serbs have no other [types of] people but

19 For the importance of this concept and its various implications see: Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).

20 Stevan K. Pavlowitch, "Europe and the Balkans in a historical perspective, 1804-1945", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2000), 142-143.

21 *Cf.* Steven K. Pavlowitch, *A History of the Balkans 1804-1945* (Longman: London and New York, 1999), 156.

peasants. The few Serbs who live in towns as traders (mostly shopkeepers) and artisans (dominantly furriers, tailors, bakers, gunsmiths and silversmiths) are called *varoshani* [townsmen]. And since they behave in a Turkish way and live by Turkish traditions, and when revolts and wars take place, they either close themselves with Turks in towns or escape with their money to Germany,[22] it is not only that they are not counted among the Serbian people, but the people even despise them."[23] Indeed, in 1834, the urban population in the Principality of Serbia amounted to just 6%, or in total numbers, 41,347 urban inhabitants, many of whom were not ethnic Serbs and belonged to other ethnic and/or religious groups. In 1874, the population of Serbia was still 90% rural, and the same year, the rural illiteracy rate was 96.4%.

Rural and Urban Population In Serbia (1934–1910)

Year	urban population	rural population
1834	6.1%	93.9%
1859	8.1%	91.9%
1874	10.2%	89.8%
1895	13.8%	86.2%
1900	14.1%	85.9%
1910	13.1%	86.9%[24]

Serbia got its first professional ethnographers at the end of the 19th century, and from that period and later, one can use such ethnographies. For most of the 19th century, one may use accounts with ethnographic data or accounts written by proto– or amateur ethnographers. Several interesting efforts have been made to broaden our understanding of the Serbian rural society of the 19th century.

2. Approaches in analysing rural Serbia in the 19th century and their limitations

a) Early ethnographies

The earliest Serbian proto-ethnographer was Vuk Karadžić, the author of the first Serbian dictionary (1818). His first partly ethnographic

22 "Germany" in this sentence stands for the Habsburg Empire.

23 Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Danica. Zabavnik za godinu 1827* [Danitsa. Calendar for the year of 1827] (Vienna: Printing Press of the Armenian Monastery, 1827), section 101.

24 Dušan T. Bataković (ed.), *Histoire du people serbe* (Lausanne: L'age d'homme, 2005), 179.

work was published in 1839 in German under the title *Montenegro und die Montenegriner. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der europäischen Türkei und des serbischen Volkes.*[25]

His main ethnographic contribution was published in 1849. It was entitled *Casket for History, Language and Manners of Serbs of All Three Faiths*.[26] After his death in 1864, another ethnographic work was found among his papers and posthumously published in 1867 as *Life and Manners of the Serbian People*.[27] The last two books were published as the 17th volume of the *Collected Works of Vuk Karadžić*.[28]

The first historian who faced the problem of how to write a history of Serbian oral society was Leopold von Ranke. During his stay in Vienna in 1827, he met the Slovene philologist Jernej Kopitar and the self-educated Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić. Ranke held Vuk in high regard and wrote that he had never known "a man, born in humble circumstances, with such great aptitude for deep and scientific work on linguistic subjects and the history of his country."[29] Karadžić supplied Ranke with many first-hand testimonies from Serbia, and Leopold von Ranke admitted in a letter to his brother Heinrich that he put together the history "from Vuk's papers".[30] One also easily recognises whole passages taken from the definitions that accompany words in Vuk's *Serbian Dictionary* of 1818.[31] Ranke also later remembered that, in the year when he first met Vuk, he daily heard his "unforgettable friend Vuk" telling him about the Serbs.[32] It is obvious from these accounts that Ranke used both Vuk's oral and written testimonies and that he compensated the lack of primary sources about Serbia by relying on an eyewitness and first-hand informant.

In early 1829, Ranke published his book *Die serbische Revolution* in Hamburg. The subtitle of the book is "aus serbischen Papieren und Mitt-

25 *Montenegro und die Montenegriner. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntiss der europäischen Türkei und des serbischen Volkes* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1837).

26 V[uk]. S[tefanović]. K[aradžić]., *Kovčežić za istoriju jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona* (Vienna: Printing Press of the Armenian Monastery, 1849).

27 Vuk Stef. Karadžić, *Život i običaji narodna srpskoga* (Vienna, 1867).

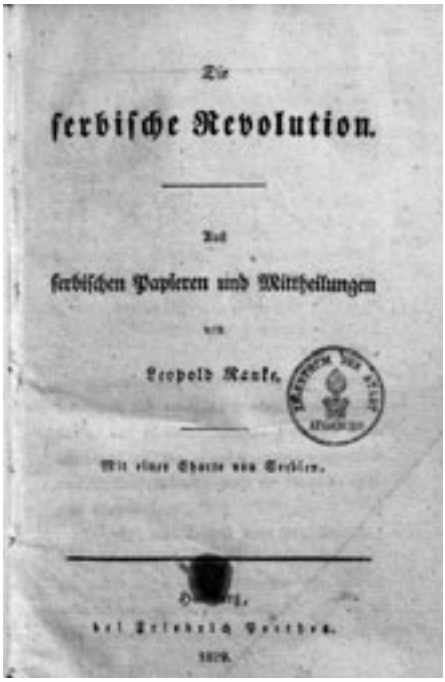
28 The two works were published as volume 17 of the *Collected Works of Vuk Karadžić* in 1972. Vuk Karadžić, *Etnografski spisi* [Ethnographic Works], in *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1972).

29 Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić 1787-1864. Literacy, Literature, and National Independence in Serbia* (Oxford: At Clarendon Press, 1970), 228.

30 Ibid, 228.

31 For instance, the word *pop* in *Srpski rječnik*, 601. *Cf.* Leopold Ranke, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1847), 60-61.

32 Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk*, 228.


Die
serbiſche Revolution.
Aus
ſerbiſchen Papieren und Mittheilungen
von
Leopold Ranke.
Mit einer Charte von Serbien.
bei Friedrich Perthes.
1829.

Cover page of Die serbische Revolution by Leopold Ranke, 1829.

heilungen" ("from Serbian papers and communications"), and indeed personal communications by Vuk Karadžić were very important.[33] The second edition of Ranke's book was published in English in 1847, and the translation was based on his second German edition.[34] The fourth chapter of Ranke's book is entitled "Condition, Character, and Poetry of the Servians", and it essentially provides an ethnographic overview of Serbia.

Other proto-ethnographers, such as Milan Dj. Milićević, Vid Vuletić Vukasović and Vuk Vrčević, also collected a lot of material. Among them, the most important are the books by Milan Dj. Milićević (1831–1908).[35] Finally, ethnography was established as a special discipline thanks to the efforts of Tihomir Djordjević and Jovan Erdeljanović, and an official series of the Serbian Royal Academy entitled *Sprski etnografski zbornik* (Ser-

33 Leopold Ranke, *Die serbische Revolution. Aus serbischen Papieren und Mittheilungen* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1829).

34 Leopold Ranke, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1847).

35 Milan Dj. Milićević, *Život Srba seljaka* [Life of Serbs Peasants] (Belgrade: State Printing Press, 1867); Vol. 2: Ibid, 1873; Vol. 3: Ibid, 1873; Idem, *Kneževina Srbija* [The Principality of Serbia] (Belgrade: State Printing Press, 1874), in two volumes; Idem, *Kraljevina Srbija* [The Kingdom of Serbia] (Belgrade: Royal and State Printing Press, 1884).

bian Ethnographic Codex) was initiated in 1892, with the first publication appearing in 1894. In 1900, the Serbian Royal Academy established its Ethnographic Committee, which was in charge of editing the Serbian Ethnographic Codex, and "from that moment the publication of ethnographic materials was accelerated."[36]

Therefore, one may only conclude that, for the period between the end of the 18th century and the 1890s, one may mainly use materials collected by Vuk Karadžić and texts written by him, and also the scattered data collected by other proto-ethnographers. The main problem with the works of Vuk Karadžić is that he remembered his native village of Tršić as it was at the end of the 18th century. He left Serbia in 1813 and spent most of his life in Austria. He frequently visited and briefly lived in Serbia. He also occasionally visited other neighbouring areas. In terms of his native village, he returned only in 1846, after a gap of almost 40 years.[37] Therefore, one faces an insurmountable barrier when reading Vuk Karadžić in terms how to identify to which exact date certain sections of his published works should be applied. Binaries that he implemented, or took for granted, in terms of rural-urban or pure-corrupt inevitably led to essentialism. The *Zeitgeist* of romanticism further encouraged him to emphasise the simplicity and authenticity of rural life. Therefore, one wonders if Karadžić was sufficiently interested in recording changes in rural life. Since he remains the main source for the Serbian rural life of the first half of the 19th century, this naturally puts certain limitations in an analysis of cultural transfer to rural Serbia during the 19th century, particularly for the first half of the century, for which Vuk has remained the main source.

One should also have in mind that Vuk Europeanised his own views of Serbian history by adopting ideas of the European cultural mainstream and accepting their contexts, and taking sides in cultural debates of his own time. It is interesting to mention that he was a member of the African Institute in Paris, an institution that advocated abolitionism.[38] In January 1853, the German author and translator of Serbian folk poetry into German, Therese von Jacob Robinson, wrote to him from New York and remarked: "The enormous success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* must have reached you?"[39] In his reply, Vuk mentions that the book was translated

36 Tihomir Djordjević, "Etnološka nauka u Južnih Slovena" ["Ethnological Science among South Slavs"], in Idem, *Naš narodni život*, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1930), 12.

37 Miodrag Popović, *Pamtivek. Srpski rječnik Vuka St. Karadžića* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 1983), 205.

38 Miodrag Popović, *Vuk Stef. Karadžić*, 301.

39 Therese Robinson to Wuk Stephanowitch Karadshitsch, New York, January 20, 1853, in Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *Prepiska* [Corrspondence], Vol. 10, 1853-

several times into Hungarian and twice into Serbian. "Anyway", he concludes, "Christians in Turkey, the poor rayah, particularly our Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are in no better position than Negros of North America."[40]

b. "Literary archaeology"

Literary historian Miodrag Popović wrote the most influential biography of Vuk Karadžić. He also wrote an analysis of the cult of Vidovdan – St. Vitus Day among Serbs.[41] He subtitled that book "an essay in literary archaeology". Popović basically used the same method in his other work entitled *Pamtivek* [From Times Immemorial] in which he endeavoured to extract the Serbian society and culture from Vuk Karadžić's *Serbian Dictionary* (1818).

In 1818, Vuk Karadžić published in Vienna the first dictionary of the Serbian vernacular with a translation of Serbian words into German and Latin.[42] He was a Serb of peasant origin who became a scribe during the First Serbian Uprising. Essentially, his dictionary consisted of the collections of words from the Serbian dialects of south-west Serbia and Eastern Herzegovina. The *Dictionary* contains 26,720 words. Popović noticed that the *Serbian Dictionary* had very scarce data on geographic names, both domestic and foreign, "which confirms that not only to the common people but also to Vuk, the geographic notions that even kids in primary schools are nowadays aware of were unknown"[43] The *Dictionary* includes no words of an élite culture. It has no notions equivalent to the words that Habsburg Serbs of that time used for the theatre, literature, freedom, actor, speaker, leader, homeland or fatherland.[44] At the same time, the *Dictionary* contains 2,200 words or more than 8% of all of its words that were borrowed from Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages.[45] This layer of the *Dictionary* reveals the influence of Ottoman culture on the peasants of Serbia. Popović identified three cultural layers in the *Dictionary*: pagan, Christian and Oriental. Or as he summarised it: "Three basic lay-

1854, *Collected Works of Vuk Karadžić*, Vol. 29 (Prosveta: Belgrade, 1996), 46.

40 Wuk Steph. Karadschitch to Therese Jacob Robinson, Vienna, May 13, 1953, in *Prepiska*, Vol. 10, 157.

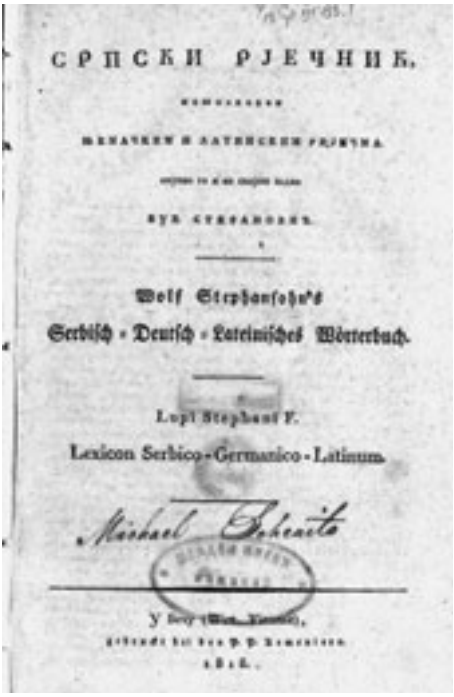
41 Miodrag Popović, *Vidovdan i časni krst. Ogled iz književne arheologije* (Belgrade: Slovo ljubve, 1976).

42 Vuk Stefanović, *Sprski rječnik*/Wolf Stephansohn's, *Serbisch-Deutsch-Lateinisch Wörterbuch*/Lupi Stephani F., *Lexicon Serbico-Germanico-Latinum* (Vienna, Printing Press of the Armenians, 1818).

43 Miodrag Popović, *Pamtivek*, 27.

44 Ibid, 27.

45 Ibid, 49.


СРПСКИ РЈЕЧНИК,

Wolf Stephanſohn's
Serbiſch-Deutſch-Lateiniſches Wörterbuch.

Lupi Stephani F.
Lexicon Serbico-Germanico-Latinum.

Title page of Srpski rječnik by Vuk Stefanović/Wolf Stephansohn, published in Vienna in 1818.

ers of our culture before it came into direct contact with Europe and her bourgeoisie: mythic-pagan, Christian (in two forms: Hebrew-Biblical and Byzantine-Greek), and Oriental (Islamic) found themselves in the same Serbian family at the beginning of the 19th century as a signifier of the personal identity of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, and it was, at the same time, the ethnic and cultural identity of the Serbian people."[46] This was an early confirmation of what one would now call hybridisation and syncretism expressed in the terminology of a literary historian. An important element of Popović's findings is that Serbian folk culture was deeply hybrid even before the process of Europeanisation began, and that process had already advanced by the time when the second edition of *The Dictionary* was published in 1852.

The first edition of the *Dictionary* included 250 words used by Habsburg Serbs, many of which were of foreign origin,[47] but overall, words borrowed from Western European languages were relatively rare. This changed in the second edition of the *Serbian Dictionary* from 1852, which demonstrated much more Western influences. "In the new dictionary, the

46 Ibid, 124.

47 Ibid, 134.

influence of European urban civilisation is more present."[48] Thus, an analysis of the two editions in terms of the Western words in them could also serve as an indicator of European cultural transfer. The problem is that Vuk Karadžić mostly lived in Austria since 1813, and it is, therefore, hard to distinguish how many of those additional words from European languages in the edition of 1852 reflect his own Europeanisation and his interaction with Austrian Serbs, and with his associates from Central and Western Europe, and to what extent they testify to the level of Europeanisation of the Serbian vernacular.

c. Ethnographical history/History of everyday life

Tihomir Djordjević (1868–1944) was one of the founders of ethnography in Serbia. He defended his PhD in Munich in 1902 with the dissertation *Die Zigeuner in Serbien* and, four years later, became a lecturer in ethnology at the University of Belgrade.[49] He wrote a social history of the age of Prince Milosh Obrenovich (1815/1830–1839), in which he implemented questions that the ethnographic method endeavours to pose to understand a traditional society. He attempted to put the same questions to historical sources. Could written sources help us understand how a certain traditional society operated and what was the worldview of its members, their aspirations, their everyday life? The result was his 1922 book entitled *From Prince Milosh's Serbia*. It proved that such an attempt was possible, at least to a certain extent. Djordjević wrote about the economy, trade, traffic, food, dress, schools, literature, art, and medicine.

One could also call this historiographic approach "history of everyday life". Some differences from that approach stem from the fact that Djordjević was an ethnographer by profession and, therefore, he could analyse data with the already acquired ethnographic experience, which a historian of everyday life would not necessarily be able to do.

Djordjević clearly wrote his monograph from the point of view of the Europeanisation process of his own age. Therefore, he concludes: "In Serbia of Prince Milosh's time, one lived in a very primitive way."[50] The accelerated modernisation or Europeanisation of Serbia in the early 20th century is always something that, in his works, stands in contrast to the humble origins of modern Serbia, which Djordjević repeatedly labels

48 Ibid.

49 Katarina Novaković, "Djordjević, Tihomir R.", in Č. Popov (ed.), *Sprski biografski rečnik* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2007), Vol. 3, 586-587. His dissertation was published in Budapest: Tihomir R. Gjorgjević, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien. Ethnologische Vorschungen*. Inaugural-Disseration der Philosophischen Fakultät, Section I der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München (Budapest: Thalia, 1903).

50 Tihomir Djordjević, *Iz Srbije kneza Milosha* [From Prince Milosh's Serbia] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1983, 1st ed. 1922), 19.

"primitive". It is clear that he operates within the dichotomies of modern–primitive and European–non-European, but they do not obscure the general picture of Serbian rural society, which gives an impression of research well done and as impartial as possible.

On the other hand, Djordjević, unlike Vuk, was keenly interested in identifying what would today be considered European cultural transfer and, therefore, his ethnographic histories and studies represent a very valuable source for modern researchers.

Some methodological issues in reading Western sources on the Europeanisation of Serbia

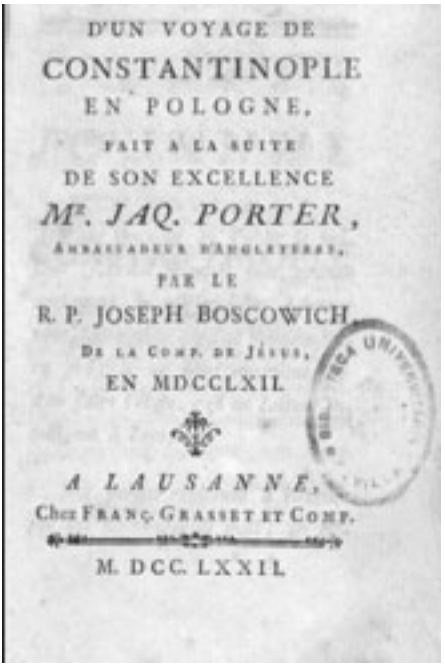
a. Western travelogues and testimonies on Serbia between the *Zeitgeist* and post-colonial criticism

European travelogues from the 19th century that cover Serbia are relatively numerous and were mostly written in German, French and English. They offer relatively similar accounts. The classical historical approach to the sources and the similarity of these accounts suggests their veracity. However, the *Zeitgeist* or the spirit of an age, of course, affects all the people living in that age, and historians therefore have the additional task of distinguishing the similarities originating from the fact that the authors came from similar cultural backgrounds from the similarities that were the result of careful observation. One example is comparing the conditions in 19th-century Serbia with "the Middle Ages", and that was a very popular way to denote an area as backward throughout the 19th century. Thus, the first lieutenant of the Royal Prussian First Guard Regiment, Otto (Dubislaw) von Pirch (1799–1832), visited Serbia in 1829 and noticed the following: "From the moment I entered Serbia, I felt in many respects as if I had suddenly been transported to the Middle Ages."[51] In his memoirs, Vladimir Yovanovich (1832–1922), the leading Serbian liberal and dedicated Anglophile, wrote about his native town of Šabac, the second most urbanised centre in Serbia. In his words, Šabac was "the type of town from the Middle Ages" in his youth.[52]

Not infrequently, even careful observation cannot be isolated from the general cultural background. A particular problem arises when one endeavours to isolate stereotypes in travelogues from the facts that the travellers were able to collect. It is easy to categorise certain observations

51 "Schon seit dem Eintritt in Serbien war es mir in vieler Hinsicht, als sei ich plötzlich in das Mittelalter verfeßt worden." Otto v. Pirch, *Reise in Serbien in Spätherbst 1829* (Berlin: Ferdinad Dümmler, 1830), 267-268.

52 Vladimir Yovanovich, *Uspomene* [Memoirs] (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1988), 27.


D'UN VOYAGE DE
CONSTANTINOPLE
EN POLOGNE,
FAIT A LA SUITE
DE SON EXCELLENCE
M^r. JAQ. PORTER,
AMBASSADEUR D'ANGLETERRE,
PAR LE
R. P. JOSEPH BOSCOWICH,
DE LA COMP. DE JÉSUS,
EN MDCCLXII.
A LAUSANNE,
Chez FRANÇ. GRASSET ET COMP.
M. DCC. LXXII.

Title page of Journal d'un Voyage de Constantinople en Pologne by Joseph Boscowich (Boscovich), published in Lausanne in 1772.


Reiſe in Serbien
im
Spätherbſt 1829.
Von
Otto v. Pirch,
Zwei Theile.
Erſter Theil.
Berlin,
bei Ferdinand Dümmler.
1830.

Title page of Reise in Serbien (Travel in Serbia) by Otto von Pirch, published in Berlin in 1830.

within stereotypes typical of the age. The problem comes when one needs to offer a more nuanced analysis that would attempt to refine the factual core from the wider culturally affected layers.

In 1762, Ruggiero Boscovich, SJ, a Ragusan by birth and an acclaimed scientist of the age of Enlightenment, visited Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire. He wrote a diary during that trip that he published in French ten years later. His description of Bulgarian Orthodox Christians is often quoted. Under his entry for June 1, 1762, he wrote about his encounter with a Greek Orthodox priest of Bulgarian ethnicity in the village of Canara. He claimed that the ignorance of this priest, as well as of the people around him, was incredible:

> They do not know anything of their religion except for the fasts and holidays, the sign of the cross, the cult of some image, of which one encounters now and then among them some quite horrid and ugly ones, and the name of a Christian. To the extent that I could discover that evening, speaking my language... they know neither the Pater Noster, nor the Credo, nor the essential mysteries of the religion.[53]

53 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1994), 175.

Larry Wolff correctly pointed out that this and other observations that Boscovich made about Orthodox believers only reinforced already existing binaries. "The conventional Roman Catholic disapproval of Greek Orthodoxy was here unconventionally keyed to an ethnic identification of the Slavs, established by awkward communication in their own language."[54] In other words, Wolff pointed out how the *Zeitgeist* of the Enlightenment and the stereotypes that Roman Catholicism had about Greek Orthodoxy influenced Boscovich's narration.

The problem arises when one reads an entry by Vuk Karadžić about Serbian priests written some 56 years later. In his *Dictionary*, Karadžić, under the word *pop*, stated that priests in Serbia lived and worked like other ordinary peasants, but monks had a better understanding of church rules. "They [monks] somewhat more often read in churches and serve liturgies. And some priests serve liturgies [once] from one year to another."[55] Some 90 years after Karadžić, Tihomir Djordjević gave the following description: "Perhaps it is not too daring to say that the Christian faith and its precepts are even as yet little known among the people. The Servian seldom goes to church—and when he does it is through superstition — but he is indefatigable in his superstitious religious customs, which he considers as a constituent part of religion."[56] Obviously, Karadžić and Djordjević had similar observations as Boscovich, but they could hardly be accused of having a Roman Catholic bias.

From a post-colonial perspective, one can easily be critical of Ranke's worldview when one reads his testimony of Vuk: "Of all the barbarians [sic] whom I have known, Vuk is the only one who has never taken the wrong direction intellectually."[57] Vuk was a self-educated man, but he attended the College of Belgrade of the leading Serbian Josephinist Dositey Obradovich, and he even briefly studied at the Faculty of Philosophy in Leipzig in 1823 when he became a *doctor honoris causa* of the University of Jena. All these elements of Vuk's biography were known to Ranke. If he considered Vuk a barbarian, what would the rest of Serbs in Serbia and in the Ottoman Empire be? It is quite easy to understand this sentence both as a eulogy to Vuk and a derogatory line about Serbs and all Ottoman Christians. Vuk seems to have understood it is an endorsement, and

54 Ibid, 176.

55 S. v. "pop" (a village priest) in Vuk Stefanović, *Srpski rječnik*, 650. Ranke only repeated Karadžić's words from the *Dictionary*. Leopold Ranke, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1847), 60-61.

56 Tichomir Georgevitch, "Superstitions and Traditions", 161.

57 Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić*, 228; Golub Dobrašinović and Borivoje Marinković, *Susreti sa Vukom* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1964), 40.

he added a sheet of paper with this testimony of Ranke to the personal copy of his *Dictionary* from 1818.[58]

Ranke wrote a very sympathetic work on Serbia with the aim of presenting a *terra incognita* as comprehensively as possible. For contemporary Serbs, he was a kind of hero, and those who studied in Berlin often took his classes simply because he had written *The Serbian Revolution*.[59] His book is considered the beginning of European acceptance of Serbia. Before the book was published, everything south of the Sava and the Danube was seen as "'plague-ridden Turkey', some half-savage country, in which plague and misrule reigned."[60] Therefore, in contextualising Ranke's characterisation of Vuk as "a barbarian", one has to take into account both the binary that Ranke indeed made, but also the cultural context in which that sentence may have had quite a different connotation than it may imply in the early 21st century.

We may also put this whole dilemma in another way, as Wendy Bracewell and A. Drace-Francis did: "It has been shown that the cleanliness of the inhabitants in South-Eastern Europe was a question subject to manipulative generalization by Westerners in the nineteenth century. Yet, however ideologically-motivated or influential such descriptions may have been, they do not render the problem at hand – what was hygiene and sanitation like in 19th century South-Eastern Europe?"[61]

b. The process of Europeanisation between occidentalisation and re-orientalisation

After the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, Belgrade became the extreme outpost and northern watchtower of the Ottoman Empire. By the Treaty of Belgrade of 1739, Semlin (Zemun), now an integral part of Belgrade, became the last border town of the Habsburg Empire, while Belgrade became the port of the East from the point of view of the geography of the Enlightenment. As Larry Wolff put it, describing the situation in the mid-18th century: "If Azov on the Don was located on an ambiguous Eastern

58 Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk*, 228. The original line in German is: "Von allen Barbaren die ich kenne ist Wuk der einzige der in keine falsche geistige Richtung gekommen ist – Ranke." The excerpt with Ranke's testimony was glued to the inner side of the back covers. Vladan Nedić, "Biblioteka Vuka Karadžića 2" [The Library of Vuk Karadžić 2], *Biliotekar*, Vol. 7, No. 1-2 (1955), 18.

59 Ljubnika Trgovčević, *Planirana elita* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik and Istorijski institut SANU, 2003), 74-75.

60 Miodrag Popović, *Vuk Stef. Karadžić 1787-1864* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1987, 1st ed.), 206.

61 Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, "South-Eastern Europe: History, Concepts, Boundaries", *Balcanologie*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Dec. 1999), 60.

border, and Belgrade on the Danube was the frontier fortress of a receding Ottoman Orient, Prague was to become and remain the westernmost point of Eastern Europe."[62]

In the 18th century, the geography of the Enlightenment made clear dichotomies: West-East, Europe-Asia, civilisation-barbarism and enlightened-despotic. The Ottoman Empire was seen as an Asian, Eastern, despotic and barbaric state from the point of view of the Enlightenment. This fact defined the image of all its constituent parts and even affected the image of its former parts.

When the major part of Hungary was taken by the Habsburg Empire in 1686, the country was not automatically accepted as European, not even when it became firmly Habsburg in 1711, after the Treaty of Szatmar. For about a century, Hungary was treated as a country in-between, "a distinct entity not affiliated with either the Habsburg or the Ottoman Empire."[63]

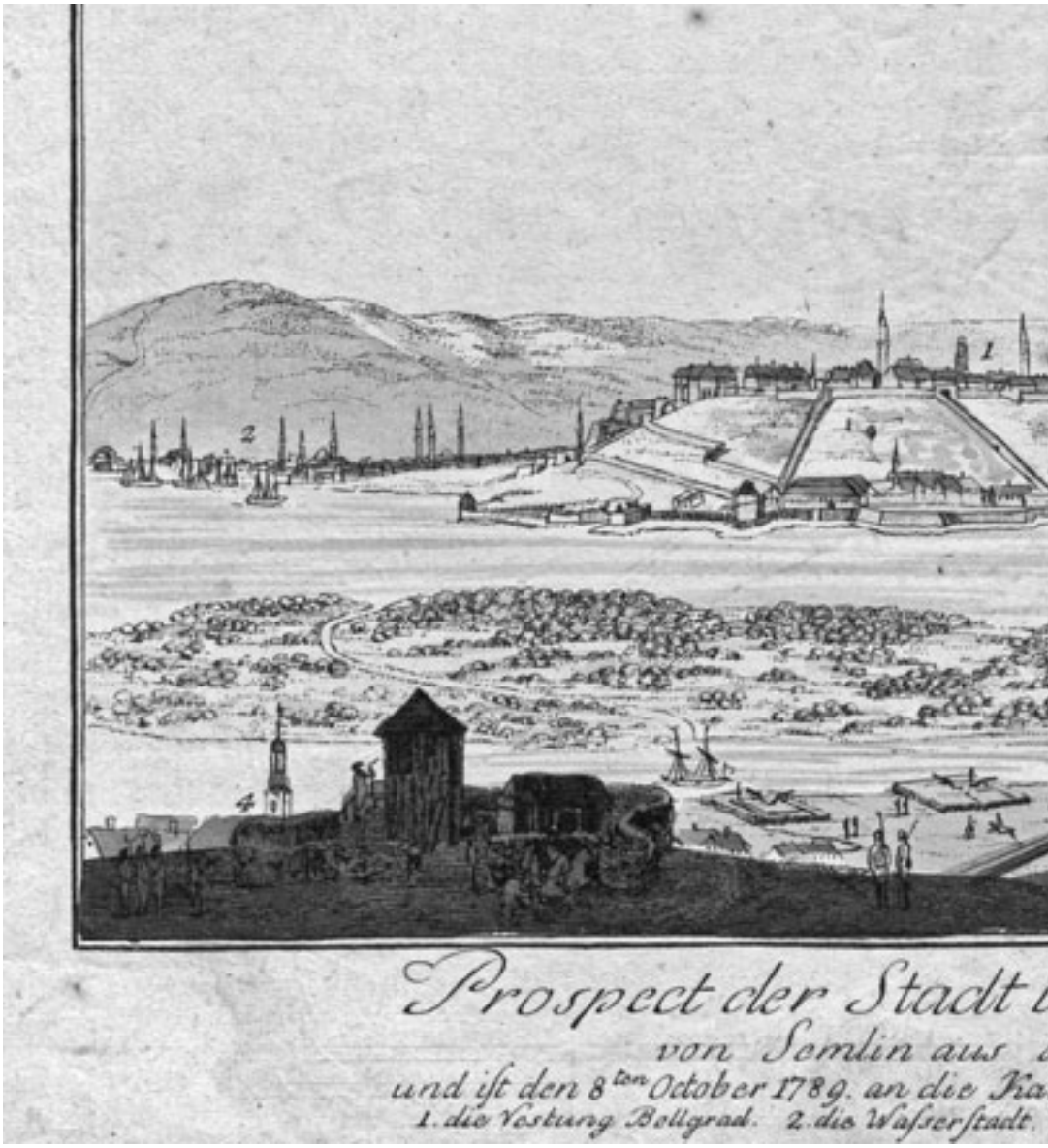
Belgrade again became the northernmost citadel of the Ottoman Empire after the Treaty of Belgrade of 1739. In the 1830s, it became the capital of autonomous Serbia but was still seen as the portal of the East. It was in the same period, the 1830s, that the process of European cultural transfer became visible in Serbia. In 1832, the first printing press was introduced to Serbia, and in 1835, the first modern constitution was enacted based on various European models, possibly even on the American.. Although it never came into force, the very fact that it was adopted speaks for itself. However, the country's economy lagged far behind Western Europe, but also Central Europe. It had only two roads, and the education system was in a nascent phase. Unsurprisingly, many still viewed Serbia as a part of the East and Asia. Therefore, European cultural transfer in Serbia was concomitant with occidentalisation. By this term, I understand the process of accepting a certain area within the realm of Europe by Western European cultural mainstreams.

Analysing British travelogues about Belgrade and Serbia, I have shown that this process took some 70 years (the 1830s–1900) in Britain.[64] In 1835, William Kinglake, who went on to become a famous historian of the Crimean War, visited the Ottoman Empire and travelled via Belgrade. He came to Semlin (now Zemun), a border town on the opposite side of

62 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 170.

63 Ibid, 161.

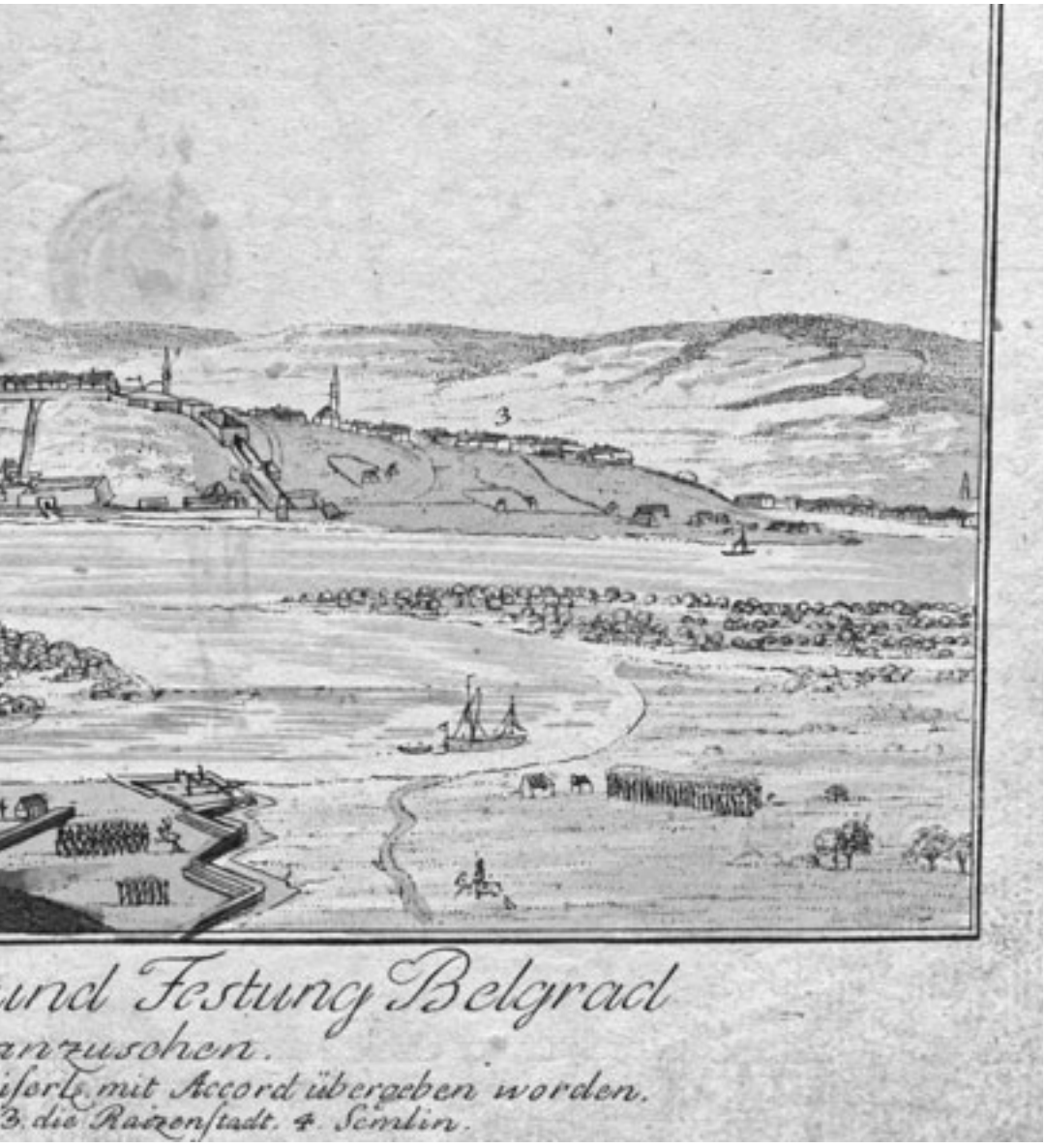
64 Slobodan G. Marković, "Od grada s druge strane granice zapadne civilizacije ka gradu unutar granica Evrope (XVIII-XIX vek)" ["From a City beyond the borders of Western civilisation towards a city within the frontiers of Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries"], *Limes plus* (thematic issue "Foreigners in Belgrade"), No. 2 (2013), 9-26.



A View of Belgrade and the Orient from Semlin in 1789. Coloured copper engraving entitled "Prospect der Stadt und Festung Belgrad".

the Danube and clearly visible from Belgrade. For Kinglake, Semlin was "the end of this wheel-going Europe", and he was ready to see "the Splendour and Havoc of The East" on the opposite side.[65] Both the East and its inhabitants were somewhat threatening to him. In Semlin, he claimed,

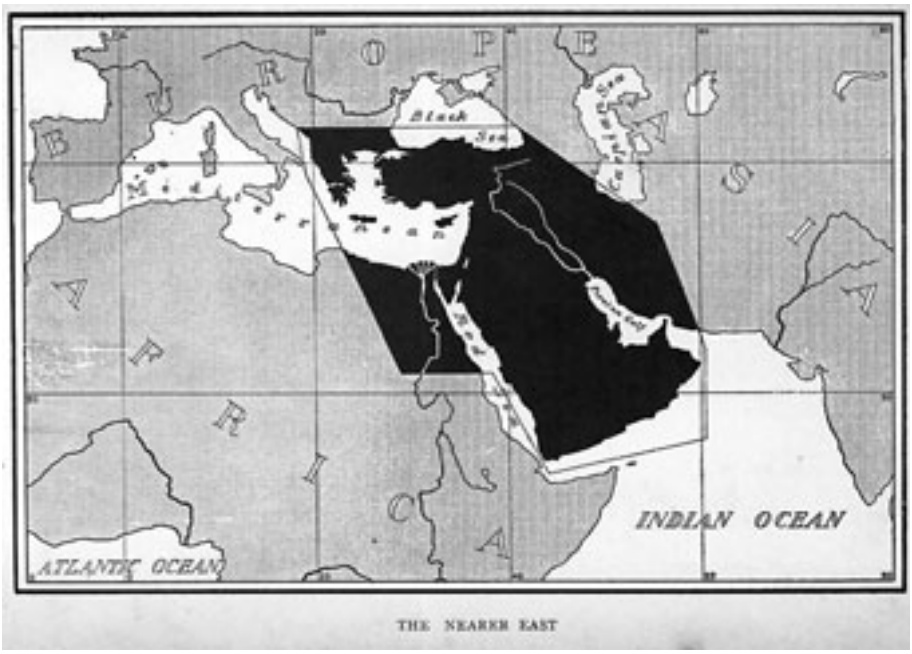
65 William Kinglake, *Eōthen. Or traces of travel brought home from the East* (London: John Ollivier, 1844), 1.



there was "not, perhaps, one who had ever gone down to look upon the stranger race which dwells under the walls of that opposite castle."[66] In 1902, David George Hogarth, in his "epoch making geography",[67] which

66 Ibid, 2.

67 Roderic H. Davison, "Where is the Middle East?", *The Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (July 1960), 667.



Map of "the Nearer East" by David George Hogarth, 1902.

paved the way for the definition of the tripartite East (the Near/er/, the Middle, and the Far), finally fully accepted Belgrade as a part of the West:

> Fifty years ago the author of *Eothen* saw the portal of the East in the walls of Belgrade. To-day the western visitor, although conscious that the character of the life about him has undergone some subtle change since his train steamed over the Danube bridge, would not expect to find himself in the "East" until he should sight the minarets of Adiranople, or, at least the three mastoid hills of Philippopolis.[68]

There was also a reverse process. Internal problems, scandals, and widely publicised affairs could easily downgrade any Balkan country back to the East in Western European perceptions. I have called this process "re-orientalisation".[69] It happened with Greece after the Don Pacifico Affair (1847), and the subsequent British naval blockade of Athens in 1850, and after the Dilessi or Marathon murders when four aristocrats were killed by Greek brigands in 1870.[70] The same process affected Serbia's image after

68 D[avid]. G[eorge]. Hogarth, *The Nearer East* (London: William Heinemann, 1902), 1.

69 Slobodan G. Markovich, *British Perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans 1903-1906* (Paris: Dialogue, 2000), 182-190.

70 For the two affairs see Derek Taylor, *Don Pacifico. The Acceptable Face of Gunboat Diplomacy* (London, Portland OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2008), and Romilly Jenkins, *The Dilessi Murders: Greek brigands and English hostages* (London: Prion, 1998).

the May Coup of 1903 when King Alexander Obrenovich and his wife were brutally killed in Belgrade and thrown out of a window.[71]

In analysing accounts of European cultural transfer, one should be aware of these processes. The level of occidentalisation of the Balkan Christian states was certainly connected with the pace of European cultural transfer but was not influenced only by it. It also depended on perceptions created in the public opinions of European countries. Perceptions were easily influenced by reports on the internal in/stability of nascent states, local political crises seen as unacceptable in Western capitals, and occasional political and cultural scandals. In the periods of re-orientalisations, when perceptions of the affected Balkan states were unfavourable, the pace of European cultural transfer was hardly less rapid than before. During those periods, however, anything that would symbolically suggest connections between these states and Europe tended to be less perceptible to Western viewers. One wonders what would have happened with the geographic categorisation of Belgrade had Hogarth written his book just one year later.

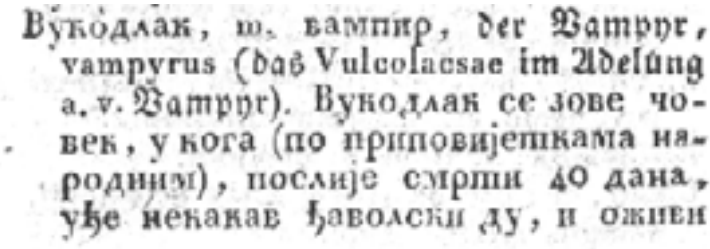
c. Counter-transfer Serbia – Europe

It is important to note that even traditional societies and states with insignificant political power in the arena of international relations could occasionally produce something that could be called counter-transfer. Certain words or types of poetry were indeed transferred from Serbia to Western Europe even before Serbia existed as a separate political entity and when she was only an autonomous unit. During the second Habsburg rule in Serbia (1717–1739), the word vampire was transferred from Serbia to Europe. In 1725, the case of Petar Plogojević (probably Blagojević), and even more in 1731–32, the case of Arnautin Pavle, whose name was turned in Western accounts into Arnold Paole and Arnold Paul, were widely reported. The first case reached popular journals in German like *Wiener Diarium, Vossicshe Zeitung, Leipziger Zeitungen*, and the second was widely reported, in 1732, in French journals.[72] Britain also found out about the second case through reports on the "Arnold Paul" case in "the year of the great vampire scare" (1732). Stories on the case were published in the *London's Journal* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[73] The news was

71 For the British reactions to this event see: S. G. Markovich, *British Perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans*.

72 Milan V. Dimić, "Vampiromania in the Eighteenth Century: The Other Side of Enlightenment", *Man and Nature/L'homme et la nature*, Vol. 3 (1984), 3.

73 Ibid, 3. S. v. "vampire" in Glennys Howarth and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Death and Dying* (London and New York, Routledge, 2001), 464-465.


Вукодлак, ш. вампир, der Wampyr, vampyrus (das Vulcolacsae im Adelung a. v. Wampyr). Вукодлак се зове човек, у кога (по приповиједкама народним), послије смрти 40 дана, уђе некакав ђаволски дух, и оживи

"Vukodlak, m. vampir, der Wampyr, vampyrus (das Vulcolascae in Adelung a. v. Wampyr). A man is called vukodlak into whom (in folk stories), forty days after death, some sort of devilish spirit enters, and revives him (turns him into a vampire)." Entry vukodlak (werewolf) and vampire in Srpski rječnik of 1818, 88–89.

widely discussed by academies in Vienna and Berlin, at the Sorbonne, and even at the Buda and Vatican councils.[74] In its further evolution, the popular representation of vampires in Britain and the West was fused with the character of Dracula, which also passed adaptations and transformations. The hybrid outcome, in its literary and film incarnations, was well described by Vesna Goldsworthy in her book *Inventing Ruritania*.[75]

The second instance of counter-transfer was a more fortunate one. It took place in 1815–1830 when German culture discovered Serbian folk poetry and made it known throughout Europe. This happened thanks to the collections of Serbian poetry published by Vuk Karadžić in Vienna in 1814–15 and the three additional volumes published in Leipzig in 1823–24. On September 13, 1815, Jacob Grimm published his review of Vuk's first *Song-book* in *Wiener Allgemeine Literarische Zeitung* and remarked: "Of all Slavonic races, the Serbs are by virtue of their language (so rich and suitable for poetry) the most blessed with poems, song, and stories, and it looks as if the good God had by this rich gift of popular poetry wished to make up to them for their lack of books."[76] Thanks to Grimm, Vuk met Goethe in October 1823 and February 1824 and made a very favourable impression on him. In 1824, Vuk published *A Small Serbian Grammar* in German, which strongly encouraged some German writers to learn Serbian. It is quite likely that Vuk's collections of Serbian poetry, published in Leipzig in 1823–24, were no less widely read by Germans, Russians, and other non-Serbs than by Serbs, although they were published in Serbian! For comparison, the only Serbian newspaper in Vienna, *Novine serbske*, had only 125 subscribers in 1820, while the German publisher of Vuk's col-

74 Milan V. Dimić, op. cit., 5.

75 Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania. The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

76 Duncan Wilson, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović* Karadžić, 113.


Wuk's Stephanowitsch
kleine
Serbische Grammatik
verdeutscht
und mit einer Vorrede
von
Jacob Grimm.
Nebst
Bemerkungen
über
die neueste
Auffassung langer Heldenlieder
aus
dem Munde des Serbischen Volks,
von
der Uebersicht des merkwürdigsten jener Lieder
von
Johann Severin Vater.
Leipzig und Berlin
bei G. Reimer 1824.

Kleine Serbische Grammatik (Small Serbian Grammar) by Vuk Stephanowitsch with a foreword by Jacob Grimm, published in Leipzig and Berlin in 1824.

lections, Reimer, bought from the Printing Press, upon an intervention by Jacob Grimm, 200 copies of each book, and due to Vuk's debt 1,178 copies of the collections were kept as security by the printers.[77]

The publication of the *Dictionary*, combined with contemporary interest in folk poetry, encouraged both Jacob Grimm and Goethe to learn Serbian. Grimm even wrote the Preface to Vuk's *Small Grammar of Serbian Language* in 1824.[78] Goethe himself was rather committed to reading and analysing Serbian folk songs in 1824–26. This "discovery" of Serbs and their poetry by some of the most prominent figures of German Romanticism was then diffused to France and Britain[79] through two very popular books translated by Therese Albertine Luise von Jacob (1797–1870), who published her works under the pseudonym Talvj.[80] Ranke's history of the Serbian revolution (1829) was also a result of this interest.

77 Ibid, 182.

78 Wolph Stefanowitsch, *Kleine Serbische Grammatik verdeutscht und mit eine Vorrede von Jacob Grimm* (Leipzig und Berlin: G. Reimer, 1824).

79 See Duncan Wilson's 12th chapter of his book on Vuk Karadžić entitled "'National Poetry' and Romantic Europe", Duncan Wilson, op. cit., 190-207.

80 Talvj, *Volkslieder der Serben. Metrisch übersetzt und historisch eingeleitet von Talvj* (Halle: Rengersche Buchhandlung, 1825). Ibid, vol. 2, 1826.

Further research is needed to contextualise the substantial interest of German culture in Serbian folk poetry in the 1820s within the framework of cultural transfer. This transfer had some impact on the European conceptions of folk poetry but also influenced other Central European linguists and national activists. More detailed studies could reveal if there were other cases of counter-transfer from 19th-century Serbia to the West.

4. Migrations to and from Serbia and European cultural transfer

There are still no detailed studies of migrations to and from 19th-century Serbia. However, it is clear that the towns on the border with the Habsburg Empire, such as Belgrade, Šabac, and Smederevo, were exposed to constant migrations, particularly in the period 1788–1849. Therefore, migrations are very important in an analysis of European cultural transfer.[81]

In 1788, the war between Austria and Ottoman Empire compelled many Serbs to flee across the Danube and the Sava into Banat and Srem. Some estimations claim that as many as 80,000 to 100,000 Serbs escaped to Austrian soil.[82] They were able to return the following year. That was probably the basis for the biggest kind of European cultural transfer to Serbia before the First Serbian Uprising since Serbs from the southern side of the two rivers could testify personally how their northern relatives lived, and they could then spread the news about that in Serbia. It is quite possible that this experience produced additional motivation for the First Serbian Uprising, which began some 15 years later.

During the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813), numerous population movements took place along the borders between the Habsburg Empire and rebelled Serbia in both directions. When the insurgents were defeated in the autumn of 1813, a huge wave of Serbian migrants moved to Austria: by some accounts, as many as 120,000.[83] In 1813,

81 A general overview of the migrations resulting from peasant upheavals in 19th-century Serbia is given in Milan St. Protić, "Migrations resulting from peasant upheavals in Serbia during the 19th century", in *Migrations in Balkan History* (Belgrade: SANU, 1989), 91-96.

82 Slavko Gavrilović, "Ka Srpskoj revoluciji" [Towards the Serbian Revolution], in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People], Vol. IV-1 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994), 377–379.

83 Vladimir Stojančević, "Srpska nacionalna revolucija i obnova države od kraja XVIII veka do 1839" ["The Serbian National Revolution and the restoration

Belgrade became a town almost without ethnic Serbs and Christians, and they would not return until 1815.[84] Migrations from Belgrade to Austria and vice versa also took place during the 1820s, and a relative stabilisation followed only when Serbia's autonomy was officially confirmed in 1830.[85]

Another big wave of migrations took place in 1848–49, when Serbs and Croats in the Habsburg Empire found themselves in the same camp with Vienna against Hungarians in the Hungarian War of Independence. During the War, volunteers from Serbia joined their "brethren" in Southern Hungary. Although the Serbian government in Belgrade was divided about the issue of volunteers from Serbia, their number reached some 10,000 persons in early 1849.[86] When the fortunes of the Hungarian War of Independence turned unfavourable for Serbs in Southern Hungary/Voivodina, several waves of ethnic Serbian migrants escaped to the Principality of Serbia. A mass exodus from Banat to Serbia started in December 1848, and the immigrants kept coming till May 1849. There are various estimates of how many refugees fled to Serbia, and one of the suggested figures is 30–40,000.[87] It was already noticed that these refugees made an impact on Serbs in Serbia by "spreading achievements of European culture in Serbia" and their European way of life.[88]

Since the 1830s, Serbia became a land of immigrants coming mostly from the ranks of Serbs and other Christians who lived in territories controlled by the Ottoman Empire. The state encouraged immigrants to come. However, this type of migration is of secondary interest in terms of cultural transfer. More importantly, in the period 1788–1849, the border of the Sava and the Danube between the two Empires witnessed multiple waves of migrations in both directions. This certainly facilitated and accelerated European cultural transfer to Serbia.

---

of the state from the end of the 18th century to 1839"], in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People), Vol. V-1 (Belgrade: SKZ, 1994), 63.

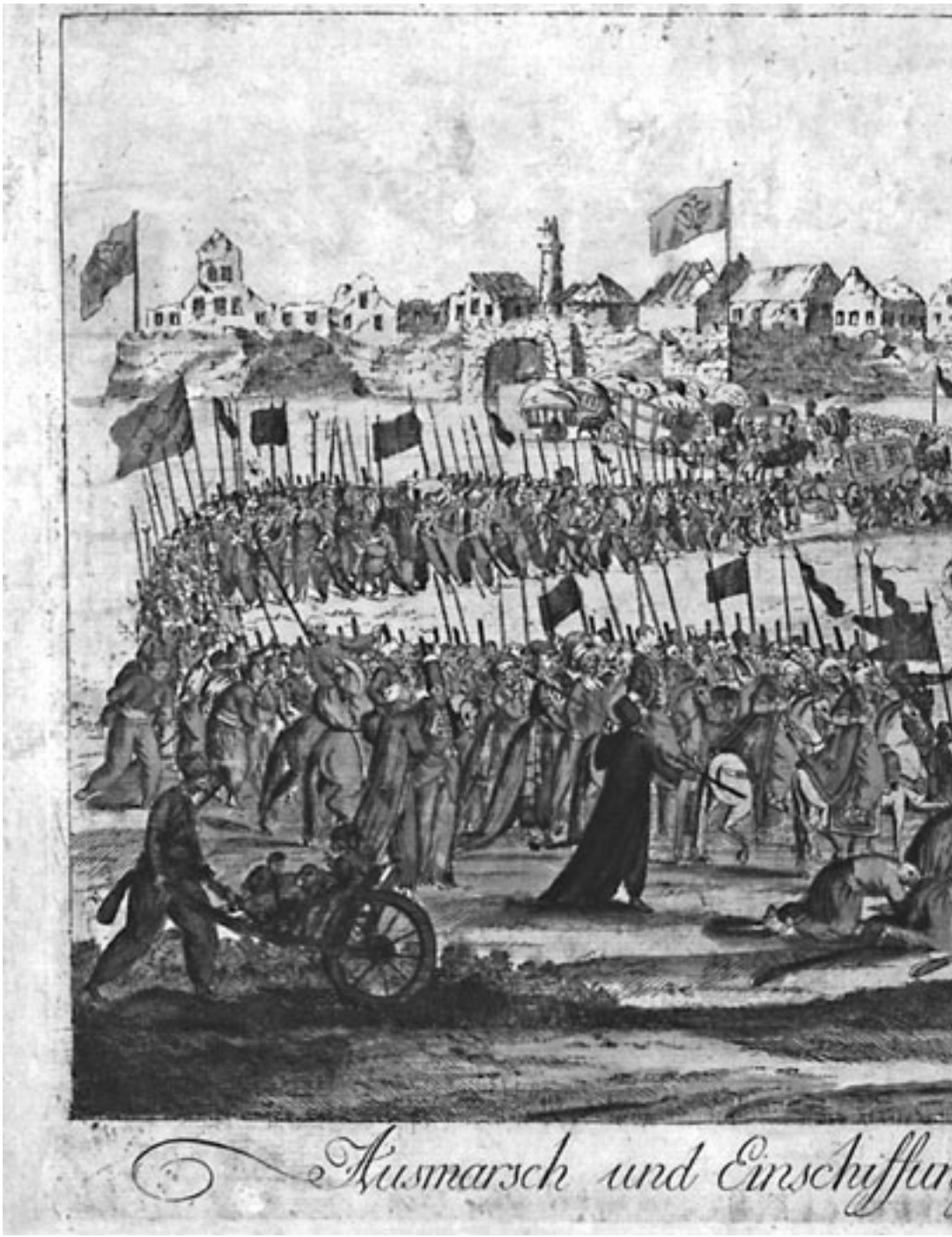
84 Vidosava Stojančević, "Etnički odnosi u XIX veku", in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda*, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), 514.

85 Ibid, 515-16.

86 Vasilije Dj. Krestić, *Srbi u Ugarskoj 1790-1918* [Serbs in Hungary 1790-1918] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 2013), 197.

87 Ibid, 227.

88 Jovan Milićević, "Srbija 1839-1868", in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. V-1 (Belgrade: SKZ, 1994), 278. Krestić, *Srbi u Ugarskoj*, 228.



Coloured Copper engraving by Johann Hieronymus Lōschenkohl from 1789 depicting Austrians entering and Turks leaving Belgrade in October 1789. The engraving is entitled "Ausmarsch und Einschiffung der Türken aus Belgrad am 12. Oktober 1789" ("Marching out and embarkation of the Turks from Belgrade on 12 October 1789").


der Türken aus Belgrad am 12ten Oct: 1789

5. Major agents of cultural transfer

a. Habsburg/Transriparian Serbs as bearers of Europeanisation

When, at the end of 1689, during the Great Vienna War, Serbian Patriarch Arsenius III, himself an Ottoman subject, openly endorsed the Habsburg Empire and its armies, he made a risky move. As soon as January 1690, he was forced to flee from the Ottoman Empire and was followed by a wave of Serbs and other Christians migrating to the Habsburg Empire. As a result, after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, ethnic Serbs lived divided between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire. The patriarch claimed that 30,000 or 40,000 people followed him, a figure that some historians take as an exaggeration and most believe to be an underestimation,[89] but migrations of Orthodox Christians were anyway something that happened on multiple occasions in the 16th and 17th centuries. Cumulatively, by the end of the 17th century, various waves of migrations created a separate large group of ethnic Serbs who lived throughout the Habsburg Empire, but were particularly concentrated in Buda and its vicinity, in Southern Hungary and along the Military Border with the Ottoman Empire.

In the 18th century, ethnic Serbs in the Ottoman Empire experienced a dramatic educational decline and basically lost all their cultural institutions, and even the Serbian Patriarchate of Pech (Peć) was suspended in 1766. The situation was different with the Serbs in the Habsburg Empire throughout the 18th century. The seat of the Serbian Archbishopric was in Sremski Karlovci, and this place became one of the cultural centres of

89 However, subject specialists believe that the number was higher than 40,000. Aleksa Ivić, a historian of Serbs in Southern Hungary/Voivodina, gives only partial data and mentions that the Austrian War Council was infromed on November 9, 1690, that 15,000 Serbian refugees came to the area of Buda. Aleksa Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini* [History of Serbs in Voivodina] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1929), 298. In the most influential history of Serbs in Southern Hungary/Voivodina, Dušan J. Popović concludes: "All in all, it is likely that during the Great Migration about 60 to 70,000 souls passed over [to the Habsburg Empire], and this was, for that age, a rather high number." Dušan J. Popović, *Srbi u Vojvodini* [Serbs in Voivodina] (Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 1990, 1st ed. 1957), Vol. 1, 320. Finally, Slavko Gavrilović mentions that estimations of Serbian immigrants to the Habsburg Empire range from 30,000 to 600,000 persons, but he opts for a figure around 80,000, for the period between 1689 and 1699. Slavko Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije* [On Serbs of the Habsburg Empire] (Belgrade: SKZ, 2010), 9. S. Ćirković claimed that the figures of 30,000 or 40,000 were "undoubtedly an exaggeration." Sima M. Ćirković, *The Serbs* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 144.

Habsburg Serbs. In Karlovci, they established their first grammar school in 1790. The Serbian Archbishop of that time, Stefan Stratimirovich (archbishop in 1790–1837), had himself been a Josephinist in his youth. In 1805, in a letter to the leading Serbian Enlightenment philosopher Dositey Obradovich, he put the following question: "Is there a nation in the world that was able, within 80 years, to make dictionaries and so many forms of enlightenment? Or, in such a short time, and under such circumstances in which we are, which nation went further?"[90] There was obviously great cultural progress among the Serbs in Southern Hungary, especially compared with the Serbs who lived in the Ottoman Empire and were almost totally deprived of their cultural élite by the mid-18th century.

The Serbs who lived in the Habsburg Empire were also known by several particular appellations. The term *prechani* means "those from the other side". This term referred to the Serbs from the other side of the Sava and the Danube Rivers, in other words, to Habsburg Serbs, or, since 1867, the Hungarian Serbs. They are also sometimes referred to in English as "Transriparian Serbs." Since Trieste and Vienna were important cultural centres for Habsburg Serbs in the late 18th and early 19th century, it is incorrect to call them Hungarian Serbs since not all of them lived in the areas of Transleithania. But, for the period after 1867, it is more appropriate to use that appellation. They could also be called Austrian Serbs, but only for the period till the Ausgleich.

Since illiteracy was almost total among ethnic Serbs in Serbia in the age of the First Serbian Uprising (1804–13), it was crucially important that some Serbs from the Habsburg Empire come as volunteers to Serbia to help in creating some institutions and to organise some sort of proto-bureaucracy. Most of the scribes during the First Serbian Uprising were Serbs from the Austrian Empire. One of them, Nićifor Ninković (1788–in the 1850s), was from Srem. He later became Prince Milosh's personal barber and left his written memoirs. In 1807, he volunteered and joined the Serbian insurgents. He became a scribe, but due to a conflict with his superiors, he was almost sentenced to death. This is how he described the Serbs of Serbia: "And in those times Serbs were so wild and cruel, they were the same as tigers and lions, and a special fox-like skill was needed to live with them."[91]

In the 1820s, Serbs from the neighbouring Empire began to come to Serbia and get various administrative jobs. This process intensified in the 1830s and 1840s. Since they were fluent in German, and ordinary

90 Metropolitan Stratimirovich to Dositey Obradovich, July 29, 1805, in *Sabrana dela Dositeja Obradovića* [Collected Words of Dositej Obradović] (Belgrade: Foundation Dositej Obradović, 2008), vol. 6, 135.

91 Nićifor Ninković, *Zhizniopisaniya moya* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), p. 21.

people in Serbia called all the lands north of the Sava and Danube Swabia or Germany, these clerks and administrators were derogatively called *Nemachkari* (Germanoids) or *Švabe* (Swabians) by local Serbs in Serbia. Within a dominantly agrarian and egalitarian society, this group of immigrants was seen as different in dress, manners, and accent. They were essentially seen as foreigners. One could argue that their Europeanisation was precisely what made them look so alien. The process of cultural transfer that their ancestors passed during the 18th century in the Habsburg Empire made them different from their ethnic relatives south of the Sava and Danube rivers. Being themselves largely "Europeanised", they contributed to the spread of European cultural transfer more than any other group. They did this particularly in the 1830s and 1840s and continued to play an important role in that regard even later.

Some of them were instrumental in bringing new institutions and a new spirit to Serbia. A characteristic case is Dimitrije Davidović (1789–1838), a journalist born in Semlin and editor of *Novine Serbske*, the newspaper published in Slavic-Serbian in Vienna in 1813–1822. In the capital of Austria, he even had his own printing press (1819–1821).[92] Faced with the imminent bankruptcy of his newspaper and printing press, he moved to Serbia and became the secretary of Prince Milosh and the chief advocate of setting up a printing press in Serbia during the 1820s. Finally, a printing press was purchased in Sankt Petersburg and brought to Serbia in May 1831, and the first books were printed in 1832. The first director of the printing press was Adolf Bermann, "from north of Europe". All specialists in the first printing press consisted of foreigners from Vienna and Pest who had moved to Belgrade.[93]

Finally, Davidović was able to relaunch his *Novine Serbske*, now renamed *Novine Srbske*, in Serbia and published the first issue of the first newspaper of modern Serbia in January 1834. The newspaper continued to be published till 1919, as a hybrid of an official gazette and a daily newspaper. Davidović also drafted the first constitution of modern Serbia in 1835, which caused dissatisfaction among the Great Powers and never became effective.[94] The story of Davidović is a perfect example of cultural transfer in which the main protagonist was even able to transplant his own newspaper, initially printed in Vienna, to Serbia.

The group that had been essential for the modernisation of Serbia till the 1840s gradually became a divisive element, particularly in the capi-

92 Lazar Plavšić, *Srpske štamparije od kraja XV do polovine XIX veka* [Serbian Printing Press from the end of the 15th till the half of the 19th century] (Belgrade, 1959), 296-298.

93 Ibid, 142-145, 160.

94 Milan Dj. Milićević, *Pomenik* (Belgrade: Serbian Royal Printing Press, 1888), 119-124.

Photo of Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) from ca. 1860. The photograph was made by the Viennese photographer Johann B. Rottmayer. Karadžić was born in the Ottoman Empire. He escaped from Serbia to Austria in 1813, and spent the rest of his life mostly in Vienna.

Portrait from 1834 of Dimitrije Davidović (1789–1838), an Austrian Serb who moved to Serbia in 1822. In the background, one sees an issue of Novine srbske, the first newspaper of autonomous Serbia launched and edited by Davidović. National Museum of Serbia, Belgrade.

tal. T. Stoianovich summarised in a single sentence the main causes of the conflict with the local population. "The transriparian Serbs regarded themselves as distinguished bearers of Western culture, destined to administer the illiterate and 'half-savage barbarians' of the Principality." With different manners, and sometimes arrogant views of the Serbs from the Principality of Serbia, they were viewed by the locals as people "without morals, without religion, without scruples, without patriotism, sold to Austria, and present in Serbia only to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor native Serbian."[95]

As one could expect, as soon as locals got their own intelligentsia, this kind of attitude was destined to cause trouble. Vladimir Yovanovich left, in his memoirs, his own opinion on "Swabians" or "Germanoids". He acknowledged that some of them endeavoured to harmonise the Principality's legislation and administration with the "manners, traditions and nature of the spirit of our people", but then added:

95 Traian Stoianovich, "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution, 1830-1880", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Mar. 1959), 243.

> But among them there were also those who looked down at "Shumadinians" and "Servians" ["Servijanci"] as half-savages and who thought that "Schumadija" and "Servia" could be civilised only by the adoption and introduction of foreign regulations, laws, and institutions. Among the latter ones, the dominant part consisted of those who viewed the forms and methods of the Austrian state system and public policies as unique examples for the state system and public policies in Serbia.[96]

Soon, the "Swabians" had to face a rival group: Serbs sent by Serbia to study abroad, often at the most prestigious European universities. This group was known in the mid-19th century as "Parizlije" ("Parisians"). Although they attended universities in both France and in German lands, they were collectively referred to as the Parisians. Transriparian Serbs had mostly studied at not widely known faculties in Hungary, and the Parisians looked down on them and kept accusing them of being experts in anything, unlike themselves, who were experts in specialised areas. The opposition was also ideological because the "Swabians" were considered to be more conservative and were accused of being proponents of a police state. On the other hand, the Parisians were suspected of democratic and revolutionary ideas. Both groups transferred ideas prevalent in different parts of Europe.

The liberal movement that helped the change of dynasty in Serbia in 1858 agitated openly against Habsburg Serbs and their influence in Serbia. After 1858, their impact was substantially reduced, and some of them even faced various sorts of pressure. The eclipse of the influence of the Transriparian Serbs in Serbia was concomitant with the rise of the domestic Western-trained intelligentsia, which managed to make Belgrade the main Serbian cultural centre within three decades.

For an analysis of European cultural transfer in the period between 1830 and 1858, the history of Habsburg Serbs in Serbia and their impact and interactions with the local population is clearly of crucial importance.

b. "The Planned Élite" as the main agent of cultural transfer in 19th-century Serbia

The term "planned élite" was introduced by the Serbian historian Ljubinka Trgovčević (1948–2022).[97] She referred to the practice introduced by the Principality of Serbia in 1839. The lack of trained special-

96 Vladmir Yovanovich, *Uspomene*, 72. His memoirs were probably written in 1919-20.

97 Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Planirana elita*.

ists led the state to grant eleven stipends to Serbian students that year to study abroad. They were sent to Austria: four to Schemnitz (now Banská Štiavnica) to study at the Mining Academy and six to Vienna to learn German and prepare for further studies in Vienna and Paris.[98] This decision had a huge impact on the political system in Serbia. Gale Stokes noticed its significant implications and viewed this event as "the beginning of the modern era of Serbian politics." Once these and subsequent students returned to Serbia "bruised and exhilarated by their contact with the outside world", they initiated a political ferment "that led to the establishment of a modern political system in Serbia."[99] One may easily add that they also brought different manners, fashion trends and views. Those of them who became educators or bureaucrats served as models to local students and the country's nascent bureaucracy.

A dual mission was expected from the state scholarship holders sent to study abroad: 1. to become specialists in the fields desperately needed in Serbia (lawyers, doctors, engineers etc.), 2. to create a local intellectual élite and fill the bureaucratic ranks. As early as 1848, although there were only around one hundred of them, their political influence was felt in Serbia, and they became the seed of a liberal movement. Two such students who studied abroad with the help of the state, Dimitrije Matić and Kosta Cukić, spread liberalism from 1848 onward as lecturers at the Belgrade Lyceum. By 1858, there were already some 200 state-funded students who had studied abroad and returned to Serbia.[100] It was in 1858 that, for the first time, the liberal opposition appeared as a political factor in Serbia at the so-called St. Andrew's Day Assembly. Those who shaped this opposition were precisely the Serbs educated abroad as state-funded students.

Ljubinka Trgovčević was able to gather relevant data for some areas where Serbian students were educated. She estimated that 70% of Serbia's intelligentsia in the 19th century was educated abroad, and university centres that were particularly popular among young Serbs were Munich, Berlin, and Vienna. Books of matriculation of the University of Vienna suggest that some 420 citizens of Serbia studied there in the 19th and early 20th century. Paris gradually became the most important university centre for Serbs, and this shift happened at the beginning of the 20th century. In comparison with France, Austria and German lands, the number of Serbian students in Russia was much smaller: some 33 in

98 Ibid, 34.

99 Gale Stokes, *Legitimacy through Liberalism. Vladimir Jovanović and the Transformation of Serbian Politics* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1975), 3.

100 T. Stoianovich, "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution, 1830–1880", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March 1959), 250.

Moscow and a similar number in St. Petersburg, but this figure includes other South Slavs as well.[101]

Other data that Trgovčević gathered indicate that, in the period 1885–1914, 110 citizens of Serbia defended their PhDs in the territory of the German Empire. In 1900, some 73 students from Serbia studied in France and Germany, and ten years later, 123. As far as state-funded students are concerned, in the period 1882–1914, some 850 of them were sent by the Kingdom of Serbia to study abroad.[102]

France was a popular destination for Serbian students throughout the 19th century, and by the beginning of the 20th century, she became the most popular country where Serbs wished to go to study abroad. Dušan T. Bataković analysed the impact of the four generations of "Parisians" on Serbia in the period 1839–1914. He concluded that French models "powerfully influenced the 'rural democracy' of Serbian society in the process of achieving political liberties."[103]

In 1867, Serbia became de facto independent after the last Ottoman garrisons left six Serbian towns. The following year, out of 269 books printed in Serbian Cyrillic, 126 were published in Belgrade. By comparison, 47 were printed in Novi Sad, known as "Serbian Athens", and 68 in Zagreb.[104] In 1863, Belgrade got its Grand School, the precursor to the University of Belgrade, and, in 1869, its National Theatre. Therefore, the 1860s could be identified as the period when the Europeanisation of Belgrade reached one of its peaks.

In 1868, Serbian Prince Michael Obrenovich was killed. After that, General Milivoje Petrović Blaznavac (1824–1873) staged a coup to secure a new prince that the army wanted, and a three-member Regency Council was established to rule until Prince Milan came of age (1868–1872). Blaznavac had to share the Regency with two other persons: Jovan Ristić (1831–1899) and Jovan Gavrilović (1796–1877). Blaznavac was a local police and military officer and bureaucrat, Ristić was a very prominent member of the "planned elite" who had studied in Heidelberg, Berlin, and Paris, and Gavrilović was a well-educated Transriparian Serb who had moved to Serbia in 1829. Even Blaznavac, who symbolised the old order, had been a state-funded student in Vienna and Metz in 1850–54.

101 Lj. Trgovčević, *Planirana elita*, 40-44.

102 Ibid, 116-17, 134, 216-17, 242.

103 Dušan T. Bataković, "French Influence in Serbia 1835–1914. Four Generations of 'Parisians'", *Balcanica*, Vol. 41 (2010), 93-129. See also Dušan T. Bataković, *Les sources françaises de la démocratie serbe 1804-1914* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2013), 109-118, 165-168, 181-186, 268-277, 286-291.

104 T. Stoianovich, "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution", 250.

Photo of the Regency Council of the Principality of Serbia in 1869. From left: Jovan Ristić (1831–1899), Colonel Milivoje Petrović Blaznavac (1824–1873) and Jovan Gavrilović (1796–1877).

The composition of the Regency Council of 1868 is a clear indicator of how far European cultural transfer had advanced in Serbia by 1868, since the whole Regency consisted of agents of European influence in Serbia.

Only one year after the Regency was formed, Ristić, who became the most influential member of the Regency, promulgated a new, moderately liberal constitution, which was tailored to his own preferences and in line with the interests of the Serbs who had studied at Western university centres. I have elsewhere suggested that, by this act, Western-trained intellectuals in Serbia took political power into their hands.[105] Afterwards, they kept their power or shared it with different rulers by manipulating political streams and political parties till the end of the independent existence of Serbia in 1918. Europeanisation thus had a peculiar local adaptation in Serbia, where agents of Europeanisation were originally essential for the organisation of the state 1830–1869, and then "the planned élite" took political power into their hands in 1869.

105 Slobodan G. Marković, "Teorija o ekonomskom poreklu demokratije i slučaj demokratije kao intelektualnog projekta u Srbiji" ["Theory of Economic Origins of Democracy and the Case of Democracy as an Intellectual Project in Serbia"], *Ekonomske ideje i praksa*, No. 12 (2014), 76-77, 90-91.

This also meant that, in Serbia, liberal democracy was an elitist project and that Serbian élites soon had to face the challenge of opting either for liberalism without democracy or for democracy without liberalism. It was only in 1903 that the dilemma was seemingly resolved when the Radical Party and its splinter began their epoch in power (1903–1914/1918). The resolution came when Western-trained intellectuals took over a party that originally had an agrarian and socialist agenda. They turned the Radical Party into a typical bourgeois party and, by this manipulation, secured the so-called golden age of Serbian democracy (1903–1914). Or as T. Stoianovich put it: "they became the servants of a 'bourgeoisie inquiète'", gradually detached themselves from the masses and entered "the orbit of the 'political class'".[106]

Serbs who studied abroad were also instrumental in creating the local version of the nation-state, mostly by implementing the French centralised model of the nation-state and spreading liberalism as the ideology that conceptualised both the local version of the nation-state and the local version of national unification.

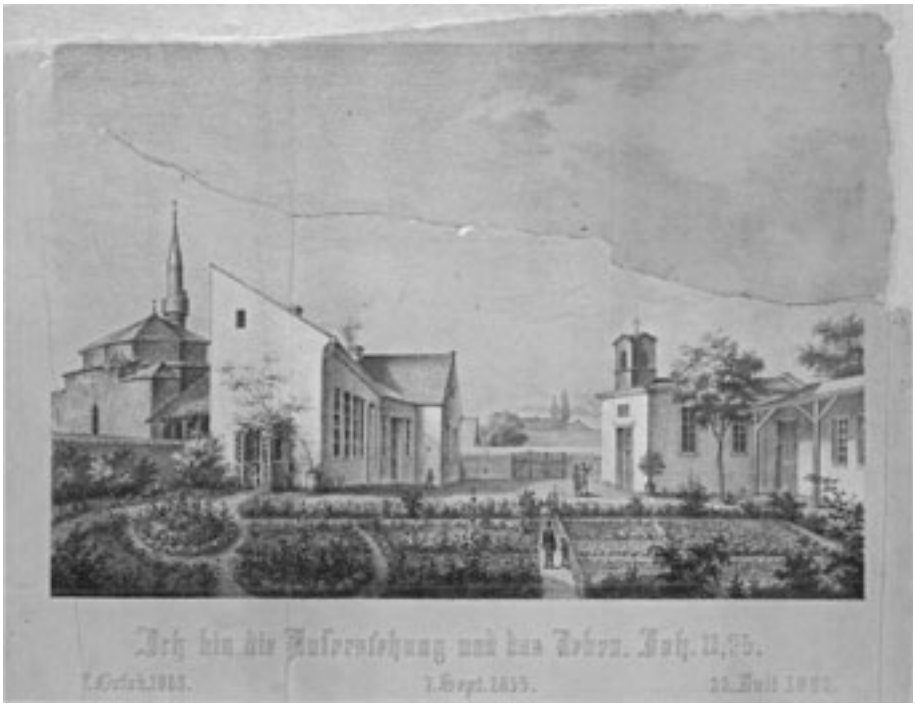
Wolfgang Schmale noticed that "with the acceleration of modernization in the 19th century, the volume of transferred structuremes, culturemes and references multiplied."[107] In Serbia's case, a very low start in terms of Europeanisation in the early 19th century was compensated by the activities of the planned élite, which managed to catch up with the pace of Europeanisation within several decades. However, the activities of Western-trained Serbs were largely limited to urban areas. Only further research can show if the process of Europeanisation helped reduce the differences between the urban and rural parts of Serbia. It is also possible to expect, as a result of this research, that, in some areas, accelerated Europeanisation of the élite even deepened the gap between rural and urban in 19th-century Serbia.

c. Western and Central European immigrants into Serbia and cultural transfer

As soon as Serbia gained official autonomy in 1830, Western and Central Europeans began immigrating to Serbia, and this trend accelerated in the second half of the century and particularly after Serbia was officially recognised as an independent state in 1878.

106 T. Stoianovich, "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution", 272.

107 Wolfgang Schmale, "Cultural Transfer", in: Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2012-12-05. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501 [JJJJ-MM-TT].



St. Lazarus Lutheran Church in downtown Belgrade. One also sees the Defterdar Mosque. Lithography from 1860 published in Vienna.

Western and Central European immigrants mostly settled in the country's capital and, to a smaller extent, in other towns in Serbia. In 1889, 7,086 citizens of Belgrade were from German lands, Austria-Hungary and Western Europe. They represented 12.7% of the population. Two groups that were heavily involved in trade and had their own transnational networks made up an additional 5.4% of Belgrade's population: Jews (mostly Sephardic) with 4.65%, and Greeks and Tsintsars with 0,73%. Until the mid-19th century, trade in Belgrade was in the hands of Greek and Tsintsar merchants, and Greek was long used as the language of trade. The assimilation of both groups with Serbs reduced their numbers.

All these groups participated in European cultural transfer to Belgrade and Serbia. One should add that, among 80% of Belgrade's ethnic Serbian population in 1889, many persons were either born in the territory of the Habsburg Empire or had at least one parent born there; in other words, they were either themselves or through their parents "Transriparian Serbs".

"Germans" listed in Belgrade's data of 1889 were the biggest foreign group in Belgrade. The term refers to those whose mother tongue

was German, covering both those from the German Empire and from Austria-Hungary. As was noted, they favoured "modern, Western European products and Viennese fashion." It was assessed that through their influence, "fashion, food, household furniture, the way of life and upbringing instead of the previous oriental began to acquire Western European features."[108] Their influence was certainly there, but one should add that they only reinforced a very clear tendency originally introduced and widely spread in Serbian towns by Austrian Serbs since the 1830s.

Ethnic composition of Belgrade's population in 1889 Total number or citizens: 55,868		
ethnic group	number	%
Serbs	44,855	80.3
"Germans"	4,341	7.8
Jews	2,599	4.7
Hungarians	1,008	1.8
Czechs	731	1.3
"Gipsy" (Roma)	399	0.7
Croats	335	0.6
Italians	263	0.5
Greeks	225	0.4
Romanians	195	0.35
Tsintsars	184	0.33
Poles	178	0.32
Turks	101	0.18[109]

Having all this in mind, it becomes clear that the three groups that heavily influenced the spread of European cultural transfer were: 1. Serbian students educated abroad during the 19th century, 2. Austrian (Hungarian) Serbs who settled in Serbia or spent some time in Serbia, 3. foreigners who came from Western European countries, particularly Germans, Hungarians and Czechs, and other non-Serbian ethnic groups active in trade networks (Jews, Greeks and Tsintsars).

Finally, one should also have in mind transnational networks and the participation of some Serbs in them. It is clear from the history of freemasonic lodges in Serbia that, from 1876 on, freemasons in Serbia belonged to such a network, and the lodges in Serbia operated under foreign

108 Srebrica Knežević, "Etnički odnosi i etnografske karakteristike u Beogradu 1867-1914. godine", in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beogada* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), vol. 2, 544.

109 Based on: Srebrica Knežević, "Etnički odnosi i etnografske karakteristike u Beogradu 1867-1914. godine", 543.

jurisdictions, Italian and Hungarian, till 1912.[110] In analysing European cultural transfer to Serbia, researchers face the challenge of identifying other relevant transnational networks. Other cases include various social movements such as abolitionism or feminism that all had their advocates in 19th-century Serbia. Suffice it to mention that among abolitionists in the 19th century, one finds Vuk Karadžić, metropolitan Michael, the most influential church figure in the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia, and Elodie Lawton Mijatovich (1825–1908), the first female historian in Serbia,[111] who did a similar thing as Talvj but for the Anglozone. Therefore, in analysing European cultural transfer to Serbia, researchers will face the challenge of identifying other relevant transnational networks.

Bibliography

Bataković (ed.), Dušan T., *Histoire du people serbe* (Lausanne: L'age d'homme, 2005).

Idem, "French Influence in Serbia 1835–1914. Four Generations of 'Parisians'", *Balcanica*, Vol. 41 (2010), 93–129.

Idem, *Les sources françaises de la démocratie serbe 1804–1914* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2013).

Bracewell, Wendy, and Alex Drace-Francis, "South-Eastern Europe: History, Concepts, Boundaries", *Balcanologie*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Dec. 1999), 47–66.

Burke, Peter, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).

Ćirković, Sima M., *The Serbs* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

Cunibert, Barthelemy-Sylvestre, *Essai historique sur les revolutions et l'independance de la Serbie depuis 1804 jusqu'd 1850*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1855). Serbian translation: Dr Bartol. Kunibert, *Srpski ustanak i prva vladavina Miloša Obrenovića*, tr. Milenko R. Vesnić (Belgrade: Zadužbina I. M. Kolarca, 1901).

Cvijić, Jovan, *La Péninsule balkanique. Geographie humaine* (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1918).

Davison, Roderic H., "Where is the Middle East?", *The Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (July 1960), 665–675.

Dimić, Milan V., "Vampiromania in the Eighteenth Century: The Other Side of Enlightenment", *Man and Nature/L'homme et la nature*, Vol. 3 (1984), 1–22.

[Djordjević, Tihomir] Tihomir R. Gjorgjević, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien. Ethnologische Vorschungen*. Inaugural-Disseration der Philosophischen Fakultät, Section I der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München (Budapest: Thalia, 1903).

110 Slobodan G. Markovich, "Yugoslav Freemasonry and Yugoslavism as a Civil Religion", in Slobodan G. Markovich (ed.), *Freemasonry in Southeast Europe from the 19th to the 21st Century* (Belgrade: IES and Zepter Book World, 2020), 113-116.

111 In 1862, Metropolitan Michael (metropolitan in 1859–1881 and 1889-1898) was elected the president of the Society of abolition of African slaves. Sava [Vuković], Bishop of Shumadija, *Srpski jerarsi of devetog do dvadesetog veka* (Belgrade: Evro; Podgorica: Unireks; Kragujevac: Kalenić 1996), 330.

Georgevitch, Tichomir, "Superstitions and Traditions", in *Servia by the Servians* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 158–168.

Idem, *Iz Srbije kneza Miloša* [From Prince Milosh's Serbia] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1983, 1st ed. 1922).

Idem, "Etnološka nauka u Južnih Slovena" ["Ethnological Science among South Slavs"], in Idem, *Naš narodni život*, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1930), 1–21.

Dobrašinović, Golub, and Borivoje Marinković, *Susreti sa Vukom* [Encounters with Vuk] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1964).

Gavrilović, Slavko, "Ka Srpskoj revoluciji" [Towards the Serbian Revolution], in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People], vol. IV-1 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994), 351–431.

Idem, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije* [On Serbs of the Habsburg Empire] (Belgrade: SKZ, 2010).

Goldsworthy, Vesna, *Inventing Ruritania. The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

Hogarth, D[avid]. G[eorge]., *The Nearer East* (London: William Heinemann, 1902).

Howarth, Glennys, and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Death and Dying* (London and New York, Routledge, 2001).

Ivić, Aleksa, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini* [History of Serbs in Voivodina] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1929).

Jenkins, Romilly, *The Dilessi Murders: Greek brigands and English hostages* (London: Prion, 1998).

[Karadžić] Stefanović, Vuk, *Sprski rječnik*/Wolf Stephansohn's, *Serbisch-Deutsch-Lateinisch Wörterbuch*/Lupi Stephani F., *Lexicon Serbico-Germanico-Latinum* (Vienna, Printing Press of the Armenians, 1818).

Stephanowitsch, Wolf, *Kleine Serbische Grammatik verdeutscht und mit eine Vorrede von Jacob Grimm* (Leipzig und Berlin: G. Reimer, 1824).

Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, *Danica. Zabavnik za godinu 1827* [Danitsa. Calendar for the year of 1827] (Vienna: Printing Press of the Armenian Monastery, 1827).

[Karadžić, Vuk] *Montenegro und die Montenegriner. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntiss der europäischen Türkei und des serbischen Volkes* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1837).

Idem, *Kovčežić za istoriju jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona* [*Casket for History, Language and Manners of Serbs of all three faiths*] (Vienna: Printing Press of the Armenian Monastery, 1849).

Idem, *Život i običaji narodna srpskoga* [Life and Manners of Serbian People] (Vienna, 1867).

Idem, *Etnografski spisi* [Ethnographic Works], in *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1972).

Idem, *Prepiska* [Correspondence], Vol. 10, 1853–1854, *Collected Works of Vuk Karadžić*, Vol. 29 (Prosveta: Belgrade, 1996).

Kinglake, William, *Eōthen. Or traces of travel brought home from the East* (London: John Ollivier, 1844).

Knežević, Srebrica, "Etnički odnosi i etnografske karakteristike u Beogradu 1867–1914. godine" ["Ethnic Relations and Ethnographic Features in Belgrade in 1867–1914"], in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beogada* [History of Belgrade] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), vol. 2, 534–547.

Krestić, Vasilije Dj., *Srbi u Ugarskoj 1790–1918* [Serbs in Hungary, 1790–1918] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 2013).

Lampe, John R., "Imperial Borderlands or Capitalist Periphery? Redefining Balkan Backwardness, 1520–1914", in Daniel Chirot (ed.), *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe; Economics and Polities from the Middle Ages until the early Twentieth Century* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1989), 177–209.

Lewellen, Ted C., *Political Anthropology. An Introduction* (Westport: Praeger, 2003).

Markovich, Slobodan G., *British Perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans 1903–1906* (Paris: Dialogue, 2000).

Idem, "Dositey Obradovich: The Man who introduced Modernity to the Serbs", *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 3–4 (2011), 5–27.

Marković, Slobodan G., "Od grada s druge strane granice zapadne civilizacije ka gradu unutar granica Evrope (XVIII-XIX vek)" ["From a City beyond the borders of Western civilisation towards a city within frontiers of Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries"], *Limes plus* (thematic issue "Foreigners in Belgrade"), No. 2 (2013), 9–26.

Idem, "Teorija o ekonomskom poreklu demokratije i slučaj demokratije kao intelektualnog projekta u Srbiji" ["Theory of Economic Origins of Democracy and the Case of Democracy as an Intellectual Project in Serbia"], *Ekonomske ideje i praksa*, No. 12 (2014), 67–91.

Markovich, Slobodan G., "Yugoslav Freemasonry and Yugoslavism as a Civil Religion", in Slobodan G. Markovich (ed.), *Freemasonry in Southeast Europe from the 19th to the 21st Century* (Belgrade: IES and Zepter Book World, 2020), 109–176.

Milićević, Jovan, "Srbija 1839–1868" [Serbia, 1839–1868], in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People], vol. V-1 (Belgrade: SKZ, 1994), 251–301.

Milićević, Milan Dj., *Život Srba seljaka* [Life of Serbs Peasants] (Belgrade: State Printing Press, 1867); Vol. 2: Ibid., 1873; Vol. 3: Ibid, 1873.

Idem, *Kneževina Srbija* [The Principality of Serbia] (Belgrade: State Printing Press, 1874), in two volumes.

Idem, *Kraljevina Srbija* [The Kingdom of Serbia] (Belgrade: Royal and State Printing Press, 1884).

Idem, *Pomenik* [Book of Remembrance] (Belgrade: Serbian Royal Printing Press, 1888).

Nedić, Vladan, "Biblioteka Vuka Karadžića 2" [The Library of Vuk Karadžić 2], *Biliotekar*, Vol. 7, No. 1–2 (1955), 15–24.

Ninković, Nićifor, *Zhizniopisaniya moya* [Descriptions of my Life] (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988).

Novaković, Katarina, "Djordjević, Tihomir R.", in Č. Popov (ed.), *Sprski biografski rečnik* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2007), vol. 3, 586–587.

Obradović, Dositej, *Sabrana dela Dositeja Obradovića* [Collected Words of Dositej Obradović] (Belgrade: Foundation Dositej Obradović, 2008), vol. 6.

Paton, Andrew Archibald, *Servia. Youngest Member of the European Family* (London, 1845).

Pavlowitch, Stevan K., *A History of the Balkans 1804–1945* (Longman: London and New York, 1999).

Idem, "Europe and the Balkans in a historical perspective, 1804–1945", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2000), 141–148.

Pirch, Otto v., *Reise in Serbien in Spätherbst 1829* (Berlin: Ferdinad Dümmler, 1830).

Plavšić, Lazar, *Srpske štamparije od kraja XV do polovine XIX veka* [Serbian Printing Presses from the end of the 15th till the mid-19th century] (Belgrade, 1959).

Popović, Dušan J., *Srbi u Vojvodini* [Serbs in Voivodina], in three volumes (Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 1990, 1st ed.: Idem, Vol. 1: 1957, Vol. 2: 1959, Vol. 3: 1963).

Popović, Miodrag, *Vidovdan i časni krst. Ogled iz književne arheologije* [Vidovdan and the Holy Cross. An Essay in Literary Archaeology] (Belgrade: Slovo ljubve, 1976).

Idem, *Pamtivek. Srpski rječnik Vuka St. Karadžića* [From Times Immemorial. *The Serbian Dictionary* of Vuk St. Karadžić] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 1983).

Idem, *Vuk Stef. Karadžić 1787–1864* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1987, 1st ed.).

Protić, Milan St., "Migrations resulting from peasant upheavals in Serbia during the 19th century", in *Migrations in Balkan History* (Belgrade: SANU, 1989), 91–96.

Ranke, Leopold, *Die serbische Revolution. Aus serbischen Papieren und Mittheilungen* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1829). English edition: Idem, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1847).

Rostow, W. W., *The Stages of Economic Growth. A non-communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1971, 1st ed. 1960).

Talvj [Therese Albertine Luise von Jacob], *Volkslieder der Serben. Metrisch übersetzt und historisch eingeleitet von Talvj* (Halle: Rengersche Buchhandlung, 1825). Ibid, vol. 2, 1826.

Schmale, Wolfgang, "Processes of Europeanization", in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2010–12–03. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010b-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–20101025144 [YYYY-MM-DD].

Idem, "Cultural Transfer", in: Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2012–12–05. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–2012120501 [JJJJ-MM-TT].

Stoianovich, Traian, "The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution, 1830–1880", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Mar., 1959), 242–272.

Idem, *Balkan Worlds. The First and Last Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994).

Stojančević, Vidosava, "Etnički odnosi u XIX veku" ["Ethnic Relations during the 19th Century"], in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Istorija Beograda* [History of Belgrade], Vol. 2 (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), 513–533.

Stojančević, Vladimir, "Srpska nacionalna revolucija i obnova države od kraja XVIII veka do 1839" ["The Serbian National Revolution and the restoration of the state from the end of the 18th century to 1839"], in *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of Serbian People), Vol. V-1 (Belgrade: SKZ, 1994), 7–158.

Stokes, Gale, *Legitimacy through Liberalism. Vladimir Jovanović and the Transformation of Serbian Politics* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1975).

Sundhaussen, Holm, *Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1989).

Taylor, Derek, *Don Pacifico. The Acceptable Face of Gunboat Diplomacy* (London, Portland OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2008).

Trgovčević, Ljubinka, *Planirana elita* [Planned Élite] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik and Istorijski institut SANU, 2003).

[Vuković], Sava, Bishop of Shumadija, *Srpski jerarsi of devetog do dvadesetog veka* [Serbian Bishops from the 9th to the 20th Centuries] (Belgrade: Evro; Podgorica: Unireks; Kragujevac: Kalenić 1996).

Wilson, Duncan, *The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić 1787–1864. Literacy, Literature, and National Independence in Serbia* (Oxford: At Clarendon Press, 1970).

Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1994).

Yovanovich, Slobodan (Slobodan Jovanović), *Ustavobranitelji i njihova vlada (1838–1858)*, in Collected Works of Slobodan Yovanovich, vol 3 (Belgrade: BIGZ, Jugoslavijapublik and SKZ, 1990, 1st ed. 1912).

Yovanovich, Vladimir (Vladimir Jovanović), *Uspomene* [Memoirs] (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1988).