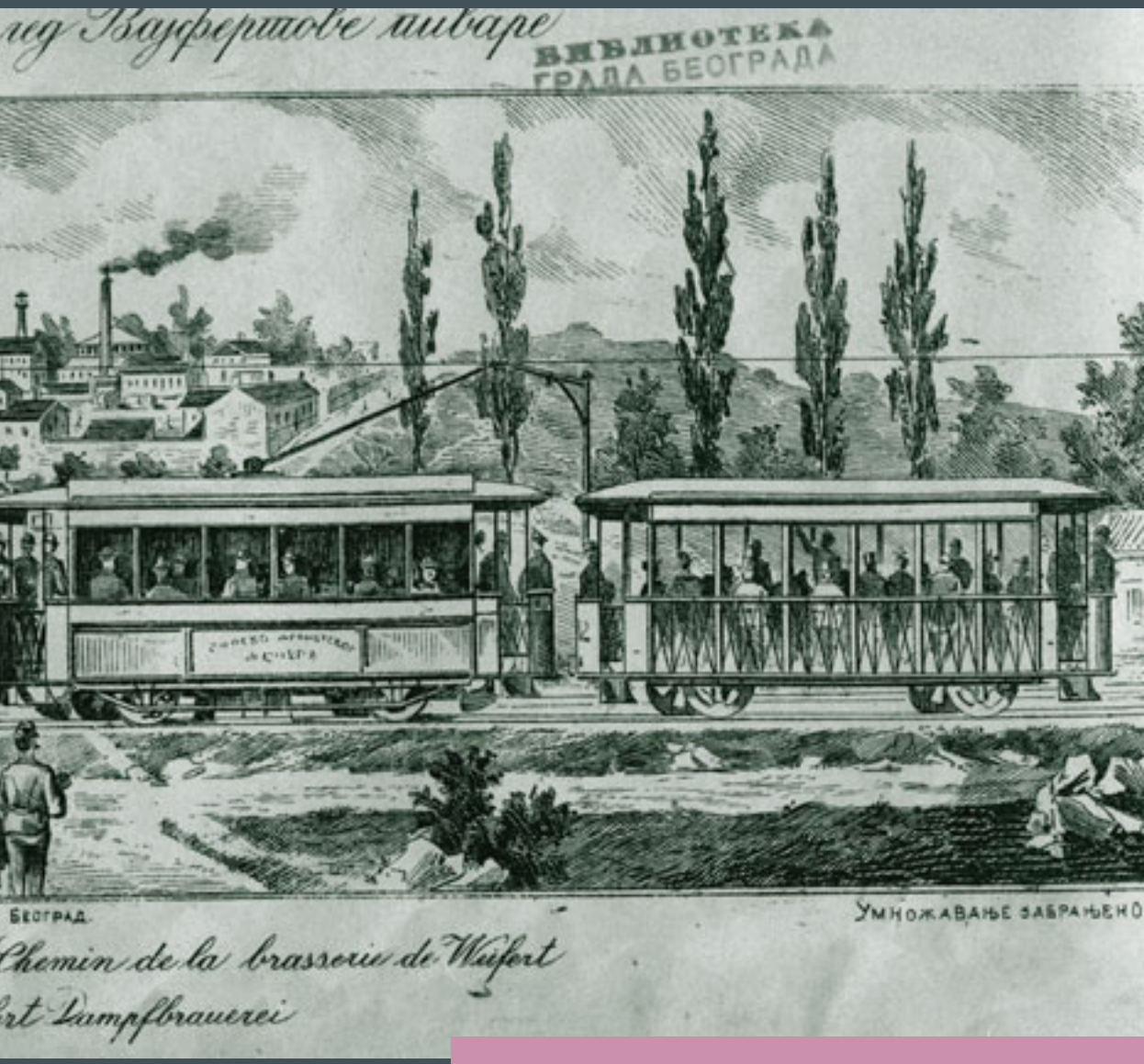

CULTURAL TRANSFER EUROPE-SERBIA: Methodological Issues and Challenges

Editor Slobodan G. Markovich

FPN

DOSIJE STUDIO

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CTES Cultural Transfer EUROPE-SERBIA

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Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia: Methodological Issues and Challenges

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FOREWORD: DILEMMAS OF THE EUROPEANISATION OF SERBIA AND CULTURAL TRANSFER EUROPE-SERBIA

In January 2022, a group of scholars from Belgrade was awarded a three-year grant by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia within its programme IDEAS to do research on cultural transfer Europe-Serbia from the age of Josephinism (end of the 18th century) till the early 21st century. The group includes historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and philologists. In a bid to approach various methodological challenges in the analysis of culture transfer, an international hybrid conference was organised in Belgrade on April 2, 2022.

In dealing with the theoretical issues of cultural transfer, the team greatly benefited from the introductory lecture delivered by Prof. Wolfgang Schmale on April 8, 2022, at the conference "Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia. Methodological Issues and Challenges". This collection opens with a paper by Prof. Schmale entitled "What is Cultural Transfer?" based on his original lecture. In addition to describing the scholarly development of the concept, this paper offers a guide on how the concept worked from the 18th till the early 20th century. The paper ends with a warning regarding the role that nationalism played in the first half of the 20th century. The climax of nationalisms in Europe certainly made an impact on the pace of cultural transfer. Due to the fact that the area of former Yugoslavia was affected by the Wars of Yugoslav Succession in the 1990s and the concomitant rise of local nationalisms, this warning has double implications for the project. The relation Cultural Transfer – Nationalism will emerge twice in this research: for the period from the early 20th century till 1945 and the period beginning in the late 1980s.

The issue of Yugoslavia, a country that disappeared, re-emerges in the scholarly interview with Vesna Goldsworthy. She is an Anglo-Serbian scholar and writer who has had a very unusual opportunity to be both an academic who analysed Western stereotypes about the Balkans, and a contributor to the creation of a more nuanced image of Eastern and Southeast Europe through her literary works and widely read memoir *Chernobyl Strawberries*. This double role of her book *Inventing Ruritania* and her memoir is the focus of the interview that I made with her for the purposes of the conference and this collection. The story of her predeces-

sor in this double task, Rebecca West, and the role that her memoir has played in presenting Serbia and Yugoslavia to Western readers have also been covered.

Another problem is the absence in areas of the Ottoman Balkans of previous European homogenisations that took place during the Renaissance and Baroque. "The Italian model" and "the French model", which Prof. Schmale mentions in his paper, had a very small impact on the Ottoman Balkans. European cultural transfer flourished in 18th-century Europe in areas that had already been "Europeanised", while the Ottoman Balkans stayed out of similar processes. It was in Russia, starting from the reign of Peter the Great, that Europeanisation and European cultural transfer became concomitant phenomena.

The same happened with Austrian Serbs during the 18th century. The paper by Dragana Grbić gives a very good introduction to how various European ideas were received by this group and depicts the case of Zaharija Orfelin, a polymath and the first encyclopaedist in Serbian culture. This paper also testifies to the very elaborate scholarship that developed in analysing the culture of Austrian Serbs during the 18th century.

The concept of Europe was introduced to the epicentre of Serbian culture by Serbian Josephinists, particularly by Dositey Obradovich, the father of Serbian Enlightenment, also known as "Serbian Voltaire". Since the publication of his biography *Life and Adventures* in Leipzig in 1783 and its second part in 1788, the relations Europe–Serbian culture became crucially important. In 1789, Dositey published in Vienna his "Poem on the Redemption of Serbia". The illustration in the publication shows a female allegory of Serbia kneeling before the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II. The allegory depicts the moment when Serbia symbolically liberated herself from her shackles and was placed within the confines of lands blessed by the Enlightenment. For Dositey, that meant that Europe widened her boundaries and that Belgrade and Serbia, after being annexed by Austria, also became part of Europe. But the process of accepting Serbia to Europe soon became much more complex, and Austria had to abandon Belgrade and Serbia two years later (1791). For the minority of ethnic Serbs who lived within the Habsburg Empire at the end of the 18th century, there was no dilemma about their cultural orientation. Europeanisation was an ongoing process acknowledged by both their intelligentsia and church leaders under the then fashionable terms of progress and education. The situation was rather different with ethnic Serbs in the Ottoman Empire.

When autonomous Serbia emerged in 1830, the issues of its modernisation and Europeanisation became crucial. In my own article in this collection, I have attempted to list various challenges and dilemmas in

analysing both the process of Europeanisation and European cultural transfer in Serbia. This article also identifies three groups in Serbia that were the leading agents of Europeanisation: 1. Austrian Serbs who moved to Serbia, 2. Serbian students who used state stipends to study abroad and then returned to Serbia, and 3. foreigners who moved from Central and Western Europe to Serbia.

The paper by Nemanja Radulović introduces a special case that appeared in German culture where, since 1814, a keen interest emerged in Serbian folk culture, Serbian folk songs, and the Serbian vernacular. Something that could be called counter-transfer took place, and Radulović describes how prominent intellectuals in German lands and Austria took a keen interest in Serbian folk poetry. It also analyses how Vuk Karadžić, who encouraged this interest through his collections of folk songs published in 1814–15 and 1823–33 and his *Serbian Dictionary* of 1818 influenced Central European research of folk poetry and how he created his own network(s).

Orel Beilinson's article analyses a very interesting case. The author attempts to uncover where adolescents hid before they were "discovered" as a distinct age group by psychologists of the early 20th century. It provides insights into a redefinition of age groups in various cultures during the 19th century and explains how the concept was culturally transmitted to Central and Southeast Europe.

The paper by Ivana Pantelić introduces the reader to a peculiar case of Americanisation and Europeanisation of Yugoslav culture, which happened in a communist country. After its split from the Soviet Union in 1948, communist Yugoslavia was gradually forced to allow foreign influences. This process brought not only American, Italian, and other European cultural influences but also the culture of consumerism, and, in this sense, Yugoslavia became a special case within the socialist group of countries.

In addition to the five case studies covering encounters of Serbian and Eastern European culture with European and Euro-Atlantic cultural transfers since the 18th century, there is another group of papers that deals with various dilemmas involved in employing analysis of cultural transfer.

Gordana Djerić examines the interdisciplinary aspects of cultural transfer and the related concepts of cultural mobility and intertextuality. While the early 19th century poses a challenge to historians due to the scarcity of sources, especially about rural Serbia, the early 20th century offers a totally different dilemma. How could a researcher cope with the vast amount of available material? The period in question (2000–2020) is immersed in the concepts of transition and transformation connected with the process of Serbia's EU accession. The author finds parallels with

Van Gennep's concept of the rite of passage and warns that researchers will inevitably find themselves wedged between constructivism and essentialism. Hertzfeld's concept of cultural intimacy and Sztomka's sociological concept of cultural trauma are suggested as possible approaches.

In her article, Marina Simić presents possible points of interaction between anthropology and cultural transfer studies. Among various anthropological theories, diffusionism shares some similarities with the concept of cultural transfer. Although diffusionism has generally been rejected in anthropology, some of its elements have been incorporated into the anthropological mainstream, especially the concepts of cultural translation and multiple modernities. The author also analyses the interactions between post-colonial studies, the concept of hybridity and cultural transfer studies.

Two papers employ post-modernist approaches. In the first, Nikolina Nedeljkov deals with the remix, highlighting counter-culture as a channel for delivering messages that could refashion the social fabric. She endorses vibrant critical and creative voices against noise and in the service of the remix. Finally, Goran Kauzlarić discusses the cultural transfer of political economy in 18th-century Europe and insists on the epistemological differences between modern *laissez-faire* liberalism and neoliberalism. His analysis is focused on examples of appropriations and translations of Eastern heritage.

The editor would like to express special thanks to Ms Ljubica Ćorović of the Local History Department of the Belgrade City Library for providing an excellent copy of a lithography showing the line of Belgrade's first electric tram from 1894. This illustration so vividly testifies to the cultural transfer Europe-Serbia in that period. I would also like to thank Mr. Zoran Mošorinski, CEO of Politika AD for the permission to reproduce illustrations from *Politika Bazar*, and the Gallery of Matica Srpska for their permission to reproduce a painting of the monastery of Nova Ravanica from 1888.

I owe special gratitude to Mr Svetislav Todorović, who dedicated a lot of his time to designing this collection to give it top graphic form and harmonise it with similar projects on which I had the pleasure of working with him in the past. Needless to say, his *pro bono* approach makes me genuinely indebted.

The staff of Dosije Studio and Zoran Grac were also very dedicated in preparing this collection and I owe them special thanks to them.

Belgrade,
January 31, 2023

S. G. Markovich,
Head of the project
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Wolfgang Schmale,
Vienna

WHAT IS CULTURAL TRANSFER?

Abstract: The study of cultural transfers is a scientific achievement as well as a political and societal one. The chapter briefly examines the development of cultural transfer studies in the recent decades. Then, it describes the concept of "cultural transfer" in comparison to other concepts such as "diffusion" or "cultural exchange" and many others. The second part deals with the system of cross-over cultural transfers in Europe, which was established in the 18th century and shows how it worked until the early 20th century.

Keywords: Cultural Transfer Theory, "Culturemes", Coherence Clusters, Macro-coherences, Multidirectional Cultural Transfers, Europe

General considerations[1]

"Cultural transfer" as a scientific concept was developed specifically in the 1980s. Two specialists in German studies, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, who taught in Paris, were the driving force behind this development.[2] "Cultural transfer" quickly became a well known concept in international research. However, soon, other concepts derived from it, such as cultural exchange or cultural translation, came to the fore. Other concepts are actor-oriented, for example around the cultural passer (French "passeur"), cultural broker, cultural translator or cultural mediator in general. The concept of "métissage" (or "creolisation"), on the other hand, was included by Michel Espagne from the beginning.

Cultural transfer as a concept had to be distinguished from other concepts such as *influence*, *reception* or *acculturation* and *assimilation*. Other concepts, such as *diffusion* and *contagion*, which are particularly widespread in

1 This section partly consists of the English transcription (unpublished) of parts of one of my lectures about the theoretical aspects of cultural transfer studies: Wolfgang Schmale, "Erkenntnisinteressen der Kulturtransferforschung", in: Wolfgang Schmale, Martina Steer (eds.), *Kulturtransfer in der jüdischen Geschichte*, (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006), 23–41. See also: Wolfgang Schmale, "Cultural Transfer", in *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012–12–05. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–2012120501.

2 The following article must be regarded as the methodological groundwork for cultural transfer studies: Michel Espagne, Michael Werner, "Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S." In: *Francia* 13 (1985), 502–510.

ethnology and anthropology, have hardly gained a foothold in the cultural transfer discussion. This could have to do with the fact that, in cultural transfer research, concrete actors are always identified, whereas *diffusion* and *contagion* seem like auxiliary constructs. These two concepts were used more widely in research on the early history of human societies, where often only the fact of a cultural material diffusion can be established, but not how and by whom.

Other concepts are also discussed and used in research: *Imagology*; *transmission*; *reference systems*; *citation systems*; *cultural contact*.

Cultural transfer, however, is a good umbrella term. I will dissect both terms – culture and transfer – in order to look at them more closely. With regard to transfer, however, it should be noted here, in the context of the list of available scientific concepts, that these all concern conscious activities or events. What happens in the process can be well characterised in a general way with transfer as an umbrella term.

The actual impetus for cultural transfer research emerged in the mid-1980s through research on French-German and German-French cultural transfer.[3] In terms of research history, the study of French-Saxon transfers widened the field quite early on.[4] The temporal core of the research was the second half of the 18th century to the first half of the 20th century, an era closely connected with the development of nation-state cultures.

Cultural transfer research expanded rapidly with the appearance of works on cultural transfer in Antiquity and the Middle Ages and in non-European cultures. In the latter context, concepts such as cultural exchange, translation or – to quote a book title – "The brokered world"[5] increasingly appeared.

Inherent in both aspects – France-Germany/Germany-France; nation-state culture – is the research of socio-political relevance. The comprehensive study of cultural transfers between two nations that were understood in a part of the political classes and part of the population as hereditary enemies (France and Germany) and that stood for two different models of nation-statehood and nation-culture is inevitably socio-

3 Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999; Perspectives Germaniques).Wolfgang Schmale, *Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransfer. Europageschichtliche Perspektiven für die Landesgeschichte. Eine Einführung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sächsischen Landesgeschichte* (Bochum: Dr. Winkler, 1998; Herausforderungen – Historisch-politische Analysen; 6).

4 Michel Espagne, Matthias Middell,*Von der Elbe bis an die Seine. Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitäts-Verlag, 1993; Deutsch-französische Kulturbibliothek; 1).

5 Simon Schaffer (ed.), *The Brokered World. Go-betweens and global intelligence, 1770–1820*. (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009; Uppsala studies in the history of science, 35).

politically relevant. When it is shown how transfers from French culture changed German culture or a regional culture such as the Saxon, and vice versa, when it is shown that what is supposedly German or French is actually a cultural *métissage* that contradicts the very narrow exclusive notion of national culture in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, then this inevitably becomes societally and politically relevant.

Such research supports the dissolution of any notion of national borders. In the specific Franco-German case, this cannot be detached from the background of political reconciliation since the 1950s. Of course, the relevant cultural transfer research has not taken on the role of an auxiliary tool for reconciliation, but has instead tried to prove that the *métissage* character of supposed national cultures, especially at the apex of nationalism, offers a strong cultural studies argument in favour of cultural, social, political and economic processes of demarcation, including politically willed processes of demarcation.

This original research setting certainly also proves useful for researching cultural transfers between Serbia or Yugoslavia and "Europe". In the new research project, "Europeanisation" is assumed as the result – although, of course, it remains open how far or short Europeanisation extends. What needs to be discussed is which "Europe" is taken as the basis and we must ask the fundamental question of whether we are dealing with Serbia and "Europe" or rather with Serbia and France, Serbia and Russia, Serbia and Germany, etc. "Europeanisation" would be the result of countless cross-over cultural transfers.

With this in mind, other concepts such as *histoire croisée* or *entangled history* or even *intercultural history* have been developed.[6] These concepts aim to name the result that emerges when numerous cultural transfers are carried out over a certain period of time, usually spanning several decades. The concept of *Europeanisation* could also be placed here as the result of numerous cultural transfers between European countries and regions and social classes or groups.[7]

Beyond an immediate application, which cultural studies are rather sceptical about, the mentality-forming function of cultural studies research and its communication to the public must be considered. The deconstruction, if not unmasking, of "nation" and "race", for example, which have long been presented as essential and "natural" categories, by

6 Cf. Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity", in *History and Theory* Vol. 45 (Feb. 2006), pp. 30–50.

7 On "Europeanisation" see now: Florian Greiner, Peter Pichler, and Jan Vermeiren (eds.), *Reconsidering Europeanization. Ideas and Practices of (Dis-)Integratiing Europe since the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter/Oldenbourg, 2022; History and Ideas, 1).

Nicolas Jean-Baptiste Raguenet, Le Louvre, le Pont-Neuf et le Collège des Quatre-Nations, 1755.

Panoramic view of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg by J. A. Atkinson. A colour aquatint print made between 1805 and 1807.

cultural studies has not failed to have an effect. Cultural transfer research conceptually ties in directly with this by analysing supposedly essential categories as constructions and imaginaries, falsifying them and, if necessary, deconstructing them as inhuman.

Research into the *métissage* character of supposed national cultures has long since extended not only to the Franco-German case, but also to other European countries. Cultural transfer research is leading to a thorough revision of the writing of national history.[8]

Moreover, the characterisation of the results of cultural transfer as *métissage* has also proved useful in colonial history. The relationship between Europe and the colonies was initially hardly a subject of cultural transfer research, being at best limited to acculturation research, whose roots lie, not coincidentally, in the study of colonialism. On the one hand, the transformation of culture in Europe through transfers from non-European regions was increasingly thematised, and, on the other hand, so was the cultural *métissage* in the colonies. Even the enslavement of people could not prevent cultural transfers in the Atlantic region between Africa and America, as Judith A. Carney has shown[9].

This shifts the axes of political evaluation. European expansion is relativised in terms of its cultural consequences for the colonies, as far as early modern cultural transfer processes in the Americas are concerned. In the following, it is not only a matter of historical weightings and, if necessary, evaluations, but also of questions of historical guilt, as already discussed in the context of "Five Hundred Years of Columbus" in 1992 or in the context of their role in the very current debates about the claim "Decolonise your minds!".[10]

Cultural transfer research could be critically interpreted in this context as one of the many feints of Western cultural imperialism. "The West" exonerates itself, one could critically argue, on the one hand, by making a historical *métissage* out of a historically violent European or

8 I myself made a corresponding attempt with my "Geschichte Frankreichs" [French History] (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer, 2000). The book contains a three-chapter section on "Cultural References and Intercultural History of France (Late Middle Ages to First Half of the 20th Century)", while the last section on post-war history already assumes in principle the intercultural character of history.

9 Judith A. Carney, "African Plant and Animal Species in 18th-Century Tropical America", in Veronika Hyden-Hanscho, Renate Pieper and Werner Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment. Europe and the Atlantic World* (Bochum: Dr. Winkler, 2013; The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy – International Series, vol. 6), 97–115.

10 See on Twitter #DecoloniseYourMind. As often happens on Twitter, the hashtag sometimes gets abused.

later European and North American acculturation from the end of the 15th century until the 20th century, in which both or all cultural sides are involved, and on the other hand, by transferring the concept of *métissage* to Europe or North America itself, as if to say: "Look, you too have changed us!" The counter-argument is that the view of cultural hierarchical superiority inherited from colonialism, imperialism and even still decolonisation is being discarded, and the realisation is gaining ground that the supposedly superior European and North American cultures had not been so superior, that some achievements could not be made out of themselves, but only on the basis of cultural transfers to Europe or North America, and that the implicit or explicit culturally hierarchical evaluations were not objective standards, but instruments of epistemological distortion.

The actor-centred concepts of the translator or broker or, more generally, the cultural mediator, sometimes called the passer, reveal the share of contingencies and individual constellations that lead to cultural transfers. Colonialism provides the framework and infrastructure and opens up possibilities, but its ideological influence can be minor. Nevertheless, the latter applies more to the 18th and early 19th centuries, after which colonialism is increasingly ideologised as a European or then also US-American *civilising mission*. Nevertheless, this does not prevent voluntary cultural transfers to a certain extent, as the biographies of Indian intellectuals of the 19th and 20th centuries prove. The Bengali poet and intellectual Rabindranath Tagore is an illustrative example, and Amartya Sen as well.[11]

What the fields in which cultural transfer research is carried out have in common is that they are subjected in this research to an implicit or explicit strategy of deconstruction of delimitations. This research generates our conception of history anew according to the principles of a hypertext.

First of all, however, there is an objection to this: When cultural transfers between France and Germany or Serbia and "Europe" are examined, the idea of national cultures or, in the case of "Europe", of large-scale and composite cultures, is accepted. But has this not long since become outdated? The notion of national culture was historically based on the idea of fixed cultural borders, which were mostly also seen as political borders. Political and cultural borders mutually justified each other in nationalism. These ideas were shared by a critical mass of the population and enforced through power politics. As a historically powerful idea, con-

11 Many of Tagore's essays contain autobiographical information. Rabindranath Tagore, *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore*, VIII volumes (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 2007). Amartya Sen, *Home in the World. A Memoir* (London: Penguin, 2022).

struction or invention, national culture was (and in some cases still is) a "fact", regardless of its deconstructability, which is recognised at least today. In cultural transfer research, there is no getting around working with such ideas, which see culture in terms of boundaries, but they come into a certain conflict with the postulate of the dissolution of boundaries and the plural opening of concepts of work. Research of the *métissage* character of even supposedly national cultures points precisely to phenomena of the dissolution of boundaries in a national cultural unit imagined as being limited by state borders.

The conflict is resolved by the fact that the nation, in the sense of invention, construct or imagination, became a historical fact by systematically and propagandistically suppressing what contradicted the assertion of national culture as the fixed identity of a homogeneous people. Cultural transfer research is, therefore, about the scientific deconstruction of a socio-cultural construction. The category of culture as a unit, namely national culture, comes from a different time layer than cultural transfer research itself, and the latter belongs to a different time layer in R. Koselleck's sense.[12]

The metaphor of hypertext is a good way to describe the system of perception currently in the making in relation to culture. A hypertext is a network of informational units or, if we move away from the digital into human society, a network of material units and encodings or translations. The hypertext/network is open in all directions, never closed. In a hypertext, meaning and significance do not open up through predetermined linear and sequential perspectives, but through individually created links and contexts. Meaning and significance are formed in the active individual process of reception and perception. This removes the ground from the nationalist or colonial imperialist *octroi* of a "Tory or Whig version" of history. Of course, this only succeeds if research can develop and unfold freely in the public sphere. Where this is not the case, it results in someone like the Russian president using historical fantasies to justify a war of aggression against Ukraine.

Practice of cultural transfer research

Let us turn to cultural transfer research in practice. First, the following two questions arise: What exactly is being transferred? What exactly happens during a transfer?

12 Cf. Reinhart Koselleck, *Sediments of time. On possible histories*, transl. by Stefan Ludwig Hoffmann und Sean Franzel. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2018; Cultural memory in the present). The original German edition was published in 2000.

We can describe what is transferred as cultural units that make sense in themselves. The term *cultureme*, borrowed from linguistics, is used to denote this.[13] *Culturemes* are transferred. A *cultureme* makes sense in itself, but it never stands alone; it forms *coherences* with other *culturemes*. Coherences, in turn, can form clusters of coherences, or several clusters, to which individual *culturemes* can also dock directly, and form *macrocoherences*, which are generally referred to as "culture", for example, as European culture or as a national culture, and so on.

So, in principle, *culturemes* are transferred, individually or as clusters or even as macrocoherences. Therefore, strictly speaking, this process should not be called cultural transfer, but *cultureme* transfer.

The concept of cultural transfer is, in principle, value-neutral. It is, therefore, not only applied when it comes to peaceful and voluntary transfers that happen permanently, but also when it comes to exercising cultural power in the context of political-military power. In these cases, the concepts of assimilation and, if applicable, acculturation are available to denote this type of transfer. The transfer of a macrocoherence of *culturemes* goes hand in hand with imperial or colonial power. An example of this is the "civilising mission" chosen by the European colonial powers. The transfer of *cultureme* clusters is also unlikely to be feasible without a will to power behind it.

The transfer of individual *culturemes* or even several individual *culturemes* can involve translations, mediations, dissemination, reception, appropriation, transformation, etc. This often takes the form of exchange. The transfers do not run in just one direction, but also in the opposite direction or can even take the form of a cross-over. It can also be a matter of contagion, i.e. a possibly unconscious adoption of *culturemes* and their incorporation into existing cultures. Of course, contagion also means being infected by an idea or a certain activity, imitating it and adopting it.

Culturemes can be material or immaterial. In any case, they are always also codifications of social action that produces meaning within an environment created by many *culturemes*. Therefore, the question of the extent to which this environment and the specific meaning produced in it is transferred or can be transferred at all is particularly exciting. This raises another critical question: Is it even realistic to think that entire *culturemes* are transferred? Or is it basically a matter of de-contextualised elements? At the very least, transfer losses are to be expected. Moreover, *culturemes* are not immutable. They do not stand still.

13 I develop this approach in my introductory chapter: Wolfgang Schmale, "Einleitung: Das Konzept 'Kulturtransfer' und das 16. Jahrhundert. Einige theoretische Grundlagen", in Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2003), 41–61.

Cultural transfer and macro-history

In a further step, I would now like to propose that we link the concept of cultural transfer with macro-history, i.e. transnational, European, transcontinental or global history. Cultural transfers lead to a result called métissage or creolisation, hybridization, hybridity, Europeanisation or Europeanness, Americanisation, globalisation or globality, etc. We must also ask whether the processes of cultural transfer always take place in the same way in every epoch.

For this, I will use a case study about making Europeanness through multidirectional transfers in 18th– and 19th-century Europe.[14] The principles of such multidirectional transfers could probably be applied to transfers between Serbia/Yugoslavia and "Europe".

The history of cultural transfers in early modern Europe is characterized by the emergence of macro-historical "game changers". The first was Renaissance Italy, the "Italian model", as it was called by Fernand Braudel. The second was the "French model" under King Louis XIV, known as "l'Europe française". Both models brought innumerable innovations. The third macro-historical "game changer" was Russia. It did not bring in innovations but created a huge demand for cultural transfers into the empire. Import, not export! This covers the beginning of the historical period that will be in the focus of the research project about cultural transfers between Europe and Serbia since the late 18th and the 19th century. It would be interesting to investigate how and to what extent Serbia entered the game.

Around 1700, Tsarist Russia and its aristocracy discovered Europe, and Europe, with a slight delay, discovered Russia.[15] Leaving aside the cultural contacts prior to 1700, these reciprocal discoveries coincided with the cultural reign of the "French model", which had replaced the Braudelian "Italian model".[16] Throughout the 18th century, Russia – still in the restricted sense of St. Petersburg aristocratic Russia and, to a lesser extent, Moscow aristocratic Russia – was interested in the French model, but also in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy. For all kinds of

14 First published in French: Wolfgang Schmale, "Aperçu historique des transferts quadrangulaires dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle", in Michel Espagne (ed.), *Russie, France, Allemagne, Italie. Transferts quadrangulaires du néoclassicisme aux avant-gardes* (Tusson: Du Lerot, 2005), 11–20. The chapter has been reworked for the present English version.

15 Martin Lubenow, *Französische Kultur in Russland. Entwicklungslinien in Geschichte und Literatur* (Köln: Böhlau, 2002), takes stock of French cultural transfers in Russia.

16 On the chronology of cultural models in the context of cultural transfers see Schmale, "Das Konzept 'Kulturtransfer'", op. cit.

DE

L'ALLEMAGNE,

PAR Mme LA BARONNE

DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

SECONDE ÉDITION.

TOME PREMIER.

PARIS,

H. NICOLLE, À LA LIBRAIRIE STÉRÉOTYPE,

RÉIMPRIMÉ PAR

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET, LONDRES.

1813.

Title page of De l'Allemagne, *by Madame de Staël, 1813.*

cultural mediators from these countries, Russia offers the spectacle of a cultural market where everything seemed possible: it was a labour market characterised by a demand for highly qualified or specialised labour, a market that was open to technicians as well as philosophers, artists and theatre groups, military men as well as adventurers.[17]

The French civilisation had a double function. On the one hand, it brought many cultural elements which were transferred to the Russian aristocratic and, to a lesser extent, bourgeois culture; on the other hand, it functioned as a conduit for any cultural transfers. The preferred means of transport was the French language. When Catherine II became interested in Beccaria and his *Dei delitti e delle pene*, she read the treatise in the French translation. In Russia in the 19th century, the idea of Germany was largely based on the famous book *De l'Allemagne* by Germaine de Staël. The same applies to France in the 19th century, which learnt about Germany

17 Cf. the second part "Circulations: Voyageurs, causeurs, aventuriers", in Philippe Roger (ed.), *L'homme des Lumières de Paris à Pétersbourg. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Autumn 1992* (Napoli: Vivarium, 1995), 65–130.

primarily through Madame de Staël's book.[18] From another perspective, Italy became acquainted with Russian literature through French translations. It cannot be said that in Italy the reception of Russian literature was solely due to French, but knowledge of this literature was spread above all through French.[19]

But it is not only about language itself. There are other languages, such as those of fashion, gesture and the body, which are inspired by French practices and serve to translate or encode the habitus adopted by a particular character to mark a particular social distinction.

The French language and French civilisation were never the only cultural models in Russia; there was also a strong presence of German and the German civilisation. England provided model solutions, and Italy remained an important cultural reference. The modernising consciousness bequeathed by Tsar Peter I to the tsarinas and tsars who succeeded him until Catherine II, the desire to Europeanise the country, led to these cultural choices. Where England seems to be perfect, the cultural transfer becomes English, where Germany seems to be successful, the transfer and the mediators are German, where France fulfils the function of the cultural model, the transfers are French.

What was transferred was not different from the cultural transfers practised in other European countries. Everywhere, it was the English landscape architecture and the Italian opera that worked as reference points. However, the choices were not always the same because those who choose, the mediators or the social backgrounds of the mediators, were different. England was a reference model for all those who wanted more social equality. In France, this was of interest to the mediating circles of the 'philosophers', the bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility. It goes without saying that the St Petersburg and Moscow aristocracy was not inspired by the English egalitarian model. It entered through the back door, through the writings of Montesquieu, d'Alembert, Diderot, the Encyclopédie (of which about 500 articles were translated into Russian), Voltaire and other 'philosophers' known and read in Russia. Most of these authors contributed to the idealisation of '*the* English constitution', which they made famous despite the mythological aspect of this story of the expansion of a constitution that was pretended rather than real.[20]

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18 On the international reception of Madame de Staël's work see Udo Schöning, Frank Seemann (eds.), *Madame de Staël und die Internationalität der europäischen Romantik. Fallstudien zur interkulturellen Vernetzung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003).

19 Cesare G. de Michelis, "Panorama della letteratura russa in Italia", in Vittorio Strada (ed.), *I Russi e l'Italia* (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1995), 291–299.

20 Cf. Hans-Christof Kraus,"Montesquieu, Blackstone, De Lolme und die englische Verfassung des 18. Jahrhunderts", in *Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs München*

Throughout the 18th century, the practice of cultural transfers between France, Italy, Germany and Russia remained asymmetrical. Russia received much and gave little. The interest that Western Europe and Germanic Central Europe were willing to show in this country was part of the modernisation and Europeanisation of the country, a perspective chosen by Russia itself. The presence of Russian students in France and Germany, Russian artists in Italy, and some Russian aristocrats everywhere was not negligible, but these people were there to be trained in the host culture and to return with this training to Russia. Back in St Petersburg, Moscow, or in some provincial cities, they became cultural mediators, joining the French, the Germans, the few Italians and the few English who lived in Russia or travelled to this country. Abroad, they contributed to the construction of a certain image, to a better knowledge of Russia, which was not insignificant because they helped to anchor Russia in the European memory and in the notion of Europeanness.[21] In French, Italian and German Europe, Russia was freed from the stigma of Orthodoxy, a stigma equated with "paganism" in the 16th and 17th centuries.

What is actually happening with Russia in the 21st century seems to be the exact opposite because the results of centuries of cultural transfers and exchanges being reversed. Since 2008, hundreds of thousands of potential cultural mediators have left Russia and did not come back. Presently, the number of people leaving Russia for good is growing again.

This example teaches us that it is not sufficient to look at successful transfers but that reversals are possible. The same type of question must be raised with regard to Serbia, the United Kingdom ("Brexit") and a few regions in Europe with a certainly historically grown identity, such as Catalonia, Scotland and Corsica – to name but a few.

Everywhere, cultural transfers serve the needs of modernisation, political, social and economic change. The process of modernisation and change is framed by the 'nationalisation' of territory and political space as well as cultural space. The cultural transfers that are put at the service of the modernisation of a country seem to be linked to the fact that the notions of state and culture are nationalised. This means that the nation and the nation-state as a frame of reference increase in importance. In the case of Russia, cultural transfers are closely linked to this frame of reference. They were consciously intended to enable Russia to become an integral power in the European balance-of-power system.

1995 (München: Oldenbourg, 1996), 113–153.

21 See Francine-Dominique Liechtenhan (ed.) *Three centuries of Franco-Russian relations. L'ours & le coq. Essais en l'honneur de Michel Cadot* (Paris: Presses de la Nouvelle Sorbonne, 2000).

Cultural transfers are not only carried out in the field of material or ideal exchanges, but also in the field of intercultural European memory. The Napoleonic era has a long history in European memory. The war against Russia in 1812 occupies a prominent place. It mobilised more than 1.4 million soldiers, 650,000 on the side of the French and their allies and 750,000 on the side of the Russians and their allies. By December 1812, 900,000 soldiers had died. Civilian casualties are not included in this figure. This war occupied the memory of the survivors to a hitherto unknown extent for more than a century. Countless historical, literary and artistic works, as well as survivors' memoirs, diaries, letters, accounts and stories were published successively throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. The publication of these personal accounts continues. Claus Scharf, who has taken stock of this phenomenon, notes that the story of the War of 1812 was about to be told at all social levels and wherever people lived who had participated, directly or indirectly, through a family member, in the war. The children of the warriors of 1812, their grandchildren or their heroes kept the stories alive, if not the veterans' societies. These tales were recounted in a national as well as in a European context. Debates, translations and historical research knew no borders. The burning of Moscow, the defeat of the Grand Army, and the return of only 30,000 soldiers provided the symbols necessary for constructing a common but controversial memory.[22]

Almost the same happened after the First and the Second World Wars, and presently Ukraine is building a Europeanised war memory with long-term negative consequences for the Russian aggressor.

The integration of Russia into the common memory of the extraordinary experience of 1812 shared by the peoples of Europe and its leaders helped to prepare the success of the Russian idea of establishing a Holy Alliance[23], which was proposed to the princes of Europe after the final defeat of Napoleon I. Even though the European powers became weary of the Holy Alliance a few years later, the Holy Alliance, as an idea and the beginning of a political practice, can be seen as part of the evolution of the Pentarchy system, in which Russia was one of the unshakeable foundations.

A century of cultural transfers to Russia, and the presence of a Europeanised Russia, were enough to integrate this country into the European

22 Cf. Claus Scharf, "Moskau 1812: Die Erinnerungen von Franzosen, Deutschen und Russen", in Ilja Mieck, Pierre Guillen (eds.), *Deutschland – Frankreich – Rußland. Begegnungen und Konfrontationen. France and Germany facing Russia* München: Oldenburg, 2000), 37–49.

23 See Anselm Schubert, Wolfram Pyta (eds.), *Die Heilige Allianz. Entstehung – Wirkung – Rezeption. Interdisziplinäre Tagung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018).

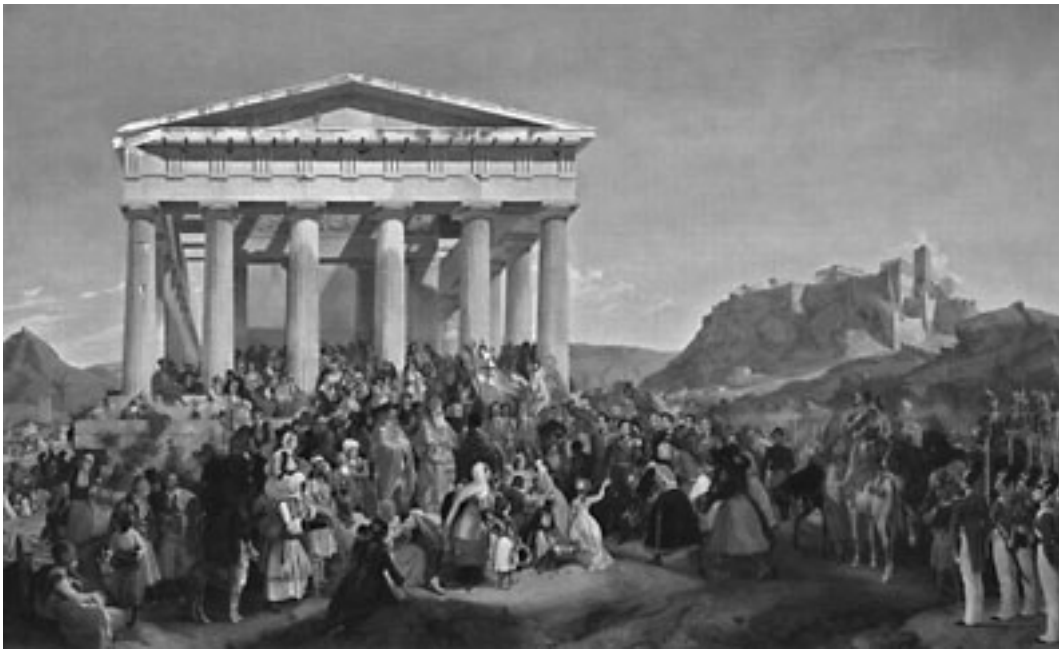
system of cultural transfers. In the 19th century, Russia became one of the donor countries in this system. This is true on the political level as well as on the literary, musical or artistic level. What would Europe have been like in the 19th century without the omnipresence of the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, Russian poets and writers, painters, composers and many others in the high places of European society?

More than ever, in the 19th century, Europeanism knew its fiefdoms. In other words, Europeanness, being the product of multiple cultural transfers, was made in Capri, Geneva, Nice, London, Paris, Karlsbad, Baden-Baden, Moscow, St Petersburg, Odessa, in late 19th-century Belgrade, etc. In terms of Europeanness, cultural transfers have their own meeting places. The unity of style and the simultaneity of cultural, social and economic transformations signal the perfection of the system of cultural transfers.

In the 19th century, the system of cultural transfers operated on multiple levels. Traditional means persisted, such as the transformation of one's own national culture with the help of transfers from another national culture. The mixture of transfers also endured: in one country, there were almost always simultaneous transfers from several cultures. New cultural references arose or were constructed. This was the case in Greece. Philohellenism or Grecophilia was based on the construction of an almost virtual Greek culture, virtual in the sense that the modest cultural reality of Greece in the 19th century did not in any way justify the role assigned to it. Contemporary Greece was considered the legitimate and worthy heir to ancient Greece, reputed to have been the cultural cradle of Europe.

Towards the end of the 18th century, thanks to Winckelmann, the revival of Greek antiquity led to the discovery of Greek Italy. In the 19th century, Greek Italy corresponded to the aesthetic and physical beauty needs of the time. Greek Italy was the country where homosexuals were the freest because they were not harassed, where they took refuge, either in search of Greek-Italian male beauty, like Baron W. von Gloeden, or to hide from the repressive judicial systems in Europe. Homosexuals were to form an important social group in cultural transfers until the First World War, and they have re-entered this function since the 1980s despite ongoing discrimination and persecution in many countries.

The secret societies of the 19th century provide a good example of intertwined transfers. The Italian Carbonari provided the model for radical democrats and republicans in France, Germany, Poland, and Russia. Numerous secret or open ties connected the radicals, many of whom were forced to leave their country for a time; they took refuge in Italy, France, or elsewhere. This political migration constituted a network of cultural transfers that brought together under the same roof not only the radicals



"The Entry of King Othon of Greece in Athens", oil on canvas by Peter von Hess (1839), Neue Pinakother, Munich.

but also Philhellenes or the associations of young Europeans founded by Mazzini.[24] In the 19th century, once again and for the last time, Italy, in certain sectors, was at the forefront of modernisation and was able to instigate cultural transfers in many directions.

It is true that France, through the July Revolution, once again became a cultural model. More precisely, it was not France but a certain France, just as it was not Italy but a certain Italy, just as it was not Germany but literary, philosophical and scientific Germany that became models. Cultural transfers take place on several levels and within transnational cultural spaces.

Radical republicans, democrats, Carbonari and others form such a transnational cultural space, whose core seems to consist of French, Germans, Italians, Russians and Poles. This space was originally created by the French Revolution.[25] It was experienced from very different

24 The intertwining of secret societies can be seen quite well in Jeanne Gilmore's book: *La République clandestine 1818–1848* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1997). See also Alessandro Galante Garrone, "La Révolution française et le Risorgimento italien", in François Furet (ed.), *L'héritage de la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette, 1989), 169–207.

25 There is no need here to discuss the relationship between the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution, which Albert Mathiez posed in 1920 (Le Bolchévisme et le Jacobinisme) and which has occupied several generations of

perspectives, but it is at the beginning of a collective European historical memory. Historically, this kind of memory was unprecedented at that time. The role played by travellers from almost all over Europe in revolutionary France and their contribution to constructing a European memory based on eyewitness accounts and personal experience, cannot be overlooked.[26]

Another transnational cultural space is formed around the migration of intellectuals and representatives of cultural life in the literal sense. A third space is based on temporal labour migration, political emigration and immigration in general. All these forms of migration took on a new significance in the 19th century.[27] Jewish migration offers a specific transnational example that goes far beyond the narrow framework of cultural transfers.[28]

The concept of a system of cultural transfers in the 19th century refers to a presumed density of transfers between certain cultural spaces of a national or pre-national character. This density existed between Russia, France, Italy and Germany since the 18th century, but we have to include the Netherlands, England and Poland, as the case may be. Then there are two civilisations that do not exactly correspond to a national space taking part in multidirectional transfers. These are the civilisation of ancient Greece, which takes the form of contemporary Greece and Greek Italy, and the Jewish civilisation represented by the most diverse Jewish communities in Russia, Poland, Germany, France and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Migration circles, often called diasporas, are to be added. This makes it possible to propose at least one hypothesis: multidirectional transfers are more characteristic of cultural transfers in the 19th century than in the previous century and in the first half of the 20th century when nationalism reached its peak.

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historians. The debate continues: Dmitry Shlapentokh, *The French Revolution and the Russian Anti-Democratic Tradition. A Case of False Consciousness* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1997). The author poses the question in the perspective of the "Westernization" of Russia. Erich Donnert has edited a very useful volume on the reception of the French Revolution among the Slavic peoples: Erich Donnert, (ed.), *Echo und Wirkungen der Französischen Revolution bei den slawischen Völkern und ihren Nachbarn* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996).

26 Cf. for example the maps drawn up according to travel accounts in: *Atlas de la Révolution française*, tome 1: Guy Arbellot, Bernard Lepetit and Jacques Bertrand, "Routes et communications" (Paris: Ed. EHESS, 1987), 64–68.

27 Cf. the synthesis by Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European history* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003; The making of Europe).

28 See Federico Celestini, Helga Mitterbauer (eds.), *Ver-rückte Kulturen. Zur Dynamik kultureller Transfers* (Tübingen: Stauffenberg, 2003).

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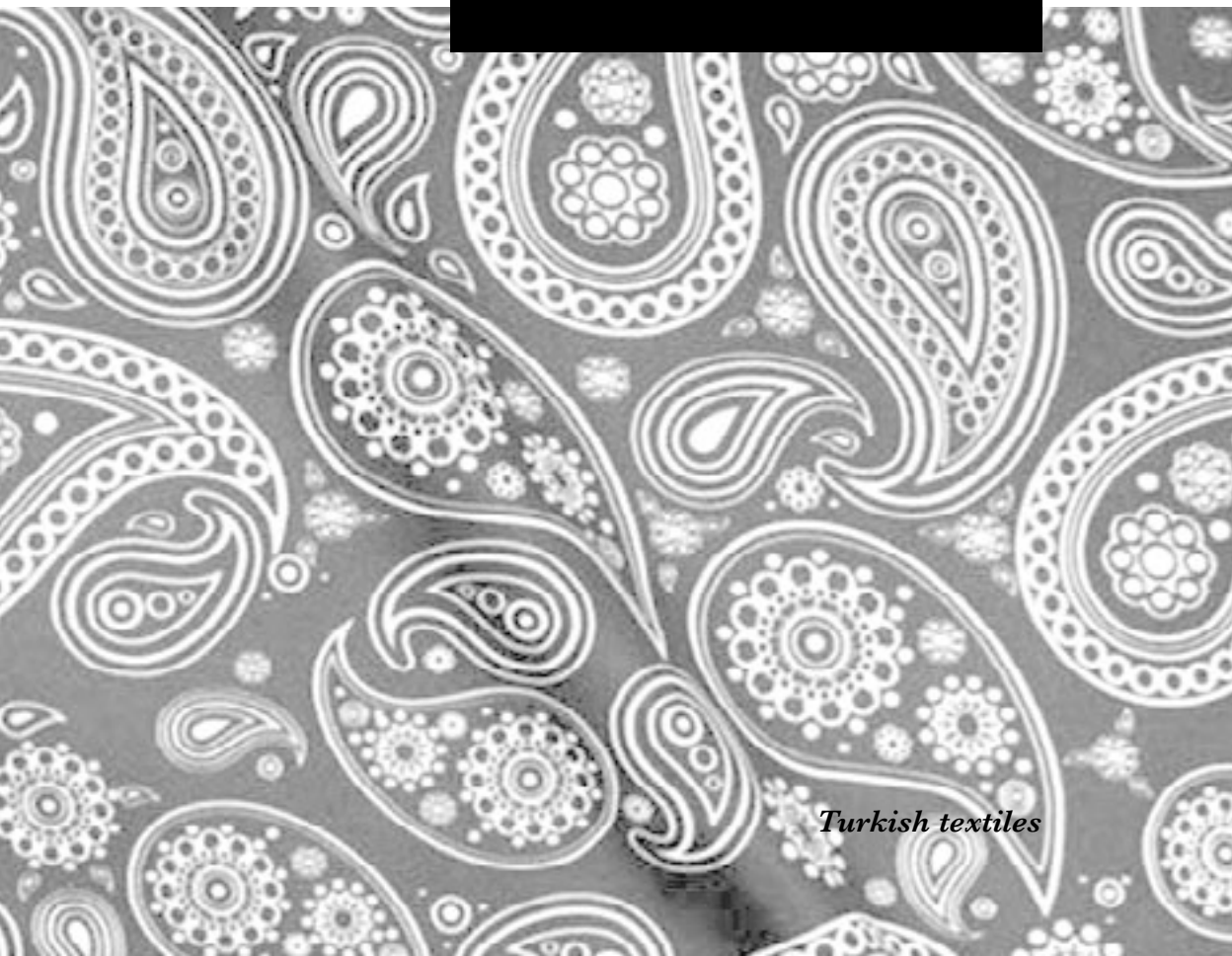
1: Methodological issues:



Turkish textiles

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18485/fpn_ctes_mic.2023.ch3

Vesna Goldsworthy,
University of Exeter

MY EXPERIENCE OF CULTURAL TRANSFER BRITAIN-SERBIA-BRITAIN

A scholarly Interview with Professor Vesna Goldsworthy

Abstract: In this scholarly interview Vesna Goldsworthy, acclaimed scholar and Anglo-Serbian writer, speaks about her experience with the issues of cultural transfer Western Europe – the Balkans, and potential reverse transfer the Balkans – Western Europe. The issues that are raised in this interview include academic analysis of Balkanism that began in the late 1990s and potential wider impacts of that analysis, influence of the travelogue written by Rebecca West in 1941, and how much a writer may contribute to the image of other countries by writing about them.

Keywords: Balkanism, Ruritania, Rebecca West, cultural counter transfer

Introduction

Vesna Goldsworthy is professor of creative writing at the University of Exeter and at the University of East Anglia. She has authored six internationally best-selling and award-winning books, two of which, the memoir *Chernobyl Strawberries* and the novel *Gorsky*, have been serialized by the BBC. And I should add that the novel *Gorsky* sold two hundred thousand copies or more. Her book *Inventing Ruritania*, published in 1998, on the British perceptions of the Balkans, is in its 25th year on university reading lists world-wide, and it was one of the two books, together with Todorova's book *Imagining the Balkans,* that provided new insights into how the Balkans were constructed by Western travellers and policymakers. She has written three widely read novels: *Gorsky*, *Monsieur K* and *Iron Curtain* and, in 2021, she was elected fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. So, with her novels and academic writings on Eastern Europe and the Balkans, she has certainly contributed to a reverse kind of cultural transfer and, therefore, we have asked her five questions and the interview with her has been pre-recorded for the conference.[1]

S. G. Markovich: The first question is that in your book, *Inventing Ruritania*, published in 1998, you describe what you

1 The interview was conducted by Slobodan G. Markovich and aired on April 8, 2022, at the conference "Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia: Methodological Issues and Challenges", organised as a part of the project CTES, funded by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia.

term "the imperialism of the imagination".[2] These are actually stereotypes made in British novels in the late 19th and the early 20th century that became the cornerstone of a more general image of the Balkans as the Ruritanian area of irrationality and incredible events in the American movie industry and in literature in English. Then, these images became global, and they travelled back to reach Balkan intellectuals. In your opinion, because you analysed them, what was the reaction of Balkan intellectuals? Did this cultural transfer that turned the Balkans into a kind of pejorative imaginative geography when it came back from the West to the Balkans influence the self-perception of Europeanists in the Balkans because it suddenly got this pejorative connotation?

V. Goldsworthy: It's a wonderful question. First of all, thank you very much for enabling me to record this conversation. It means that I can be in two places at once. It is strange that I am speaking from London and yet, when this is broadcast to your conference, I will be in Belgrade, so I will in fact be very close. There is something metaphorical about cultural transfer here and in the way our ideas travel from one place to another. To go back to your question about the Balkans and Britain, in the 19th century, when most of the stereotypes of the Balkans, the "Wild East of Europe" that I described in *Inventing Ruritania* originate, Britain led the world in the production of entertainment and popular culture. So, it is not an accident. All those popular writers, like Anthony Hope and Bram Stoker, and starting much earlier in the 19th century. These were the writers who sold their books in millions of copies. Those Balkan stereotypes, as were created in Britain, were then transferred to the American film industry because, by the 20th century, it is America that takes the baton culturally, but particularly in the domain of popular, entertainment industry. By the 21st century, the same images migrate into computer games and yet you still see the Balkans absolutely unchanged. Whether it is the war games, whether it is Grand Theft Auto, you will still find a wild, savage character who comes somewhere from our area and behaves in all kinds of unspeakable and primitive ways. That is a dominant image that does not change for almost two centuries now. From the moment when the Balkans first appear, even as they are being defined as a peninsula in 1908, this violent, wild imaginary persists for more than two centuries now. That is the external perception of the Balkans.

But that external perception of the Balkans becomes internal. It is something that is assimilated by us in the Peninsula, all the different na-

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

tions. And it is assimilated in two forms: one is when we talk about each other, within each nation, and one is when we talk about our neighbouring nations. So, when you observe the Balkans, it is always the nation to the south, or to the south-east, that is described in these same terms that the British or the Americans use. Our neighbours are the primitive ones, our neighbours are the unruly ones, our neighbours are the savage ones and they need that external figure to control them and impose peace over them, as it were. The internal image is the one that we use when we accuse our compatriots of primitive behaviour. You may be on the bus and some person steps on your toes and, instead of attacking them for being uncouth, you say "Oh, you primitive Balkan person, move away from me". This is the way in which those images are assimilated, and perpetuated culturally.

SM: The second issue is actually connected to the first one, and it is that your book *Inventing Ruritania* and Maria Todorova's book *Imagining the Balkans*[3] have, in the meantime, become standard textbooks in the field of "imagology" of the Balkans and in dealing with the discourse of Balkanism. And, back in 1999, soon after both books appeared, Misha Glenny ended his piece "Only in the Balkans" published in the *London Review of Books* with the following sentence: "Until the agents of Western culture are able to see their prejudices about the Balkans for what they are, the remarkable work of Goldsworthy, Todorova and others like them will remain largely unused in the West. That would be a tragedy".[4]

Almost a quarter of a century after the original publications of these two books, what is your assessment? Have your books, particularly *Inventing Ruritania*, made a change? Have you and Todorova made a cultural transfer of self-assessments of the Balkans to the West (as two scholars who were trained in the Balkans, in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, who began their careers in the Balkans, and therefore you have your self-assessments that are rooted in certain local traditions as well)?

VG: My reaction to that is probably – I wish. I wish they had. It is definitely true that they have made a difference in the academic world, in that certain unthinking responses to the Balkans have gone away. They have also initiated what here in England we call a "cottage industry",

3 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

4 Misha Glenny, "Only in the Balkans", *London Review of Books*, Vol. 21, No. 9 (April 29, 1999).

meaning that PhD theses dealing with individual countries have multiplied; there are research centres that are largely inspired by what Maria and I were doing, and I have to say in some ways particularly Maria Todorova, because she is a historian, and this work had influence in history departments more than in literature departments, but in literature, too. In part because I teach in English literature departments, the Balkans are in many ways marginal. So, where I am it is a more marginal field of research than it would be for Maria's book. But, influence is undoubted. On the other hand, in public discourse, and by public I don't mean "a man in the street"; I mean journalists, I mean commentators, those people who write about the Balkans but are not Balkan specialists, relatively little has changed. Obviously, it may have changed for journalists and publicists like Misha Glenny or Tim Judah who are focused on the area and are aware of our work. But, and I'm thinking about this just now, in the last three or four days, I read four obituaries of Madeleine Albright in different newspapers and each section dealing with her role in Yugoslavia was written very much as it would have been written in the 1990s, or even in the 1890s. The vocabulary hasn't changed and the perception of the Peninsula hasn't changed. So, I would say Todorova and I made a difference, but within a small circle.

SM: Yes, ok, but in academic circles, you would agree that it has made a difference.

VG: Yes, it has made a great difference and this is interesting. *Inventing Ruritania* was *The Washington Post* book of the month and the reviewer wrote that "Goldsworthy has done enough research to start an academic department", because I read something like 300 novels, plus plays and films and poetry, and commented on so many of them in *Inventing Ruritania* itself. At that point, I thought that there was nothing left to study. And yet, I can now think of several books that build on *Inventing Ruritania*, that found further examples, that dealt with not just after the period I wrote about, but with completely new material, particularly in film, because film was marginal for me. So yes, in that sense, I would say that my study has made a difference. But, after so many years I wish it had made a difference in popular attitudes, particularly when it comes to the discussion of the Western Balkans' entry into the EU, I would like to see a much more enlightened attitude. Instead, what you see is that a lot of what I think I've done, not just I, but this whole discussion, had pushed certain prejudices underground. People do not necessarily dare to utter those prejudices, but they are still there. Unfortunately, that is what happened with post-colonialism as well. It sometimes does not destroy a prejudice, so much as it makes it unspeakable, in the literal sense of that word.

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

Serbian translation of Inventing Ruritania.

Greek edition of Inventing Ruritania.

Romanian edition of Inventing Ruritania.

SM: Now, I would like to mention your predecessor, at least I see her as your predecessor. And that's the famous Rebecca West. And, in *Chernobyl Strawberries*,[5] you basically admitted that her travelogue is one of your eleven most beloved books. It's also considered to be one of the ten top travelogues of all time in certain assessments. So, it's certainly a very influential book. What kind of cultural transfer, in your opinion, Yugoslavia-Britain, and maybe also Yugoslavia – the United States (because Americans had to read it, and for all future Balkan diplomats, it was obligatory reading during the Cold War) did that book bring?

VG: You are right to mention the United States. I will address that first because Rebecca West was very well known in the States, almost better known at that point than in Britain, I dare say, in terms of being more present, because she was writing for *the New Yorker*, she had a column there. Britain was at war, and her desire was to mobilize America to help Europe, amongst other things. Hence that very long epilogue, which deals with the Blitz and the bombing of London and the suffering of London at that moment.

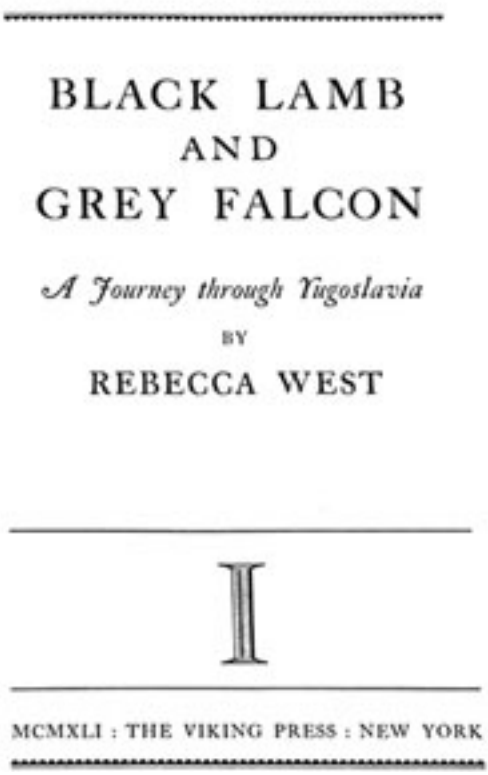
The second part is that, and this is something that I always mention when I speak about Rebecca West, when you deal with British literature about the Balkans, with the exception of Byron and perhaps Tennyson, those books are mainly entertainments, as Graham Greene would define them, popular fiction. It is very unusual, and for the Balkans very important, that with Rebecca West you have a first-rate writer, but really a first-rate writer. And she is that from her first novel, The *Return of the Soldier*,[6] twenty two years before *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*,[7] so the first-rate writer with the highest literary status travelling to the area and writing what is her masterpiece.

With many other books that I dealt with, you are looking at something that's second– or third-rate, books that the film makes popular, but that as literature are not as great, while *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* is a masterpiece of modernist travel writing. And in some ways, it is so formidable as a piece of travel writing that, as an English literature scholar, I'd say that it's a pity that it's about the Balkans, because if it had been

5 Vesna Goldsworthy, *Chernobyl Strawberries. A memoir* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005).

6 Rebecca West, *The Return of the Soldier* (London: Nisbet and Co., 1918).

7 Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon. A Journey through Yugoslavia*, 2 vols. (New York: The Viking Press, 1941). British editions: Rebecca West. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon. The record of a journey through Yugoslavia in 1937*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1942).



BLACK LAMB
AND
GREY FALCON

A Journey through Yugoslavia

BY

REBECCA WEST

II

MCMXLI : THE VIKING PRESS : NEW YORK

Title page of the American edition of Black Lamb and Grey Falcon by Rebecca West (New York: the Viking Press, 1941).

about France or Italy, it would be obligatory reading, it would be on every reading list. So, you could say, the Balkans set it back into a more obscure territory.

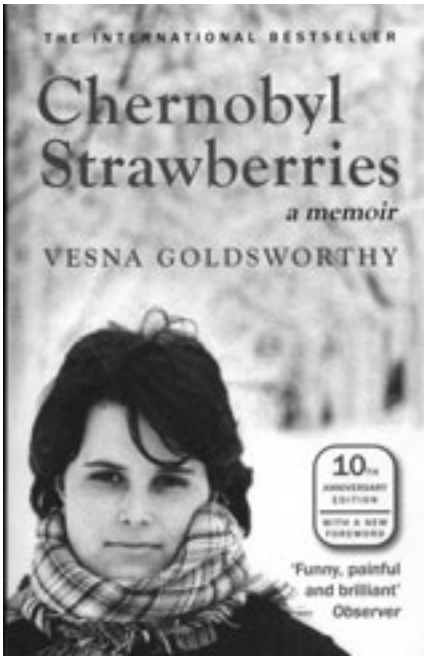
But never mind. It is a fantastic book and it made a lot of people read half a million words, a huge, chunky piece of history, and learn about this country which she saw as, if you want, a mini-European Union *avant la lettre*, and as a bulwark against Great Power influence in the world, and Great Power divisions. In that sense, West's work remains continuously topical. It is a pity that Yugoslavia exists no more, and because it exists no more, you have all these, not always very *bien pensant* intellectuals now trying to analyse whether Rebecca was pro-Serbian or not, and seeing that aspect in a negative context. She wasn't thinking like that at the time: it would be like accusing an author today of being pro-German because they write favourably about the European Union. What she was thinking about was Yugoslavia as a whole. And she was thinking about the reasons for Yugoslavia's existence and in that sort of sense, I think, she found the best country for her political case. She went to Finland first,

thinking that Finland would be a good example of a small country standing up to Great Powers, but she found Finland boring. Then she decided to visit Yugoslavia, and an unusual country met an extraordinary writer. It was a meeting of the century if you want. It's, really, a stunning book. I teach it. My students complain about having to read a thousand pages, but invariably end up loving it.

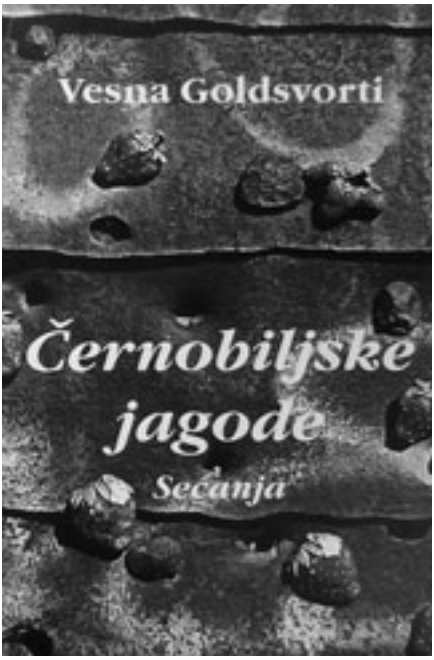
SM: Thank you and now finally the fifth and last question. It's about your autobiography, *Chernobyl Strawberries*, published back in 2005, and it was an enormous success. More than three hundred reviews. The book was a best-seller in four countries. It was played in certain theatres, if I'm right, even in continental Europe – in Austria, Germany and elsewhere. Essentially, it is a story of your two families, Yugoslav/Serbian and British, but it is also to a large degree a story of Belgrade and Yugoslavia in the 1980s, before you moved to Britain. So, many readers globally, anything they know about Yugoslavia, they know perhaps from your book. So, do you feel now, after that book (by the way do you feel like Rebecca West as well), but also, like someone who has contributed to a reverse kind of cultural transfer? In *Ruritania* you describe how the imperialism of the imagination works, but now you transfer your self-perception into the European or Anglo-American mainstream. Have you?

VG: It's true that when I started writing what would become *Chernobyl Strawberries*, I was very ill and I didn't think of it as a book for a wider audience. I thought of it as a book for my son. I thought, if I didn't get through the illness, there was a danger that he would know nothing of his maternal origins. There was a point when I was told I had six months to live, luckily that wasn't true. But, I thought, if I did not recover, I wanted him to have a story of his mother's background that he would, in some sense, see as a kind of history, his own history, that there was no need to be ashamed of. In fact, that he should be proud of his history. So, your question is in some ways built into the origins of the book. My idea was to recreate, rather than embellish the story of my childhood and youth, to present it by way of that reverse cultural transfer, as a response to everything else that he could read.

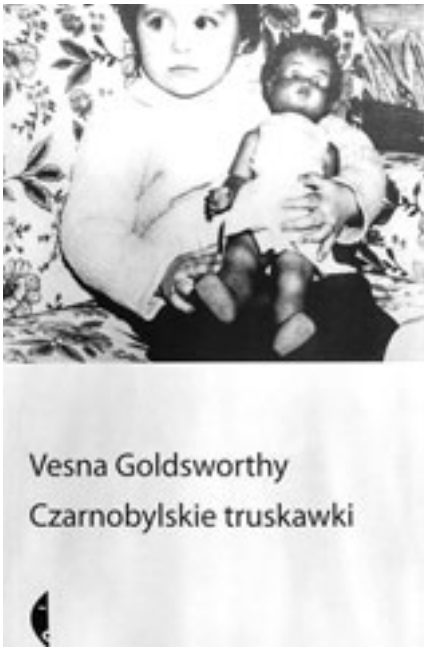
However, I also have to say that books then have their own life. It is funny you mentioned theatrical versions, and you see something about my book through those. It was serialized on the BBC as well and there, the voice recording was made by me, but there are the telling choices of music for the background, exotic, folkloric music. In the staged versions, if it was Germany, they had a Viennese actress reading my part because it



Cover page of Chernobyl Strawberries. A memoir, 10th anniversary edition (London: Wilmington Square Books, 2015). First published in 2005 by Atlantic Books.



Serbian edition of Chernobyl Strawberries.



Polish edition of Chernobyl Strawberries.

German edition of Chernobyl Strawberries entitled Heimweh nach Nirgendwo (Homesick for Nowhere).

was again the Other, that slightly different thing. So, I would be there, as a non-German speaker, often on stage, witnessing cultural transfer in action.

Here's a very practical example. A friend of mine organised a tour of Serbia for the corps diplomatique, outside Belgrade. They went to Zlatibor, I think. And, as they were returning to Belgrade, from the south-west, the diplomats' wives, because the group was mainly women, said: "Oh, this is Žarkovo, this is where Vesna Goldsworthy grew up. Can we stop and have a look?" And my friend invented some reason not to allow it. Perhaps he wanted them to keep the idea of the place as a village-suburb, as it once was. In my memoir, I describe a move my family made when I was a teenager, from one green suburb of Belgrade to another, from Dedinje to Žarkovo. Dedinje remains green, perhaps not as much as it was when I was growing up, but Žarkovo is no longer the place I describe in my book, the place I loved and hated in equal measure. Now, it's bisected by busy motorways and lined with tower-blocks, and that brutal modernity makes it look rather awful in many ways. If I write that I lived in a village on the edge of town, each diplomatic wife will bring their own imagination to what that means: perhaps my friend was right not to spoil it.

I know that in Germany, the response to *Chernobyl Strawberries* was: "Finally a normal book about Yugoslavia." Because every time people write about Yugoslavia it is through the prism of trauma, and because what I write about predates the war, there is no Yugoslav trauma in mine. The trauma is all personal, the trauma of my illness. But when it comes to the Balkans, *Chernobyl Strawberries* is "a normal book".

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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

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"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.

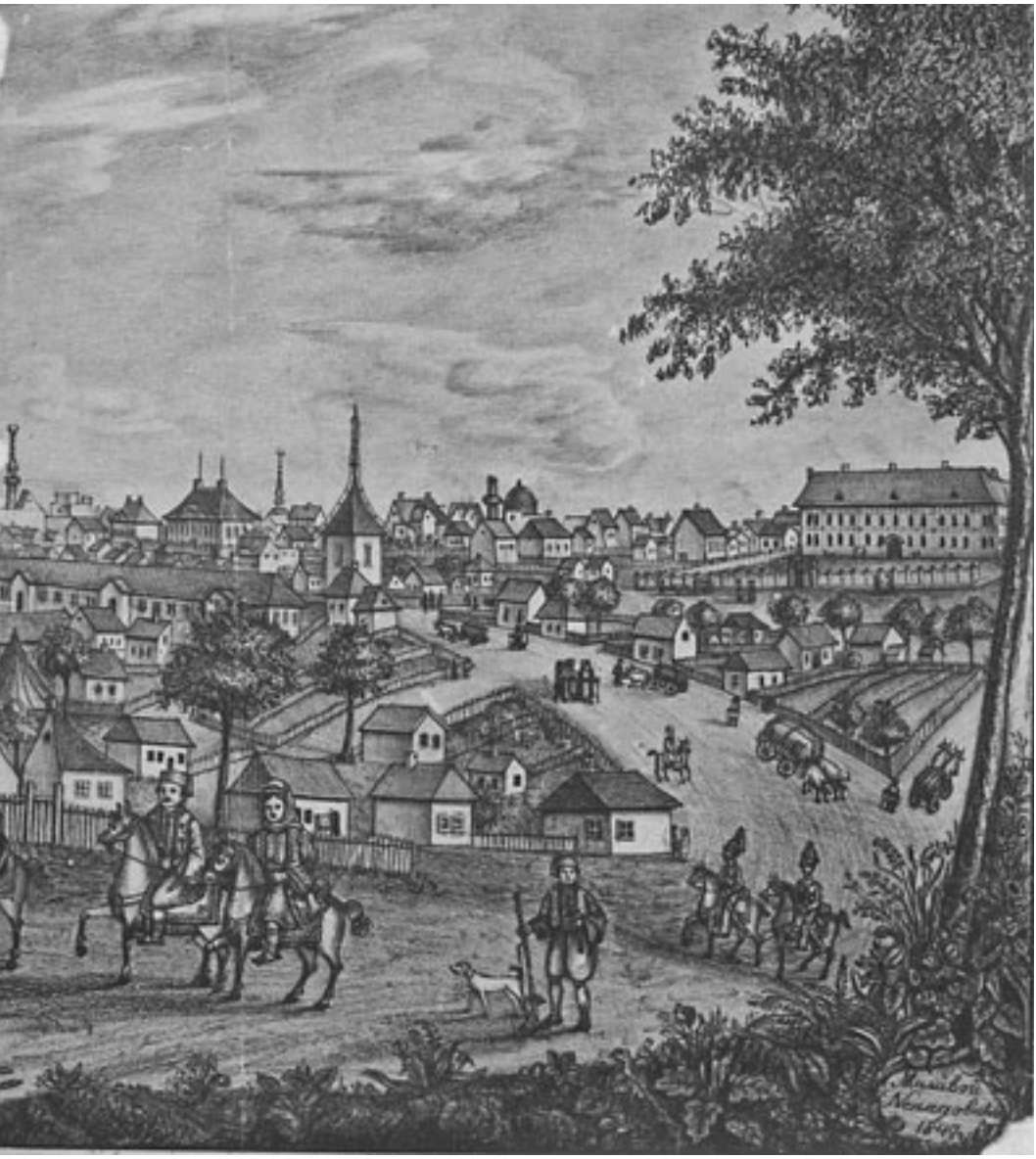
7 Ibid.

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).

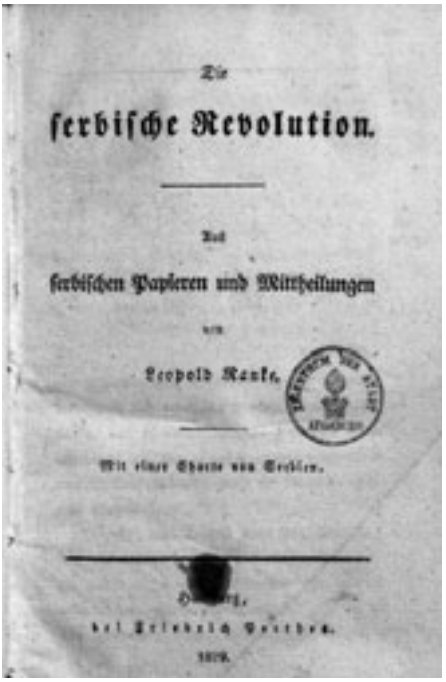
28 The two works were published as volume 17 of the *Collected Works of Vuk Karadžić* in 1972. Vuk Karadžić, *Etnografski spisi* [Ethnographic Works], in *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1972).

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.

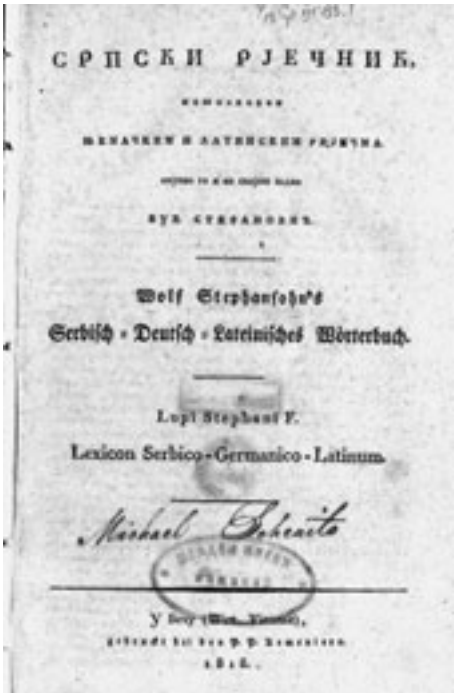
41 Miodrag Popović, *Vidovdan i časni krst. Ogled iz književne arheologije* (Belgrade: Slovo ljubve, 1976).

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

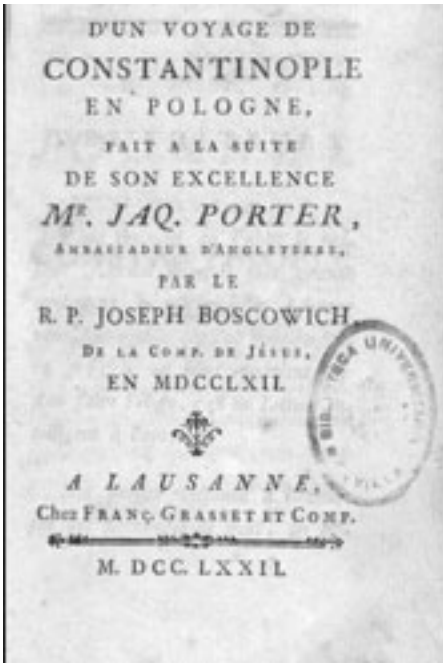
a. Western travelogues and testimonies on Serbia between the *Zeitgeist* and post-colonial criticism

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]

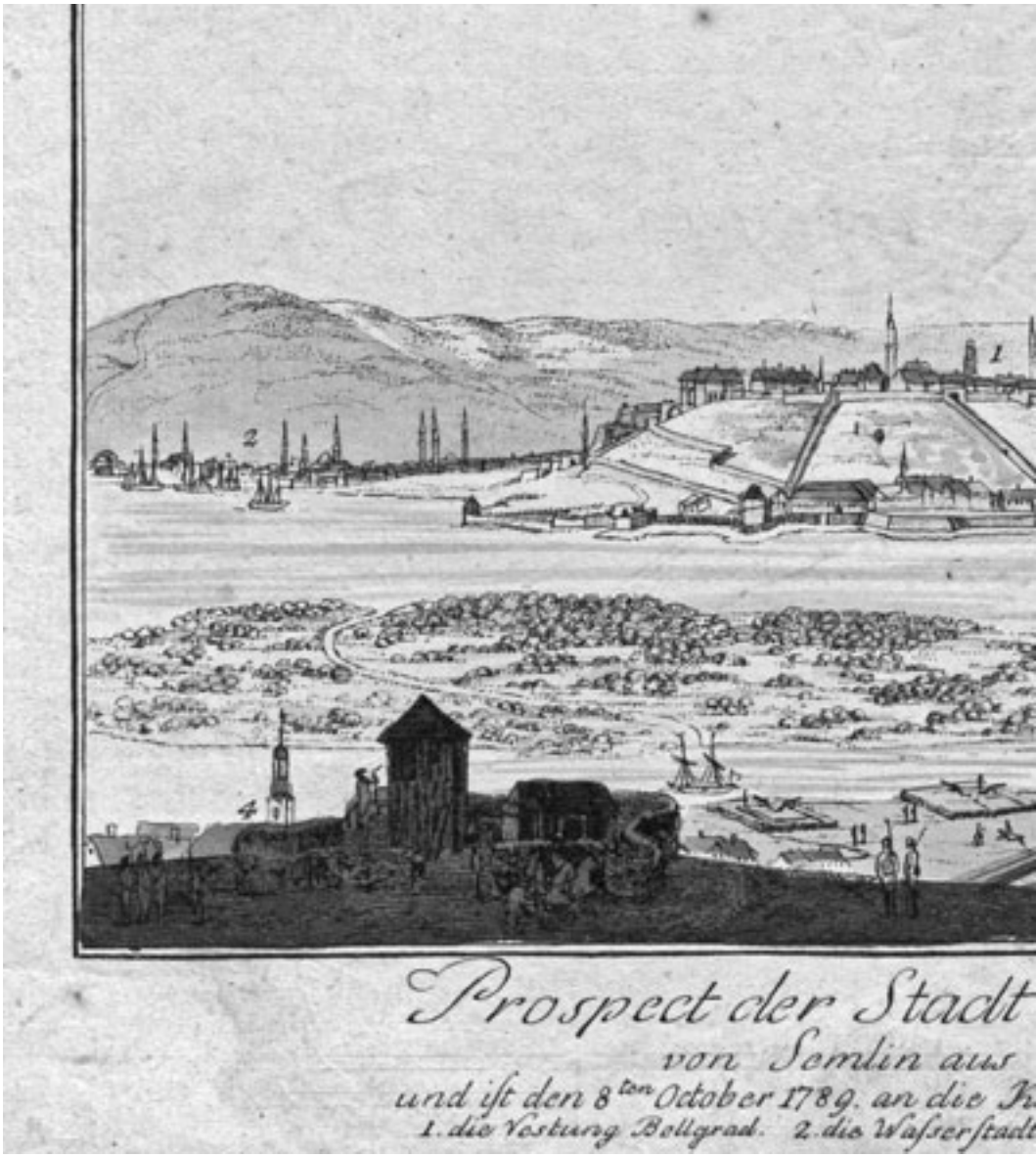
Belgrade again became the northernmost citadel of the Ottoman Empire after the Treaty of Belgrade of 1739. In the 1830s, it became the capital of autonomous Serbia but was still seen as the portal of the East. It was in the same period, the 1830s, that the process of European cultural transfer became 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".

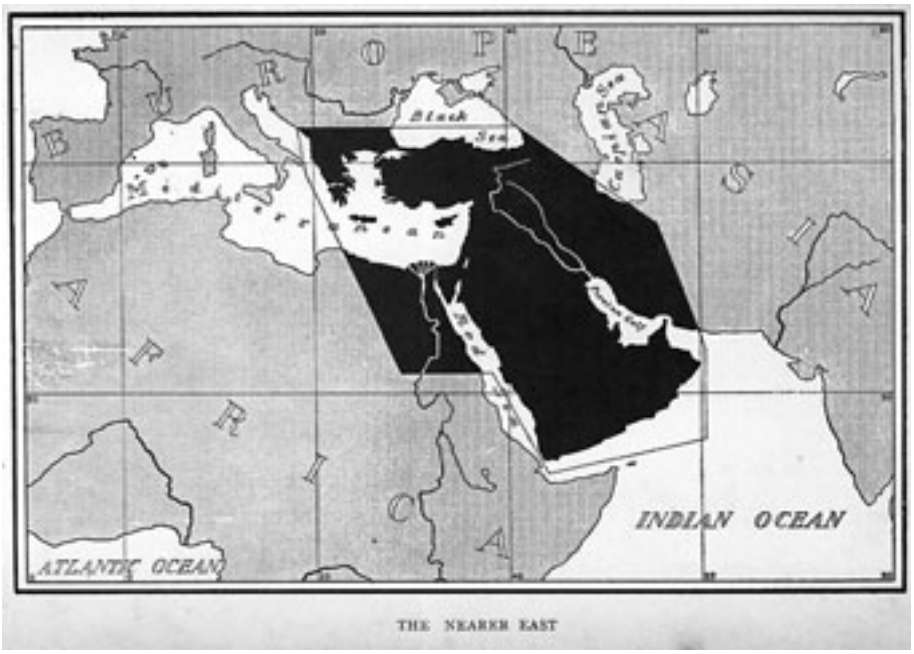
the Danube and clearly visible from Belgrade. For Kinglake, Semlin was "the end of this wheel-going Europe", and he was ready to see "the Splendour and Havoc of The East" on the opposite side.[65] Both the East and its inhabitants were somewhat threatening to him. In Semlin, he claimed,

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.

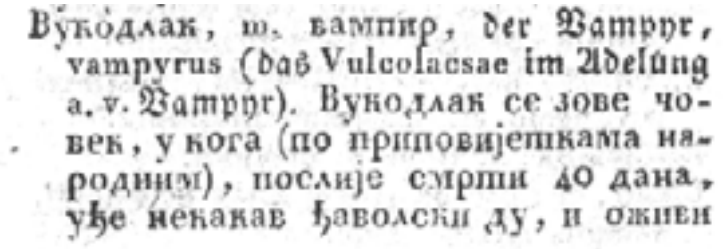
c. Counter-transfer Serbia – Europe

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, м. вампир, der Vampyr, vampyrus (das Vulcolacsae im Adelung a. v. Vampyr). 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.
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.

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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.

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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.

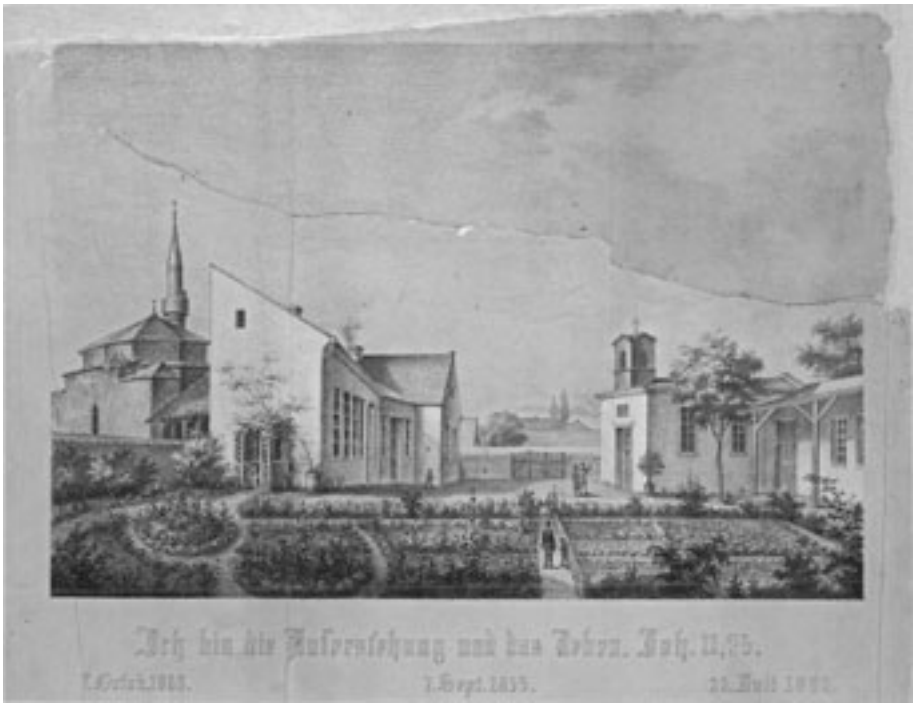
Wolfgang Schmale noticed that "with the acceleration of modernization in the 19th century, the volume of transferred structuremes, culturemes and references multiplied."[107] In Serbia's case, a very low start in terms of Europeanisation in the early 19th century was compensated by the activities of 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.

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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.

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THE IDEA OF CULTURAL TRANSFER IN ANTHROPOLOGY*

Abstract: This paper focuses on the idea of cultural transfer in anthropology, while providing an overview of the main theoretical approaches to cultural transfer in this discipline. This overview starts with diffusionism and the cultural cycle approach, moving to the contemporary concepts of translation and plurality of modernity. Despite the current dismissal of diffusionism, some of its main ideas and premises became part of the lasting anthropological legacy incorporated in the contemporary concepts of cultural translation and multiple modernities. Finally, the paper discusses the postcolonial take on cultural transfer, including the idea of hybridity and the ways in which these ideas were appropriated in the anthropological understating of culture and cultural transfer.

Keywords: cultural transfer, diffusionism, cultural translation, plurality of modernity, hybridity

In this paper, I focus on the idea of cultural transfer in anthropology. Cultural transfer is one of the key issues in anthropology, and it is impossible to give an in-depth analysis of the various analytical and theoretical approaches dealing with it in a single paper. Thus, I will focus on the major ideas and give an overview of the main theoretical approaches to cultural transfer in this discipline.

The obvious starting point is diffusionism – a school of thought that attempted to "understand the distribution of culture in terms of the origin of culture traits and their spread from one society to another".[1] It came to prominence in Germany and Austria in so-called geographical anthropology at the end of the nineteenth century.[2] The central ques-

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1 Gail King, Meghan Wright and Michael Goldstein, Diffusionism and Articulation, https://anthropology.ua.edu/theory/diffusionism-and-acculturation/

2 Early diffusionist ideas could be found in the "eighteenth-century philological tradition which posited historical connections between all the languages of the Indo-European language family." Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropol-*

tion of nineteenth-century anthropology, "how it was possible that a cultural manifestation (an object, a house, a religious concept) could occur in two separate parts of the earth in exactly the same form",[3] could be answered in two main ways that reflected the leading schools of thought of the time. The older of the two, the evolutionists, claimed that people at the "same level of civilization or culture" inevitably invent certain tools and come to similar spiritual ideas about the world, while the diffusionists stressed cultural contacts, which they claimed were pertinent among humans from the very beginning of humanity. Thus, they helped to propagate "both the essentially evolutionist idea of psychic unity or psychical identity (i.e., that all humankind shares the same mentality)"[4] and the diffusionist idea that cultural elements travel across cultures.

Diffusionism can be explained as research of "the process by which discrete culture traits are transferred from one society to another, through migration, trade, war, or other contact".[5] For example, Leo Frobenius, a German anthropologist and archeologist, one of the most prominent figures of the movement and an expert in African culture, proved "that not only isolated cultural items in areas separated by distance were of a similar shape, but that in certain regions numerous elements were alike".[6] He examined the similarities and dissimilarities between various cultural instruments, from housing and musical instruments to shields and knives, and by comparing the ranges of distribution of those elements, he "came to the first result of his new method: the culture cycles to which he assigned the African cultures".[7]

ogy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47. The most important authors of the time, Friedrich Max Müller and Adolf Bastian, were scholars who explored the use of languages in religion, focusing on their comparative qualities (Müller was an Indologist and a specialist in Sanskrit) instead of "evolution".

3 Jurgen Zwernemann, "Leo Frobenius and Cultural Research in Africa", *Research review-Institute of African studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1967), 6.

4 Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 48. This concept is based on the ontology of naturalism, as it is called by Phillipe Descola, and can be summarised in the formula: one nature – many cultures (one world – many representations). Phillipe Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013). As a philosophical concept and the basic anthropological premise of research, it has been questioned in recent years by Descola, Viveiros de Castro. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, *Cannibal Metaphysics: for a Poststructuralist Anthropology* (Minneapolis, MN: Univocal Publishing, 2014); Ibid, *The Relative Native: Essays on Indigenous Conceptual Worlds* (Chicago: Hau Books, 2015), and others (for an overview see Simić, 2020).

5 Robert H. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Greenwood, 1991), 82.

6 Jurgen Zwernemann, op. cit., 6.

7 Ibid, 6.

The cultural cycles approach was enthusiastically embraced in German anthropology, but also in the United States and Great Britain. At a meeting of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory in 1904, Fritz Graebner read a paper on "Cultural cycles and *cultural* strata in Oceania", and Bernhard Ankermann lectured on "Cultural cycles and cultural strata in Africa".[8] The main idea of these approaches was that the cultural complex named "African", "Oceanian", or any other is a "complex layers of cultural elements" (cultural elements being, for example, hunting and gathering, or certain spiritual beliefs, types of arrows, etc.), "whose historical relations" can be traced through comparative studies of various regions.[9] However, those processes were seldom explored according to the research principles of modern social/cultural anthropology; instead, they were usually deducted from similarities in material culture or other "cultural traits" (like monotheism or totemism in comparative religion studies). In other words, what was missing was the crucial anthropological concept of context (social, cultural), which would become the focus of future anthropological research.

Frobenius stresses the dangers of this method, warning his contemporaries that "it was not enough to look merely at the outer forms of certain cultural elements, one had *to* determine their content".[10] In that sense, although some diffusionists stress the "content" of cultural elements and the ways they fit together (anticipating British anthropological structural functionalism), many studies focused on similarities in material culture. A prominent example is the work of Fritz Graebner, whose interest in material culture led him to merge Ratzel's and Frobenius' approaches into the idea of cultural circles understood as the result of interaction and migration, but which could be arranged on the classical evolutionary scale of early anthropology.[11] Thus, for example, American anthropologist Clark Wissler's cultural area methodology was closely connected to the idea of cultural hierarchy, with the Nordic "race" and western European culture understood as the highest form of civilization.[12] Still, many prominent

8 Ibid.

9 Alan Barnard, op. cit. Jurgen Zwernemann considers these works the beginnings of research in cultural history.

10 Jurgen Zwernemann, op. cit., 6.

11 Graebner was a specialist in Oceania, and he identified several cultural circles with specific cultural traits (material or social), such as "Tasmanian" (considered the earliest and most primitive), "Melanesian bow" or "Polynesian patrilineal", which "he believed represented advanced cultural waves" flowing through the Pacific (Alan Barnard, op. cit., p. 51).

12 Jerry Gershenhorn, *Melville J. Herskovits and the Racial Politics of Knowledge* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Unlike Wissler, Frobenius was an ardent critic of colonialism.

anthropologists in the first half of the twentieth century, including Frantz Boas and Melville Herskovits, used the cultural area theory introduced by Graebner and others and developed it further in a clearly anti-racist direction that pushed anthropology away from evolutionism towards more synchronistic approaches.

There are probably no contemporary anthropologists who would identify as diffusionists. Still, diffusionism was not a coherent school of thought or theory (as they seldom are, at least in anthropology), and there are some important legacies of diffusionism, which are usually more tacitly than openly acknowledged. They include the ideas of "cultural areas", "cultural complex" and the regional approach in general. The modern appropriation of the concepts of "cultural areas" and "cultural complex" made them staples of anthropology, which later developed as a specific approach in contemporary history and geography.[13] In American anthropology, Franz Boas, sympathetic yet critical of the German school, insisted on comprehensive empirical research to support the identification of culture areas. Other American anthropologists, many of whom spoke German, such as Alfred Lewis Kreober, Clyde Kluckhohn and Abram Kardiner, picked up on those ideas and searched for cultural traits that can be lumped together, which soon resulted in the idea of culture as a bounded and integrated whole, which basically reproduced the idea of personhood at the time, albeit writ large (the work of Ruth Benedict is probably the most famous example).[14] Still, Alan Bernard argues, some Boasians "turned to history and to conjecture, and with some success".[15] One of them was Melville Herskovits, an economic anthropologist, who developed the idea of "West African culture" and the "cattle complex of East Africa", arguing that certain cultural features go together. He collected evidence from the literature that suggested that cattle was the main organizational principle of East African culture, which brought together

13 See Matthia Middel (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

14 In the so-called Culture and Personality School, culture and society used to be understood largely in Frobenius' tradition, as a person writ large. Frobenius compared cultures to living beings that live and die and resemble traces of other cultures they assimilated (much as children assimilate their parents' characteristics). Jurgen Zwernemann, op. cit. His American successors also understood culture as a more or less coherent category that could be compared to a living being. In other words, the same model of personhood was used to describe both groups and individuals. This model enabled the dichotomy between the two and remained one of the basic premises of western thought, albeit a frequently questioned one (cf. Marina Simić, Žil Delez, Feliks Gatari i antropologija: zaboravljeni slučaj Gregorija Bejtsona, *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (2021).

15 Alan Barnard, op. cit., 55.

various cultural features, including the cult of the ancestors related to cattle, patrilineal descent, age-based stratification and nomadism. That means that "cultural elements" are not distributed randomly but make a more or less coherent whole.[16]

After the critique that the concept of culture was subjected to in anthropology in the mid-1980s, the idea of cultural elements faded away, but the idea of "culture" as a set of various elements blended together remained commonplace in the discipline. Thus, for example, Adam Kuper, in his monograph on bridewealth and cattle in South Africa, uses "a method of structural comparison which focuses on a set of related cultures".[17] His regional approach enables the study of variations, "structural transformation and historical change while imposing a sense of the context and meaning of cultural practices".[18]

Kuper was well aware that cultures do not make coherent and timeless organic units and that boundaries between cultures are not clear-cut. Focusing on "migration, local adaptation, borrowing and innovation",[19] Kuper looks at cattle payments in terms of a general theory of marriage exchange, heavily relying on Levi-Strauss' theory of marriage and kinship, which blended politics, economy and ideology. In that sense, further development of diffusionism anticipated the contemporary anthropological ideas of articulation and "glocalization",[20] which stress the ways in which various "cultural elements" that seem to be separated blend together, as well as the research style of classical anthropological ethnography that later came to be celebrated by Latour in his critique of modernity.[21]

16 Ibid, 55.

17 Adam Kuper, *Wives for Cattle* (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 4. He develops this method throughout his work: Adam Kuper, "Regional comparison in African anthropology", *African Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 310 (Jan. 1979); Adam Kuper, "The man in the field and the man in the study: Ethnography, theory and comparison in social anthropology", *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1980).

18 Adam Kuper, *Wives for Cattle* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 4.

19 Adam Kuper, op. cit., 5.

20 The term glocalization was introduced by Roland Robertson, who uses it to explain "*the construction* of increasingly differentiated consumers, the 'invention' of 'consumer traditions'": Roland Robertson, "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity", in Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 29. But its use in social theory has the much wider meaning of the appropriation of global products in local settings.

21 For Latour, the Modern Constitution provided the false dichotomy between the worlds of nature and humanity, science and politics. For Latour, anthropologists (ethnologists) are the only ones "capable of including within a single monograph the definition of the forces in play; the distribution of powers among human be-

Translation, globalization and the plurality of modernity

The legacy of diffusionism can be found in the studies of "colonialism and its cultural and social consequences," as well as in the research of "the impact of trade liberalization and the spread of development interventions"[22] and globalization in general. The idea of translation emerged in the studies of globalization in a bid to show how various ideas and practices were articulated in various local settings (every setting is local if you look close enough).

The problem of cultural transfer as translation can be found in the wider, non-anthropological literature on cultural transfer. Jørgensen and Lüsebrink, for example, recently wrote that "any cultural artefact transferred between different cultures (or cultural systems) undergoes a process of transformation, of re-semanticization, re-interpretation".[23] "Cultural elements", just like policy, media programs, or popular culture, are never simply transferred from one setting to another, but rather translated – "revised, inflected, appropriated and bent in encounters of different kinds"[24], which makes culture more of an assemblage than a finished object or a product.[25] In that sense, every transfer is also a "translation" that requires

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ings, gods, and procedures for reaching agreements; the connections between religion and power; ancestors; cosmology; property rights; plant and animal taxonomies": Bruno Latour, *We have never been modern* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 14. As an example, Latour mentions Phillipe Descola's book on Amazonia, but Adam Kuper's book is an equally good example.

22 Marta Rohatynskyj, "Diffusionism", in Hilary Callan (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2018), DOI: 10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1642

23 Steen Bille Jørgensen and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, "Introduction: Reframing the Cultural Transfer Approach", in Steen Bille Jørgensen and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (eds.), *Cultural Transfer Reconsidered: Transnational Perspectives, Translation Processes, Scandinavian and Postcolonial Challenges* (Leiden, Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2021), 2.

24 Clarke et al., *Making Policy Move: Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2015), 15. Although Clarke et al., write about policy, the same could be said of any cultural element (policy included).

25 Here assemblage should be understood in Deleuzian terms, as "complex constellations of objects, bodies, expressions, qualities, and territories that come together for varying periods of time to ideally create new ways of functioning": Graham Livesey, "Assemblage", in Adrian Parr (ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary Revised Edition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 18. It emerges from the arranging of heterogeneous elements into a productive entity that are never truly integrated into a coherent whole, even as bricolage. Deleuzian theory, as well as his work with Felix Guattari, has heavily influenced contemporary anthropology,

both decontextualisation and recontexutalisation, as Peter Burk famously put it.[26]

This applies equally to public policy and popular culture and to the project of anthropology itself. Translation is fundamental for the discipline of anthropology more broadly, and, as such, it was widely theorized, the most recent effort being Viveiros de Castro's call for "controlled equivocation".[27] Controlled equivocation serves to undermine the usual anthropological translation policy that understands translation as a transfer from one cultural context to another and to open up space for ontological transformation that should "subvert and replace"[28] our own theoretical premises both in anthropology and Western theory more broadly.[29] In that way, the very idea of translation is radically transformed in order to accommodate "various forms of otherness – 'different worlds'" (and not only worldviews) that may determine themselves by "generative alliances that are in constant processes of becoming".[30] Its aim is to open up room for the "*possibility* that reality itself (not just the multiplicity of ways in which it is represented) might be found or made to operate according to principles other than those with which we are familiar".[31]

This radical reflexivity that applies to anthropological theory and anthropological project in general is reflected in the research that focuses on appropriation and transformation of cultural elements. Thus, in anthropological studies of cultural transfer, the usual focus on particularities is used to demonstrate how different groups of people cope and transform capitalism in its various forms (from ideologies to popular culture). In this body of research, media are those that usually become "the locale of localities" that "creates context as an object of knowledge".[32] Media

but one should be wary of superficially transplanting his work outside its original philosophical context.

26 Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 38.

27 Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Perspectival Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Equivocation," *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America,* Vol. 2, No. 1 (2004).

28 Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge), 22.

29 See Marina Simić, *Ontološki obrt: uvod u kulturnu teoriju alteriteta* (Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing, 2020).

30 Amiria J. M. Salmond, "Transforming Translations (part 2)", *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2014), 178.

31 Amiria J. M. Salmond, op. cit., 178–179.

32 Marilyn Strathern, "The Nice Thing About Culture is That Everyone has It", in Marilyn Strathern (ed.), *Shifting Context: Transformations in Anthropological Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 159.

programs are made for wide audiences that do not share any specific characteristics with the protagonists, but nonetheless recognize "program settings, even if they get the place, time or class wrong".[33] In a sense, the consumer became "delocalised" – someone who can take in products from anywhere, while the act of consumption became localized, transforming global culture into "almost incommensurable specificities".[34] In cultural and media studies, this idea was put forward in various forms from the mid-1980s when the notion of *media text* as different from *media program* was developed.[35] The focus was on the consumption[36] and appropriation of popular culture and media in general. Consumption is always local – it transforms any product, however global it may be, in its spread into a text – a cultural artefact whose meaning has to be produced in a local context.

Context is a crucial anthropological magic word that can transform just about everything into an anthropological object of knowledge, one of the most important being the concept of modernity itself. Not unlike globalization, modernity is also an important anthropological topic when it comes to cultural transfer. The usual anthropological strategy to explore "how the ideas and practices of modernity are themselves appropriated and re-embedded in locally-situated practices"[37] led to the development of various concepts,[38] such as those of "alternative"[39], "vernacular"[40],

33 Marilyn Strathern, op. cit., p. 159.

34 Ibid, 160.

35 Ien Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); John Fiske, *Television Culture: Popular Pleasures and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

36 Elihu Katz and Tamar Liebes, *The Export of Meaning, Cross-Cultural Readings of Dallas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); J. Paige Macdougall, "Transnational Commodities as Local Cultural Icons: Barbie Dolls in Mexico", *The Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2003); Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 1997).

37 Alberto Arce and Norman Long, "Reconfiguring Modernity and Development from an Anthropological Perspective", in Alberto Arce and Norman Long (eds), *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring Discourses, Counter-Tendencies and Violence* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 2.

38 Bjørn Thomassen identifies twenty-one current ways of pluralizing the concept of modernity: Bjørn Thomassen, "Anthropology and Its Many Modernities: When Concepts Matter", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 18, No. (1) (2012).

39 Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "On Alternative Modernities", in Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (ed.), *Alternative Modernities* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002).

40 Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Theory from the South: Or, how Europe is Evolving Toward Africa", *Anthropological Forum*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2012).

"global"[41], or "multiple" modernities[42]. This does not mean that people everywhere strive to abolish modern institutions, but that there are alternative forms of modernity that might not come from and in the single form. Those alternative modernities that might seem "incomplete" or "captured" (as in "captured state") might have little to do with tradition or "backwardness", but quite a lot with the modernity (or capitalism) itself that produced practices that are in the peripheries or semi-peripheries deemed pre-modern or backward.[43] In that sense, modernity cannot be finished, and there are no incomplete modernities.

The concept of alternative modernities became particularly important in the studies of globalization and development, creating a powerful counter-tendency to Western-centric models that created a naïve and simplified opposition between modernity and tradition.[44] Anthropological studies of modernity and globalization primarily aim to avoid "analytical Eurocentrism" and debunk the idea of singularity and "unilineality of modernization process"[45] and single-directness of globalization. Appadurai develops the idea of "scapes" (the term is derived from the word "landscape") in order to develop the theory of "global cultural flow" and avoid simplistic binaries of Global North vs. Global South, East vs. West, First World vs. Third World, etc.. He identified five specific "scapes" or flows: ethnoscapes, technoscapes, ideoscapes, financescapes, and mediascapes, which describe the flow of people, technology, ideas, money and media across national boundaries.[46]

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41 Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, "Globalization, Modernity and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction", in Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities* (London: Sage Publications, 1995).

42 Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Multiple Modernities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002). Eisenstadt's ideas are not well known in anthropology and even when the term "multiple modernites" has been used, it was usually not in the way that Eisenstadt intended, but it is important to mention them here, as he was among the first to point out the processes of *longue durée* that enabled the spread of European modernity.

43 Anthropological works on postsocialist transformation in Europe is a good example of this kind of work, for Serbia see, in particular, Čarna Brković, *Managing Ambiguity: How Clientelism, Citizenship, and Power Shape Personhood in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2017); Slobodan Naumović, *Fields of Paradox: Three Case Studies on the Europeanisation of Agriculture in Serbia* (Belgrade: Srpski geneološki centar, 2013).

44 Alberto Arce and Norman Long, op. cit.

45 Bjørn Thomassen, op. cit., 165.

46 Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 7, No. (2–3) (Jun., 1990), 295–210. However, that does not mean that people or capital freely roam the globe. Cf. Dipesh

Bjørn Thomassen argues that recent debates in anthropology around globalization and modernity have much in common with the older debate between evolutionists and diffusionists about the origin of "civilization".[47] Early cultural evolutionists took Western civilization as the natural and self-evident starting point of human civilization in general and the ending point of history, while those who came later rejected the very concept of civilization as "ethnocentric, politically biased, and/or analytically useless".[48] Civilization became another word for culture or the cultural complex, and the only meaningful contemporary usage of the term came from historically oriented or Marxist sociologists and anthropologists like Immanuel Wallerstein[49] and Eric Wolf.[50] Wallerstein strongly opposes Eurocentric ideas, especially those of "anti-Eurocentric Eurocentrism", which rely on neo-evolutionist premises, and argues for the acknowledgment of the uniqueness of modernist and capitalist development as well as of its manifestations and appropriations. That does not mean that "Western modernity was progressive, inevitable or desirable", as Wallerstein[51] put it himself, or that it was equal with "Western ideals, ideas, and institutions" across various spaces and times.[52] Still, that does not mean that the Western world and its development of modernity was not unique, but that this was a development that also unfolded in the rest of the world, too. Wallerstein's ideas, close to the theories of neo-colonialism and decolonization, seem to be one of the few universalistic positions acceptable in anthropology.

Postcolonial take on cultural transfer, hybridity and culture

Postcolonial theory shares with anthropology a focus on the decentralization of knowledge, questioning the universals, and a focus on de-Eurocentrisation. Postcolonial and cultural studies were particularly interested in questions of globalization and cultural contact, developing

Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

47 Bjørn Thomassen, op. cit.

48 Ibid, 168.

49 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-system II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The Regents of the University of California, 2011).

50 Eric. R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

51 Immanuel Wallerstein, "Eurocentrism and Its Avatars: the Dilemmas of Social Sciences", *Sociological Bulletin* Vo. 46, No. 1 (March 1997).

52 Bjørn Thomassen, op. cit., 171.

several concepts that aim to explain unequal power relations as well as the theoretical inadequacy of classical cultural transfer theories. Those concepts include ideas of creolization, mestijazetion and hybridity. The first two apply to the processes of "intermixing and cultural change" that produce the Creole societies in the Caribbean and South America.[53] In that sense, "transferred cultural artefacts produce not only effects, reactions and re-interpretations in the 'target cultures', but also, in return, in the producing cultures".[54] The core anthropological principle of "indinegenization" means that externalities are acculturated into the existing system that gives them meaning.

The term hybridity is one of the mostly widely used and disputed terms in postcolonial theory that "refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization".[55] But hybridity is not simply cultural exchange. Homi Bhabha, the best known scholar of hybridity, argues that the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is one of mutual dependency (through mimicry, ambivalence and difference). However, that does not mean that those identities are fixed entities that simply came into contact. For Bhabha, there is no pure culture, as no culture is discrete a phenomenon. Furthermore, hybridity poses the important question of the perspective that serves as "the sign of productivity of colonial power"[56]. Something is a hybrid only from the point of view of the classifier – the colonizer who might declare something to be a more or less odd combination of tradition and modernity.[57] As Bhabha argues, colonial hybridity "is not a *problem* of genealogy or identity between two *different* cultures which can then be resolved as an issue of cultural relativism", but it serves as "a problematic of colo-

53 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Hellen Tiffin, *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 51.

54 Bille Jørgensen and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, op. cit., 4.

55 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Hellen Tiffin, op. cit., 108.

56 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 112.

57 For example, Jonathan Friedman, a prominent critic of the concept of hybridity, analyses James Clifford's study of the Paradise exhibition about contemporary Papua New Guinea, particularly a battle-shield which was "traditional in all respects except that it has an advertisement for a local beer painted on its surface": Jonathan Friedman, "Carlos Capelàn: Our Modernity not Theirs", in Arnd Schneider and Christopher Wright (eds.) *Contemporary Art and Anthropology* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), p. 176. For anthropologists (but not for locals; and presumably not for all anthropologists either) that was a 'hybrid', an odd combination of tradition and modernity. Friedman asks who classified the shield as such, "whose reason is it", "what is the act of classifying something as hybrid": Friedman, op. cit., 176.

nial representation"[58] – hybridity is grotesque only for the Westerners. In that sense, hybridity can serve to destroy the usual "negative polarities" between "knowledge and its objects"[59] and those between local identities and the dominant culture, the "Inside and Outside"[60] that rests on traditional anthropological ideas of cultures as discrete units on the one hand and the dialectics between the individual and the group on the other. Thus, Bhabha, following the philosopher Charles Taylor, advocates for "partial cultural milieux", which should enable minority cultural rights that are "assigned to 'hybrid' subjects who stand somewhere in-between individual needs and obligations, and collective claims and choices, in partial cultural milieux".[61] Hybridity does not mean inauthenticity, but it is rather produced through the "structure of difference".[62]

Similarly, Marshall Sahlins explains that "hybridity is a genealogy, not a structure. It is an analytic construal of a people's history, not an ethnographic description of their way of life".[63] The stress is more on the process of hybridization than on hybrid entities. This was not unknown to the early generations of anthropologists who took up diffusionist ideas, especially in the United States, and who, like Boas and Kroeber, argue that "all cultures are hybrid".[64] It is not only that cultures are not isolated, but because the theoretical model of culture as a homogenous unit[65] or a "thing" cannot be sustained (together with the essentialised idea of race), there is no culture that is *sui generis*, as Marshall Sahlins argues,[66] in an absolute sense and isolated from others.

58 Homi K. Bhabha, op. cit., 114.

59 Ibid, 25.

60 J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1993), 1.

61 Homi K. Bhabha, "On Minorities: Cultural Rights", *Radical Philosophy*, Vol. 100, (March/April, 2000), 3.

62 Ibid, 53.

63 Marshall Sahlins, "Two or Three Things that I Know about Culture", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1999), 412.

64 Ibid, 411.

65 It should be stressed that the problem was not only that cultures were understood as coherent wholes, which was already disputed from the 1960s onwards, but that modernist anthropology "worked under the realist illusion that societies could be described as actually existing entities in time in space": Bjørn Thomassen, op. cit., 61. That could be related to particular cultures. In contemporary sociology and anthropology, this idea was seriously questioned in recent years. Cf., for example, Alain Touraine, "Sociology without Societies," *Current Sociology*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Mar. 2003); Marilyn Strathern et al., "The Concept of Society is Theoretical Obsolete", in Tim Ingold (ed.), *Key debates in Anthropology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

66 Marshall Sahlins, op. cit., 411.

Conclusion

Basically, diffusionism was very much about cultural contact and the ability to accommodate and translate various "cultural elements". The reflexive turn in anthropology and the American movement of anthropology as cultural critique in the late 1990s tend to turn previous anthropological work into a straw man for the usual charges of understanding culture as timeless and clearly bounded. However, American anthropologists from the days of Frantz Boas spent "a good part of their lives studying historical diffusion", sometimes accusing "their own predecessors of the same prejudices" that they themselves were prone to have.[67] Ruth Benedict, for example, famously wrote that Frazier had created a "Frankenstein's monster, with a right eye from Fiji, a left from Europe, one leg from Tierra del Fuego, and one from Tahiti", and failed to investigate both the integration of various cultural elements and the cultural processes of living cultures.[68] Contemporary anthropology approaches the idea of cultural transfer through the concept of "frictions"[69] and translation "between the foreign and the domestic, the structural and the affective" that form a hybridity which "shapes local dramas of "'globalization'".[70] Going back to classical diffusionism with which I started this paper, it could be said, as Alan Barnard argues, that "if a connection exists between classic diffusionism" and more current theoretical trends, "it is precisely at a level of high theory or analogy".[71] Although Barnard argues that the idea of diffusionism did not spread to contemporary anthropology, there is a strong legacy of some of its most important ideas and premises that were articulated in contemporary anthropology as its continued legacy.

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67 Ibid, 404.

68 Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Mentor Books, 1960), 55. To be fair, it is important to say that Frazier belongs to the evolutionist school, which was equally based on comparative principles as the diffusionist theories of his time.

69 Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005)

70 Ivan Rajković, "Balkanizing Sahlins: National Humiliation and Stranger Capitalism in a Semiperiphery", in press.

71 Alan Barnard, op. cit., 54.

pology, Development and Modernities: Exploring Discourses, Counter-Tendencies and Violence (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 1–30.

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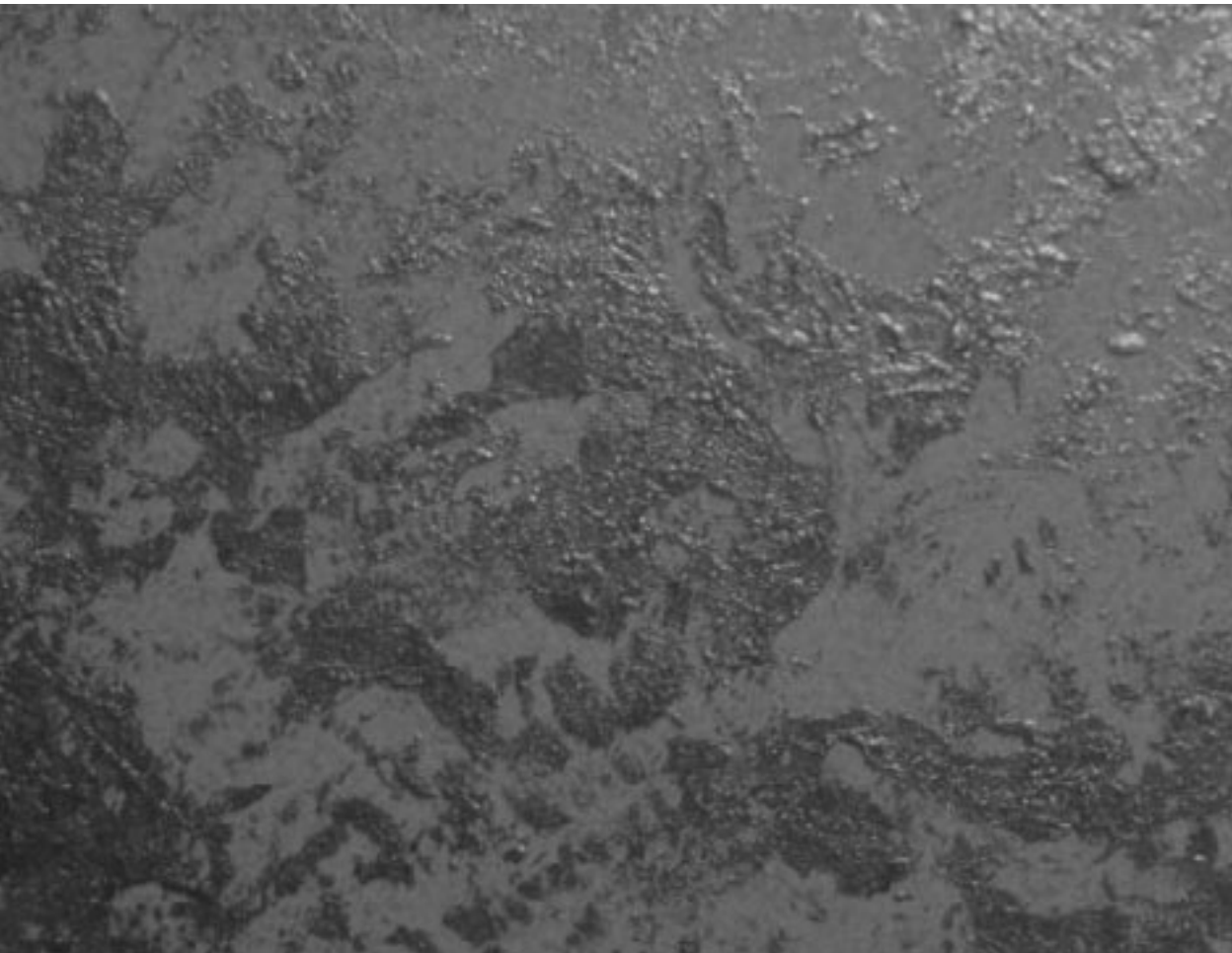
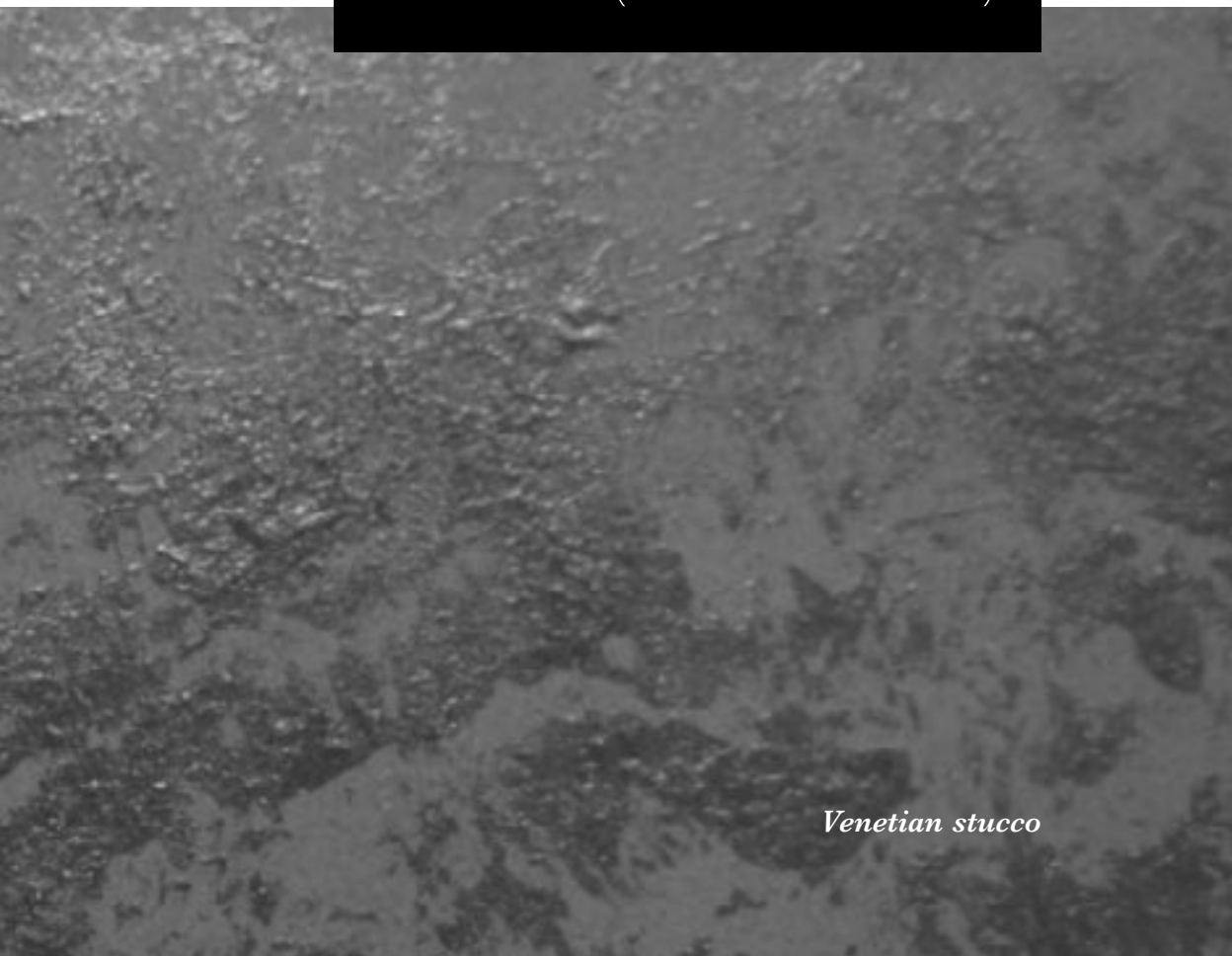


2: Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia during the Long 19th Century (the 1780s-1914)



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SERBIAN CULTURE OF THE 18TH CENTURY BETWEEN CULTURAL TRANSFERS FROM THE EAST AND WEST

Abstract: The theory of cultural transfer recognizes both the material and the abstract model of transferring. This article primarily focuses on the material model showing how the transfer of objects was reflected in the historical and political circumstances caused by the migrations during the 18th century and consequently marked Serbian cultural and literary development. The second part sheds light on the abstract model of cultural transferring and translating of ideas based on one case study of Z. Orfelin's *Eternal Calendar* (*Večni kalendar*), published in Vienna in 1783.

Keywords: material and abstract models of cultural transfer, Serbs in the Habsburg Empire, Zaharija Orfelin

If one compares different approaches of cultural transfer studies, one can see that the essence of this theory lies in the efforts to answer the question of *what is culture*. There is no culture that is completely isolated, and, according to M. Espagne,[1] each cultural system is based on *métissage*, i.e. an interference of intercultural elements in the national cultural frameworks. Therefore, cultural transfer studies represent an attempt to encompass several national concepts at the same time, including their common elements and complementation but also showing the limitations that occurred during the process of transferring. Two case studies of migrations and popular literature of the 18th century will paradigmatically illustrate Serbian culture of the early modern period and show its national and, at the same time, "non-national", i.e. culturally transferable, aspects.

Since M. Werner and M. Espagne[2] paved the way for the study of cultural transfer arising from the theoretical framework of comparative literary studies, numerous articles and books have been written on this topic.

1 Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels: franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 3-8.

2 Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C. N. R. S.", in *Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, No. 13 (1985), 502-510; Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels: franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999); Michel Espagne, "Kulturtransfer" – Eu-

Cultural transfer studies naturally supplemented the theoretical principles of comparative studies by insisting on reciprocity and mutual relations between cultures rather than privileging one-dimensional reception and the process of (an uncritical) imitation and implementation. In the context of this research work, there are several authors whose theoretical approaches are best applicable considering the nature of the corpus of Serbian literature and culture of the 18th and 19thcentury – Peter Burke,[3] Wolfgang Schmale,[4] Doris Bachmann-Medick,[5] Matthias Middell,[6] Michael North[7] and Stefanie Stockhorst.[8]

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ropäische Geschichte gegen den Strich nationaler Mythen, in Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2003).

3 Peter Burke, R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, European Scientific Foundation (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Peter Burke, "Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures", in Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch – Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

4 Wolfgang Schmale, *Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransfer: europageschichtliche Perspektiven für die Landesgeschichte, eine Einführung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sächsischen Landesgeschichte* (Bochum: Winkler, 1998); Wolfgang Schmale, "Europa wissenschaftlich konstruieren: Theoretische Ansätze zur kulturellen Integration Europas in der Neuzeit", in W. Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 157-171. Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2003); Wolfgang Schmale, *Cultural Transfer*, in European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-12-05. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159- 2012120501 [2022-05-15]; Wolfgang Schmale, "Kulturaustausch und Kulturelle Transfers in der Frühen Neuzeit", in Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

5 Doris Bachmann-Medick (ed.), *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997); Doris Bachmann-Medick, "Übersetzung in der Weltgesellschaft. Impulse eines 'translational turn'", in Andreas Gipper, Susanne Klengel (eds.), *Kultur, Übersetzung, Lebenswelten* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), 141-160.

6 Matthias Middell, "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis", in *Comparative*, Hf. 1 (2000), 1-38; Matthias Mieddell, "Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransferforschung. Vom bilateralen Beispiel zu Beiträgen für eine globale Geschichte", in *Eurostudia – Transatlantische Zeitschrift für Europaforschung*, Vol. 4, No 2 (Dec. 2008): Europäische Komparatistik und darüber hinaus.

7 Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch – Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

8 Stefanie Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation* (Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2010).

The interpretations of the material aspect of cultural transfer, as it is shown in the works of W. Schmale[9] or J. Rüpke,[10] are applicable to the study of cultural changes that took place after the migrations of the Serbian people at the end of the 17th and during the 18th century. Their understanding of cultural transfer of *objects* and *relics* opened a completely new perspective for analyzing the alteration of cultural models that marked Serbian culture during the 18th century. The Latin term *translatio*, as a springboard for cultural transfer or cultural translation, does not mean exclusively the translation of texts from a source language to a target language. Much more broadly, this process of cultural translation means translating a certain horizon of ideas from one culture to another. Concurrently to the abstract level, it is understood as the material translation or transfer of objects of distinct semantic potential from one geographical, religious, and cultural space to another, including even humans and other living beings like animals or plants. Therefore, *translatio* could also be used for the transfer of relics and profane goods, symbols, and ideas. In this context Schmale's definition of *kultureme*[11] as a cultural product with a strong semantic potential of identity and origin is crucial for understanding the importance of the relics transfer during the Great Migration.

Jörg Rüpke,[12] in his study on cultural transfer and religion, argued that religious infrastructure, i.e. monasteries, dioceses or the "negative" religious praxis, such as prevention of religious freedom, contributed to the dynamic of cultural transfer triggered by migration and the exchange of people, practices, objects and ideas. In this process, religiously motivated people such as monks, clerics, and pilgrims on the one hand, and on the other, a religious object such as scriptures, incunabula, books, relics, remains of saints, ritual furniture etc. marked the transfer processes that permanently changed one cultural space. So, the distribution of people, goods, ideas, and concepts triggered the process of cultural transfer and contributed widely to the dynamism of cultural exchange.

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9 Ibid; Wolfgang Schmale, "Europäisierungen", in Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010b-de URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20101011139 [2022-09-15].

10 Jörg Rüpke, "Religion", in Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2020-09-08. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ruepkej-2020-de URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2020062408 [2022-09- 15].

11 Wolfgang Schmale, "Struktureme und Kultureme: Einige theoretische Grundlagen für die Erforschung frühneuzeitlichen Kulturtransfers", in W. Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, 45-46.

12 Jörg Rüpke, "Religion", 1.

The transfer of relics during the Crusades could be seen as an exceptional example of material translation. It is known that the transfer of relics and other similar objects during the Crusades from one area to another, from one religious system to another, from one culture to another, served not just to the process of Christianisation, but moreover, this type of cultural transfer and translations caused the Europeanisation of the whole continent to bridge the gaps among different cultures, languages, and nations. According to Schmale, the concept of Europe in the medieval period was equated with Christianisation, which changed in the early modern period, especially with the process of "Europeanisation" during the Enlightenment.[13]

This approach to the material aspect of cultural transfer is perfectly applicable to the case of cultural transfer caused by the migrations of people and objects as well as the translation of ideas, knowledge, tradition, and emotions from one culture to the other that marked Serbian history at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The migrations and organized group moves or relocations that profoundly influenced early modern Serbian literature were the Great Migration of Serbs (1690), the arrival of Russian teachers to the Metropolitanate of Karlovci (1726, 1733), Schwabenzüge throughout the 18th century to the Habsburg monarchy and the Migrations of Serbs to the Russian Empire (1751–54).

*

Important changes took place in the Serbian society at the end of the 17th century, following the Great Migrations of Serbs from territories once their own and now under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, towards the north, i.e. to the territories that belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy.[14] As a consequence of this territorial shift, there were changes with cultural, political, economic, and religious effects. The issue of faith was vital for the establishment of national and cultural identity. Firstly, after the Ottoman conquest and the discontinuation of the medieval ruling dynasty, the people were headed by the patriarch instead of the monarch; secondly, faith was the key element of distinction from the adversaries and, at the same time, of convergence with their Christian brothers – Ro-

13 Schmale, Wolfgang, "Europäisierungen", 7-11.

14 See: Dragana Grbić, "The Great Migration and Individual Travels – Precursors of Serbian Modernity?" in J. DeLucia, J. Shields (eds.), *Migrations and Modernities: the state of being stateless, 1700-1850* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 150-169.

man Catholics, Protestants, and other Orthodox Christians, which itself resulted in the political initiative for organizing the migrations. "The estimated number of Serbs who migrated during the Great Migration varies, according to literature, from 40,000 to 500,000. The greatest problem which remains unresolved by historical research is that some sources mention large numbers of Serb families consisting of at least 7 to 10 members, thereby significantly affecting the tally of persons relocated at the end of the 17th century."[15]

The migrating people carried with them different sorts of items, tools, weapons, animals etc., which could be understood as not just a transfer of human potential but also as a material and immaterial transfer at the same time. Records of material transfer that marked the cultural change are to be found in the manuscripts written at the time of migrations by the monks who participated in the Great Migration. One of them was Atanasije Daskal, who noted the following:

> Towns and villages were deserted. The great imperial monasteries and the beautiful churches painted with gold were abandoned too. *And the holy altars where the bloodless sacrifice was offered – there are now wild animals and beasts breeding.* Thus, God allowed suffering because of our sins, and we perished for our iniquities as ancient Israel.[16]

The emptiness of churches implies that objects from the sacral space were transferred to another geographical space. Their *kultureme* consisted not just of material objects but of immaterial cultural assets too, and even two centuries after the Great Migration, historians and linguists that researched Serbian settlements around Budapest and Szentendre found that the original identity potential of those *kulturemes* was either totally or partly preserved: "Coming from a very wide territory of the entire Serbian land, they brought with them all the differences that existed between them in the homeland: differences in language, clothes, customs and traditions. Although, over time and gradually, merging with the new surrounding took place, the variegation that originated from the difference in origin lasted a long time. Even in June 1909 the differences were still recognizable, and Aleksandar Belić found that the language features of almost all our provinces are mixed in the language around Buda *Like*

15 Vladan Gavrilović, "Velika seoba Srba kao migracioni talas u vreme Velikog Bečkog rata", in *Istraživanja*, Vol. 24 (2013), 167.

16 Atanasije Daskal Srbin (before 1698), in *Književnost*, Vol. 5 (1990). "И градови и села сва запустеше. И манастири велики царски и цркве красне животописане златом запустене. *А жртвеници и олтари свети где се приносила бескрвна жртва – тамо се сад звери дивље и нечисте плоде.* Тако, када је Бог дозволио због грехова наших (страдање), погибосмо за безакоње наше као древни Израиљ." My underlining.

colors in a kaleidoscope."[17] Due to the fact that they mingled with the new environment in Southern Hungary and that the new environment was visually changed under their influence and filled with their contents, such as architectural structures, new churches, paintings, clothes, objects from the private sphere etc., it could be concluded that the Great Migration resulted in a massive cultural transfer that consisted of both *strukturemes* and *kulturemes*. Simultaneously they adopted new customs and languages and introduced a new school system under the influence of the Habsburg environment so that this kind of *struktureme* strongly impacted their cultural system that was (re)modelled gradually during the 18th century.

Even though in the 18th century "the concept of Europe as an entity no longer depended on Europe being equated with Christianity",[18] as it had done in previous periods, the migrations of Serbian people from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy are usually still presented as migrations from the oriental type of civilisation to a European one.[19] This binary splitting continues to exist in the Balkans longer than in the other parts of Europe due to the political and historical circumstances since "the historical fear of the Tatars and Saracens, archetypes of the powerful pagan, was replaced by a fear of the Turks after the Ottoman Empire had expanded and conquered Constantinople" and that "Eastern and Southeastern Europe began to see themselves as an *antemurale christianitatis*, as the bulwark of Christendom."[20] The longer persistence of the medieval perspective in this part of Europe, especially in the Balkans, was one of the possible reasons that "only with the Enlightenment was Europe brought into a West-East-Rhythm."[21]

Due to the Ottoman oppression of the Christians in the Balkans, their glorious medieval past was not perceived as *the dark age*,[22] as was commonly the case in the West. On the contrary, the past periods, both

17 Tihomir Djordjević, "Srpske kolonije u Budimu i okolini", *Književnost*, 1990/5, 876-877.

18 Wolfgang Schmale, "Cultural Transfer", in European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-12-05. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501 [2022-05-15], 1.

19 More in Dejan Medaković, *Die Lage des serbischen Volkes in Österreich im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bruxelles: L' Université libre de Bruxelles, 1988); Milorad Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba XVII-XVIII*, (Belgrade: Nolit, 1970); Jovan Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnosti*, (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2002).

20 Wolfgang Schmale, op. cit., 19.

21 Wolfgang Schmale, "Europäisierungen", 26.

22 More in Dragana Grbić, "The Reception of The Middle Ages in Serbian Enlightenment Literature", in Lidija Merenik, Vladimir Simić, Igor Borozan (eds.), *Imagining the Past and The Reception of Middle Ages in Serbian Art of the 18th*

ancient and medieval, were seen as the source for the renewal of the golden age and the revitalising source for national rebirth and, especially during the 18th century, this kind of perception was closely connected with political developments in the Balkans. The revival of antiquity manifested in different kinds of cultural transfers led to philhellenism not just among Greek people but all over Europe.[23] On the other hand, the admiration for the rediscovered medieval past and the lost Christian kingdoms widespread among Bulgarian and Serbian people in eighteenth-century-histories resulted in very diverse forms of the religious Enlightenment, even though some representatives of the Enlightenment also looked towards western 18th-century sources.

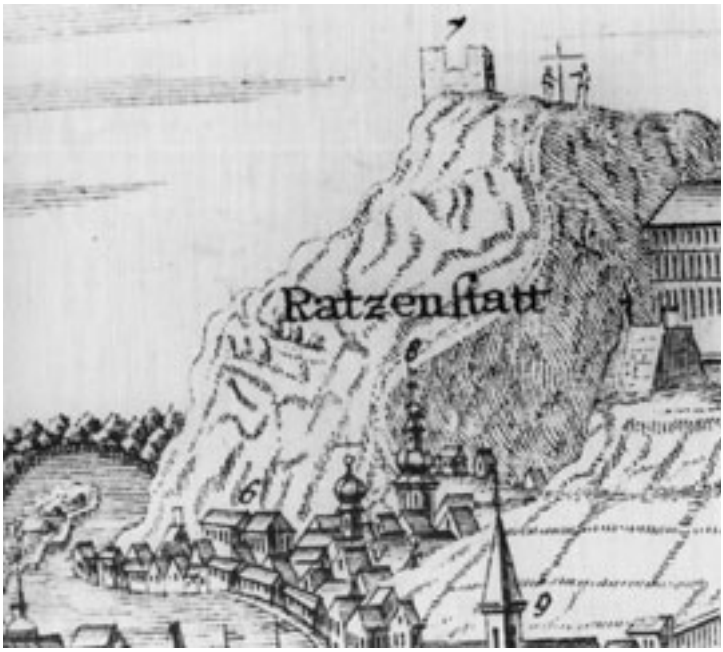
Therefore, one of the most significant cultural transfers that happened during the Great Migration was the transfer of relics and other similar objects because it served to preserve the axis of cultural and national identity. Serbian monks carried with them manuscripts, icons and other church items, but aside from material objects, they also transferred elements of their traditions and creative skills, such as writing, building, painting, and other competences and crafts. A remarkable example of this kind that could be seen as a typical transfer of a *kultureme* represents the case of the monks of Ravanica Monastery, who took the "relics of Tzar Lazar" with them when they migrated in 1690. Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović lost his life in 1389 in the Battle of Kosovo and, due to the historical but also symbolical significance of this battle and his martyrial death, was declared a saint, and his remains are considered one of the most valuable relics in the Serbian Orthodox Church. According to Rüpke,[24] the selectivity and carefully planned selection of the religious objects transmitted played an important role in the dynamic of cultural transfer so that religion either promoted or prevented and channelled the exchange processes. The monks of Ravanica Monastery brought the relics with them to the Habsburg Monarchy, to Szentendre, to preserve one valuable element of their identity connected with the Kosovo mythos, and this cultural and religious transfer was recorded in a diary written by the monk Stefan of Ravanica.

> Some of our people fled up the Danube – some on boats, others on horses or in carriages, and some on foot, like me, the poor wretch. *We walked along the road for 40 days* and *came to Buda town*. There was His Holiness the Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević, several bishops, and monks from many monasteries and many people from all over the Serbian land, both male

and 19th century (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, Institute for Byzantine Studies, 2016), 59-67.

23 Wolfgang Schmale, "Europäisierungen", 16.

24 Jörg Rüpke, op. cit., 1.



'Ratzenstatt', the Seriban Town in Buda.
Copper engraving from the second half of the 18th cenury

> and female. *Also, we, the fellow brethren of the Ravanica monastery with the relics of the saint among the emperors, Prince Lazar of Serbia*. And *we moved to a place close to Buda called St. Andrew's [Szentendre]*, a good place for foreigners to live. [...] *There we built small houses, as best we could, and we built a wooden church near the bank of the Danube, and there we laid the relics of the Holy Emperor Lazarus of Serbia*.[25]

This motif of a forty-day journey on foot to the new territories could be seen as a kind of pilgrimage to the new promised holy land, carrying the relics of the holy Prince Lazar, who made an oath before the Battle of Kosovo and chose the eternal heavenly empire instead of the empire on earth. At the same time, the monk Stefan uses the Biblical symbolism

25 Stefan Ravaničanin in *Književnost*, Vol. 5 (1990), 880. "Мало нашег народа бегу се даде горе уз Дунав – једни на лађама, други на коњима и колима, а неки пешке, као и ја сиромах. *40 дана смо по путу ходили и дођосмо до Будима града.* Тамо је (био) и светејши патријарх Арсеније Чарнојевић и неколико владика, из многих манастира калуђера и многи људи из све српске земље, мушки пол и женски. *Такође и ми житељи манастира Раванице са моштима светога међу царевима кнеза Лазара Српског. И уселисмо се у неко место више Будима звано Сент-андреја,* добро место за пребивалиште странаца**.** [...] *Ту саградисмо кућице, како који може, и цркву од дрвета подигосмо близу обале дунавске, те ту положисмо мошти светога цара Лазара Српског.*" My underlining.

Josif Falta, Monastery Vrdnik/Nova Ravanica (1888), pen and ink on paper. Courtesy of the Gallery of Matica Srpska.

of this number to underline the important change that befell the Serbian people but also to imply the martyrial destiny of the people who refused to renounce their faith even in the direst of circumstances. The symbolism of forty days could be interpreted within the religious context. In Christian tradition, there is a belief that the soul continues to wander for another forty days after physical death. In the end, the soul finally departs from this world and finds its salvation. Metaphorically, this description could be understood as the transformation of one cultural model and initiation of a new cultural model that should bring a new, better life in a promised land, whereby the transfer of relics should help to preserve the essence of the old identity in the new environment.

The importance and prominent status of these relics in Serbian culture are evidenced by the fact that the monks moved the relics whenever they had to change their place of residence. After several years, the monks of Ravanica Monastery left Szentendre and moved to Fruška gora, and they took the relics again with them and transferred them to Vrdnik, to the monastery of Nova Ravanica (New Ravanica), where they remained until 1942. The New Ravanica Monastery in the Habsburg Monarchy was built according to the architectural model of the old Ravanica monastery in medieval Serbia, another exceptional example of the material

type of cultural transfer. They not only tried to transfer the relics as the crucial "content", but also to rebuild and recreate the original setting of the relics and their religion in general in this new environment.

The construction of New Ravanica, as well as of other Serbian Christian Orthodox monasteries built in Fruška gora in the 18th century, represents an excellent illustrative example of Schmale's interpretation of cultural transfer as a medium for manifesting visibility and demonstrating cultural and even political power. Gradually adapting to the new environment and being included in the social, political, military and economic aspects of life, until the end of the 18th century, Serbs became an important political and cultural "element" in Southern Hungary. Simultaneously with their mingling with the new surrounding, the transferring of relics, as one of the most important traditional and religious elements, from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy could be seen as their effort to preserve the old tradition and secure the axis of their cultural identity condensed in the Kosovo mythos. The role of the relics was to safeguard their identity despite leaving the holy land of Kosovo and overcome the challenges of adaptation to the new environment after the Migration.

> Their culture was a continuation of medieval culture and directly followed the traditions of the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć. Serbs strived to preserve their cultural identity in the new environment, so cultural creation was revived on the old foundations in all areas. Since it was similar to the culture of other peoples of the Byzantine zone, it is called post-Byzantine culture. At the same time, life forced them to adapt to the new cultural environment and the processes of acculturation began based on cultural adaptation with the inevitable transformations that lead to the creation of a new type of culture.[26]

This new type of culture was based on the Western European cultural model and strongly influenced and shaped by the transfer of ideas and objects from the West, especially by the representatives of the Enlightenment. Cultural transfer could be seen as one of the key mechanisms for the process of Europeanisation and bridging the geographical space divided either through natural circumstances, such as geographical distance, or divisions of other kinds that stem from religious, political, or cultural causes. The change of the cultural model among one part of the Serbian people settled in the Habsburg Monarchy after the Great Migration and their later attempt in the 19th century to help their compatriots who stayed under the Ottomans to liberate themselves from the oppression represents an exceptional example of the power that cultural transfer can manifest.

26 Jovan Deretić, *Kulturna istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Filološki fakultet, and Kragujevac: Nova svetlost, 2001), 197.

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Unlike the transfer of material sacral objects, which served to transplant and to preserve the identity framework in a new environment, the transfer of material profane objects, primarily books, opened a cultural model for new contents and thus kept changing permanently. The process of adaptation to the new environment and the acceptance of Western European ideas also took place in unexpected ways and was influenced by the material type of transfer, such as the transfer of prohibited books. In addition to cultural transfers that already existed through direct contact and exchange with the new environment, other examples could be found in the transfer of profane objects from West Europe. The example of books confiscated from a soldier who came back to the Habsburg Monarchy from France speaks in favor of that. In the Habsburg Monarchy, the Patent of Censorship (Zensurpatent) banned certain literature, and there was a list of writers and prohibited books called the Index or *Catalogus Librorum Prohibitorum*. During the Theresian reforms, not only the works of radical Enlightenment but also certain works of writers in French and German, like Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Wieland and Lessing, were banned. One case is known from 1781, when a Guards officer, on his return from Paris, had a box full of books in French seized in the Military Frontier (Vojna krajina), in which all but three books were on the list of the mentioned catalog.[27] "The censorship commission was particularly dissatisfied with: *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, *Etrennes du Parnasse*, *Le Nouvel Abeillard*, *La nouvelle Heloise*."[28] Also, soldiers and military officers "On their return from the Seven Years' War, secretly brought Voltaire's works from Saxony and Silesia to Croatia and Slavonia"[29] and in that way, through the transfer of objects, i.e. books, the ideas that gradually influenced and changed the old cultural model based on the Byzantine tradition were also transferred.

Another aspect of transferring objects as a specific method of cultural transfer was represented through the organized migrations of a predominantly German-speaking population from the western part of Europe, the so-called Schwabenzüge, throughout the 18th century. Germans who were colonized in Hungary, Slavonia, Banat and Bačka implemented their skills, such as cultivation or building in a new area, which visually changed the swampy and wild surroundings, and thus could be under-

27 Mita Kostić, "Prve pojave francuske kulture u srpskom društvu. Kulturno-istorijska raskrsnica Srba u XVIII veku", in *Mita Kostić, Iz istorije Srba u Ugarskoj i Austriji XVIII i XIX veka: odabrane studije*, Vlastimir Djokić (ed.) (Zagreb: SKD Prosvjeta, 2013), 180-183.

28 Ibid, 187.

29 Ibid.

stood as a transfer of *struktureme*. At the same time, they brought not just different objects from the private sphere but also some books that transmitted the ideas of the Enlightenment. This was mostly the case with the latest phase of colonization i.e. the third Schwabenzug during the '80s because, at the beginning of the 18th century, only Catholics were permitted to come because the Habsburg rulers chose the settlers based on confession rather than nationality. Protestant settlers tried to move to Banat as well, but in the first and second phase they were usually prevented or were exceptionally allowed to immigrate to other parts but not in Southern Hungary. This stance was altered by Joseph II when he issued the Tolerance Patent in 1781, and Protestants from Pfalz settled in Slavonia, Banat and Bačka, bringing with them, among other things, books written by popular representatives of the Enlightenment not commonly found in this part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

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The transfer of books and *kulturemes* that mediated the ideas of the Enlightenment to the Serbian people settled in the Habsburg Monarchy came not just from the West but, much earlier and with an even stronger impact, from the East. The 18th century was an epoch of cultural transition in the history of the Serbian people, a transition from the Middle Ages to the new century, i.e., the transition from the Byzantine to the early modern European culture. The mediator in that transition was an already modernized, Europeanized Russia. After the Great Migration, the automatic acceptance of Western European cultural models by the Serbs in the Habsburg territory was impossible because of their resistance to the new environment. This resistance among Serbs arose out of the political intentions of the Habsburg authorities to convert Orthodox South Slavs into the Catholic union. That was why Orthodox South Slavs intensified their relations with the Russian Empire. Until the 1780s, Russian domination was almost absolute: books were coming from Russia because Serbs were not allowed to establish a printing house, and the first regular schools were founded by Russian teachers. The Scholastic school in Sremski Karlovci, founded by students of the Kiev Academy, marked the beginning of a new era in Serbian education. The implementation of this kind of educational system could be seen simultaneously as a transfer of *struktureme*, in reference to the school as such, and as a transfer of *kultureme*, regarding the content that was taught and transmitted. Consequently, the usage of the liturgical and literary language changed, so Russian-Slavic replaced the Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic. This aspect of cultural transfer was again mostly based on the material transfer of objects such as the catechism and liturgical books, but also dictionaries and grammar books.

Peter the Great granted the request of the Serbian metropolitan Mojsije Petrović and sent the first books – grammars and primers – to the Serbs living in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy as a gesture of support. Shortly thereafter, he sent not just books and objects but also teachers from the Russian Empire to pursue an educational mission, and they were led by Maxim Suvorov. In 1726, Suvorov founded a school in Sremski Karlovci, in 1727, in Belgrade, and then in Arad, Valjevo, Majdanpek, Požarevac, Novi Sad and Szeged. Suvorov brought to the Serbian people "70 copies of Meletius Smotrycky's grammar, ten copies of Polikarpov's trilingual dictionaries and 400 primers."[30] So, in total, 480 books were brought as "first aid".

The second group of teachers arrived from the Russian Empire in 1733 at the request of the new Serbian Metropolitan Vićentije Jovanović, who had turned to the Archbishop of Kyiv for help. They came under the guidance of Emanuel Kozachinsky from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In 1736, he was appointed rector of all schools in the Metropolitanante of Sremski Karlovci and Belgrade and the main church preacher. He had not just brought the books but also wrote original plays for the Serbian pupils and directed them in the form of school theatre based on Jesuit Polish playwriting, starting a completely new tradition in Serbian literature and culture.[31]

The significance of this cultural transfer resulted in the fact that the Serbs, because of their education and the process of literacy development based on Russian textbooks, gave up their official use of the Serbian redaction of the Church Slavonic language and adopted Russian Church Slavonic as the official language of their church. This language remained in use almost until the end of the 18th century. But if the nature of this language is considered from a linguistic point of view, there is a paradox that the linguist Aleksandar Mladenović has described brilliantly:

> Although Russian Church Slavonic was actually an old church language for the Russians, just as Serbian Church Slavonic was among the Serbs up to the middle of the 18th century, this Old Russian church language became our new church language. In the beginning, not only works with spiritual, ecclesiastical content were written and printed in this language, but also texts with literary, historical, or scientific topics.[32]

30 Aleksandar Mladenović, *Slavenosrpski jezik* (Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada, 1989), 13.

31 More in Dragana Grbić, *Alegorije učenog pustinoljubitelja* (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2009), 274-276.

32 Aleksandar Mladenović, "Tipovi književnog jezika kod Srba u drugoj polovini 18. i početkom 19. veka". *Referati za 7. medjunarodni kongres slavista u Varšavi* (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1973), 46.

The town of Sremski Karlovci with the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul.
The illustration was made by Zaharija Orfelin in 1770.


тиши Апбы Хрѣтовы, во врема всепрїсвѣтлѣйшихъ дръ
ьа Второгw, и Госѹдарины Имперетрицы и Королевы
Митрополїтѣ Славиносрбскомъ и Влахїскомъ
ъ Пикокичь жйвыи Кладовчкїй, своимъ нждньйшимъ
а дробнуспрдствомъ, дни 29 Іюня, 1770 годе.
Захарїа Орфелин

It is documented that "in 1732, in Srem, there were 1146 church books in 104 churches and with priests, of which 465 were 'Srbulje' [Serbian] and 681 were Russian books."[33] In a very important part of the Habsburg Monarchy such as the Military Frontier inhabited by Serbs, almost more than half of the book fund consisted of church books in Russian. One of the most important representatives of the Serbian religious Enlightenment, a pupil of the Russian school in Sremski Karlovci and later a student of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, who wrote the most important part of his complete works in Russian Church Slavonic, was Jovan Rajić (1726–1801). In his autobiographical work *Точное изображение катихизма* (The True Story of the 'Catechism'), he described his attempt to write a new original Serbian Catechism, ordered by the court in Vienna to prevent Russian influence and underlined the importance of the school system for Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. He evoked the memories of his school beginnings and learning from the primers by Theophan Prokopovich, creating an important testimony to the religious, educational, and political situation of that time.

> By Her Majesty the All-Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna, the Grand Russian Maxim Suvorov, a native of Moscow, was sent. When he came, he brought with him many primers and grammar books (and I, as a young boy, was lucky enough to get a small eight-page primer at the time).[34]

Following the example of the Russian scholastic schools in the Metropolitanate in Sremski Karlovci, it is possible to trace not just the self-evident elements of the cultural transfer from the East, i.e., the Russian Empire but, surprisingly, also a flow of cultural transfer from the West, from Protestant Prussia. It happened through the visit of Simon Todorsky (1700–1754), who traveled across the Balkans on his way back from his studies in Halle to Kyiv and who visited Kozachinsky and other Russian schools around the Metropolitanate of Karlovci.[35] In Halle,

33 Vladimir Ćorović, *Istorija Srba* (Belgrade: Lirika, 1999), 395.

34 Jovan Rajić, *Istorija katihizma pravoslavnih Srbalja u cesarskim državama* (Pančevo: Štamparija braće Jovanović, 1884), 21. "Од Њенога Величества сверусијске императрице Ане Јовановне би послат Великорус родом Максим Суворов из саме Москве. Овај кад дође, донесе собом велико число букварова и граматика (и мени тада младу сушту, срећа послужи, те добих на дар осмолистни букварчић)".

35 Dragana Grbich, "Kul'turno-istoricheskij kontekst serbskoj recepcii perevoda Simeona Todorskogo *Chtiri knigi o istinnom´ Hristijanstve*, Galle 1735" in Svetlana Mengel' (et. al.), *Al'ternativnye puti fomirovaniya russkogo lieraturnogo yazyka v konce XVII – pervoy treti XVIII veka. Vklad inostrannyh uchenyh i perevodchikov* (Moscow: Izdatel'skiy dom YASK, 2021), 288-299.

he translated into Russian some important Protestant works of the representatives of Pietism and Enlightenment and brought those books to the Balkans and the Russian Empire. The most important among them were the works of Johann Arndt and August Hermann Francke. Todorsky stayed temporarily in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci and Belgrade, as he worked shortly as a professor of Greek, where he transferred not just his translations but also all the knowledge he had gained while studying theology in Halle.

Johann Arndt's book *Vier Bücher von Wahrem Christenthum* represents a marvelous example of how powerful the religious and cultural transfer based on cultural translation could be. This book speaks for the strong dissemination of ideas through intertwining the institutionalized and private sphere. It was, in a certain way, a trial translation for the future translation of the Protestant bible in the Slavic "Esperanto" language that was to follow if the reception of Arndt's book succeeded. The original plan was to, if the reception of the translation of these works into "Slavic Esperanto" proved successful, translate the Protestant version of the Bible into that language and distribute it among all Slavs.[36] After several years of the reception of these Christian books with a clear Protestant orientation, the Russian Synod "recognized their harmfulness" and banned them. This prohibition also affected the plan to translate the Bible into "Slavic Esperanto", so this failed.

This example testifies to the multilayered and hybrid nature of cultural transfer. At the same time, it was a cultural transfer of the material type and a cultural translation of abstract ideas impacting the religious life of the people. In the first phase of this transfer, not only translation but also cultural translation took place, because certain places in the translation were consciously changed by Todorsky, bearing in mind that Protestant literature would be perceived by the Christian Orthodox.[37] In the second phase, material transfer took place through printing, transferring, and distributing books in the Balkans and the Russian Empire. If we analyze the nature of this transfer and translation in terms of content, we will see that the scope of influences extends to several domains – language and linguistics, religion, literature, politics, and culture.

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36 More in Svetlana Mengel' et. al.: *Al'ternativnye puti fomirovaniya russkogo lieraturnogo yazyka v konce XVII – pervoy treti XVIII veka. Vklad inostrannyh uchenyh i perevodchikov* (Moscow: Izdatel'skiy dom YASK, 2021), 273-281; Swetlana Mengel, "Übersetzungen hallescher Pietisten: Simon Todorskij, 1729-1735", in S. Mengel (ed.), *Myslyashchyu svobod´no imen´m´ i nravom´. Zu Ehren von Dietrich Freydank* (Münster, 2000), 167-188.

37 Ibid.

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The results of this massive cultural transfer served, in a way, as preparation for the migrations of the Serbian people and other Slavia Orthodoxa from the Balkans to the Russian Empire, so it represents an exceptional illustrative example of the reciprocal nature of cultural transfer. The first wave of Serbian migration to the Russian Empire happened from 1750 to 1754. The reasons for the migration of Serbs to the Russian Empire can be summarized as follows. In addition to the disregard for the privileges that the Serbian people had received from the Viennese court as a reward for their participation in the Turkish wars and after the Great Migration of the Serbs in 1690, which mainly pertained to religious practices, language, education and press, the straw that broke the camel's back was the decree on the development of the Tisza-Marosh border and Military Frontier, where the Serbs served as guardians defending the southern border from the Ottoman attacks.

At the end of the 17th century, they were driven by a longing for a better life among their Christian brothers and motivated by the myth of the promised land. The Serbs left the territories that had been part of the Ottoman Empire for centuries and headed north into the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy and southern Hungary. Half a century later, when the Serbs migrated to the Russian Empire, they were once again inspired by the myth of the promised land. They hoped that this time, they would have better luck than half a century earlier among Christians, but Orthodox Christians of the same faith, who also spoke almost the same language. Like it had been the case after the migration to the Habsburg Monarchy when the local military frontier was formed, after the Serbs had migrated to the Russian Empire, they settled in two colonies of New Serbia and Slaveno-Serbia and were organized in Serbian military units within the Russian Army.

The statistics of the Serbian migrations to the Russian Empire, according to Pavel Rudjakov,[38] show that during the first phase of Migration with General Horvat in October 1751, a total of 218 people came. Of these, 77 were military personnel with 82 family members with servants. 59 people were part of the accompaniment. A report written just a month later (November 12) shows 115 ranks (second group) with 116 family members with 68 servants, that is, a total of 299 people with 445 horses. Looking at the figures from all reports, we get a clear picture of the extent of the Serb immigration to the Russian Empire. Adding the figures of this migration to the statistics of the first and second phases of

38 More in Pavel Rudjakov: *V sluzhbu i vechnoe poddanstvo: serbskije poseleniya Novaya Serbiya i Slavyanoserbiya na ukrainskih zemlyah (1751-1764)*, (Kyiv: Artek, 2001).

the Serbian migration from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg Monarchy reveals the full extent of resettlement and territorial fragmentation of the Serb people in the 18th century.

In records left in ego-documents, such as autobiographies, memoirs, correspondence, etc., we can find detailed descriptions of these migrations. This literature shows the hybrid nature of the cultural transfer that took place through the migration of 1) people, 2) weapons, 3) horses, 4) plants but also 5) clothing and 6) furniture, dishware, tableware, and other personal belongings. This material transfer encompassed not just all segments of the private sphere but also interfered in the transfer of cultural and political relations in the sense that migrants brought with them 1) a new culture of living, 2) new sorts of plants and 3) a new type of military service due to the fact that they were very well trained in the Habsburg Monarchy and had participated in wars in the western part of Europe such as the Seven Years' War.

The crucial question about the migration to the Russian Empire is the aspect of mutuality by cultural transferring. While after the migration to the Habsburg Monarchy from the Ottoman Empire, the Serbs managed to retain the key features of their identity, but at the same time also contributed to certain changes in their environment, this reciprocity as an essential feature of cultural transfer was missing after moving to Russia. The key question here is the fluctuation of national and cultural identity due to assimilation.

The most intensive migration of Serbs took place from 1750 to 1754, and only ten years later, Aleksandar Piščević, born in 1764, identified himself as Russian. His father, Simeon Piščević, one of the leaders of the Migrations to the Russian Empire, had already been made aware of this problem by Baron von Elfenreich, his superior and chief in the Habsburg army. Around 1752, before Simeon Piščević moved to the Russian Empire, Elfenreich warned him of the danger of losing their identity, which threatened Serbs and which later turned out to be true – as can be seen from Aleksandar Piščević's autobiography:

> I don't deny it, said the General [von Elfenreich; D.G.] that they were well received there. But therein lies politics. All this will be lost over time and reversed, their grandchildren and great-grandchildren will not know their true origins, they will lose their common name – which nobody here would deny them forever. Nor could anyone take away from them the freedom that you have according to your privileges. As for their dismissal, if they insist, they do as they can.[39]

39 Simeon Pishchevich, *Izvestie o pohozhdenii Simeona Stepanova sina Pishchevicha. Chteniya v´ imperatorskom´ obshchtestve istorii i drevnostey Rossiskih´ pri Moskovskom´ Universitete*, Oct.-Dec. 1881, book 4 (Moscow, 1882), 91. "Я не спорю, продолжалъ

Paradoxically, the Serbs who migrated to the Russian Empire were completely assimilated religiously, linguistically, and culturally. The fear of conversion they had harbored when they migrated to the Habsburg Monarchy came true after they migrated to the Russian Empire. This went so far that the new generations of Serbs born in Slaveno-Serbia and New Serbia slowly lost their original identity and took up the identity traits of the milieu in which they lived. The final step in their assimilation is reflected primarily in language. Simeon and Aleksandar Piščević wrote their extensive ego documents, memoirs, and autobiographies in Russian, not Serbian. While Simeon Piščević explained in detail in his memoirs the motives and circumstances behind the migration of Serbs to the Russian Empire and identified as Serbian, his son Aleksandar Piščević depicted the life of the first generation of Serbian migrants born in Russia in his autobiography *My Life* (Мој Живот). These can already be regarded as Russians, as he explains on the first page:

> I am their first child, born on May 17, 1764 in the town of Porečje, Smolensk Oblast, where the regiment in which my father served was then located. Therefore, I am the first in the Piščević family who can call himself a Russian.[40]

The analysis of the two big migrations with all the layers of the hybrid nature of cultural transfer has shown both visible and invisible networks between cultures, religions, and politics between the East and the West that crossed in the Balkans in the 18th century. The case study of several migrations illustrates different types of material cultural transfer of sacral and profane object transmitting both elements *kultureme* and/or *struktureme*. The example of cultural transfer from the East and to the East, as well as the indirect cultural transfer from the West via the Russian Empire to the Balkans, as was the case with Russian schools in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci; or from the West via the Balkans to

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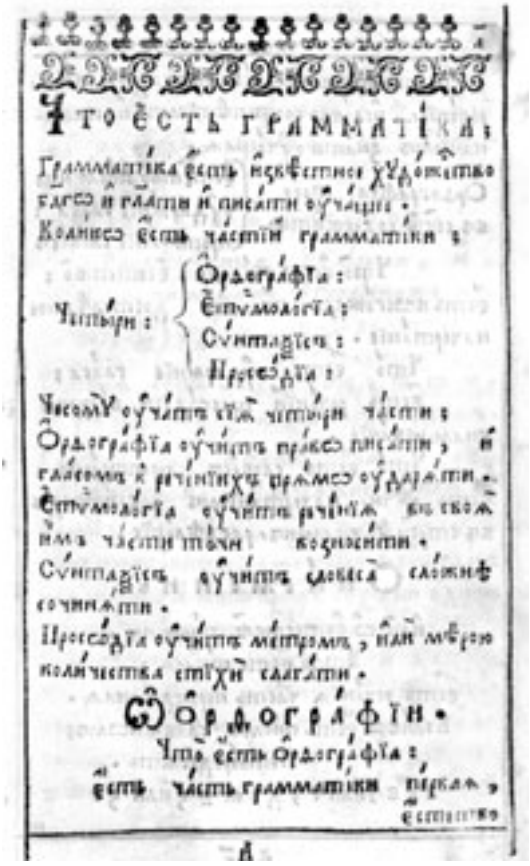
генералъ [Элфенрайх] непрестано свои слова, чтобы оны не были тамо хорошо приняты, въ томъ наблюдаетца полытика, но со временемъ всию то изчезнетъ и обратытца иначе, а внукамъ и правнукамъ ихъ не будетъ известно настоящего произщедствия и тмъ потеряютъ волностъ своего природнаго названыя, чего здес никто ва веки нарушитъ и ту волностъ и преимущества касающиесъ по привелегиямъ до націи вашей превратытъ иначе не можетъ, а въ протчемъ о вашемъ апшите можете делатъ по своей воле какъ вам угодно."

40 Aleksandar Pishchevich, *Zhizn' A. S. Pishchevicha, im´ samim opisannaya 1764-1805*. V´ treh´ chastyah´ s´ predisloviem´ primechaniyam Nila Popova (Moscow, 1885), 8. "Я былъ первое ихъ дитя родившееся 1764-го года майя 31-го дня въ городѣ Поречъе, Смоленской губерніи, гдѣ тогда полкъ въ которомъ отецъ мой служилъ былъ расположенъ. И такъ я естъ первый изъ семейства Пишчевичей, который можетъ назватъся уже Россіяниномъ."



A page from Meletius Smotrytsky's Grammatika v polzu i upotreblenie otrokov serbskih (Grammar for the use of Serbian Youth), published in Rimnik in Wallachia in 1755. This Church Slavonic grammar was first printed in 1619.

the Russian Empire in the case of Simon Todorsky, aptly illustrate the mutual nature of cultural transfer and the massive changes caused by its implementation that occurred in Serbian society in the early modern period.

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The last section of this article focuses on cultural translation, which is, according to several theoreticians, closely related to cultural transfer studies. Cultural translation could be seen as one of the mechanisms suitable for the cultural transfer of abstract content and ideas. The case study of Zaharija Orfelin's *Eternal calendar* illustrates how cultural translation

could be linked to the cultural changes caused by the material type of previously shown cultural transfer.

The *Bibliography of Serbian Literature of the 18th century* by G. Mihailović shows that approximately 75% of the corpus of eighteenth-century Serbian literature draws on foreign sources. The term *literature* does not imply only literary works but the printed production in all varieties of the official languages that were in use during the 18th century (Srpskocrkvenoslovenski, Ruskoslovenski, Slavenosrpski). Even the most influential representatives of the Serbian Enlightenment created their own works under the influence of foreign sources. That was not just a specificity of Serbian literature but the dominant feature of eighteen-century literature in general since "The Enlightenment was the first attempt of Europe's Republic of Letters to conduct a cosmopolitan conversation without a 'universal language'"[41] and "toward the end of the century, national cultures were consciously being constructed, enriched and even challenged to originality by means of translations."[42]

In the framework of 18th-century poetics, the original text did not represent an inviolable authority. Therefore, the translations and adaptation often involved drastic changes to the original text. The Enlightenment not only allowed stylistic deviations from the original, but the process of translation often included various types of adaptations, redactions, supplementations, and omissions or even a reworking of the original text to better adapt it to the new readership. The methodology of translation in the 18th century could be briefly characterized as free translation, i.e., as domestication or adaptation of a foreign text to one's own culture, where the key moment was the translator's act of recognizing one's own culture in another's.[43] Regarding the nature of translation and adaptation of the original text as a kind of cultural translation, P. Burke[44] concluded that the freedom of translators at the time was "astonishingly unlimited", even to the extent that the original manuscript was perceived as an "interactive medium" in which each translator could intervene. In that period, they were not only translators but even "co-authors".

For the cultural transfer studies, the significant potential of cultural translation emanates from the fact that "translation is an interpretation

41 Fania Oz Salzberger, "Translation", in *Encyclopedia of The Enlightenment*, Vol. IV (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 181.

42 Ibid.

43 Lawrence Venuti (ed.), *Rethinking Translation*, *Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 5.

44 Peter Burke, "Cultures of translation in early modern Europe", in P. Burke, R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, 33-34.

that arose from the understanding and interest of recipient culture."[45] In this context, negative transfer processes, such as omissions made on purpose, play an important role in the final interpretation. Since in the 18th century, the original text did not represent an inviolable authority as today, the poetics of the Enlightenment puts an emphasis "on the transfer of ideas"[46] and not on linguistic and stylistic credibility. "The fact that transfer always entails transformation", which is "rarely more evident than in the field of the Enlightened business",[47] led cultural historians to look for what was "lost in translation" because that is "the most effective way to identify differences in cultures".[48]

Adaptations of original texts were widespread in Serbian literature not just in the 18th but also throughout the 19th century. "The authors were motivated by the desire that literary content read by the most developed European nations should become an integral part of Serbian culture and, even more, not only as translations of foreign texts but as literary works that thematically belong to the domestic Serbian environment."[49] In the oeuvres of the most important representatives of the Serbian Enlightenment, such as Dimitrije Dositej Obradović, Jovan Rajić, Zaharija Orfelin and Atanasije Stojković, that was quite often the case. If we analyze their translations, we can see that there was a whole set of mechanisms and transformations that they used to transform the original text in order to adjust it to the context of Serbian culture. Through the application of those mechanisms, the original text usually gained a partly or completely new meaning.

P. Burke[50] suggests that two key methodological questions should be raised at the beginning of an analysis of cultural translation. The first question refers to the content and language of the original and of the translation – what was translated and where it was published. The second question refers to the methodology – how it was translated. The answer to the first question communicates important cultural information: it reveals what the recipient culture recognized as interesting enough to become a

45 Matthias Mieddell, "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis", in *Comparative*, Hf. 1 (2000), 1-38, 13.

46 Stefanie Stockhorst, "Introduction. Cultural transfer through translation: a current perspective in Enlightenment studies", in Stefanie Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation* (Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2010), 7-26.

47 Ibid, 7.

48 Peter Burke, "Introduction", in Peter Burke, R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), op. cit., 38.

49 Miodrag Sibinović, *Original i prevod. Uvod u istoriju i teoriju prevodjenja* (Belgrade: Privredna štampa, 1979), 37.

50 Peter Burke, "Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures", in M. North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung,* 69-77.

matter of cultural transfer. The question of who is translating focuses on the uniqueness of each translation that was marked in literature as "the translators turn", implying that the "translator is the main content of the translation", as D. Bachmann-Medic[51] shows in her studies on translation as a method of representing foreign cultures.

The case study of Z. Orfelin's *Eternal calendar* could be used in this context as an illustrative example. In his extensive study of *Zacharija Orfelin's Life and Work* (1923), Tihomir Ostojić claimed that Adam Daniel Richter's textbook for natural sciences, *Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre*, was the source for the central part of the *Eternal Calendar*. The method of Orfelin's translation could be discussed in detail, but due to spatial limitations, on this occasion, only several details that reflect the role of cultural translation as a possible mechanism of cultural transfer will be analyzed.

The *Eternal Calendar* was printed in 1783, in Vienna, at the printing house of Joseph von Kurzbeck on ca. 370 pages. Compared with other Serbian periodicals of that genre, it was the first publication that included articles and chapters on profane topics and not only on religious subjects or chronological representation of a saint's life, as was previously the case. Compiled in the form of an encyclopedia, the *Eternal Calendar* consists of chapters dedicated to natural sciences, agriculture, meteorology, lunar phases, and basic weather cycles relevant for land cultivation, flora and fauna, geography, earthquakes, history and national history, history of the Christian church, health, etc. Charts of the annual cycles of celestial bodies, especially of the Sun and Moon, used to calculate the date of Easter, were also shown. Since Orfelin included the translation of Richter's Physics in his *Calendar*, it is also considered the first modern book on astronomy in Serbian literature. The relevance of his work for the context of this research originates from the fact that its concept and content perfectly reflect the cultural transition triggered by different types of cultural transfer described in the first part of this article. Its significance will be briefly sketched out by analyzing: 1) the structure and composition; 2) the cover illustration; 3) the form of the translation; and 4) addressing the issue of superstitions as one of the key topics of the Enlightenment.

The structure and composition of the *Eternal Calendar* reveal that Orfelin consciously took a scientific point of view within the theological framework. He composed his work so that physics was preceded by a calendar and chronological yearly representation of the lives of saints and followed by a (national) chronicle and the history of the Old and New Testaments,

51 Doris Bachmann-Medick, "Einleitung: Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen", in D. Bachmann-Medick (ed.), *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1997), 1-18.


Lehrbuch
einer
für Schulen faßlichen
Naturlehre,
zum
Gebrauch bey Vorlesungen,
entworfen und gesammlet
von
Adam Daniel Richtern,

Title page of Adam Daniel Richter's textbook for natural sciences: Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre, published in Leipzig and Budissin, 1779.


ВѢЧНЫЙ
КАЛЕНДАРЬ,

Title page of Večni kalendar (Eternal Calendar) by Zaharija Orfelin, published in Vienna in 1783.

including the history of the Christian church. The assumption is that, with this approach, he wanted to win his audience that was not used to reading scientific literature, and to "break every scruple of the natural sciences"[52] through a well-known and already accepted religious approach. The method of his (cultural) translation mirrors his original intention.

This positioning of Physics in the *Eternal Calendar* between faith, on the one hand, and superstition, on the other, reflects the nature of Orfelin's poetics, which could be classified as popular Enlightenment. Bearing in mind the degree of basic education and how (un)enlightened his audience might be, he consciously sought appropriate methods to reach his readership and to make a significant impact on them. Therefore, this act of cultural translation, placing physics within the popular periodicals in the calendar genre, should be understood in the context of his educational intentions and as a specific kind of his mission of the Enlightenment since this type of publication was intended for the widest audience but at the same time determined by the religious framework. He rephrased the title

52 Tihomir Ostojić, *Zaharija Orfelin – život i rad mu* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1923), 187.

Illustration of the creation of the world in Z. Orfelin's Eternal Calendar, published in Vienna in 1783.

and slightly changed the composition of Richter's Physics to approach basically illiterate readers and offer them a piece of science covered with some religious elements so that they could easily swallow it wrapped in a "spiritual sandwich".

The author's awareness of the level of education and possible ignorance of his audience is reflected in his choice of the cover illustration, which he personally drew and carved in his workshop. The cover illustration is another distinctively important element in relation to the original. The *Creation of the World* shows the Creator levitating above a heavenly landscape, in which Eve offers Adam a freshly picked apple; on the right, he is illuminated by the light of the Sun, and on the left, by the Moon and twinkling stars. Levitating over the newly sinned human race, he is crowned with a halo rimmed with symbols of the zodiac signs. At first glance, even an illiterate man could immediately understand what the

publication was about. The author consciously flirted with astrology not just on the title cover but also in the translation of Richter's Physics. In the chapter where Richter briefly explains the annual path of the sun in the sky through the constellations, popularly known as zodiac signs, Orfelin additionally illustrates it with graphic symbols and engraves the zodiac. In order to make the matter clearer to the audience, he even presents it in a table.

The scientific content, both in the original and the translation, is presented mainly in a dialogic form, with questions and answers about physics. The "Q&A" form was typically used in the scholastic educational system for teaching the catechism to the lower classes. Richter based his textbook on Physics on this method, and Orfelin followed him.

As an answer to the question of "What is heaven?", Richter offered a definition that slightly differs in Orfelin's translation. God as an agent is present in both Richter's[53] and Orphelin's[54] definition. Based on the catechetical background, the theological concept of heaven is presented as a space filled with celestial bodies created by God in a perfect order. However, in the German original, this description is very briefly explained in the "Preface" because of the author's intention to focus on natural sciences and not on theology since he believes that the knowledge of God can only be learned from the *book of nature*.

> Gewiß, außer der heil. Schrift ist kein Buch, aus welchem junge Gemüther gründlicher lernen könnte: Es ist ein Gott! als aus dem Buche der Natur, auf welches uns selbst der Geist Gottes weiset. Denn aus dem Daseyn der Welt erkennet man, daß ein Schöpfer ist, daß er ein allmächtiges, allweises und allgütiges Wessen sey, und der Atheisten und Freigeister würden weniger werden, wenn sich nur ein größerer Eifer finden wollte, in dem Buche der Natur nach dem Schöpfer, nach seinen Eigenschaften und Vollkommenheiten zu forschen.[55]

In Orfelin's *Calendar*, there is a slightly different description. Bearing in mind who his readership was, he considered it necessary to significantly supplement the original text. Firstly, he did not translate the title of the

53 "Was ist der Himmel? Diesen für uns unermeßlichen Raum, in welchem sich die unzählich grossen und runden Weltkörper, die Gott in der schönsten Ordnung zusammen gestellet hat, befinden und bewegen, nennen wir den Himmel" in Adam Daniel Richter, *Lehrbuch einer für Schulen faßlichen Naturlehre zum Gebrauch Bey Vorlesung enentworfen und gesammlet von A. D. R.,* vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig und Budißin, 1779), 25.

54 "Сїе нами неизмѣримое мѣсто, въ коемъ безчисленая великая и круглая тѣла, которыѣ Бгъ въ наилучшемъ порѣдкѣ поставилъ, находѣтся, нарицаемъ небо", in Zaharija Orfelin, *Večni Kalendar* (Vienna, 1783), 120.

55 Adam Daniel Richter, op. cit. [2].

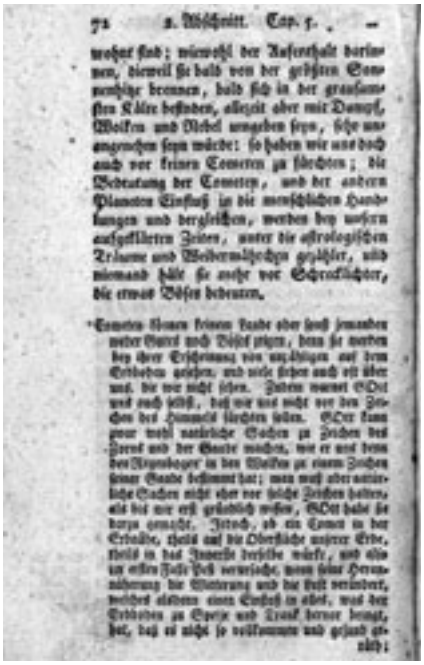
original as "natural science" and replaced it, using the word "creation" from the biblical discourse – *About the creation of the world* (*Ѡ созданїи мїра*). Orfelin opens his preface to the translation of Physics in the same tone, with the sentence: "God created the world and brought all of creation into existence from nothing."[56] Orfelin's introduction to Richter's physics actually represents a paraphrase of several chapters from the *Book of Genesis*, which does not exist in the German original. The translator decided to adjust the original text according to the concept of his periodical publication, where he, in the first part, chronologically presented the calendar marked with the names of the saints.

The last illustrative example of Orfelin's cultural translation that mirrors the differences and similarities between the source and recipient culture shows the author's attitude towards superstitions as one of the key issues of the Enlightenment. Like many other representatives of the popular Enlightenment, he also addressed the problem of superstition in the context of 1) religion and 2) common sense. Translating the German textbook, he tried to find the right balance for his audience, and one chapter dedicated to the most popular cosmic phenomena in the 18th century – comets, represents a unique example of cultural translation. In it, he refers to some events that his audience witnessed and refreshes their memory by retelling them in vivid local legends. As an illustration of scientific explanations, he consciously searched for examples that were well-known to his readership. For instance, he reminded his readers of certain celestial phenomena and one comet, which could not be found in the original, but only observed by the Serbian people in the sky above the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. Through those additions and adaptations, he explained the phenomena described by natural science as illustratively as possible in order to dissuade the readership from superstition.

The most illustrative example of cultural translation, which also reflects Orfelin's attitude toward the level of education and the spread of the Enlightenment among the Serbian people, can be found in a sentence in the same chapter on comets that differs from the original. In response to the question: "What effect do comets have?" Richter[57] concludes that the meaning of comets and the influence of other planets on human actions can be seen in "our enlightened time" as astrological dreams or

56 Zaharija Orfelin, op. cit., 106. "Бгъ создалъ мїръ, и вся еже въ мїрѣ изъ ничегѡ."

57 Adam Daniel Richter, op. cit., 72. "[...] die Bedeutung der Cometen, und der anderen Planeten Einfluß in die menschlichen Handlungen und dergleichen, werden bey unsern aufgeklärten Zeiten, unter astrologischen Träume und Weibermärchen gezählet, und niemand hält sie mehr vor Schrecklichter, die etwas Böses bedeuten."



Section on comets in Richter's Lehrbuch (Leipzig and Budissin, 1779).

Section on comets in Orfelin's Eternal Calendar (Vienna, 1783).

fairy tales, and no one considers them bad omens anymore. Orfelin freely paraphrases this passage, removing the phrase *in our enlightened time* from the original. However, just like the German author, he points out that uneducated people spread superstitions, and the common people believe them.[58]

It is very well known how much controversy among prominent philosophers of the 18th century the phrase "the enlightened time" caused (in einem aufgeklärten Zeitalter/einem Zeitalter der Aufklärung),[59] and this polemic was happening almost at the same time when Orfelin published his *Eternal calendar*. As this analysis has shown, even a small intervention in the cultural translation of the original, such as the omission of just one word, could be an indicator of significant distinctions between two cultures. This example of cultural translation from the end of the

58 Захарија Орфелин, op. cit., 149. "дабы Кометы и другїе планеты и зωдїи имьли нько втеченїе въ человъческое рожденїе, житїе, нравы и дьла, естъ баснословїе звъздочетцевъ и простагω народа."

59 About the Serbian reception of this polemic between I. Kant, M. Mendelssohn, J. A. Eberhard see more in Dragana Grbić, *VORENTSCHEIDUNGEN, Halle-Leipzig, Wendepunkt im Leben von Dositej Obradović*, (Halle-Wittenberg, Belgrade: Seminar für Slavistik MLU, IZEA, IKUM, 2012), 151-236.

18th century reflects all advantages and disadvantages of cultural transfers that marked the change of Serbian cultural models from the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 19th century.

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VOICES OF THE PEOPLE IN LETTERS. THE ROMANTIC CONCEPT OF FOLKLORE AS CULTURAL TRANSFER EUROPE-SERBIA/SERBIA-EUROPE*

Abstract: While folklore studies emerged in Romanticism through deep changes in the history of ideas, the networks built by intellectuals interested in new views substantially helped in the formation of a new field, above all, the network created by J. Grimm. This framework helps us better understand the transfer between Europe and Serbia. Folklore material was transferred from Serbian culture to Europe, and (Central) European concepts of Volksgeist, folklore etc., to Serbian intellectuals. Closer study of this two-way transfer shows some of its under-researched aspects (the impact of personal experience on adopting the new concepts, for example). The correspondence of Vuk Karadžić is a corpus that shows both his participation in a European network and the making of his own. Following the «nods» in them, we can follow the transfer of a new image of folklore between people and their adoption of such concepts.

Keywords: folklore, Romanticism, network, correspondence

1. European transfers and the emergence of folklore studies

One of the best illustrations of cultural transfer between Serbian and other European cultures is the Preromantic and Romantic adoption of the concept of folklore.[1] Moreover, it is an excellent example of a two-way transfer. In that sense, we can also speak of the joint European formation of the idea of folklore as a result of cultural transfer.

Literary history has already explored the reception of the ideas of J. G. Herder in Serbian culture.[2] The central figure in the conceptualization of folklore and language under Herderian influence was Vuk St. Karadžić

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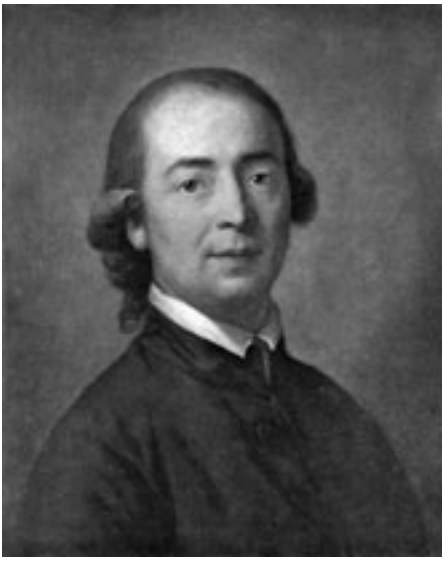
1 For the purpose of this paper, we will leave aside the differences between Preromantic and Romantic ideas of folklore (such as between Herder's and J. Grimm's understanding of *Volksgeist*) and discussions about the chronology of Serbian literary history (when Romanticism started in earnest), and we will focus on continuity.

2 Dragiša Živković, *Evropski okviri srpske književnosti* (Belgrade: SKZ, 2004), 96-98; Milorad Pavić, "Die serbische Vorromantik und Herder", in Wilfried Potthoff (ed.), *Vuk Karadžić im europäischen Kontext* (Heidelberg: Carl Vinter; Universitätsverlag, 1990), 80-85.



Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), painting by Anton Graff (1785), Gleimhaus in Halberstadt.

(1787–1864).[3] But when young Karadžić came to Austria, the Serbian intellectual milieu was already familiar with such ideas. The learned monk and poet Lukijan Mušicki, a supporter of Vuk's, is a famous example. Vuk himself testifies (in the introduction to his first collection of folk songs, 1814) that when in 1806 Mušicki asked him and other boys from Serbia to write down the songs they knew, they thought the *poeta doctus* was making fun of them – it was inconceivable to them that a person of Mušicki's stature could be seriously interested in the songs of those "who grew up alongside goats". Only later, upon becoming acquainted with published European collections, did Vuk understand that Mušicki – who quotes from Herder and who created his own collection of folk songs – had been serious in his request. But even figures today popularly remembered for their opposition to Karadžić were actually Herderians. As early as 1800, when Karadžić was 13 years old, Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović used the term "folk soul" and called for collecting folk songs; around the same time, he compiled a collection of folk songs, and in 1802 sent it to A. L.

3 Miodrag Popović, *Romantizam* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 1985), Vol. 1, 53-54, 82; Dragiša Živković, op. cit., 93-96; Marija Kleut, *Iz Vukove senke. Ogledi o narodnom pesništvu* (Belgrade: Društvo za srpski jezik i književnost Srbije), 2012), 117-134. Some authors (Josip Babić, *J. G. Herder i njegove ideje u južnoslavenskome književnom i kulturno-političkom kontekstu 19. stoljeća* (Osijek: Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera, 2008), 232-237) opine that Herder's influence on Vuk was second-hand. But even if this were correct, it only goes to show how widespread Herder's ideas were.

Talvj – Therese Albertine Luise von Jacob Robinson (1797–1870).

von Schlözer, recommending the creations of blind singers.[4] In the later period, the Classicist poet Jovan Hadžić, who had many debates with Karadžić on language and history, was one of the most ardent Herderians among Serbs and a translator of Herder; besides using Classical forms, he also wrote in the style of folk songs. Herder's works entered Serbian school libraries.[5]

Transfer in the other direction, from Serbia, has been researched primarily in terms of the reception of Serbian oral poetry in Preromantic and Romantic European literature. Serbian folklore could soothe Europe's longing for the authentic and "natural" (as proof of *Naturdichtung*), helping to articulate the poetics of European writers and confirm the conceptualization of intellectuals' ideas.

The transfer should be understood as a two-way exchange. Herder included South Slavic songs[6] in his famous anthology *Folk Songs* (1778–1779), and then his idea of folk poetry resonated back among Serbs in Austria. In 1841, Adam Mickiewicz gave lectures on Serbian epic poetry at the Collège de France, at the newly established department of Slavic literature. Mick-

4 Teodora Petrović, "Mitropolit Stevan Stratimirović i naša narodna pesma", *Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije*, Vol. 1, No. 1-2 (1934), 165-168; Milorad Pavić, *Radjanje srpske književnosti* (Belgrade: SKZ, 1983), 536.

5 Dragan Prole, *Unutrašnje inostranstvo* (Novi Sad: Sremski Karlovci, IKZS, 2013).

6 While one (*Hasanaginica*) is a folk song, but the others are imitations of folk poetry that Herder mistook for genuine products.

iewicz didn't lecture entirely as an academic: his interpretation of Serbian epic songs was merged with his political program and the underlying mystical national messianism.[7] At the same time, Mickiewicz pondered – albeit with reservations – the possibility that a Serbian poet could unite all those songs into one epos (like it happened with Homeric songs, as the new understanding of Homer taught since the late 18th century). The Serbian translation of Mickiewicz's lectures, which followed soon, gave impetus to such attempts: throughout the 19th century and even in the 20th, there were attempts to create a long *epos* or epic poem about the Battle of Kosovo. Although largely forgotten today, they were popular back then. It is worth comparing these attempts with the efforts of Elias Lönnrot, who undertook such a task with Finnish songs, creating the *Kalevala* (which has caused debates in contemporary folkloristics about the character of the work). While the *Kalevala* became part of the Finnish cultural canon – the date of its publication is celebrated as a national holiday – in Serbian culture, that place was taken by Karadžić's collection of stand-alone songs, not by a long, composite work in the vein of Homer's epics.

Although the study of the European reception of Serbian culture tends to focus on literature, there were other forms too, like music (e.g. musical renditions of the texts of folk songs, not about using Serbian folk music as such). "The intensity of the reception of a literary work is shown at its best when it steps out of the art of words and appears in the domain of some other art".[8] German translations of Serbian folk songs done in the period of Romanticism found their way into the works of Brahms, Reger,[9] and young Richard Wagner.[10] Through German, Russian and Czech translations, the same songs arrived to Slavic composers, like Tchaikovsky, Dvořak, Janaček and Anton Rubinshtein (who met Vuk personally).[11] The study of musical reception has so far failed to notice, to my knowledge, that even Alban Berg, in 1903, used the famous ballad *Hasanaginica* in Goethe's translation (*Klagegesang von der edlen Frauen des Asan-Aga*) for a piano and voice piece described as "melodrama". Obviously, the canonical status of poets who had translated these texts was often crucial for composers, for instance, Goethe for Berg or Pushkin for Tchaikovsky.

Literary historians tended to concentrate on source research, biographical connections, intertextual relations, borrowings and influences

7 Dorota Gil, "'Latinsko/poljski lik' srpske kulturne tradicije", *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane*, Vol. 36/2 (2007), 197-204.

8 Vera Bojić. "Talvjs Uebersetzungen der serbischen Volkslieder und ihre Vertonungen", in Gabriella Schubert and Friedhilde Krause (eds.), *Talvj. Aus Liebe zu Goethe: Mittlerin der Balkanslawen* (Weimar: VDG, 2001), 24.

9 Vera Bojić, *Vukovo nasleđe u evropskoj muzici*, vol. I (Belgrade-Munich: SANU-Otto Sagner, 1987).

10 Jevto Milović, *Studije, rasprave i članci* (Nikšić: Univerzitetska riječ, 1987), 217.

11 Bojić, *Vukovo nasledje*.


Volkslieder

der Serben.

Metrisch übersetzt und historisch eingeleitet

von

Talvj.

Erster Band.

Halle u. Leipzig 1833.

Title page of the second edition of Volkslieder der Serben (Serbian Folk Poems), published in Halle and Leipzig in 1833.

and translation issues or the role of Serbian folklore in the individual poetics of authors such as Prosper Mérimée or Alexander Pushkin or Giosuè Carducci, who invokes the Serbian epic tradition when writing of Sicily and revolution. But the list of those who were intrigued by Serbian folk songs includes more names than the most researched canonical figures like Goethe. To limit our survey to German Romanticism only (because it was crucial for bilateral transfer), we find Clemens Brentano, Wilhelm Müller (the author of *Die schöne Müllerin* and father of Friedrich Max Müller), who described Serbian songs as "pure and great natural beauty of poetry",[12] Ludwig Uhland,[13] Adelbert von Chamisso,[14] Frie-

12 Milan Ćurčin, *Srpska narodna pesma u nemačkoj književnosti* [translation of: *Das serbische Volkslied in der deutschen Literatur*] (Belgrade-Pančevo: Narodna biblioteka, 1987), 98, 137. Petra Himštet-Faid, "Recepcija srpskih narodnih pesama i njihovih prevoda u nemačkoj štampi u prvoj polovini 19. v.", in Vesna Matović and Gabrijela Šubert (eds.), *Talfj i srpska književnost i kultura* (Belgrade: IKUM, 2008), 233; Miljan Mojašević, *Jakob Grim i srpska narodna književnost* (Belgrade: SANU, 1983), 379.

13 Mojašević, *Jakob Grim*, 509.

14 Olga Elermajer-Životić, *Iz nemačko-jugoslovenskih književnih veza: Hajnrih Štiglic (1801-1849)* (Belgrade: SANU, 1991), 78-79.

drich de la Motte Fouqué[15] and the historian Niebuhr.[16] It seems that Annette von Droste-Hülshoff wrote a mystification titled "Serbian Songs" (lost today).[17] An ardent translator of Serbian songs, Talvj (Therese Albertine Louise von Jacob) introduced the Swedish writer Magdalena (Malla) Montgomery Silfverstolpe to the Serbian material at the time when they were both friends with the Tieck brothers.[18] Careful research, traditional in the best meaning of the word, discovered influences of Serbian folk poetry in Goethe, Chamisso and Hoffmann von Fallersleben (who met Vuk personally).[19] The "Serbian trochee" became part of German 19th-century meter, and Hungarian, too (including Mihály Vörösmarty),[20] and we will find an example in Latvian poetry, as well (infra). The last glimmer of German Romantic enthusiasm for Serbian folklore was probably the reworking of Talvj's translation of six songs done by Friedrich Nietzsche, then a sixteen-year-old *Gymnasium* student.[21] Even in terms of traditional source research, materials give more insight than published literary texts. Giacomo Leopardi carefully followed information about Serbian folk songs, although, admittedly, he never used it in his poetry.[22] Nevertheless, his interest in them helps us better understand the atmosphere.

However, when we speak of cultural transfer, there is much more beyond *literary* history and texts intervowen with each other. Recent research extracted from memoirs of contemporaries how *live readings* of translations at gatherings in Berlin salons was an important factor in popular-

15 Fridhilde Krauze, "Duhovno-književno okruženje Talfj u Berlinu prilikom njenih prvih čitanja narodnih pesama Srba 1826 i 1827", in Vesna Matović and Gabrijela Šubert (eds.), *Talfj i srpska književnost i kultura* (Belgrade: IKUM, 2008), 26, 30.

16 Kopitar to Vuk (16.7.1822), *VP* [VP – Correspondence of Vuk Karadžić], II.

17 Vera Bojić, *Vukovo nasledje*, 7.

18 Fridhilde Krauze, „Duhovno-književno okruženje Talfj u Berlinu prilikom njenih prvih čitanja narodnih pesama Srba 1826 i 1827", in Vesna Matović, Gabrijela Šubert (eds.), *Talfj i srpska književnost i kultura* (Belgrade: IKUM, 2008), 35.

19 Milović, op. cit., 221-223; 228-229, Momčilo Selesković, "Kopitar i Hofman fon Falersleben", *Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1939), 45-47.

20 Ištvan Pot, "Srpskohrvatska narodna poezija kod Mađara", in Viktor Novak (ed.), *Vukov zbornik* (Belgrade: naučno delo, 1966), 365.

21 Golub Dobrašinović, "Tereza fon Jakob Robinson i Vuk Karadžić", in Vesna Matović, Gabrijela Šubert (eds.), *Talfj i srpska književnost i kultura* (Belgrade: IKUM, 2008), 63-64. Miljan Mojašević, "Talfj u istraživanju i predstavama Južnih Slovena", in Vesna Matović and Gabrijela Šubert (eds.), *Talfj i srpska književnost i kultura* (Belgrade: IKUM, 2008), 192.

22 Mirjana Drndarski, "Pomeni naše narodne poezije u Leopardijevom Zibaldone-u u kontekstu njegove poetike", in *Uporedna istraživanja* 2 (Belgrade: IKUM, 1982), 247-255; Sergio Bonazza, "Recepcija Vuka S. Karadžića u Italiji", in *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane*, Vol 17/5. *Vuk Karadžić i njegovo delo u svome vremenu i danas* (1988), 488-491.

izing this material and met with enthusiasm.[23] Reports that Clemens Brentano not only published the songs but also copied them for his own pleasure (and probably gave the manuscript to others) tell us something about the formation of a new taste on a personal level.[24] When Grimm informs Kopitar (who informs Vuk) that Serbian songs enthralled Savigny and young men,[25] Savigny's name catches our eye. But information about *young* people's enthusiasm – something that Talvj noticed, too[26] – is equally important as a testimony of a generational sensibility, a change in sensibility. When Kopitar informs Karadžić how the most recent vogue among high-class Viennese ladies is the Serbian *libade* (part of the traditional female costume), we get a glimpse into the history of fashion and cultural transfer in everyday life.[27]

The reception of folk poetry collected by Vuk was only a part of transfer from Serbia to Europe. Not only Serbian poetry as a "raw" material of "natural" poetry, but the very activity of Karadžić as a folklorist influenced other cultures, mostly in Eastern Europe. His work was an example for other Slavic folklorists, finding "great resonance in all Slavic countries".[28] And it was not only folklorists and not only Slavs that followed in Vuk's footsteps. The Czech philologist Vaclav Hanka, who was Karadžić's friend for decades, was inspired by Karadžić's first collection (1814) to create his famous Ossianic mystifications ("die böhmischen Chattertoniana", as Kopitar called them)[29] of old Czech manuscripts, even using the style of Serbian oral poetics.[3031] That influence can be discerned among other nations that used folklore as a tool for national emancipation. It gave impulse to Hungarian literature's interest in folklore.[32] Swedish translations of songs from Karadžić's collection

23 Krauze, op. cit.

24 Ćurčin, op. cit., 98.

25 Kopitar to Vuk (13.6.1826), *VP*, vol. III.

26 Ćurčin, op.cit., 138. Krauze, op. cit., 48.

27 Kopitar to Vuk (16.7.1822), *VP*, vol. II.

28 Mark Azadovsky, *Istoriya russkoy fol'kloristiki* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo Ministerstva prosvescheniya, 1958), 300 ff. Azadovsky even opines that a new period in the history of general European folkloristics started with Vuk (Ibid, 298).

29 Letter to Grimm (20.4.1841), Max Vasmer, *B. Kopitars Briefwechsel mit Jakob Grimm* (Köln-Wien: Böau Verlag, 1987), 195.

30 Nada Djordjević, *Srpskohrvatska narodna književnost kod Čeha* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1985), 36-60.

31 For that reason, Vuk's folkloric work and Hanka's mystifications were described as counterparts of "national integration"- Rihard Georg Plaška, "Počeci nacionalne integracije. Dva modela na potezu Beograd-Beč-Prag", *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* Vol. 42 (1990), 27-37.

32 Ištvan Frid, "Recepcija srpskohrvatske narodne poezije u mađarskoj književnosti u prvoj polovini XIX veka", in *Uporedna istraživanja* 2 (Belgrade: IKUM, 1982), 46-47.

by the poet Johann Runeberg (1830) became the "model" and "inspiration" for Lönnrot.[33] (Karadžić's classification of songs into "male" and "female" – that is to say, epic and lyric seem to have influenced the Finnish folklorist to apply the same principle). Karadžić's influence can be discerned even in Latvian culture. Andrejs Pumpurs, the national bard of Latvia, created the national epic *Lāčplēsis* inspired by what Karadžić did (even using the decasyllable of Serbian heroic poetry in one canto).[34]

In this context, we will endeavour to provide a new look at the transfer of concepts of *Volksgeist*, folklore, and language, taking Karadžić as the central figure and his network of collaborators, friends, followers and admirers as a "pool". We will trace how ideas were exchanged ("horizontally") between Karadžić and his European counterparts and other Serbian intellectuals. In another ("vertical") perspective, we will see how those concepts trickled down, expanding to Karadžić's field informers or those who knew him as a public figure through his books. The main source is Vuk's correspondence. It has been heavily used, of course, for historical and biographical research. But letters (unlike programmatic texts) can also reveal how new concepts were adopted and how they grew in intellectual exchange. At the same time, such a source can elucidate the transfer from a new point of view, revealing how the transferred themes became included in personal experience or self-identification. As observed by Robert Darnton a long time ago, the research of the period shows how ideas were "filtered down" to the "lowest levels of literacy" and neglected sources, like private materials.[35]

For example, attempts to compare Serbian poetry with the Ossianic corpus span from the very beginning of its reception, with Fortis and his British friends, to Vuk's contemporaries like Johann Severin Vater. That was an early attempt of the comparative typological approach to identify "primitive" or "natural" poetry" in different milieus. Researching the reception of Ossian in Serbian culture in terms of literary history would mean finding translations in journals and quotes in poetry. But when we read in a personal letter that poet Sima Milutinović was nicknamed the "Serbian Ossian" by a close friend of Vuk's,[36] we have insight not only

33 Michael Branch, "Finnish Oral Poetry, *Kalevala* and *Kanteletar*", in George C. Schoolfield (ed.), *A History of Finland's Literature* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 5, 20-21.

34 Sava Penčić, "Letonski epos i srpsko narodno stvaralaštvo", *Slovenske komparativne teme* (Niš: Prosveta, 1998), 27-32. Pumpurs even came to Serbia to fight in the Serbian-Turkish war of 1876 and proposed to the Serbian government to create a Latvian colony.

35 Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge MA, London: Harvard, 1968), p. vii.

36 Sima Milutinović to Vuk (24.11.1825), *VP*, vol. II; Cf. Josif Milovuk to Vuk (6.5.1833), *VP*, vol. V, also testifies to Ossian used as a nickname. In this context, it is even immaterial to what extent the correspondents read Ossian.

into an early trace of reception but into a much livelier and personal history, where the bard's name served in personal communication (and probably self-placement in national literature).[37]

2. Vuk's network(s)

The sheer number of people that Vuk was in contact with is impressive, even by modern standards. With his vast network of contacts, he was probably the most well-connected figure in Serbian culture. While he closely collaborated with some of them – like Leopold Ranke – the others he met (which is still worth mentioning), like poet Vassily Zhukovsky or anthropologist Blumenbach. The modern edition of his correspondence consists of 13 volumes with 700 to 1,100 pages in each volume – but even letters do not reveal the size and intricacy of his network. Some contacts went through intermediaries or were confined to correspondence. Vuk sent books to the Prussian king through Alexander von Humboldt, who was given the books by Grimm (another Humboldt, Wilhelm, heard about Vuk much earlier, while he was learning Slavic languages with Kopitar in Vienna). Božena Němcová never met Vuk but corresponded with him and thanked Vuk for permission to translate tales from his collection via the poet Milica Stojadinović. Some contacts are found in other sources, like the diaries and memoirs of others, and it seems that some names mentioned *en passant* point to much more history behind them. It has been noted long ago that, although Vuk spent fifty years in Vienna, it is still not known enough with whom he was acquainted from Viennese intellectual circles.[38] (But we do know that he had close academic contacts with the orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall).[39]

37 Ossianism in France in the late 18th century included the vogue of naming children Oscar or Malvina, after characters from Macpherson's poems. The most famous Oscar was the son of Napoleon's marshal Bernadotte, whose godfather was the First Consul himself, an avid reader of Macpherson's mystification (Paul van Tieghem, *Ossian en France. Tome seconde* (Paris: F. Rieder & Cie, 1917), 28-30). Little Oscar later brought his name into the list of Swedish kings and Swedish royal family.

38 Rudolf Jagoditsch, "Vuk in Wien", *Anali Filološkog fakulteta* Vol. 4 (1964), 167-176. Zoran Konstantinović, "Vuk Karadžić u Austriji", *Anali Filološkog fakulteta* Vol. 4 (1964), 215-228. Konstantinović concludes that Vienna resisted Romanticism, while Herder's ideas and Romanticim were primarily accepted by Slavic cultures in the Empire. Vienna was important as a growing centre of Slavic studies, but also a hub for spreading news about Slavic folk poetry. Zoran Konstantinović, "Wiens Bedeutung für die Verbreitung slawischer Volkslieder", in *Bracia Grimm i folklor narodów slowiańskich* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej akademii nauk, 1989), 163-174.

39 Zoran Konstantinović, "Vuk Karadžić u Austriji", 224-225.

Vuk belonged to the networks of Jernej (Bartholomeus) Kopitar and Jacob Grimm. The concept of network helps us better understand their activity.[40] Both scholars' networks were Europe-wide and (expectedly) intersected (for example, Kopitar helped Grimm to make contacts in Italy).[41] Through them, Vuk was introduced to many a name of science and literature. At the same time, Vuk developed a network of his own. It had branches in societies other than Serbian, too; it has been noted that, besides academic collaboration, Vuk had among Czechs "an entire network (*mreža*) of friends. They helped him to disseminate his books, make connections, send all kinds of parcels and so on."[42] Even Hanka, nowadays remembered as the Czech Macpherson, had a different position back then: "In that time, although neither a great poet nor a great scholar, he was a central figure in the Slavic world. He connected those from the North and West and South, helped everyone visiting Prague and, in some way, made Prague a centre of Slavic studies".[43] This shows another source of Vuk's contacts and background of his work: the emergence of common interest in Slavic studies in Slavic cultures themselves. Following nods from one network to another enables us to retrace how news about Serbian folklore spread in far wider circles than those who actively wrote on the topic. For example, Talvj – one of the "multiplicators" of that knowledge[44] – sent one of three copies of her translation to famous Egyptologist Richard Lepsius, Grimm's friend (the other two went to Vuk and Grimm).[45]

Karadžić's network was essentially part of Central European culture,[46] more precisely, the area of German and Slavic languages and cultures or, in terms of states, of Austria, Russia and German countries.

40 A recent study puts Kopitar on the European intellectual map in a frame much wider than Slavic studies, relying on the idea of network: "Kopitar emerges as the centrally important point of contact for the new European world of literary learning, comparable to Jacob Grimm." Ingrid Merchiers, *Cultural Nationalism in the South Slav Habsburg Lands in the Early Nineteenth Century. The Scholarly network of Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844)* (München: Verlag Otto Sagner, 2007), 7. The author noticed the interaction of Slovenian and Serbian networks, too (op. cit, 223), but is wrong in relegating Vuk to a mere "disciple" of Kopitar, especially when it comes to Vuk's later period.

41 Sergio Bonazza, "Kopitar als Vermittler zwischen Jacob Grimm und Italien", in *O dvestagodišnjici Jakoba Grima* (Belgrade: SANU, 1988), 215-232.

42 Milada Černa, "Vukovo delo u češkoj književnosti", in Viktor Novak (ed.), *Vukov zbornik* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1966), p. 342.

43 Nada Djordjević, op. cit., 29.

44 Term used by O. Elermajer-Životić, op. cit.

45 Friedhilde Krause, "Die Bedeutung Jacob Grimms", 415.

46 Cf. Margerita Arnautović, "Vukovo interesovanje za Francuze", *Anali Filološkog fakulteta* Vol. 4 (1964), 33.

In academic terms, one shouldn't forget that Russian academia of that period had a strong German presence (Vuk met Adelung and Rask in Russia and kept in contact with Peter Koeppen); at the same time Slavic studies started both in Austria and Russia. His contacts with the French, Italians or the British cannot match this – although persons like Silvestre de Sacy learnt about him (through Kopitar),[47] and he corresponded with Ami Boué (who belongs much more to the German space). Through Talvj, this European network can perhaps be extended to the USA.[48]

There are some central and, at the same time, overlapping themes that constitute the intellectual content of the network. One is, of course, the rise of Slavic studies (philology) through Vuk's contact with numerous pioneers in the field, which is known well enough in research. But Slavic philology should be seen in the broader context of comparative linguistics of the early 19th century,[49] which we can take as a second topic. It was the period of the formation of "new philology", i.e. comparative Indo-European linguistics. Although Vuk's language concerns didn't go that far and he did not have the necessary philological knowledge, he was fully aware of new insights and Slavic philologists around him, like Šafarik, needless to say, were interested in these issues and contributed to the field. It was the period when Friedrich von Schlegel (Kopitar's acquaintance and influence), one of the pioneers of Sanskrit studies, in his popular *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians* (1808), excluded Slavic languages from the family we today call Indo-European. It was thanks to F. Bopp's comparative grammar that Slavic languages were recognized as such. Sanskrit was seen as the master key for such comparisons (Kopitar, too, tried to study it). Vuk was, as mentioned above, in contact with Rasmus Christian Rask, one of the pioneers of this field – they met and exchanged letters and publications. Friedrich Adelung, Vuk's Russian correspondent, published a study comparing Sanskrit and Russian (1811) and the first Sanskrit bibliography (*Bibliotheca sanscrita*, 2. edition 1837). In Poland, Vuk met Valentin Majewski, the first Polish Sanskrit scholar (self-taught) and

47 Miodrag Ibrovac, "Vuk i Francuzi", in *Vukov zbornik*, 428-429.

48 Talvj spent a large part of her life in the USA, where she continued her literary activity, meeting literary figures like Washington Irwing and Margaret Fuller. There she took an interest in Native American languages and translated one study about them in German; she also published a study about the folk poetry of Slavic peoples in an American journal. For that reason, some studies describe her as a cultural intermediator (*Vermittlerin*) between Europe and the USA: Rado Pribić, "Beiträge zur Folkloristik auf zwei Kontinenten", *Talvj. Aus Liebe zu Goethe*, 207-212; Martha Kaarsberg Wallach, "Talvj und ihre Mittlerrolle in Amerika", *Talvj. Aus Liebe zu Goethe*, 247-265.

49 As explained both by older and recent studies. Cf. Milan Ćurčin, op. cit., 95; Merchiers, op. cit., 309-311.

the author of a Sanskrit grammar (1828), who compared Slavic languages with ancient Indian. Vuk describes Majewski as someone who proved "the Indianity of Slavs" (adding to Kopitar: "you should see how he is of our party!"), while Majewski in an article about Vuk describes how they compared Polish and Serbian with Sanskrit.[50] In 1853, Sreznyevsky recommended to Vuk a young scholar Aleksandr Gil'ferding (who had just published a treatise about Slavic languages and Sanskrit) as a "young Sanskritist of whom a lot is expected".[51] Friedrich Müller, professor of Sanskrit at the University of Vienna and the creator of the Hamito-Semitic family concept, had in his youth learned Serbian from Vuk personally; during the classes he liked to make etymological parallels with Indo-Iranian languages, to Vuk's interest.[52] Vuk knew Bernhard Jülg (1825–1886), who studied comparatively Indo-European and Turkic languages and oral traditions (he translated the original *Siddhi kur* (*Tales of the Bewitched Corpse*), the Mongolian variant of the Indian story collection *The Twenty Five Tales Of The Vetala*). Jülg informed Vuk about his work on comparing Polish and Church Slavonic with Sanskrit, said that he was looking forward to Vuk's help with Bulgarian editions and shows an interest in the forthcoming collection of tales collected by Vuk. They met in person in Vienna, and Vuk later sent him the collection of Serbian folk tales, which Jülg reviewed, and his work on the old Serbian language, which Jülg promised to review.[53] It is telling of Vuk's status and image that young Jülg addresses him as the "Nestor of Slavic scholars", hoping that Vuk would be able to help with his "branched connections". Among the subscribers to Vuk's 1852 dictionary was also the notable Indo-Europeanist August Schleicher, at that time a professor in Prague. Among South Slavs, Vuk's supporter Bishop Platon Atanacković was the first among Serbs to publish a treatise comparing Serbian and Sanskrit (1843). Some of Vuk's younger followers, like the Croat Imbro Tkalac and Catholic Serb from Dubrovnik Pero Budmani, also studied Sanskrit (and later even translated *Shakuntala*).[54]

50 Vuk to Kopitar (18. 2. 1819), *VP*, vol. I; Valentin Skorohod Majevski, "O delima g. Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića", in Golub Dobrašinović, Borivoje Marinković (eds.), *Susreti s Vukom* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1964), 35-37 (originally an article from 1819). Majewski read passages from Sanskrit works and Vuk "to the bewilderment of both" found similarities with many words archaic in Polish, but used in spoken Serbian – illustrative not so much of linguistic methodology as of the enthusiastic atmosphere.

51 Sreznyevsky to Vuk (25.11.1853), *VP*, vol. X.

52 Fridrih Kraus, "Doktor Kraussa u Beču", *Karadžić*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1900), 3-5.

53 Jülg to Vuk (24.9. 1853); 6.6. 1852, *VP*, vol. IX; 10.3.1857, *VP*, vol. XI.

54 The section about Vuk's contact with Sanskritists is from my forthcoming book *Gde ruža i lotos cveta. Slika Indije u srpskoj književnosti 19. i 20. veka* (Where rose and lotus bloom. The image of India in Serbian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries).

Vuk's European Admirers

Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), oil-on-canvas by Walenty Wańkowicz from 1828–29, National Museum, Warsaw.

Johan Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), painting by Joseph Karl Stieler, 1828, Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

Jacob Grimm (1785–1863).

Vaclav Hanka (1791–1861).

The example of Jülg's multiple activities points to folklore, as another topic, but also to interconnections of all these fields in that period (F. Müller also crossed over into ethnography from philology). The birth of Indo-European linguistics (and Indology) went hand in hand with the emergence of folklore studies, and both were marked by a deeply comparative approach. Folkloristics adopted the philological model of new linguistics as a paradigm and stuck to it deep into the 20th century. In the early days of folklore studies, when collections of oral texts could be counted on the fingers of one hand, scholars interested in folklore felt like part of one community and exchanged data. All above-mentioned topics from Vuk's network converge in Grimm's activity. Grimm's famous circular letter from 1815, where he calls for collecting folklore, is the cornerstone of the folklore studies network. The very first sentence announces the creation of a European society (with Grimm as its leader). As is well known, the letter reached Vuk soon through Kopitar, although he would not meet Grimm in person until 1823. When John Bowring – who wasn't a scholar like Grimm or a collector like Vuk but an influential disseminator of the growing interest in folk poetry[55] – sent his publication ("translation") of Finnish songs to the Slavic scholar Šafarik via Vuk, we can follow nod after nod in this network. Another good example is an indirect connection between Vuk and Elias Lönrott. Although the two never met in person, their work is linked through Grimm's network and his underlying theoretical approach. In his influential lecture on Finnish epic poetry (1845), Grimm talks about Serbian songs, too.[56] He speaks not only of Lönnrot[57] but Vuk, too.[58] Such switching from the North epic to the Balkans is not as surprising as it might seem. It is the core of Grimm's method: comparison and looking for the elemental, original, universal, trying, at the same time, to find the source of German poetry. (Some scholars even opine that, given Grimm's contribution to the world renown of the *Kalevala* and the influence of his lecture on Lönnrot's later reworkings, Grimm can be seen as Lönnrot's collaborator.[59] Although the term collaborator is used here in a rather broad sense – there were different levels of Grimm's collaboration – it describes well his position as the kernel of

55 And, after all, a prominent political figure in Britain.

56 For Grimm's comparison of the two oral traditions see Miljan Mojašević, *Jakob Grim*, 221 ff; 498 ff. Väinö Kaukonen, "Jacob Grimm und das Kalevala-Epos", *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, Vol. 9 (1963), 229-239.

57 Kaukonen, op. cit., 235.

58 Grimm to Vuk (29.05.1845), *VP*, vol. VII.

59 Kaukonen, op. cit., p 235 ff. Grimm left Lönnrot's letter unanswered. Lönnrot wrote in Finnish, assuming Grimm knew the language, but Grimm read the *Kalevala* in the Swedish translation (Mojašević, *Jakob Grim*, 500).

the folklore studies network). Five years later, both Serbian and Finnish collectors were elected as correspondent members of the Berlin academy at Grimm's proposal,[60] as Grimm writes to Vuk,[61] which was a symbolical confirmation of Grimm's network. Just as his approach connected different traditions, so this method is reflected on a personal level. Some other names found in the correspondence can be better understood in a folkloric perspective. Vuk was visited by Johann Georg von Hahn (and was later informed through intermediaries about Han's travels).[62] Hahn is mentioned in the letters as the writer of a travelogue through Serbia and cartographer, but he was also an important folklorist. While in diplomatic service in Greece, he published Greek and Albanian folk tales, anticipating some ideas of 20th-century folkloristics. He is mentioned as visiting Vuk before travelling to the Albanians; given Vuk's contribution to collecting Albanian songs, too, this meeting of the two scholars adds a small piece to the mosaic of the history of Balkan studies as well. The Finnish folklorist Karl Collan visited Vuk twice. Collan, who was also a composer and collector of Finnish folk melodies, defended his thesis on Serbian epic songs in Swedish (1860).[63] This meeting became known only in the 1930s when parts of his diary were published.[64] Jülg and Collan were young people when they met Vuk (Jülg stresses that he, as a young person, was received by Vuk as a "veteran"), and their visits to Vuk show the status he had acquired in many fields.

All these names are only the "hardware" of the network, which has already been known and used in studies. But what is important for our topic is the "software": tracing how ideas of the folk soul, embodied in language, folk customs and folk poetry, became adopted both among the elites and on very broadly, both as the articulation of an intellectual concept and a personal emotion.

3. The adoption of new ideas

Not only Herderian ideas but Herder's very name is present in the letters. Mušicki asks Vuk (a teacher asks his pupil) about the purchase of all of Herder's works, especially his history of humankind;[65] poet and

60 Grimm became a member of Society of Serbian Letters (1849), the precursor of the Serbian Academy, and a correspondent member of the Finnish Literature Society.

61 25.4.1850 *VP*, vol. VIII.

62 Jovan Gavrilović to Vuk 26.10.1858, *VP*, vol. XI.

63 His father-in-law was Pacius, who composed the Finnish national anthem.

64 Ivan Šajković, "Vukove veze sa Finskom", *Politika* (12 March 1934), 5.

65 Mušicki to Vuk (22.11.1816) *VP*, vol. I.

Lithography of Vuk Karadžić made by Joseph Kriehuber (1865). Collection and photo Peter Geymayer.

philologist Pavle Solarić asks Vuk for the same title.[66] Vuk is called to translate something from Herder.[67] It testifies to the status the German author had among educated Serbs.

As early as 1806, Stratimirović scolded an officer for writing in German instead of his native Serbian.[68] "I [Stratimirović] have written in the Serbian language, our natural, sweet, sincere mother tongue..." Since the nation (*rod*) consists of language only, Stratimirović urges his correspondent to reply in Serbian, "simply" (*prosto*) and purely. The Preromantic idealization of simplicity and nature is identified here with the core of nationality. (This letter was copied by Mušicki and enclosed in his letter to Vuk; at that time, Stratimirović was Vuk's enemy, and Mušicki wanted to prove that the Metropolitan had, not that long ago, thought the same as Vuk). The teacher Adam Dragosavljević wrote to Vuk (whom he did not know personally) about protecting the language, adding that he preferred simple old words preserved from the ancient days by mothers to the new learned words used by the best writers; a man that does not know any other language but his own keeps the original pronunciation of yore.[69]

66 Solarić to Vuk (11.5.1817), Pavle Solarić, *Sabrana dela* (Belgrade: Dositejeva zadužbina, 2019).

67 Isidor Stojanović to Vuk (28.10 1833) *VP* V (Since Stojanović mentions Wieland, Gessner and Herder together, he most probably thinks of Herder as a poet).

68 Mušicki to Vuk (12.6.1818), *VP*, vol. I.

69 Adam Dragosavljević to Vuk (5.10.1825), *VP,* vol. II.

(Dragosavljević also reported to Vuk that he had given a copy of Grimm's grammar to an acquaintance distrustful of their ideas).[70] In this sense, a letter by a certain Matija Đurić from Zadar (where the Italian culture was dominant) is telling. He recognizes Vuk's "national love to our nation and language" and then confesses that, being raised in Italy until he was twenty years old, he hadn't had an idea even of "A" and "B", but sympathy for his own nation and language led him learn to read Serbian books.[71] The personal tone of this letter is striking. In a similar vein, 25 years later, a certain Velimir Barbarić wrote to Vuk about the importance of simple language, its sweetness and that the youth appreciated Vuk's work on it.[72] The Slovenian poet Stanko Vraz told Vuk – who "saved" the Serbian language – that he first read Vuk's collection (in German!) and how that experience motivated him to pursue Slavic studies. He taught himself to read the original, "by morning and evening", putting the book "under the pillow like a bewitched girl puts a letter from her lover". Vuk's works are "the well of true folk life of South Slavs".[73] (Vraz abandoned his native Slovenian dialect to become a poet of Croatian literature). A year before he died, Vuk was greeted by students of a Catholic seminary since he "nurtures the language as a mother her favourite child", sawing pure wheat on that field.[74] On a more programmatic and "higher" level, the famous Italian-Serbian writer, folk song collector and dictionary author, Nikola Tomazeo (or Niccolò Tommaseo), wrote that the nation would be united by the golden alliance of language. Vuk's simple speech should be a model for writers, but also the common people *(puk)* should be our leader instead of books.[75] The theme of youth recurs. It corresponds to the historical reality, where young Serbs supported Vuk, and to the deeper Europe-wide change of sensibility, as German examples of young Romantics above show. But it is also a strong image carrying the meaning of source and strength, close to the organic metaphors crucial for Romantic (and later) folkloristics.[76] Other recurring themes were simplicity, naturality and authenticity. While they are expected in this time frame, it is interesting to see them adopted as part of self-identification.

We can track the adoption of the famous term *Volksgeist* in the same way. One correspondent praises Vuk because only his work contains "real

70 Adam Dragosavljević to Vuk (3.11.1826), *VP*, vol. III.

71 Matija Đurić to Vuk (23.10.1825), *VP*, vol. II.

72 Velimir Barbarić to Vuk (14.3.1849) *VP*, vol. VIII.

73 Vraz Vuku (8.3.1839), *VP*, vol. VI.

74 Blaž Modrožić Vuku (28.1.1863), *VP*, vol. XIII.

75 Tomazeo to Vuk, (18.10.1845) *VP*, vol. VII.

76 Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, "Biological Metaphors in Folklore Theory. An essay in the history of ideas", in Alan Dundes (ed.), *Folklore. Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 407-435.


МАЛА
ПРОСТОНАРОДЊА
СЛАВЕНО-СЕРБСКА
ПѢСНАРИЦА,
ИЗДАНА
ВУКОМ СТЕФАНОВИЋЕМ.
МАТИЦА СРБСКА
У ВИЕНИ, 1814.
У печатаньи Г. Іосифа Шнирера.

Cover page of the first Song-book (Pesnarica) by Vuk Karadžić, published in Vienna in 1814.

folk spirit and language".[77] Miloje Lešjanin (a high government official) also used the term, arguing that writers would be able to create new words in "the spirit of the folk language".[78] That is an entirely Herderian idea: writers should take inspiration from folk poetry (for Herder, folk poetry is not only oral or popular, but also includes individual creative production in the style of popular poetry). The final stage in the journey of this term is a 1859 letter by none other than the ruling prince Miloš, himself an unlettered man.[79] Miloš had returned from exile and retaken power when he wrote this letter, and he used the term precisely to describe his regaining of position.

Another epiphany of the *Volksgeist* is folk songs, tales, etc. Vuk calls them the "songs of old";[80] his general view of national old history is that it is "covered by darkness".[81] But folk poetry can give us glimpses into

77 Antun Vakanović to Vuk (17.3.1849) *VP*, vol. VIII.
78 Miloje Lešjanin to Vuk (1852, no date, p. 843) *VP*, vol. IX.
79 Miloš Obrenović to Vuk (3.1.1859), *VP*, vol. XII.
80 Vuk to Mušicki (21.8.1815), *VP*, vol. I.
81 Vuk to Hristofor Obrenović (6.2.1822), *VP*, vol. II.

An illustration of a rural idyll from the first Song-book (Pesnarica) by Vuk Karadžić, published in Vienna in 1814.

that past. Such views are expressed in his comments on epic poetry, too. The implication is that songs can tell us more about old periods of history. Others accepted such views, but besides preserving antiquity, a consciousness of their contemporary function began to emerge. Songs serve to awaken the youth; they safeguard our nationality *(nacionalitet)*, and contain the most truthful history of the ancient periods of our nation and the courage of our ancestors.[82] Another correspondent hoped that Vuk, on his field trip, collected thousands of antiquities in the land where the original character of "our forefathers" still endured.[83] Vuk was praised for kindling "the fire of Serbism" so that the youth would sing the songs of their ancestors.[84]

Among Vuk's counterparts, the ruler of Montenegro, bishop and poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš summarizes this sentiment, saying that the Serbian Homer is in folk poetry for those who want to understand and to

82 Petar Ristić to Vuk (1.9.1821), *VP* I – it is his commentary with Vuk's *Objavljenije*.

83 Djorđe Kuljančić to Vuk (19.11.1835) *VP*, vol. V.

84 Pavle Adamović to Vuk (20.4.1838) *VP*, vol. VI.

whom the Serbian nationality (*srpskost*) is dear.[85] Poet Milica Stojadinović said: "every Serb knows that many a valuable memory of Nationality without Vuk would have been lost to oblivion, since Serbian heroic songs could be heard only in common huts..., but the patriotic Vuk made an effort to introduce them into noble courts and, by doing so, he enflamed Serbian hearts for our dear nationality..."[86]

Romanticism re-evaluated the folk customs despised by the Enlightenment, seeing them as another manifestation of the national character. This change of attitude happened simultaneously with the Romantic re-evaluation of myth and new views became intertwined. Contemporary folklore is, for J. Grimm, one of the sources for the study of myth. Songs, tales, and rituals are fragments of a once great but now lost whole (myth). Its original look can be reconstructed through careful study. The model for this approach came from Indo-European linguistics, which used living and dead languages to reconstruct this ancient common language. A synthesis of the Romantic idealization of the organic golden age and the scholarly, philological study of folklore marks Grimm's work. Grimm inaugurated one of the most influential approaches to folklore, as a remnant of myth; he heavily contributed to the idea of folklore as a process of devolution, which will remain influential for generations of folklorists.[87]

Grimm sent his monumental *Teutonic Mythology*[88] to Vuk soon after it was published, and he expected Vuk (if anyone) to find "some fragments of Serbian mythology".[89] After the Serbian writers of 18th century, who attacked folk beliefs and customs either from a Christian or from an Enlightenment standpoint, we now see the adoption of a new concept of mythology. A small yet significant detail, caught by the editors of his letters, is when Vuk starts writing "superstition", and then crossing out the word and replacing it with "mythology".[90] His collaborator from the Montenegrin coast, Vuk Vrčević, was perplexed by Karadžić's interest in "superstitions". Publishing them, he says, wouldn't do an honour to our nation, since some of those deserve to be laughed at and mocked (adding that it'd be woe to him as a collector if people learned who had sent such material to Vuk). "What do you use them for", he wondered.[91] Three years later, Vrčević obediently reported that he had sent the "superstitions" for a "Serbian my-

85 Njegoš to Vuk (end of July 1833, p. 172) *VP*, vol. V.

86 Milica Stojadinović to Vuk (13.11.1849) *VP*, vol. VIII.

87 See: Alan Dundes, *The Meaning of Folklore. Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes* (Logan UT: Utah State University Press 2007), 164-176.

88 As *Deutsche Mythologie* was (with reason) translated into English.

89 Grimm to Vuk (1.3.1837), *VP*, vol. VI.

90 Vuk to Pantelejmon Živković (23.10.1842), *VP*, vol. VI.

91 Vrčević to Vuk (16.1.1837; 13.4.1837), *VP*, vol. VI.


DEUTSCHE MYTHOLOGIE

VON JACOB GRIMM.

GÖTTINGEN

IN DER DIETERICHSCHEN BUCHHANDLUNG

1835.

Title page of Deutsche Mythologie by Jacob Grimm published in Gottingen in 1835. Later published in English as Teutonic Mythology in four volumes (1880–1888).

thology" Vuk was writing[92]. Karadžić formulated his view on mythology in his comments accompanying the publication of folk songs, but also in his official or semi-official letters – to Alexander Shishkov, to the ministry of education, to Prince Miloš. He explained his plan to publish a description of folk customs and life, that is to say, customs, superstitions or beliefs and mythology.[93] It may be mentioned that the statesman Ilija Garašanin did not find it below his rank to send Vuk one local legend about a fly.[94] However, such a synthesis appeared only after Vuk's death (unfinished) as a book titled *Life and Customs of the Serbian People*. It differs from Grimm's contribution in that Vuk did not attempt to reconstruct the pre-Christian mythological system and instead offered ethnographic descriptions of the folk lifestyle, especially the rites belonging to the life cycle.

92 Vrčević to Vuk (24.2.1840), *VP*, vol. VI.

93 Vuk to Shishkov (18.12.1838, *VP*, vol. VI); to Miloš Obrenović (24.4.1841, *VP*, vol. VI); to the Ministry of Education (3.5.1852, *VP*, vol. IX). The term superstition was not entirely discarded.

94 Garašanin to Vuk (4.11.1851), *VP*, vol. IX.

As early as 1821, Mušicki encouraged Vuk to describe folk customs. Such a book, he argued, would sustain nationality more than the catechism – and he even adds: "I'd rather give that to children than the catechism".[95] That was a radically new, unexpected view for a member of the clergy. The theme of youth reappeared in Mušicki: "The Serbian youth is my diocese, the greatest, the most glorious of all dioceses."[96] While this passage can be interpreted in the context of Mušicki's conflict with his superiors, the image of youth reminds us of the broader intellectual climate, especially because he contrasts (in the same letter) this "diocese" with the "monks who despise the people and folk language". Mušicki's call to Vuk should be seen in the context of the Serbian clergy's attitude toward folk customs. Mušicki's tone is one of change. And such a new attitude is to be found in many other places in Vuk's correspondence. It'd be easy to say that Mušicki wasn't a typical priest – but he was not a lone example. Already while compiling his first collection (1814), Vuk got some *ritual* songs from Metropolitan Stratimirović himself, i.e., the very same material that the clergy condemned.[97] Abbot Jerotej Kovačević sent Vuk a description of the rite of *propruše*[98] and the accompanying song.[99] Another priest, Vuk Popović, sent him "magical" texts against the evil eye and mentioned priests and monks who summoned devils through special prayers.[100] Moreover, priests and monks collected *obscene* folklore: riddles, songs, especially dancing ones (*poskočice*), and proverbs.[101] All the material suppressed, made invisible and rejected for centuries now became an object of interest and was collected as something precious.

Let us mention that, although research tends to stress the conflict between Karadžić and the Church, he organized the subscription to his books (song collections, dictionary) through the Church network. Priests, abbots and bishops were willing to help him, as they helped other Serbian authors of the period, too, but one of them even informed Vuk that he had done for Vuk what he hadn't done for any other writer by sending circular letter to priests to read to people.[102]

95 Mušicki to Vuk (13.12.1821), *VP*, vol. I.

96 Mušicki to Vuk (10.1.1822), *VP*, vol. II.

97 At that time they still maintained good relations.

98 Young men performing a rainmaking dance in times of drought.

99 Vuk to Jerotej Kovačević (6.9.1845); Kovčević to Vuk 27.12.1845)

100 Vuk Popović to Vuk (6.10.1849).

101 Samuilo Ilić to Vuk (8.9.1824, *VP*, vol.. II) Stefan Teodorović to Vuk (26.10.1825, *VP*, vol. II) Vuk Popović to Vuk (19.2.1836), *VP*, vol. V (13.11.1836, V); Avram Panić to Vuk (24.5.1836), *VP*, vol. V.

102 Pantelejmon Živković to Vuk (9.3.1841), *VP*, vol. VI.

Finally, we notice the institutionalisation of these ideas, as already apparent in Vuk's letters about his mythology project. One example shows the creation of the cult of folk singers in Serbian civil society. Vuk was informed about the idea to mark the grave of Filip Višnjić, one of Vuk's most famous singers.[103] His correspondent notified Vuk that, for this task, a committee had been set up, including one lawyer and one *solgabirov* (prefect), adding that they were even planning a call in the newspapers. But the idea, as stated in a letter, got bigger: perhaps it should be monument in the town? And perhaps it should not be dedicated to one singer only, but to other singers, too, to all of them? From the tomb of one singer, the idea grew to a pantheon. The creation of the cult of the folk singer, or bard, developed in the 19th and 20th centuries in national culture.[104]

Another example can be found in a letter of the Romantic artist Uroš Knežević.[105] Knežević let Vuk know that the young and well-educated Prince Mihailo had taken him on a journey with a mission. Knežević's task was to paint old men and women in costumes from the previous period: "He [prince] has all this painted especially because folk costumes started disappearing so that it may stay in memory". Mihailo – who told Vuk, as a contribution to his collection, a fairytale he had heard in childhood from a nanny – was beset with the typically Romantic idea that contemporary folklore was on the brink of disappearing and that was high time to "save" it. This notion would exercise its influence on folkloristic and popular conceptions of folklore for a long time. This example is important because it shows how this preoccupation could become a kind of semi-official project. Similar impulses in other countries gave rise to ethnographic collections and museums.

4. Final remarks

In this type of research, personages like Vuk Karadžić might appear reduced to mere transmitters. This apparent distortion is only a matter of the point of view. Vuk's differences from Grimm are well known in the history of folklore studies, to take that example, which show his original insights into folklore, foreshadowing in some aspects the scholarship of the 20th century. But since this is not a history of the discipline or a case study of Vuk's views, circulation through his network puts the very content of that process in the front.

103 Mojsije Georgijević to Vuk (31.1.1847), *VP* VII; see also the letter of April 15, 1847.

104 See Smiljana Djordjević-Belić, *Figura guslara. Heroizirana biografija i nevidljiva tradicija* (Belgrade: IKUM, 2017), 55-61.

105 Knežević to Vuk (5.2.1852) *VP* IX

Cultural history has noted that Herderian ideas became commonplaces in the European cultural space, even becoming anonymous, in the early 19th century.[106] Grimm's ideas had a similar destiny to become widespread. The Serbian culture of the 19th century is marked by this intellectual cluster, from Romantic theatre and poetry to popular ideas of language or folklore. But the very process of the spread of such ideas can still be a subject of research and yield new insights. It is cultural transfer as a process broader than the history of literary influences and deeper than intellectual history, since it often concerns persons invisible to "big" history and their emotions. Moving from published texts to more personal communications, we can see how this cluster came to life on a personal level, then on the level of interpersonal communication and how, finally, they reached an official position.

Abbreviations:

VP = *Vukova prepiska* I-XIII [Correspondence of Vuk Karadžić], *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1987–2014).

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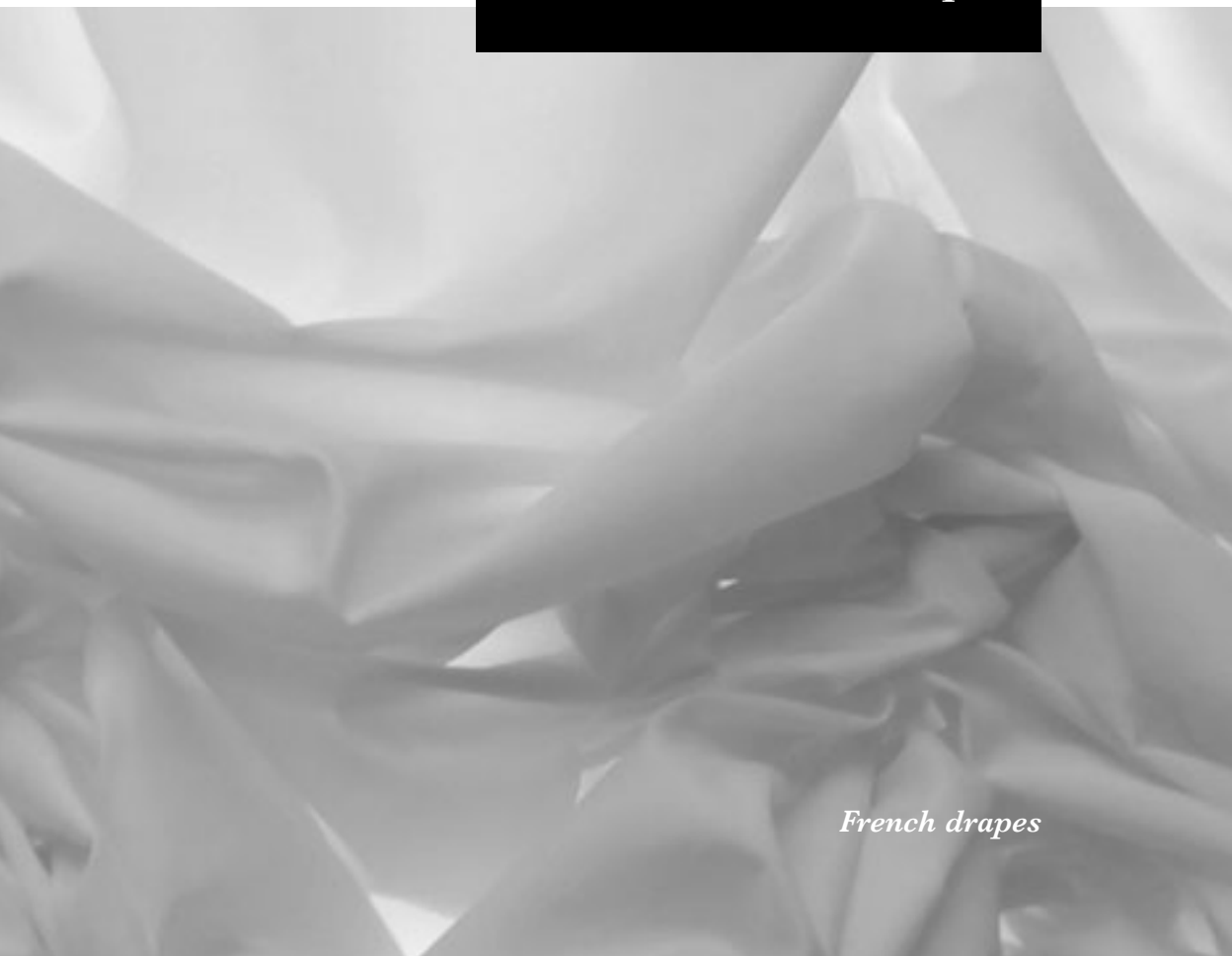
3: Cultural Transfer in Yugoslavias and Southeast Europe



French drapes

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IS ADOLESCENCE CULTURALLY TRANSFERRED? IS IT UNIVERSAL? WHY SHOULD THE SOCIAL HISTORIAN CARE?*

Abstract: Youth historians generally agree about the "modernity" of adolescence. Whether it was discovered or invented, the publication of G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* in 1904 marked a watershed, at least in popular consciousness. Yet historians cross this watershed all the time. Since adolescence is now thought to be universal, it only makes sense to find where adolescents hid before Hall and his fellow psychologists spotlighted them. This essay joins the search. Examples from fiction, proto-ethnographies, and pedagogical journals identify genre limitations for reconstructing adolescence in non-Western, non-bourgeois Europe in the nineteenth century. Recognizing that adolescence was culturally transmitted into Southeastern Europe, then, was merely the first step of the search.

Keywords: youth, social history, comparative history, family history, age groups

No one questions the place of adolescence in the life course. The university I am affiliated with offers courses like "Primary Care of Adolescents" to its future nurses, focuses its Developmental Psychology class on "birth to adolescence," and encourages future youth ministers to "take the voices, dreams, questions, and struggles of adolescents seriously." At a peer school, Barbara Natterson-Horowitz offers a class called "Coming of Age on Planet Earth." Her book with Kathryn Bowers posits that adolescence cuts across species. Bracketing the fruit fly's short lifespan (which averages 50 days), human parents might envy this species' short teenage period of five days and dread the Greenland shark's 50 years of adolescence (of a 400-year life). They end their book by suggesting that even "non-animal enterprises" like start-ups and relationships go through an "awkward and unflattering phase of development."[1]

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1 Barbara Natterson-Horowitz and Kathryn Bowers, *Wildhood: The Epic Journey from Adolescence to Adulthood in Humans and Other Animals* (New York: Scribner, 2019), 265.

Back to humans, the universality of adolescence is not as evident. John W. Santrock's textbook, *Adolescence*, begins with a three-page history of the concept. In three paragraphs, it jumps from Plato and Aristotle (2 paragraphs) to the Middle Ages (1 sentence) and Rousseau (5 sentences). Then, "a number of psychologists, urban reformers, educators, youth workers, and counselors" developed "the concept we now call adolescence" between 1880 and 1920. This development he terms "invention."[2] John R. Gillis, the eminent historian of youth, preferred the term "discovery" and the chronological span 1870 to 1900.[3] Both focus primarily on the Anglo-American world and on a similar range of actors. G. Stanley Hall, who published a two-volume work called *Adolescence* in 1904, is essential to such historical narratives.[4] Adolescence, invented or discovered, seems like a case of cultural transfer.

Contemporaries recognized the importance of Hall's work. *Adolescence*, a Hungarian journal hailed in 1906, was "one of a kind, as it examines youth as growing out of childhood" [*gyermekkorból kilépő ifjúkort vizsgálja*].[5] Writing for the social-democratic journal *Borba*, the Croatian sociologist Filip Filipović credited Hall with importing paedology from Germany to the United States, where it was "immediately naturalized."[6] Yet the study of adolescence was not as quick to reach other realms of the world. A summary of Hall's findings appeared in Yugoslavia in 1925, but books about adolescent psychology waited until the 1940s.[7] While psychology has been taught in Egypt since 1908, calls for studying youth were first heard in the 1930s and matured into research agendas in the 1940s.[8] Adolescent psychiatry divorced child psychiatry only in the late 1950s, first in the United States and then elsewhere.[9]

The project of locating adolescence in human psychological, sexual, and biological development has had significant consequences on those

2 John W. Santrock, *Adolescence*, 17th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2019), 3.

3 John R. Gillis, *Youth and History* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), chapter 3.

4 G. Stanley Hall, *Youth: Its Education, Regimen, and Hygiene.* (New York: Appleton, 1904).

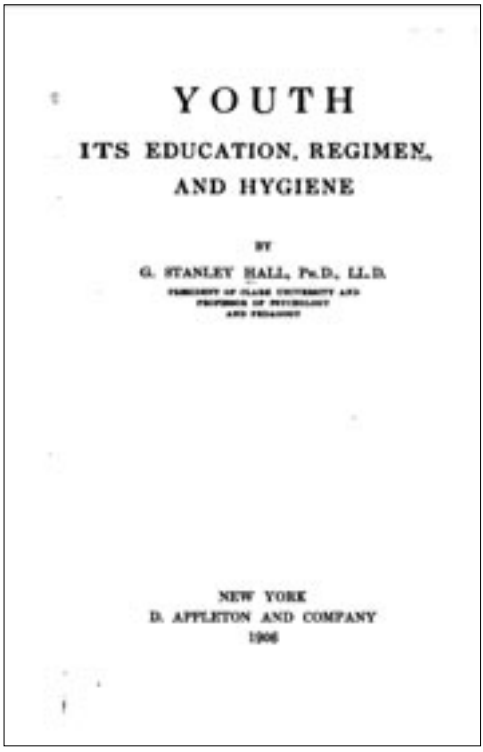
5 Józon Benczelits, "Stanley Hall nevelésügyi munkája," *Huszadik század* 7, No. 2 (1906), 333.

6 Filip Filipović, "O pedologiji," *Borba* 2, No. 16 (1910), 628.

7 Joseph John Findlay, "Stupnji psihogeneze," trans. Ž. Ivanović, *Glasnik profesorskog društva*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1925), 100–111.

8 Omnia El Shakry, "Youth as Peril and Promise: The Emergence of Adolescence Psychology in Postwar Egypt", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, No. 4 (2011), 596–97.

9 Aaron H. Esman, "A History of Adolescent Psychiatry", *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 200, No. 12 (2012), 1058–60.



YOUTH

ITS EDUCATION, REGIMEN, AND HYGIENE

BY

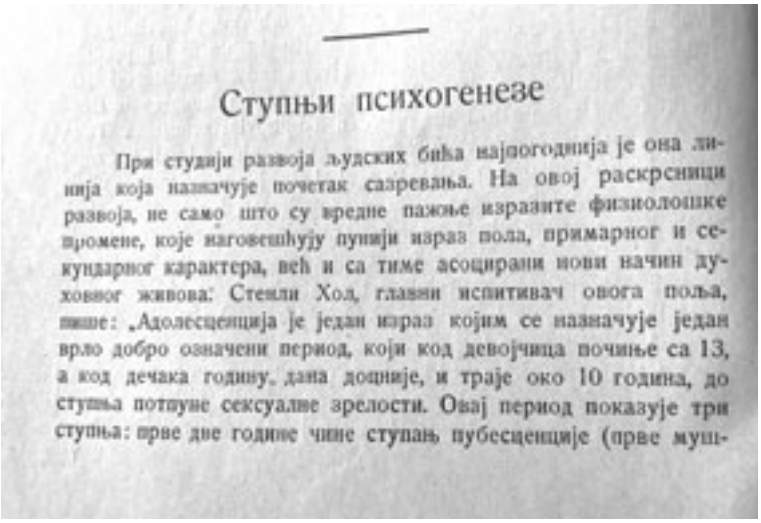
G. STANLEY HALL, Ph.D., LL.D.

NEW YORK
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
1906

Title page of Stanley Hall's book Youth: Its Education, Regimen, and Hygiene (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1906).

now identified as adolescents. It allows adolescents to get better medical care, tailored education, and (if their parents turn to the right shelves of the library) more profound empathy for their age-specific torments. The ubiquity of adolescence in our social and cultural life only deepened the interest of scholars and practitioners in its cultural and temporal variation. The literature produced in the humanities and the social sciences alone has become impossible to master.[10] What follows contributes

10 Very select examples include Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Alice Schlegel and Herbert Barry, *Adolescence: An Anthropological Inquiry* (New York: Free Press, 1991); Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Historical Descriptions and Prescriptions for Adolescence", *Journal of Family History* 17, No. 4 (1992), 341–51; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920 to 1950* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2006); Catherine Cox and Susannah Riordan (eds.), *Adolescence in Modern Irish History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Eve Krakowski, *Coming of Age in Medieval Egypt: Female Adolescence, Jewish Law, and Ordinary Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).



Ступњи психогенезе

При студији развоја људских бића најпогоднија је она линија која назначује почетак сазревања. На овој раскрсници развоја, не само што су вредне пажње изразите физиолошке промене, које наговештују пунији израз пола, примарног и секундарног карактера, већ и са тиме асоцирани нови начин духовног живота. Стенли Хол, главни испитивач овога поља, пише: „Адолесценција је један израз којим се назначује један врло добро означени период, који код девојчица почиње са 13, а код дечака годину, дана доцније, и траје око 10 година, до ступња потпуне сексуалне зрелости. Овај период показује три ступња: прве две године чине ступањ пубесценције (прве муш-

A section from the Serbian translation of the article of Joseph John Findlay, "Stages of psychogenesis" published in: Glasnik profesorskog društva, Vol. 5, No. 1–2 (1925), 100–111.

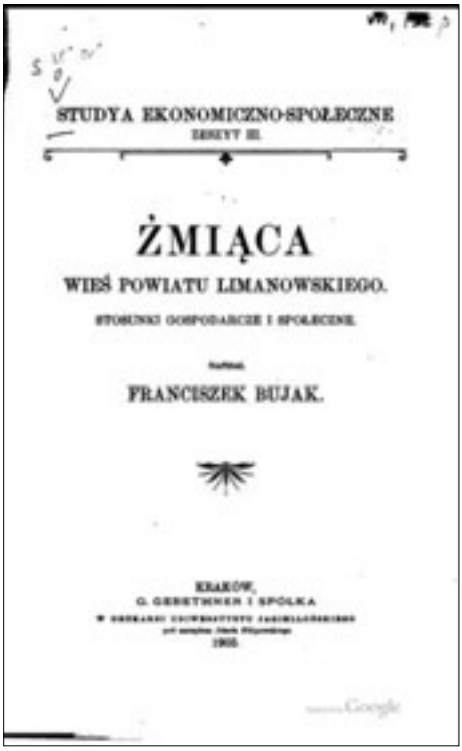
thoughts from the workbench about the challenges of reconstructing adolescence in past societies. These thoughts emerge from the intersection of my concern with social structure and the inevitable recognition that adolescence was, at least somewhat, a foreign construct to many human societies around 1900.

In the European countryside, away from the industrialized modernity considered the cradle of adolescence, autobiographies are scarce but sociographic literature is abundant. Forms of literature that represented peasants were not neutral, of course. In Serbia, the call for a deeper psychological portrait of peasants in fiction came from Svetozar Marković during the transition from liberalism to socialism.[11] The desired literature, to quote one of his followers, was to be "stuffed with [political] tendencies."[12] Non-fiction literature is not without tendencies. Limitations of the genre also burden it: ethnographic and sociographic traditions differed in what they considered essential to note down.

The preoccupation of nineteenth-century observers with agriculture allows adolescents to make, at most, cameos. From Ion Ionescu de la Brad's study of Dorohoi County (1866), one can glean some information about schooling and ponder upon his division of the population into

11 Svetozar Marković, "Pevanje i mišljenje," in *O realizmu*, ed. Aleksandar Ilić (Belgrade: Nolit, 1984), 151.

12 Quoted in Dušan Ivanić, *Srpski realizam* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1996), 36.


STUDYA EKONOMICZNO-SPOŁECZNE

ŻMIĄCA

WIEŚ POWIATU LIMANOWSKIEGO.

FRANCISZEK BUJAK.

KRAKÓW,

Title page of Franciszek Bujak's book Żmiąca, wieś powiatu Limanowskiego: stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne (Kraków: G. Gebethner, 1903).

three age groups: 1–15, 15–25, and 25+.[13] Franciszek Bujak's study of a village in Limanowa County offers more valuable data. Subchapters include schooling, courting or the road to marriage, dowries, and "the fate of the heirs' siblings." For example, these discussions can teach us about the relationship between parents and their newlywed children who expect to inherit their farm.[14]

Bujak covers the life course in two contexts: land inheritance and marriage. Ionescu's tripartite age grouping could map into these transitions. Since he classifies the first two age groups as mostly dependents, 25 was likely the age he considered as a threshold for marriage. What followed this threshold, Bujak tells us, varied greatly. The life course of the inheriting child was predictable: upon marriage, he waited until his parents retired and left him and his wife the farm. His older siblings re-

13 Ion Ionescu, *Agricultura română din judetiulu Dorohoiu* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Statului, 1866), 67–68, 84–86.

14 Franciszek Bujak, *Żmiąca, wieś powiatu Limanowskiego: stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne* (Kraków: G. Gebethner, 1903), 67–68.

ceived money but were freer to choose a path to adulthood. In Bujak's village of choice, the younger brother or daughter got the farm. Birth order must have shaped the siblings' psychological experiences of adolescence. Their experience of youth must have also differed from that of families who did not live off the land. Shepherds, agricultural workers, artisans, and other occupational categories lived through different transitions and enjoyed other freedoms. Bujak's concern with the peasantry makes the adolescence of these other groups difficult to reconstruct.

There are, thus, at least three elements of adolescence to reconstruct. If we accept that adolescence is a "pivotal point in life history when somatic investments in growth and maturation are completed and resources are reallocated to reproduction," we are immediately confronted with the ill-match between physical and social maturation. Carol M. Worthman and Kathy Trang also note how, across the world, the age gap between the two keeps widening.[15] Between the biological and social lies the psychological. Indeed, it is the psychological that drew the attention of many historians of adolescence. The internal contradictions in the adolescent mind are perhaps common to sharks and humans, but historians have considered them to be the result of particular cultural conditions. Quoting Freud, for example, one literary historian finds a plausible "correspondence between the process of adolescence and that of American culture." One may even be "tempted to say that the one recapitulates the other."[16]

This is, perhaps, another genre limitation. The "novel of adolescence" helps us see individual adolescents and not adolescents as a social group.[17] Such novels emerged from the ashes of social realism. Their historical heyday was not Enlightenment-era Central Europe (as Goethe's Wilhelm Meister might encourage us to think) or Victorian Britain. Most of Europe – and beyond – has begun to read and write adolescent protagonists only in the early 1900s. For most of the nineteenth century, novels mostly covered social milieux at the expense of individual development. Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*, published in 1830, was translated to Hungarian in 1905. The advertisements admired how the French author "had anticipated the ideas, aspirations, and struggles of our time" and "brought eternal truths to light" from the "mystique of the human soul."[18] Is adolescence, as reflected in Stendhal's works, "eternal" or "of our time?" Earlier adolescents barely appear on record.

15 Carol M. Worthman and Kathy Trang, "Dynamics of Body Time, Social Time and Life History at Adolescence", *Nature* 554, No. 7693 (2018), 452.

16 Ihab H. Hassan, "The Idea of Adolescence in American Fiction", *American Quarterly* 10, No. 3 (1958), 314.

17 See, for example, Justin O'Brien, *The Novel of Adolescence in France: The Study of a Literary Theme* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937).

18 "Vörös és fekete," *Népszava*, Oct. 27, 1907.

The very writing of an introspective autobiography that interrogates one's youth could be seen as a case of cultural transfer. Very few such ego documents exist in Southeastern Europe. Ion Slavici's *Amintiri* is a case in point. It contains statements about the transition from childhood, which involved disappointments and even nostalgia towards his "frighteningly happy" childhood (at least in retrospect).[19] Mircea Eliade's earlier novels – *Novel of the Nearsighted Adolescent* (1925, published 1989), for example – are a better starting point for histories of adolescence. This is a problem. Autobiographies are a valuable source for the historical mentality of adolescence, but they only appeared among the middle classes of Europe c. 1900. Using them pushes us to study those who articulated their adolescence after digesting textual models produced in Germany, France, and Britain. Limiting ourselves to these writers gives us a textured insight into their sexual, emotional, and sometimes social development.

A textual gulf thus separates rural and urban Europe. We are accessible to different parts of these worlds on the documentary level based on what writers and scholars found notable. The rural, thus, lends itself more readily to social research. Since adolescence is mainly read as a cultural construct and anxiety, there is still much unknown on the ethnographic level since this anxiety is understood as urban. In many Hungarian communities, like much of premodern Western Europe, bachelors were organized into peer-led groups ("guilds" in Hungarian).[20] Even though these "guilds" disappeared in recent history and in a well-documented environment, we know little about this process. We also know little about the psychological experience of adulthood as reflected in ethnographic data like Bujak's. Were inheriting sons (whether inheriting lands or a profession) immune from worrying about their future? Is worrying about the future a feature of industrial modernity brought from the city to the countryside?

After all, European adolescence seems individualistic and simple compared to East Africa, for example. Anthropologists specializing in this region have long struggled to understand the interplay between age organization and sociopolitical organization.[21] For example, the Harar of South Ethiopia traditionally divided their clans into age groups of eight years. These age groups correlated with socioeconomic functions: the third *gada* (ages 16–24) fought; the fourth shepherded; the fifth led

19 Ioan Slavici, *Amintiri*, ed. Gheorghe Sanda (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1967), 10.

20 Imre Németh, "Legénycéh," in *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982, 1977).

21 P. T. W. Baxter and Uri Almagor (eds.), *Age, Generation, and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organisations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

the clan; the sixth provided sagacious advice. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, they adopted a different system for clan governance without age bracketing. The Egyptian colonial rule led to further changes in social structure, likely spurring other changes in age categorization.[22] The varying way African societies used the life course and youth to soothe theological concerns and neutralize the effects of wealth differentials certainly encourages rethinking the centrality of biology in our definitions of adolescence.

Thinking about the bachelors' guilds and the *gada* calls for a more nuanced understanding of how modern adolescence overrode deprecated modes of age organization. What were the exact borders of peer organizations like the Hungarian guilds? How did Harar society look like as adolescents 'broke free'(?) from their age cohorts? Our answers to these questions will only add to our understanding of European modernity's colonial expansion inside and outside the continent.[23] Tracing the process in which this "modern" form of social organization spread across the world is also crucial for the ongoing debates on the discrepancy between social and biological maturation as well as the ongoing debates about the universality of adolescence versus its particularity. Adolescence as a culturally transferred concept has been well studied; we do not know as much about socially transferred changes in adolescence.

My research focuses on "young adults" or "emergent adults," a category later to my period of interest and foreign to my region of interest. Jeffrey Jensen Arnett's survey of emergent adulthood covers milestones familiar to our discussion: parent-child relationships, love and sex, the road to marriage, post-secondary education, and work. He also ventures into media use and religious beliefs (the latter also features in accounts like Bujak's).[24] Although this concept is less than half a century old, it has gained wide currency. Its popularity is grounded in empirical observation. As Arnett claims, grouping people aged 10 to 25 together makes no sense if they face different concerns. More teenagers than ever before in human history remain in school until around the age of 18, for example. Others have even suggested a more complicated division: "adolescents, 15 to 19; young people, 20 to 24; young adults, 25 to 29; adult-young, 30–34."[25] These new categories are justified empirically by a prolonged way to "set-

22 Avishai Ben-Dror, *Emirate, Egyptian, Ethiopian: Colonial Experiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Harar* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2018), 97–98.

23 I build here on Alexander Etkind's *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).

24 Jeffrey Jensen Arnett, *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens through the Twenties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

25 Pierluca Birindelli, *The Passage from Youth to Adulthood: Narrative and Cultural Thresholds*, Lanham (UPA, 2014), 60.

tled" adulthood as defined by marriage, homeownership, reproduction, and other traditional milestones.

Thinking about young adults instead of adolescents, I believe, is helpful conceptually for the study of earlier periods that predate this prolonging. The discourse around young adulthood centers on institutional transitions, like schooling and labor market entry. This discourse is thus helpful in bringing social history back into the picture.[26] It might encourage historians of Europe to look at youth as detached from the themes encapsulated in contemporary discourses on youth and adolescence. These discourses, to be sure, have been tremendously productive in guiding historians, not least because they also dictated the production of source materials. Sexuality, for example, will be examined separately in adolescence (as the discovery of sexuality) and young adulthood (as its utilization and control in the transition to adulthood).

Opening up the possibilities of age categorization can also help us understand adulthood. The discovery of childhood and adolescence must have been accompanied by the construction of adulthood and old age.[27] Thinking about adulthood as constructed – though one without a deluge of discursive interest in adulthood or a key figure like G. Stanley Hall – can help us detect more subtle influences of knowledge and cultural transfer on the life course. It can also help rethink historical life courses. Think one more time about the inheriting son/daughter in Bujak's monograph. His brothers might have migrated to towns, become servants, joined a monastery, or bought a small farm. They became independent adults at once, forced by their birth order to make a dramatic shift. Their younger

26 The literature on the transition to adulthood, inspired by life-course sociology, in history is mostly quantitative. John Modell, Frank F. Furstenberg, and Theodore Hershberg, "Social Change and Transitions to Adulthood in Historical Perspective", *Journal of Family History* 1, No. 1 (1976), 7–32; Ann Larson, *Growing up in Melbourne: Transitions to Adulthood in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D. Diss. (Australian National University, 1986); John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Linda Lee Dahlberg, *Pathways of Change: The Transition to Adulthood in Nineteenth Century Indianapolis, 1860–1880*, Ph.D. Diss. (Indiana University, 1995); Wendy Sigle, David I. Kertzer, and Michael J. White, "Abandoned Children and Their Transitions to Adulthood in Nineteenth-Century Italy", *Journal of Family History* 25, No. 3 (2000), 326–40; Lisa A. Alberici and Mary Harlow, "Age and Innocence: Female Transitions to Adulthood in Late Antiquity", *Hesperia Supplements* 41 (2007), 193–203; Harriet Ward, "Transitions to Adulthood from Care in Late 19th Century England", *Child & Family Social Work* 26, No. 2 (2021), 222–30.

27 See, for example, Winthrop D. Jordan, "Searching for Adulthood in America," *Daedalus* 105, No. 4 (1976), 1–11; James E. Cote, *Arrested Adulthood: The Changing Nature of Maturity and Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

brother had a more secure road to adulthood: he would inherit their parents' estate, bring his wife to the family farm, and eventually become the head of the household. When did his adulthood begin? With marriage, even though he remained under his parents' tutelage? When they retired, perhaps as he neared his fifties?

There is more maturation to undergo beside the set of maturations subsumed under adolescence. The inheriting son kept refining his management and agricultural skills. He learned how to manage daily workers or servants and train his children for the tasks they would one day need to mature into performing. Limiting ourselves to adolescence might reflect the spell this "discovery of adolescence" had on the Anglosphere c. 1900. Then, adolescents were mostly understood as emerging individuals. This was a problem. The term 'youth' (*Jugend*, for example) left the realm of the middle classes when working-class youth were suspected of delinquency and truancy.[28] Perhaps importing the term "young adulthood," which had no contemporary connotations, can overcome the power of these connotations on us. Cultural transfer, if so, is not only an intriguing research topic. It can also hinder studying "social facts" through its limitations on our scholarly imaginations and our sources' priorities when writing.

Yet we must not do away with the transferedness of adolescence and young adulthood. By studying cultural and social transfer in tandem, we can help uncover how the "science" of adolescence (ranging from sex education to psychiatry) impacts societies still in transition or even resisting it. A recent study of the United Nations Development Programme's Millennium Project voiced the idea that adolescence "is already [a concept] saturated with the colonialist foundation of phylogeny re-capitulating ontogeny." Grounded in a South African context, the study shows how the Millennium Project thus transfers a set of values that can change social behavior. It further drives the globalization and standardization of desirable adolescent behavior. The cultural transfer of adolescence is thus far from over. There is much more to know about how these processes of transfer shaped adolescent cultures, practices, and structures long after the "heyday" of adolescence ended in our scholarly imagination.

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"BIG WIDE WORLD" IN YUGOSLAVIA: SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON CULTURAL TRANSFER TO SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA*

Abstract: The paper discusses the hybrid cultural model of Yugoslav socialism, also defined as the *third way*. This model distinguished the socialism of Yugoslavia and that of other countries of the Eastern bloc during the Cold War era. It emerged after the political break with the Soviet Union in 1948, but developed gradually during the 1950s. Western models (American, French, British, Italian and Swedish) came during this cultural transfer. This happened in the field of education since 1958. The transfer also included the Americanisation of culture and the rise of consumerist society, another process that began in the late 1950s. Opening up in the field of art also began in the 1950s with Western exhibitions in Yugoslavia, and Yugoslav artists started to exhibit their works in the West in the 1960s. Since its opening in 1965, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade was under strong American cultural influence, and similar tendencies were present in theatre performances in the 1960s. American films dominated cinemas in Belgrade and other cities since the early 1950s, and jazz became very popular in the same period. Fashion magazines promoting Western fashion also appeared in the 1950s, but Western fashion became dominant somewhat later. Although the American cultural model became dominant, the Soviet one never vanished. Western impulses were also heavily present through the Italian influence in the fields of fashion, car industry and popular culture.

Keywords: Cultural transfer, socialist Yugoslavia, Americanisation, Westernisation, Cold War

The period of socialist Yugoslavia represents a specific cultural hybrid in all fields of social activity. The new Yugoslav society began its formation according to the Soviet model, but very soon, a new, autochthonous social structure model was established – socialist self-management – which would mark the whole existence of socialist Yugoslavia. Changes in the Communist Party policies in the domain of culture began somewhat later than the political changes of 1948. During that period, besides the presence of realism, the modernist concept was introduced into the cultural space, which undoubtedly had to do with Western cultural influence.[1] From the 1950s, cultural influences became manifold and complex, and by the end of the 1950s, the influence of Western cultural models became evidently present and gradually formed an integral part of the

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1 Goran Miloradović, *Lepota pod nadzorom: Sovjetski kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju 2012), 15.

cultural model of socialist Yugoslavia. So, this hybrid model, also defined as the *third way*, was one of the peculiarities that created the distinction between the socialism of Yugoslavia and that of other countries of the Eastern bloc during the Cold War era.

In this paper, I shall try to identify certain fields of social activity in the post-war Yugoslav society where Western influences were remarkably present. Apart from popular culture and consumerism, which are our primary associations with the West, the general reform of the educational system at the end of the 1950s, study visits of university professors and scientists to Western universities, fine art, and socialist architecture all contain a strong influence of Western cultural models. According to the place and role that Western cultural transfer had in Yugoslav society, these influences could be included in the cultural concept defined as a *Struktureme* by the historian Wolfgang Schmale.[2]

Reform of the Yugoslav Educational System

Western models played a prominent role in the large-scale reform of the Yugoslav educational system in 1958. The first steps were made at the beginning of the 1950s through UNESCO (the UN organisation responsible for international educational and cultural cooperation). Pedagogical science in Yugoslavia, even after the political split with the countries of the Eastern bloc, couldn't quite manage to break from Soviet influence in research methodology. It was still present in pedagogical research during the 1950s: "...Yugoslav pedagogy until 1952 hadn't managed to free itself of the strong influence of Soviet pedagogy, which is defined by Stalinism, statism and dogmatism in the period from 1936 up to 1958."[3] During the 1950s, leading Yugoslav pedagogues tried to use various policies of compromise to design a specific pedagogical model that rejected Soviet science but retained and appropriated Marxist pedagogy, which was seen as completely autochthonous and distinct from Soviet pedagogical science. The Marxist pedagogical model was presented as a common ground for Eastern and Western educational policies. During that period, a significant number of Yugoslav experts, through UNESCO, were sent on study

2 "The most important differentiation between Struktureme and Kultureme is that Struktureme possess an identitary-potentiality, whilst Kultureme have an identitary essence... Struktureme refer to ideal and material cultural artefacts which have an identitary-potentiality but are without an identitary essence."; Wolfgang Schmale, "Processes of Europeanization", *European History on Line (EGO)*" (December 2010), 2, 7.

3 Sanja Petrović Todosijević, *Otećemo svetlost bučnom vodopadu. Reforma osnovnoškolskog sistema u Srbiji 1944–1959* (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2018), 78.

leaves to Western European countries and the USA. Since the mid-1950s (1956), UNESCO experts from the Pedagogy Institute of Geneva began visiting Yugoslavia to help work on the educational system reform. The role and significance of UNESCO in the educational reform in Yugoslavia was highlighted by Rodoljub Čolaković in his speech at the Second Session of the Federal Executive Council on 25th June 1958.[4] One of the key issues when investigating the socialist educational reform is the matter of the standards and models under which the reform was implemented. Along with the complex Yugoslav pedagogical heritage, Yugoslav experts leaned on models of the countries that had successfully created modern systems of mandatory education in accordance with the most up-to-date principles of child-rearing and education. Therefore, the Yugoslav reform also sought and found its models in the educational systems of England, France, the United States of America, Canada, and Sweden.[5] Yugoslav experts were especially impressed by the example of the English school reform of 1944. It was the English experience that provided the highly inclusive model of an educational system intended for all and not reserved only for members of the highest social classes and wealthy citizens. The French school system was very familiar to Yugoslav socialist pedagogues because it cultivated the ideas of the French Revolution and advocated the availability of education to the widest strata of the population. The American model was very convenient because of its federal administration and work on overcoming regional differences and establishing a common educational system. The Swedish model was recognised as socialist because it insisted on the education of adults and on continuous education.[6] All these segments of various reforms became parts of the general Yugoslav school reform of 1958, which inherited prolonged primary school education and a remarkable degree of integration of all levels of the mandatory educational system into a unique school system as its most significant legacy, which was accomplished based on the examples of the French and Swedish school reforms.

During the same period, in the late 1950s, Western influences began to intensify at Yugoslav universities as well. Changes in foreign policy in 1948 were followed by new turns in the domain of cultural, educational, and scientific policies. The obvious turn to the West in these social spheres

4 Ibid, 83.

5 Ibid, 84.

6 Sanja Petrović Todosijević, "Socijalizam u školskoj klupi i oko nje. Dometi reforme osnovnoškolskog sistema u Jugoslaviji 1949–1958", in Chiara Bonfiglioli, Boris Koroman (edts.), *Socijalizam izgradnja i razgradnja. Zbornik odabranih radova sa Drugog međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa Socijalizam na klupi* (Zagreb, Pula: Srednja Europa, Sveučilište Jura Dobrile, 2017), 61–64.

was defined in 1949 and officially adopted in 1952, at the Sixth Congress of CPY/LCY.[7] The first international study programs came from the British Council and French Government scholarships.[8] According to reports delivered by faculties to universities for the 1957/58 school year, we see that, on the Yugoslav level, 27.5% of teaching staff took advantage of study trips abroad, and at the University of Belgrade the percentage was even higher, reaching 34.5%. Most study trips, both on the federal level and within the University of Belgrade, were made to France, West Germany, and Austria. Visits to these countries made up 49% of all study trips.[9]

Americanisation and Consumerism

The global influence of Western values, embodied in Americanisation, was succinctly defined by Eric Hobsbawm in his monograph *Fractured Times: Culture and Society in the Twentieth Century*: "the purely local vogue for western myth was magnified and internationalised by means of the global influence of American popular culture, the most original and creative in the industrial and urban world, and the mass media that carried it and which the USA dominated"[10]. The same process was noticed in the Yugoslav example by historian Radina Vučetić in her book *Coca-Cola Socialism: Americanisation of Yugoslav Popular Culture in the Sixties.* Croatian historian Igor Duda, in his book *Pronađeno blagostanje: svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih (Welfare Found: Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in Croatia in the 1970s and 1980s)*, presented the processes of modernisation of everyday life with examples of the influence of Western popular culture and economy. The phenomenon of consumerist society, which socialist Yugoslavia was gradually becoming since the end of the 1950s, was explored by Ilidiko Erdei in his monograph *Čekajući Ikeu: od tačkica do ikeizacije (Waiting for Ikea: from Coupons to Ikeasation)* and Branislav Dimitrijević in his book *Potrošeni socijalizam: Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950–1974) (Spent Socialism: Culture, Consumerism and Social Imagination in Yugoslavia (1950–1974)).* A significant contribution to

7 Dragomir Bondžić, *Misao bez pasoša. Međunarodna saradnja Beogradskog univerziteta 1945–1960* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011), 33.

8 Branka Doknić, *Kulturna politika Jugoslavije 1946–1963* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2013), 245.

9 Dragomir Bondžić, op. cit., p. 153–156; For more details on Yugoslav students at international universities see Miroslav Perišić, *Od Staljina ka Sartru. Formiranje Jugoslovenske inteligencije na evropskim univerzitetima 1945–1958* (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2008), 396–410.

10 Eric Hobsbawm, *Fractured Times: Culture and Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New Press, 2013), 298.

"A letter from the USA. What is it an American Woman? She is 'a little emperor', head at home', for the family and for her husband", Politika Bazar, No. 2, 01.01.1965. Courtesy of Politika Bazar.

research in the field of cultural transfers, although limited to Belgrade, is Predrag Marković's monograph *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada 1948–1965* (*Belgrade between the East and West 1948–1965*). In her book *Dvadeset četiri hiljade poljubaca: Uticaj italijanske popularne kulture u Jugoslaviji* (1955–1965) (*Twenty-four thousand kisses: The Influence of Italian Popular Culture in Yugoslavia (1955–1965)*), Francesca Rolandi discusses the influences of Italian popular culture. Italian influence, with a special focus on the Adriatic coast, was also in the focus of Anita Buhin's research presented in the book *Yugoslav Socialism "Flavoured with Sea, Flavoured with Salt", Mediterranization of Yugoslav Popular Culture in the 1950s and 1960s under Italian Influence*. The phenomenon of Western cultural influence was also successfully presented at the exhibition *They Never Had It Better, Modernization of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, held in 2014 at the Museum of the History of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

One of the characteristics of Americanisation in socialist Yugoslavia was the phenomenon of the consumerist society. The first recognizable

features of mass consumerism in Yugoslavia emerged in the late 1950s. This starting point, at the political and ideological level, can be placed in 1958 when the Programme of the Communist League of Yugoslavia recommended more intensive development of the retail network and better supply of consumers with goods.[11] Symbolically, it was the moment when the song *Mala djevojčica* (*Little Girl*), better known as *Tata, kupi mi auto* (*Daddy, Buy Me a Car*) won the first prize at a festival of popular music in Opatija. The little girl's wishes mentioned in these lyrics – bicycle, scooter, doll with a pram, cakes, candy and oranges and window shopping – heralded the consumer revolution in the 1960s.[12]

Although we have chosen 1958 as the initial turning point of the Yugoslav society to the Western market, Predrag Marković argues that, as early as 1956, there was an increase in the purchasing of home appliances. He connects that with favourable loans and beneficial foreign policy arrangements with West Germany.[13] According to a questionnaire about the desires of Yugoslavs from 1958, 37% of respondents declared that they had radio sets, 8% electric stoves, 5% vacuum cleaners, 3% refrigerators, 3% gramophones, 2% water heaters, 1% scooters, and 0.5% cars. The desires of Yugoslavs, judging by their priorities, maybe Yugoslav women primarily, were somewhat different. Namely, 23% of them wanted to have refrigerators, 21% electric stoves, 19% vacuum cleaners, 19% radio sets, 11% water heaters, 6% gramophones, 18% scooters, and 16% cars. [14] The television set, as a status symbol, appears somewhat later. All mentioned appliances were made by the local industry, but mainly in cooperation with Western European and American manufacturers. Igor Duda brings information for Croatia in the period from 1962 to 1990, according to which the citizens of that republic owned as many refrigerators and freezers as the French and Italians, while the percentage of those who had colour TV sets at home was slightly lower than in Western countries.[15] Francesca Rolandi provides information from 1954 from the customs in Rijeka, according to which that border crossing recorded, in the form of presents, a remittance of 654 radio sets, 254 sewing machines, 31 electric stoves, 38 washers, 41 refrigerators, 20 bicycles, and 4 cars.[16] In the early 1970s, the market even offered dishwashers. The Rade

11 Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010), 92.

12 Ildiko Erdei, *Čekajući Ikeu: od tačkica do ikeizacije* (Belgrade: Evoluta, 2018), 69.

13 Predrag Marković, *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada 1948–1965* (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 315.

14 Ibid.

15 Igor Duda, op. cit., 150–151.

16 Frančeska Rolandi, *Dvadeset četiri hiljade poljubaca. Uticaj italijanske popularne kulture u Jugoslaviji (1955–1965)* (Belgrade: Geopoetika, 2022), 174.

An advertisement promoting clothes made of "the finest Australian wool". The ad is from 1957.

Končar factory produced them under a licence of the Italian manufacturer Zanussi, while Sloboda from Čačak used the German technology of the Bosch brand. Those products were very expensive and relatively inaccessible to average citizens. Yugoslavs had to set aside four average monthly salaries to buy a dishwasher.[17] At the beginning of the 1980s, in the shops of Yugoslav cities, the first microwave ovens also appeared with a completely Western concept of advertising.

One of the most important moments in the history of the car industry in Yugoslavia was certainly the beginning of cooperation between the Italian factory FIAT (Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino) and Crvena Zastava, the car factory in Kragujevac, on 12th August 1954.[18] That agreement defined the concession of the FIAT car licence to the

17 Ibid, p. 174; Igor Duda, op. cit., 165.

18 The agreement between FIAT and Crvena Zastava had been made before the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between Italy and FPRY on October 5, 1954, which officially ended the Trieste crisis. Ranka Gašić, *"Jugoslovenski Detroit". Automobilska industrija u Kragujevcu 1953–1991.* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2017), 27.

Ad for the famous "fića" – FIAT "600" (Seicento). The ad is from 1957.

Yugoslav factory. It should be stressed that the Italian factory itself technologically leaned on the American car industry. This trade agreement was symbolically valuable because it was the first between a capitalist company and a socialist country.[19] The first model produced in the Kragujevac factory was FIAT "600" (Seicento), later colloquially known in Yugoslavia as *fića.* The *fića* was marketed in 1956 and, as early as 1957, the state started to give loans for purchasing this car.[20] Marković concludes that 1958 was the turning point when small, practical Italian and German models replaced the previously dominant American cars on Yugoslav roads. Owning a car was no longer exclusively a privilege of the highest party leadership, and it became increasingly accessible to civilians, albeit still to its wealthier parts.[21] Crvena Zastava continued to manufacture FIAT models, including Zastava 101 and Zastava 1300.

19 Frančeska Rolandi, op. cit., 170.

20 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 305.

21 Ibid, 306; In 1954, there were only 11,290 private cars in Yugoslavia, which in fact meant that there was one car per 15,000 inhabitants. The interest of FIAT was obvious; Ranka Gašić, op. cit., 28.

Besides the car factory in Kragujevac, in the 1970s, new factories were established in Yugoslavia, also with foreign partners from the West. In 1969, in Sarajevo, TAS (Tvornica automobila Sarajevo) began to operate, and its partners were the German car companies Volkswagen and Audi; Litostroj in Ljubljana worked with the French Renault, while Industrija motornih vozila in Novo Mesto cooperated first with BLCM (British Leyland Motor Corporation) and later became the main partner of Renault.[22] Regardless of the diversity of the car brands on offer, about 70% of the car market was occupied by Crvena Zastava with its Italian models.

From the mid-1950s, Yugoslavs gradually[23] began the phase of microprocesses of cultural transfers.[24] Besides home appliances and cars, a multitude of various products imported from Western Europe and the USA became parts of everyday life. Nestle, Milka, Tommy, Eurocrem chocolate spread, Plazma biscuits, Tuborg beer, Marlboro cigarettes, Converse and Nike sneakers, Nivea and Labello cosmetic products, Old Spice, Pino Silvestre perfumes, Levi's and Lee Cooper blue jeans were some of the Western brands available in Yugoslavia.[25] From 1967/1968, besides the imported versions, Yugoslavs could enjoy locally produced Pepsi and Coca-Cola, both of which started to be manufactured in those years under American licenses in factories in Belgrade and Zagreb.[26] These products were available to the citizens of Yugoslavia in the first supermarkets, which started opening in 1956. The first one was in the Croatian town of Ivanec, and it opened only six years after the first European department store in the UK, then in Zagreb next year and in Belgrade in 1958.[27] Supermarkets were absolutely designed according to the American model. Goods of foreign origin could also be purchased in commission shops in cities. American influence was also present in introducing modern ways of merchandise payment. Yugoslavs

22 Igor Duda, op. cit., 213.

23 At the beginning of 1956, reflecting state decisions on raising the population's standard of living, the import of consumer goods almost tripled. There was import of textiles, agricultural tools, sewing machines and tropical fruit. Predrag Marković, op. cit., 313.

24 "Minor processes of Europeanization emerge in conjunction with a large number of cultural transfers, which hone a number of cultural assets through transfer, enabling them to fit into a number of different contexts. Many objects, concepts, recipes, drinks, pieces of furniture etc. constituting everyday European life are the results of such processes." Wolfgang Schmale, op. cit., 2.

25 Igor Duda, op. cit., 105; Frančeska Rolandi, op. cit., 175–176.

26 Ibid, 106.

27 Ana Panić (ed.), *They Never Had it Better? Modernization in Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: Museum of Yugoslav History, 2014), 61–62.

could even shop using credit cards, Diners Club from 1968 and American Express from 1972.[28] We presume that this means of shopping wasn't widespread among citizens, but the information given by Igor Duda shows a significant increase in the purchasing power of Yugoslavs: "... the average purchasing power at the end of the 1960s was approximately doubled compared to the pre-war period, and by 1978, it was additionally fixed at the highest level in the history of Yugoslavia."[29] As the standard of living was rising, Yugoslavs were becoming less staunch proletarians and more and more members of the Western consumer society, in many ways distinctive, living on the border connecting and separating the polarised Cold War world. Branislav Dimitrijević highlights a certain paradox in which Yugoslav society and state found themselves at the end of the 1980s: "Socialist production couldn't support capitalist consumption, while capitalist consumption less and less took an interest in the results of socialistic production."[30]

Side by side with the rise of consumer society, Yugoslav cultural policies gradually took shape and developed, this time almost completely devoid of Soviet influence, and the until then omnipresent term *socialist realism* gradually began to disappear. One of the indicators of that strategic turn is reflected in the books by foreign authors selected for translation into Serbo-Croatian. In the first post-war years, in Yugoslav periodicals, columns we regularly published about "all the abhorrent features of Western culture... The anti-enemy among Western writers was naturally Sartre."[31] From the autumn of 1949, after the Third Plenum of CC of CPY, there was an obvious turn in the Yugoslav press, and the critical attitude towards Western literature was less and less present, especially towards modernist writers of the interwar period. The Zagreb publishing house *Zora* had the bravest publishing plan. At the beginning of the 1950s, it published *The Stranger* by Albert Camus and then Jean-Paul Sartre's *Nausea*. *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by Ernest Hemingway was printed in Novi Sad. The novel *The Old Man and the Sea* came out in Zagreb the same year when the original was published. In 1954, Kafka's collected works were printed; the modernist Virginia Woolf was the most widely published among English authors.[32]

28 Ibid, 62.

29 Igor Duda, "Svakodnevni život u obije jugoslavenske države, Hvatanje koraka sa Evropom", in Sonja Biserko (ed.), *Jugoslavija u istorijskoj perspektivi* (Belgrade: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, 2017), 380.

30 Branislav Dimitrijević, *Potrošeni socijalizam, Kultura konzumerizma i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950–1974)* (Belgrade: Fabrika knjiga, 2016), 148.

31 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 393.

32 Ibid, 386–388.

Western Impact on Yugoslav Art

At the same time, there were also dynamic events on the art scene. Modernist contents from Western Europe and the USA become components of Yugoslav artistic practice. Marković posits that one of the crucial events, at the beginning of that modernising process, was an exhibition of new French art held in Belgrade in the spring of 1950. At that exhibition, Yugoslavs could see, for the first time after the war, works by Chagall, Derain, Matisse, Toulouse-Lautrec, Picasso and others.[33] Throughout the 1950s, visiting exhibitions from the West were plentiful. In 1952, an exhibition of contemporary French painting was staged in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Skopje. Then, in 1953, the exhibition of Henry Moore, the British sculptor, in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana represented a first-class event that marked the whole year. In 1956, an exhibition of modern art of the USA visited Belgrade.[34] The same year, an exhibition of Italian art was organized in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, and in 1963, an exhibition of Italian industrial design was held in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Sarajevo.[35] In the early 1960s, Yugoslav culture and art started to be presented in Western Europe and America. Thus, in 1961, Ivo Andrić won the Nobel Prize for Literature, and in 1962, Dušan Vukotić's *Surogat* ("Ersatz") won an Oscar for Best Animated Short Film. In the first half of the 1960s, a great exhibition of Yugoslav art was presented in London, and then in Paris, Rome, Stockholm, and Athens.[36] Yugoslav artists also showcased their works in the USA at an exhibition named *Yugoslavia; modern tendencies*, first staged in Washington D.C. and afterwards at galleries in five American states.[37] As Vučetić notes in her monograph about the Americanisation of popular Yugoslav culture, the *Washington Post* wrote that "artists in Yugoslavia enjoy an atmosphere of freedom and experimentation, quite atypical for countries behind the Iron Curtain."[38] She also highlights several artistic events she sees as crucial in the process of the Americanisation of Yugoslav art and culture, explaining that this cultural policy of the USA was part of a much wider Cold War programme of staging international exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The aim of this programme was the promotion of American art abroad.[39]

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33 Ibid, 421.

34 Ana Panić, op. cit., 70.

35 Frančeska Rolandi, op cit., 57–58.

36 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 427.

37 Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 248.

38 Ibid.

39 Vučetić lists these exhibitions: Contemporary Art of the USA (1956), Contemporary American Art (1961), American Abstract Watercolour (1964), The Exhi-

The 1960s also saw the establishment of new cultural-artistic institutions. One of the most important was certainly the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade. The Museum officially opened in 1965, and American influence was directly present form the very beginning. The credit for that belongs to the manager-founder of the Museum of Contemporary Art, the painter and art critic Miodrag B. Popović. In the early 1960s, he spent a year in America, where he became acquainted with the work of various museums throughout the USA.[40] Vučetić states that: "Besides the contemporary art that made up the permanent collection of MCA, another fact is of crucial significance for studying the phenomenon of Americanisation: the permanent collection of this museum was modelled after the Museum of Modern Art in New York, designed by the famous art historian Alfred Barr."[41]

One year after the opening of MCA, the reconstructed National Museum in Belgrade also opened. The same year, 1966, this museum hosted an exhibition of the famous Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh. The exhibition elicited incredibly high interest among the general public.[42] Visiting that cultural event was a matter of prestige. People waited for hours in a queue in front of the National Museum to see the exhibition, and it attracted in two months more than 30,000 visitors in Belgrade.[43]

In the 1960s, the Yugoslav theatre scene experienced a transformation under the influence of primarily American playwrights and the American avant-garde and experimental theatre. The BITEF theatre festival and the local production of the rock musical *Hair* were the most important signs of the new avant-garde turn in Yugoslav theatre.[44] Founded in 1967, BITEF became one of the most important symbols of Yugoslav culture. The first art director of the festival, Jovan Ćirilov, described its pioneering beginnings as new tendencies "full of screaming, anger and rebellion, expressed in slogans, gesture, swear words, and nudity."[45] The beginnings

bition of American Graphic Art (1965), American Pop-art (1966), Contemporary American and English Graphics (1968), The Exhibition of American Posters (1968), New Direction: Figure 1963–1968; Ibid, 240–241.

40 Miodrag B. Protić, *Nojeva barka, Pogled s kraja veka, Vol. 1 (1965–1995)* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1996), 520–525.

41 Radina Vučetić, op. cit., 234.

42 This information is very interesting, and it is a good indicator of the substantial changes in creating the Yugoslav cultural policy. Predrag Marković mentions that in the immediate post-war period "...among the classics of Western art, Van Gogh was the most loathed." Predrag Marković, op. cit., 419.

43 Ana Panić (ed.), op. cit., 71.

44 Radina Vučetić, op. cit., 260.

45 Jovan Ćirilov, "Muke s avangardom", *Scena: časopis za pozorišnu umetnost*, No. 1 (2002), 24.

of BITEF are inextricably associated with the Yugoslav premiere of the pacifist musical *Hair*. The Belgrade premiere of *Hair*, at Atelje 212, was held only one year after the New York, Paris, London and Munich premieres.[46] Branislav Dimitrijević interprets the 1969 premiere of *Hair* as an event that signalled the pacification of the students' rebellion because it was held on the first anniversary of the students' protests in 1968. "The performance of the play, instead of the forbidden celebration of the anniversary of the June protests of 1968, which would have sparked a debate on political freedoms, was another confirmation of the initiated process of the *culturalisation of politics*."[47] The essence of the avant-garde and the countercultural values it symbolises were condemned by the socialist state. Vučetić claims, not disputing the premise about the pacification of the student rebellion, that the visit of the Atelje 212 ensemble to New York in the summer of 1968 played an important part in the decision to stage *Hair* in Belgrade. On that occasion, Mira Trailović and Jovan Ćirilov saw *Hair* on Broadway and decided they wanted to bring this musical to the Yugoslav audience.[48] The Belgrade premiere was on 19th May 1969, and the press reported that "the space in front of Atelje 212 looked like a scene out of New York and Hollywood films."[49] Very soon after the premiere, as early as 20th June 1969, the co-authors of *Hair*, James Rado and Gerome Ragni, saw the musical in the Belgrade theatre, and the American press reported that "the authors of *Hair*, singled out the Belgrade version of *Hair* as their favourite and the most spontaneous among the international productions of the musical."[50]

All of the above-mentioned examples of Western cultural influences in the sphere of art and culture belong to elite art and reached relatively few Yugoslav citizens. After 1948, mass or popular culture was also, to a significant degree, defined by Western formats, contents and values. The conflict with the Cominform countries had opened space for importing films from the West. A symbolically important moment was Tito's speech delivered on 10th September 1949 at the Third Congress of the People's Front, when he concluded that no Yugoslav film had ever been shown in the Soviet Union – neither a feature film nor a documentary. In practical terms, the turn came as early as 1950, when no Soviet film was bought.[51] American films appeared in the repertoire, but the early 1950s were marked by Italian neorealist films, such as *Rome, Open City* (Roma città ap-

46 Radina Vućetić, op. cit., 267.

47 Branislav Dimitrijević, op. cit., 70.

48 Radina Vučetić, op. cit., 269.

49 Ibid, 270.

50 Ibid, 274.

51 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 442–443.

erta) and *Bicycle Thieves* (Ladri di biciclette).[52] Italian cinema also indirectly influenced the development of Yugoslav cinematography because young Yugoslav directors received scholarships to study at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia in Rome. One of the first scholarship holders was Veljko Bulajić.[53] American film gradually gained primacy in the mid-1950s. The key moment happened in 1952, when an IMG (Information Media Guarantee) was signed between FPRY and USA. This agreement meant that American books, records, and films could be bought in dinars, at very low prices. This contract increased the number of American films in 1956 to 107 from just 26 in 1951.[54] The Belgrade premiere of the *Bathing Beauty* at the "Dvadeseti oktobar" cinema in 1951 symbolically marked the beginning of American film domination in Yugoslavia. According to Predrag Marković's research, 332,000 Belgrade citizens saw this film. "Then, in 1951, Belgrade had 426,000 inhabitants, so it seems that 79% Belgraders saw the film, and if we take away children under 7 years of age, the percentage increases to as much as 86–87%. That figure shows that the film had to have a significantly wider audience than high school youth, even taking into account that some adolescents saw the film several times."[55]

Western popular culture, embodied in popular music, represents one of the most significant factors in the Europeanisation of socialist Yugoslavia. Agitprop[56] notably contributed to this phenomenon in June 1949 when it concluded that it shouldn't insist on the popularisation of mass and Soviet music: "It shouldn't be forbidden, but not promoted either."[57] Italian popular music symbolises the beginnings of cultural cooperation and influences on Yugoslav popular culture. Interestingly, Francesca Rolandi speculates that travelling funfairs, or carnivals, were the first to introduce Italian music to Yugoslavs.[58] But what immediately makes us think of Italian popular music is the Sanremo Music Festival, which provided the model for popular music festivals throughout

52 Frančeska Rolandi, op. cit., 129.

53 Ibid, 130.

54 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 144–145; Radina Vučetić, op. cit., 89.

55 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 450.

56 Agitprop was a party body in charge of creating and monitoring cultural, artistic, educational, scientific, and media policies. It was established immediately after the end of the war and designed completely according to the Soviet model. After 1948, the function of Agitprop was taken over by the Commission for Ideological-Political Work, an organ of CC of LCY. For more details about Agitprop see: Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitprop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji: 1945–1952* (Belgrade: Rad 1988).

57 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 466.

58 Frančeska Rolandi, op. cit., 107.

Yugoslavia. One of the most famous among these local versions was the Opatija Festival, established in 1958 and designed as a federal-level event. Later, republic-level festivals followed: Adriatic Melodies in Split (1961), Belgrade Spring (1962), Slovenian Songs, a festival of Slovenian popular music and others.[59] Yugoslavs cheered for their representatives at the Eurovision Song Contest from 1961. Yugoslavia was the first and only socialist country that took part in this contest until the country's disintegration in 1991.[60]

Except for popular music, in the 1950s, jazz gradually returned to the Yugoslav scene. As a testament to the popularity of jazz music in Yugoslavia, an annual report of the American embassy stressed in the mid-1950s: "Probably the most obvious sign of Western influence in Yugoslav radio is the surprisingly huge space dedicated to American jazz music."[61] The greatest jazz musicians in the world performed in Yugoslavia: Dizzy Gillespie in 1956, the Glenn Miller Orchestra toured Yugoslavia in 1957, Louis Armstrong in 1959 and Ella Fitzgerald in 1965. Yugoslav jazz is an illustrative example that reveals how the concept of cultural transmitters works.[62] Keeping jazz culture contributed to the establishment of many Yugoslav jazz orchestras, which in the second half of the 1950s went on a tour of East European countries. The first tour of the Belgrade jazz orchestra in the Soviet Union in 1961 was very successful. "Thousands of people came to hear jazz, until then banned, even if it was mediated by Yugoslavs."[63] In that way, Yugoslav jazz musicians, as cultural mediators, represented American culture in countries east of "the iron curtain",

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59 Anita Buhin, *Yugoslav Socialism: "Flavoured with Sea, Flavoured with Salt"* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2022), 60–62.

60 Miloš Tirnanić, *Pesma Evrovizije kao politički poligon*, MA Thesis, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosopshy, September 2021, p. 34.

61 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 471.

62 The Cultural Transfer Approach represents an "agent-centered approach" of cultural relations and circulations which takes into account different types of actors considered and conceptualized as cultural 'brokers and mediators', sometimes also defined as 'passeurs culturels', as 'intermédiaires culturels' or as cultural transmitters. Actors can represent individual persons acting as intercultural mediators (like translators, teachers of foreign languages and cultures, tourist guides), but also forms of media (like correspondents or reporters working for media in other countries) and cultural institutions being part of the cultural diplomacy system..." Steen Bille Jørgensen, Hans Jürgen Lüsebrink "Introduction: Reforming the Cultural Transfer Approach", in Steen Bille Jørgensen, Hans Jürgen Lüsebrink (eds.), *Cultural Transfer Reconsidered: Transnational Perspectives, Transnational Processes, Scandinavian and Postcolonial Challenges* (Leiden, Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2021), 3–4.

63 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 472.

creating a peculiar transnational artistic process embodied in the Yugoslav "third way" in a bipolar world.

While jazz gradually ceased to be the music of rebellion and revolt and became part of elite culture, rock and roll, as a new popular music genre, arrived from the USA and Great Britain and gradually became the dominant phenomenon of popular (counter-)culture. The first news about rock and roll appeared in the Yugoslav press in 1956, when *NIN* and *Borba*, the party newsletter, published critical texts, describing "the unusual effect that Elvis Presley's music has on listeners."[64] In the early 1960s, rock and roll was more and more present in the Yugoslav public. Thus, in 1960, the Jugoton record label released single records with Elvis Presley's hits. The second half of the 1960s was marked by British rock, with the global popularity of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. In 1961, the Beatles' single "Love Me Do" was played on Yugoslav radio only one month after its London premiere.[65] Vučetić reports that, by 1965, there were 88 registered rock bands just in Belgrade.[66] A very important moment in the history of Yugoslav rock was the first Gitarijada music festival, held in Belgrade in 1966.[67] The reports on this event in the Yugoslav press were far from flattering. *Politika* published a very critical article in which the West and Western influences were disparagingly described by the author as "The big wide world".[68] As a direct consequence of the popularity of rock music, the first disco clubs began to open in Yugoslav towns. In Belgrade, those were Euridika in 1961 and the Dancing Hall of Dom omladine, the local youth centre; in Zagreb, rock and roll dances were organised at the Šalata stadium; in Sarajevo, in the Skenderija sport centre, in Ljubljana, in Študentski dom and in Tivoli hall.[69] For those who couldn't access disco clubs or wanted to enjoy rock music at home, records were distributed in Yugoslavia.[70] Vinyl records were usually borrowed from the American Library, which was the hub and symbol of the American cultural policy in Yugoslavia. Specialised music magazines, of which *Džuboks* [*Jukebox*] (1966–1969) was the first magazine in the com-

64 Ibid, 472–473.

65 Radina Vučetić, "Rokenrol na zapadu istoka – slučaj Džuboks", *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, No. 1–3 (2006), 73.

66 The most popular were Siluete, Elipse, Crni biseri, Zlatni dečaci, Panteri...; Ibid, 74.

67 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 475.

68 Radina Vučetić, Koka-Kola socijalizam...., 210.

69 Ibid, 199.

70 Having noticed the extent of the influence of American rock music in Yugoslavia, the USA decided that the IMG programme would include discographical material as well as films. So, only in that first year, via the American Library in Belgrade, vinyl records in the value of 40,000 dollars were imported. Ibid, 200.

munist world dedicated exclusively to rock and roll, heavily contributed to the popularisation of this music genre. Vučetić reports that the entire print run of the first issue of *Džuboks*, 100,000 copies in total, was sold in approximately twenty days.[71] Music magazines allowed Western popular culture to conquer a part of private lives of young Yugoslavs: "Their idols were no longer only heroes from the national-liberation war, but also stars such as Mick Jagger."[72] However, their texts, precisely in *Džuboks*, rarely included any subversive content, and even the students protests of 1968 were glossed over.[73] Similarly, the lyrics of Yugoslav rock bands didn't invite social criticism or call for revolutionary changes, unlike their Western models, whose social undertones made rock and roll counterculture. Božilović argues that Yugoslav rock was a subculture in its relationship to the dominant cultural concepts, but that, in its essence, it wasn't counterculture.[74] Marković posits that Yugoslav popular music, like jazz, played the role of cultural transmitter towards the countries of the Eastern Bloc.[75] However, in the 1970s and 1980s, the Yugoslav youth had an opportunity to see some of the greatest rock stars, like Deep Purple, the Rolling Stones and Tina Turner, perform live.[76]

Westernisation of Yugoslav Fashion

After the official break with the Soviet cultural model[77], in 1952, the cover page of the fashion magazine *Ukus* (Taste) featured a picture of a female model wearing an evening dress, hat and white gloves. The *Žena danas* (*Woman Today*) magazine published the crocheting pattern for a Chanel suit.[78] The ideal of beauty typical of socialist realism was quickly abandoned. Interviews with women from the Soviet Union were replaced by interviews with public figures such as the British model Jean Donnay.[79] In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, high-quality, modern

71 Ibid., 206.

72 Radia Vučetić, "Rokenrol na zapadu istoka – slučaj Džuboks"..., 87.

73 Nikola Božilović, "Sociologija jugoslovenskog rokenrola šezdesetih: subverzija, moralna panika, cenzura", *Zbornik radova Akademije umetnosti*, No. 8 (2020), 209.

74 Ibid, 208.

75 Predrag Marković, op. cit., 476.

76 Branko Rosić, "Painter from Piccadilly: Britis-Serbian Pop Culture/Rock Music Encounters", *Belgrade English language and literature studies: BELLS90: proceedings*, Vol. 2 (2020), 399.

77 For more on the Soviet influence on Yugoslav fashion see Danijela Velimirović, "Novi izgled za 'novu ženu': uobličavanje 'proleterskog ukusa' (1945–1951)", *Etnoantropološki problemi*, Vol. 7, No. 4, (2012), 935–955.

78 Ana Panić (ed.), op. cit., 64.

79 Branislav Dimitrijević, op. cit., 85.

"Nina Ricci for Claudia Cardinale", Politika Bazar, No. 6, 01.03.1965. Courtesy of Politika Bazar.

clothes appeared in Yugoslavia. The clothing retailer Beko purchased a licence to manufacture clothes by the British Lee Cooper corporation, while Varteks got the license from the world's most famous manufacturer of jeans, the American company Levi Strauss. Besides jeans, the people in Yugoslavia grew increasingly fond of English coats.[80] Yugoslav haute couture (high fashion) designers, such as Aleksandar Joksimović and Mirjana Marić, were heavily influenced by Western luxury fashion houses: Chanel, Dior, Pierre Cardin, and Balenciaga. The first International Fashion Fair was organized in 1958 at the Belgrade Fair and by 1959 Dior, Lanvin and Balenciaga were already participating in it. The fashion historian Stefan Žarić concluded: "More importantly, this demonstrates that Serbian fashion of the late 1940s and through the 1950s followed the inception of Christian Dior's New look in 1947, as, according to Milford-Cottam, Dior became the designer linked with the curvaceous silhouette that swept away the boxy shoulders and skimpy shirts of the war years worldwide. Tailored skirt suits, coats, blouse and skirt ensembles, full skirts in lightweight cotton, straight-cut cardigan suits simultaneously intro-

80 Ana Panić (ed.), op. cit., 65.

duced by Chanel, Dior and Balenciaga, leather handbags, neat gloves, modest hats and cocktail dresses as emblematic fashion iconography of the decade based on Milford-Cottam's observations were present in Yugoslav fashion as well."[81] But the only Serbian designer who actively took part in the Western fashion world and directly shaped haute couture in the 1960s and 1970s, as a kind of cultural transmitter, was Bernat Klein (1922–2014)[82]. He created textiles that popped and introduced something new by reinventing traditional tweed. With designers like Coco Chanel, Yves Saint Laurent, Nina Ricci, Guy Laroche, and Pierre Cardin and the fashion houses Dior and Balenciaga using his fabrics in their couture collections, Klein was directly involved in creating a fashion trend that ruled the second half of the 20th-century, also finding its way to Serbia: the tweed suit.[83]

Concluding Remarks

Western influences in socialist Yugoslavia were present from the beginning of the 1950s. In time, they became more complex and permeated almost all segments of society. Although the Soviet influence never vanished, Yugoslavia was nonetheless heavily enveloped in the global process of Americanisation; influences from neighbouring Italy, especially in the modernisation of everyday life and the domain of popular culture, were inseparable parts of Yugoslav post-war society. Yugoslavs listened to rock music, wore jeans, drank Coca-Cola, drove cars made under licenses from Western countries, visited exhibitions of great artists of Western culture, and watched Hollywood films and Broadway plays... Some of these experiences were transferred to the countries of the Eastern Bloc and, as cultural transmitters, they confirmed the concept of the Yugoslav "third way" and "different socialism".

As we can conclude, Western influences on Yugoslav socialist society were dynamic, multidimensional and ubiquitous. But I would like to end this paper with a symbolic quotation from Branko Rosić's paper *Painter from Piccadilly*: "Vivien Goldman, whom we knew from the pictures with Johnny Rotten, came to Belgrade with the idea of writing about the punk and New Wave scene in Yugoslavia. They took a photo of me beside the Lenin statue at the Student's Cultural Centre. I was confused, and only

81 Stefan Žarić, "The Problem of the Historization of 20th Century Serbian Feshion 1920–1980", *Istorija 20. veka*, No. 1 (2022), 9.

82 Born to an Orthodox Jewish family called Klein, he left the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1940 for Israel and in 1945 moved to the UK, where he remained until his death in 2014.

83 Stefan Žarić, op. cit., 12–13.

later did I release that it was interesting for journalists to target one punk rocker next to the leader of the October Revolution".[84]

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84 Branko Rosić, op. cit., 401.

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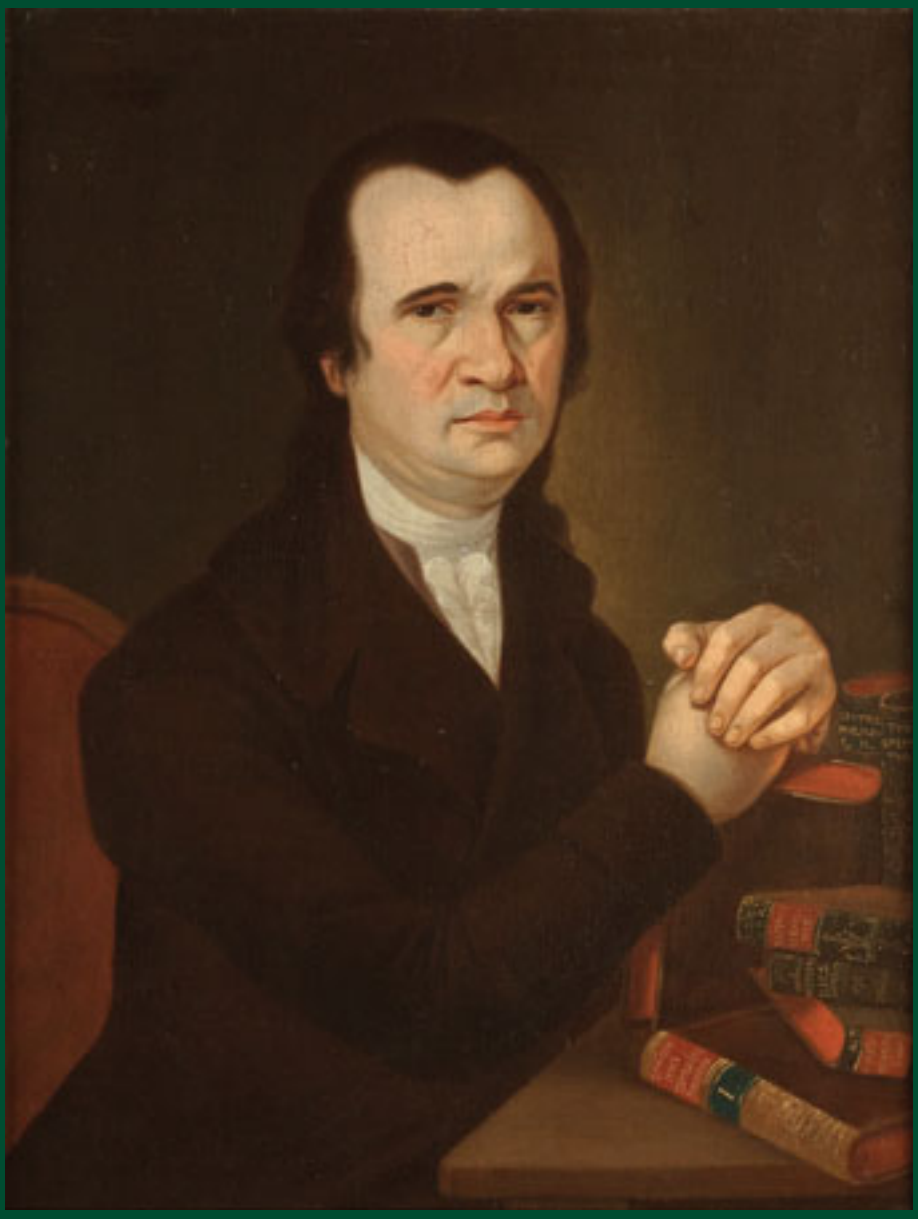


Portrait of Dositey Obradovich by Arsenius Theodorovics.
This painting from 1818 is kept at the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade.
It is a copy of the original from 1791.

Illustration from Dositey Obradovich's "Poem on the Redemption of Serbia", published in Vienna in 1789. The illustration entitled "Izbavlênnaya Serbiya" (Redeemed Serbia) was made by Joseph Georg Mansfeld (1764–1817). It depicts a woman, the personification of Serbia, kneeling before Emperor Joseph II, with General Ernst Gideon von Laudon (1717–1790) next to him, in front of the Belgrade fortress just liberated by the Austrian army. General Laudon takes off Serbia's chains from her hands, and the emperor symbolically accepts Serbia to the realm of the Enlightenment with the goddess Athena next to him.

Serbian Folk Songs collected and published by Vuk Stef. Karadžić in Leipzig in 1823. The three volumes published in 1823–24 prompted great interest in Serbian folk poetry and contributed to the first significant case of counter-transfer in which an aspect of cultural transfer ran from Serbia to German-speaking areas and Europe.

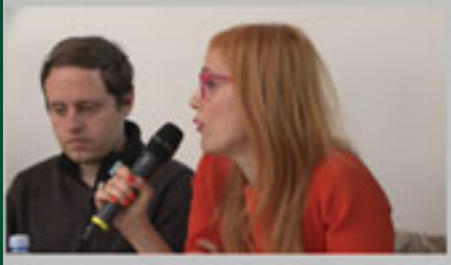
Coloured copper engraving by Johann Hieronymus Lōschenkohl from 1789–1790, entitled "Aussicht der Festung Belgrad von servischer Seite gegen dem Sauflus" ("View of the Belgrade Fortress from the Servian side against the Sava river"). Belgrade in 1789 is presented as an Oriental city with emphasised Oriental signifiers.

Coloured picture postcard of Belgrade from 1903 showing "Fürst Michael Strasse" (Prince Michael Street), depicting Belgrade both in terms of dress and architecture as a typical European town.

Reconstructed birth house of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in the village of Tršić, Western Serbia.

House in Semlin (now Zemun) in which the Austrian Serb Dimitrije Davidović was born in 1789.

Lecture by Prof. W. Schmale delivered on April 8, 2022
at the conference entitled “Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia:
Methodological Issues and Challenges”.



Photos from the international conference
"Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia: Methodological Issues and Challenges",
Belgrade, April 8, 2022.

FPN

Centre for
British Studies

The Centre for British Studies of the Faculty of Political Science
of the University of Belgrade, Jove Ilića 165, 11 000 Belgrade

A Hybrid Conference:

**Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia:
Methodological Issues and Challenges**

Faculty of Political Science, Jove Ilića 165, Belgrade,
Conference Room 3

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Belgrade, Friday, April 8, 2022

Introductory lecture
Chairperson: S. G. Markovich, FPS and IES

10.30 – 11.45

Prof. Wolfgang Schmale, University of Vienna
What is Cultural Transfer?

11.45-13.00

***Panel 1: Methodological issues*:**
Chairperson: S. G. Markovich, FPS and IES

Prof. Vesna Goldsworthy, FRSL, University of Exeter
My Experience of Cultural Transfer Britain-Serbia-Britain

Prof. Marina Simić, University of Belgrade
The Idea of Cultural Transfer in Anthropology

1

Programme of the conference "Cultural Transfer Europe-Serbia: Methodological Issues and Challenges" held on April 8, 2022.

4. Paradoxes of Contemporary Cultural Transfer in Serbia and in Global World

English wallpaper

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CULTURAL TRANSFER, TRAUMA AND CULTURAL INTIMACY: INITIAL QUESTIONS AND APPROACHES TO RESEARCHING EUROPE–SERBIA CULTURAL TRANSFER DURING 2000–2020[85]

Abstract: The article presents the fundamental guidelines in the study of the term *cultural transfer*, which has existed as a practice much longer than the concept in which it has been expressed in recent decades. Since this is an interdisciplinary concept and semantically complex term, its functions and limitations are examined in the context of traductology and social translation. At the same time, we are interested in the associative and synonymous meanings of this term in the Serbian language, as well as its related concepts, such as the concepts of *cultural mobility* and *intertextuality*. Moving on from philological studies, history of literature and comparatistics, where these terms are vernacular, the second part of the article presents possible approaches to the phenomenon of *cultural transfer* in the context of ethno-anthropological and sociological studies, such as the concept of *cultural intimacy* and *cultural trauma*, which help to understand the functions and aporia of cultural transfer in Serbia in the early 21st century (2000–2020).

Keywords: cultural transfer, translation, cultural intimacy, cultural trauma, Europe, Serbia

Definitions of terms

The term *transfer*, conventionally used primarily in reference to goods, rights, finance, psychology, astronomy, sports and technology, is used in our study with the meaning of conveying, translation, entry, importing, exchange, influx and throughput, ultimately the *transmission/passing on* of cultural goods (artefacts, words, ideas, sentiments, achievements, thought patterns, world views, etc.) from any European country to Serbia. Following such an understanding of the term, by studying *cultural transfer* we are studying the *reception*, *embedment*, *materialisation*, *modes of reception*, *influence*, *insemination* and *superposition* of certain artefacts, ideas and knowledge in Serbia's society.

For the purpose of developing the term *cultural transfer*, we will consider the transcultural nature of certain goods, phenomena and events, cultural diffusion, influence and creative interaction between cultures. Inseparable from *intertextuality* and the targeted and unplanned traces that

* 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.

cultures leave on each other, this term is also closely related to *cultural mobility* (Greenblatt 2009), so the description of our research includes meanings connected to *transfer* and/or *mobility* of cultural goods and artefacts in the European context, such as processuality, dynamicity, influence, interactivity, communicativity, exchangeability, and circularity.

When speaking about cultural transfer, we also refer to *cultural mediators*, i.e. individuals who, consciously or unconsciously, become mediators between cultures through their work. Clearly, without them there would be no circulation, acceptance, expansion or adoption of humanist cultural goods. The primary consideration is translators and the broader significance of the translation profession in social history, the history of ideas, and cultural exchange. By placing translation at the centre of the study of the conditions and mechanisms of cultural exchange, we are addressing the phenomenological consequences of translation on the worldview of a broader speech community, as well as the significance of translation in light of the processes that lead to systemic social changes. We start from the premise that the role of the translator in the history of ideas and social history – especially in processes that structurally alter the society – was mostly invisible, neglected and/or ignored, even though it is unmatched in its significance and influence.

In the theoretical respect, the possible reasons why cultural transfer through the work of translators has not been systemically thematised are presented, presuming that it is a process that, due to its longevity and commonness, is not perceived as worthy of special study. It is the authors' belief that what is being translated and from which language is of critical importance for steering a community in a certain direction. Therefore, in cooperation with the National Library of Serbia, we will attempt to collate this information and create an overview of the literature translated from European languages into Serbian, during the period 2000–2020.

Although disciplinarily different approaches to the translation practice and the interdisciplinary approaches created following the post-disciplinary shift in social sciences and humanities research will be considered, we will start from the premise that the function of translation is the optimal transposing of *the meaning of the source* into a different cultural code or code system of the *target language*, where the translator has the initial role of decoder and transmitter of the textual and non-textual reality of the source.

The act of translation is perceived broadly: from the basic linguistic level (correlation of the code system of the *source* language with the code system of the *target language*) to the practical, considering translation as an important part of the *dispositif* of power (Foucault 2005), which is a

technical term for the mechanism or network of influences that produces or shapes knowledge, and finally, which is used to govern, manage (in the sense of achieving direct effects of government and the exercising of power). Translation, understood like this, is an indispensable element with incomparable importance for strategically constructed knowledge and influence, which allows and reinforces the mechanisms of a certain authority and/or power. In short, the assumption is that there is no government (in the sense of exercising of the state's power) that would be independent of its cultural and especially educational system, i.e. from the contents that, to a significant extent, originate from literature translated from different languages.

In addition to the field of social change and cultural influence of the source on the target speech community, another topic is the standing questions of traductology and the sociology of translation. The question, in the context of cultural transfer and transfer in culture, is what "the translator's task" is (Benjamin) today and whether Benjamin's expression "pure language" can be understood as a type of *metaphysical core* of all existing languages, which through the greatest literary works embodies the deep connections not so much between different languages but between temporally and spatially remote, seemingly incommensurable cultures. To what extent is the translation of most distinguished literature (especially poetry) a procedure that attempts to make the impossible possible, do poetry translators have to be poets themselves, and does the process of transferring cultural artefacts into a different context (target language) create reserves for the growth and significance of the source language? The answers to these questions and others related to the process of translation, translator motivation, the ambiguity of the issue of translatability, the placement and definition of this activity ("art and/or craft"), the social status of translators, philosophy of translation, and the future of translation, will be sought, in essay form, from the most prominent literary translators into Serbian from various European languages.

Context and semantic framework of the study

The article will briefly present several possible approaches to the topic of cultural transfer during the period from 2000 to 2020, as well as the specificities of this period. The specificities are primarily related to the accessibility and wide range of sources; new technologies have made nearly all sources available. In addition to being selective in choosing the material, we will also be biased, in part due to the proximity and short duration of the given study interval and in part due to the diverse (inter) disciplinary focuses of the researchers involved in this project.

Even if these differences are neglected, as well as any personal idiosyncrasies, which entail and crucially influence the standardisation of linguistic idioms and the outcome of our work (despite the self-proclaimed "objectivity" of social sciences and humanities), the period being studied has its specificities and its "language", which is difficult to ignore, regardless of the perspective from which it is studied.

When speaking of transfer in this context, we are also speaking about *transition*, the term used to designate the time frame that we are investigating in Serbia – the *transition* or *transformation* period. Since *transition* was supposed to be a process of legal and political reformation of society and the state, pending its accession to the European Union, this time frame is mainly interpreted (to borrow the language of Arnold van Gennep) as a type of initiation or rite of passage – in a word, as an interim state (of unlimited duration) in the process of the social "maturation", "democratisation", "opening" and targeted "Europeanisation" of Serbia's society.

In addition to the critical approach to the given terminology, which is one of the key issues, we inevitably have to look into the formal and content origination and the features and interpretations of this process. The question is what we are talking about when we speak about the *transfer/transit* in this context: about the *transition* of society from a "planned" socialist economy to the "market economy" system, about the "emancipatory discourse" that should mark the community's "new beginning", about a discourse that was performative, with indisputable achievements that greatly transformed the community's practices and world views, or about the appropriate rhetoric and (interim) discourse trend, (self-)legitimising for the actors who were the bearers of policies during this period, without influencing change, and the targeted "Europeanisation" of society – just to mention some of the interpretations of the "Serbian transition". If we leave all the interpretation options open, at least one of them will not permit us to explore the field of the transferred elements that have become common in language, ideas, patterns of thought, everyday life, and in the state's legislation, economy and policies.

Between essentialism and constructivism – research approaches

Serbia's heterotopic position in the title of our project, meaning a place completely different from its European surroundings (from the Greek *heteros*, "other", "different" + *topos*, "place") can be cause for provocative philosophical and socio-psychological thinking (Focault 1984; Soja 1990; Focault 2009). Indicating the way we think of and construct the world (Berger & Luckmann 1966; van Dijk 1977; Gergen 1985: 266–75; Fau-

connier and Turner 2002), this position links an entire web of preconceptions in the cognitive background of reasoning, as well as the temporally accumulated identity notions about the "European" and the "Serbian", stereotypes, collective phantasms, fictional content and traumas.

Antireductionist anthropological and sociological concepts are of great assistance in the analysis of the discourse characteristic for this period, as well as in overcoming the official essentialism and binary narrative production of meaning (Djerić 2006: 195–220; Djerić 2014: 281–303). Standing out from the framework of anthropological studies is the concept of *cultural intimacy* developed by Michael Herzfeld, who defines his approach as the "hostile sentiments within a shared setting' between essentialism and constructivism, i.e. between two related denials of the social experience – extreme positivism and extreme deconstructivism. Herzfeld's observation approach, based on the analysis of the everyday discourse "among one's own" and "in front of foreigners", using an appropriate terminological apparatus, discovers a world "behind the façade" of official policy, becoming a suitable means for understanding transfer and the "logic" of auto-stereotypical and hetero-stereotypical depiction (Herzfeld 2004; Herzfeld 2016; Herzfeld 2018).

When discussing cultural intimacy, Herzfeld speaks about commonplaces in the discourse, about stereotypes that constitute the *collective self*, its cumulative self-perception and depiction, as well as about the noncritical emulation of everything that comes from "prestigious centres", and finally, about the consent of local elites to the role of emulators and the "competitors who inevitably lag behind". This author insists on the "lived historical experience" and materials, balancing the tension between essentialism (which he admits played a role in the shaping of ideas and impressions) and its deconstruction, i.e. scepticism and distrust of it. It is precisely the tension between official essentialism, in the sense of literality, and, on the other hand, (de)constructive disputing that is our field of work.

Piotr Sztompka's sociological concept of *cultural trauma* (Sztompka 2000: 449–466) is also instructive in the analysis of cultural transfer in the past twenty years since, like Herzfeld's, it seeks to uncover layers beneath the surface of the official discourse. This concept treats the influence of subversive social changes on the loss of cultural orientation, the chaotic nature of commitments, and tests different possibilities in post-socialist societies. In Sztompka's understanding of trauma, it is primarily a matter of a subverted normative context and cultural disorientation, a certain disorder and confusion. Trauma is the flip side of changes following the collapse of communism, which features the atrophying of criteria in the education system, lowering of norms, loss of authority and benchmarks, the sudden or gradual relativisation of general knowledge and values, (self-)marginalisation of education, culture, art.

Depending on the specifics of the given post-socialist societies, one could also discuss the spectacular relativism, revisionism, class stratification, and the increase in internal intolerance. Declarativity and absence of meritocracy favoured the chaotic nature of the focus during this period, so different pathologies and radical approaches threatened to assume the place of standards and become "normalised".

Even though Sztompka's approach does not perceive trauma in this way – as a consequence of wars, but rather as the result of the change of economic systems, state, political and discourse regimes – with Herzfeld's concept of intimacy, this perspective seems to be an appropriate framework for studying cultural transfer in Serbia during the period from 2000 to 2020. By adopting these two concepts, we would decrease the "impediment" that exists among Serbian researchers and their unwillingness to speak up about key community issues (Herzfeld 2004: 9). Furthermore, these concepts offer the terminological instruments for shedding light on the local ethnographic material and contemplation of the stereotype of the collective self during the period of increased transfer involving European states following the wars and the bombing of Serbia in 1999, helping us to more subtly perceive the sources of trauma, as well as the change in the perception of "Europe" during the period from 2000 to 2020, the methods of self-determination and level of identification of our compatriots with the term "European" (Tournois and Djeric: 709–731).[1]

The idea is to adopt the analytical means of these concepts, to present them theoretically and later be able to apply them to specific empiric material in case studies. The initial portion of our research, conditionally called *theoretical*, should contain review texts, informative in nature – the presentation of the concepts, their analytical tools, the field of application, influence, achievements, disputes, and deficiencies. In the second, more demanding part, we would choose local topics from the Europe–

1 According to the few empirical studies, albeit methodologically different, that the author was involved in during the period from 2000 to 2020, the attachment to "Europe" has been decreasing over time. The positive perception of "Europe" is linked to the 2000–2003 period, only for this relationship to become more reserved by 2010. During that period (2004–2010), the surface of the discourse increasingly showed advocacy of the European Enlightenment concept of understanding the past, although it was predominantly declarative rather than real since the motifs, ideas and content of national romanticist concept were "dressed up" as European Enlightenment, in accordance with the political demands and expectations of the EU rather than internal convictions and community needs. See Z. Golubović, I. Spasić, Dj. Pavićević (eds.), *Politika i svakodnevni život. Srbija 1999–2002* (Belgrade: IFDT, 2003). G. Djerić, "Herojski kroj za evropsko odelo: redizajn politike sećanja Srbije na početku 21. Veka", in *Etnoantropološki problemi*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2012), 107–126.

Serbia cultural transfer body. For example, if we take the easily accessible legislative framework as the source and the comparable case of transfer of the Law on Gender Equality,[2] and more specifically, the stipulations on gender-sensitive language, it would hardly be possible to assert that cultural transfer was literal in this domain. On the contrary, the identification of the discord between the letter of the law in effect and its (in) applicability, which the legislator and experts are arguing over, with the "unpacking" of the cultural and language history "baggage", would mark the true beginning and essence of our work.

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2 http://www.pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/SlGlasnikPortal/eli/rep/sgrs/skupstina/zakon/2021/52/3/reg?fbclid=IwAR1tvje9ljSS7Y3zupNXGEX0yat4Zs7vBHQICDDR60HDiWQ557iSO9rhfXA

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CULTURAL TRANSFER AND ITS DISCONTENTS: AGAINST NOISE, AND IN THE SERVICE OF THE REMIX

Abstract: The article looks at the potential of the remix in the Europe-Serbia cultural transfer context. Anchored in the idea and practice of reciprocity and genuine exchange, the remix poses questions about the distinction between an intercultural dialog and political oppression. It further situates the debate within the oscillations between tradition and experimentation, the change-preservation nexus. The discussion addresses the questions of gentrification, gender, democracy, free speech, and sustainability. It highlights the area of noise—diverse forms of oppression as a threat to the vibrant flow in the communication channel, including distorted manifestations of potentially progressive and nurturing phenomena. The debate is delivered through a glance at the fictional writings of Stewart Home, Ian McEwan, Irvine Welsh, Dennis Cooper, and Casey McKinney, coupled with the theoretical apparatuses of Fredric Jameson, Steven Connor, Terry Eagleton, Hannah Arendt, and McKenzie Wark. It demonstrates the significance of critical thinking, creative immersion, and distance in encounters with the refashioning of social fabric through either cross-cultural exchange or politically imposed cultural and social paradigms. One of the key points the article aims to elucidate is pluralist discourse, its distortions, and the potential for the recovery of its authentic playfulness. The channel through which this message is delivered is Jameson's idea of counterculture as the power of oppositional thinking, otherness, and thinking differently from mainstream expectations. Accentuating imagination and (self-)consciousness as the basis for utopian and revolutionary thought, Jameson celebrates grassroots, where the power of diversity genuinely recuperates postmodernist pluralist discourse through play. Accordingly, the article seeks vibrant critical and creative voices against noise, and in the service of the remix.

Keywords: Cultural Transfer, Noise, Oppression, National, Global, the Remix.

How to Read It

The idea of cultural transfer Europe-Serbia may be perceived as modernization in the sphere of culture, entailing advancement of the economy, technology, and thought. It could be expected to ensure consolidation and implementation of democratic principles, as well as an influx of politically progressive ideas and their integration into the social fabric. Thus, it may contribute to the reconfiguration of the cultural realm and society as a whole. These might be authentic, realistic, and feasible features of the cultural transfer integrating safe, environmentally friendly, sustainable, and green programs. Yet, they can also be distorted.

This article looks at the problematic through the fictional lens relying on the idea presented in Steven Connor's book *The Madness of Knowledge: On Wisdom, Ignorance and Fantasies of Knowing* (2019), referencing *Faust* as a challenge to knowledge and the epistemological through its communication with the realm of imagination. Presumably, this enables knowledge

to question itself from the outside and by means of the vocabulary, which is, by definition, subversive of it.[1] Reverberating with Connor's idea of epistemopathy—the notion that captures the feeling of and about knowledge, thereby reinstating communication between these two spheres--the approach in this article implies a nonexclusionary relationship between imagination and the critical/theoretical. This resonates with Fredric Jameson's thought in *Valences of the Dialectic* (2009), proposing the recuperation of the social, political, and cultural through a utopian-revolutionary framework as a method rather than a program or a political platform. It is based on the imagination-consciousness composite and grassroots potential, thereby accentuating the power of diversity genuinely redeeming postmodernist pluralist discourse through play. Available to everyone as the possibility to preserve and/or restore the capacity to imagine, it is constitutive of the potential of/for revolution.

This can be inferred from Jameson's consideration of different utopian or dystopian scenarios where the economic would be either eradicated or, alternatively, it might usurp totality. More implied than verbalized, the latter can also be understood in the light of the "postmodernist threat." Jameson offers potential unfoldings of the base-superstructure tension and the disintegration of the boundary between them:

> (1) a dystopia in which everything will have become labor; (2) a regime of automation in which no human labor is any longer necessary; (3) a society in which work has become play in the philosophical sense, or has at least been aestheticized; (4) a society in which all aspects of what was formerly called leisure have been commodified and priced.[2]

Jameson has different approaches to the collapse of divides. The one that he sees as the potential for the recuperation of society is the dissolvement of the dichotomy between high and low culture since it can enable grassroots resistance channeled through the collectives building on pre-existing communities and (self-)generating unity.[3] The capacity of grassroots solidarity to endure the threat of uniformity and individualism, as the corrupted versions of unity and individuality, respectively, is regarded as key. Jameson illustrates this through the evocation of the leftist thought that praises community, yet refrains from communitarianism, fascism, or Nazism; engages in the Marxist critique of social solutions in capitalism by relating the economic and the social; and draws a parallel

1 Steven Connor, *The Madness of Knowledge. On Wisdom, Ignorance and Fantasies of Knowing* (London: Reaktion Books, 2019), 68.

2 Fredric Jameson, *Valences of the Dialectic* (London: Verso, 2009), 277.

3 Ibid, 471–472.

between decentered personal identity in the contemporary world and the potential of the communal identity.[4] The benefits of this method could include free education, healthcare and retirement. The right to work as a form of resistance to structural unemployment and the right to free time "uncolonized by the formal stereotypicalities and standardizations of current commercial 'mass culture'"[5] are among the fruits of the rediscovery of imagination.

This article presents some aspects of the problematic through the prism of diverse cultural contexts and offers a reading of the situation in Serbia either as resonating or diverging from the depicted fictitious ones. Transforming the threat of "no future" into vibrant critical and creative responses, it invokes the punk attitude as the countercultural and subcultural voices of resistance and reverence. It celebrates experimental endeavors while acknowledging both the significance of tradition and its remixable nature. It understands continuity with heritage yet refrains from glamorizing it. Demonstrating the importance of communication between and among human beings in the hybrid key combining resistance and reverence, it seeks wholesome responses to the questions of individuality and communality. It is also a manifestation of the vitality of the remix.

Originating in music, the remix is perceived and deployed as a hybrid expressive mode focusing on the fusion of quest narratives, social activism, and peaceful/peaceable resistance against oppression. Reflecting some of the permeating modernist and postmodernist concerns, it contextualizes contemporary idiosyncrasies historically. Rather than radically abandoning tradition, it exposes its malleability and galvanizes the change-preservation nexus. The remix investigates alternating cycles of noise and silence in the communication channel as a basis for the disambiguation of the misconception about the totality of discourse. The approach delineates a vision of refacement: rebirth of the human face through subtonic solidarity of selfless, yet re-individualized, fellow humans engaged in enduring the hindrances to patient, persistent creation of a free culture based on trust and love.

Pump It Up:
Soundscape as the Vehicle of Agency

In the movie *The Blues Brothers* (1980), there is a scene at a club where Elwood and Jake Blues--played by Dan Aykroyd and John Belushi, respectively--are supposed to perform with their band. The waitress kindly informs them that the club welcomes both kinds of music — country

4 Ibid., p. 472.

5 Ibid., p. 384.

and western. This in many ways resonates with the approach to music in Serbia nowadays. Many people tend to classify music into two genres: national and foreign. Within the former, there are both subgenres on the menu: "country and western." The tyranny of folk music in Serbian socioscape is supposed to confront the imposed foreign culturemes by investing in local cultural capital and building the social fabric out of local structuremes. Yet, it is nothing but dislocated resistance used by the local political and cultural establishment as a means of oppressive control.

That is why this article cannot entirely adopt the rhetoric frequently suggested in cultural transfer research insisting on avoiding the use of the terms such as nation and country and instead suggesting the use of the concepts of cultural zones, cultural transmission, cultural exchange. That would obscure an important aspect of the reading of the current cultural realities in Serbia regarding the phenomenon addressed. Likewise, the problem cannot be read in transnational terms, which is how gender inequality, for example, is contextualized in Zaharijević and Lončarević (2020), featuring the perception of nationalism as the vocabulary that exceeds the boundaries of a particular national idiom and operates at the transnational level, whilst enabling the perpetuation of the patriarchal paradigm and gender discrimination. In the case of cultural transfer contextualized within the role of the entertainment industry, nationalism *per se* can hardly have a transnational character, although parallels and synchronicities can be tracked in international and cross-national contexts. The reason is that the position and the role of nationalism in that scenario differ from the gender-related situation presented by Zaharijević and Lončarević, where nationalism is a vehicle in the service of discriminatory, sexist politics. By contrast, there is a mutually conditioning relationship between the entertainment industry and nationalism, where the synergy between them may be the channel for demonstrating the supposed antiglobalist views, but where nationalism is also a self-sufficient entity—a multipurpose political tool.

The two-genre system is an element of the political vocabulary, everyday life, and social relations, and it indicates a questionable capacity for genuine resistance to oppression. It is noise---literally and figuratively speaking. It appears — typically, at very high volume — in public discourse, public places, cars, and houses. In a metaphorical sense, it threatens to outvoice critical thinking and freedom of speech. It is a major pollutant in the communication channel threatening sustainable modes of social, political, cultural, and everyday functioning. Although a key ecological problem, it occupies very little space in public discourse, which exposes its undemocratic nature.

Dislocated resistance might signal the normalized potential for subversion. Nationalism and xenophobia fueling and sustained by the entertainment industry leave little room for maneuver. Yet, little might not be insufficient countercultural potential, as Jameson teaches, suggesting the oppositional thinking confronting the mainstream expectations.

Internal Cultural Transfer: Visibility and Transparency

Noise pollution is, in a certain sense, part of the world in Ian McEwan's novella *The Cockroach* (2019), capturing a futuristic vision of the UK ruled by a government consisting of insects disguised as humans. The narrative invoking current political scenes plays with the levels of thinking and the text, thereby making a point about distinctions. One of them is the distinction between the object level and metalevel, while the other is that between the metaphorical and the literal. The blattodean political elites discard their native shells to be dislocated into the human body and to rule. They are parasites feeding on darkness and human distractions into that realm:

> Where they have embraced poverty, filth, squalor, we have grown in strength. And by tortuous means, and much experiment and failure, we have come to know the preconditions for such human ruin. War and global warming certainly and, in peacetime, immoveable hierarchies, concentrations of wealth, deep superstition, rumour, division, distrust of science, of intellect, of strangers and of social cooperation.[6]

It could be said that the PM James Sams and his government wear masks. So do we within the complicated network of social relations. As Hannah Arendt reminds one in *On Revolution* (1977), actual masks were constitutive of the theater in ancient cultures.[7] Wearing masks was constitutive of performing certain characters. So is it key to our social roles. We play. There are rules. Some of them are coercive. We rebel against oppression. Some help us navigate complicated social relations with fellow humans. We adopt them. Consciously "wearing masks," we play roles, thereby transcending being merely our biological selves, just bodies.

Sams' crew adopts the ideological fluctuations ensuring political power and material wealth, notably a doctrine called Reversalism. It is a political, or rather economic, program integrating the conflated political, cultural, and moral planes. Addressing his government, the PM presents it as follows:

6 Ian McEwan, *The Cockroach* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2019), 98.

7 Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977, 1st ed. 1963), 97.

> Let the money flow be reversed and the entire economic system, even the nation itself, will be purified, purged of absurdities, waste and injustice. At the end of a working week, an employee hands over money to the company for all the hours that she has toiled. But when she goes to the shops, she is generously compensated at retail rates for every item she carries away. She is forbidden by law to hoard cash. The money she deposits in her bank at the end of a hard day in the shopping mall attracts high negative interest rates. Before her savings are whittled away to nothing, she is therefore wise to go out and find, or train for, a more expensive job. The better, and therefore more costly, the job she finds for herself, the harder she must shop to pay for it. The economy is stimulated, there are more skilled workers, everyone gains.[8]

The program enables self-sustaining reversibility of funds and ensures that the elite social and political strata unavoidably benefit from the systemic exploitation of the laboring population.[9]

And so it goes around in circles. The song "Roc around the Clock"[10] keeps rocking, the money flows keep reversing, and the "revolutionizing" role of the economic program reverberates with the effect of the French Revolution that Arendt problematizes. Namely, on July 14, 1789, Frédéric de Liancourt explained to Louis XVI that the revolt that led to the storming of the Bastille was, in fact, revolution.[11] The revolt initially aiming to redeem injustice, exploitation, and inequality ended up in the restoration of totalitarianism: it had gone full circle.

Once Sams' fraternity were the lowest of the low. Now, they rule. Tyrannically so. They impose inequality on others as enthusiastically as they were discriminated against. They emerged from invisibility and established prominence. They made themselves visible, one would think. However, Steven Conner's observation complicates this supposedly clear-cut view by warning against the erroneous synonymous use of the terms transparency and visibility resulting from the misconception of the meaning of the words transparent/transparency. More precisely, in order for something to be visible, the environment, rather than the thing itself, needs to be transparent.[12] Secrets and "transparency" in Sams and his government are transparent, which ensures their (")invisibility("). Now, it is enabled by privilege rather than imposed by marginal status. It is through this bewildering coincidence of visibility and invisibility that secrecy permeates.

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8 Ibid, 25–26.

9 Ibid, 26.

10 The title of the song references the abbreviation ROC which stands for "Reversalism in One Country" (McEwan, *The Cockroach*, 31).

11 Arendt, *On Revolution*, 38.

12 Connor, *The Madness of Knowledge*, 145.

Objection Ruled Out: Pornocopia of Voices

The question of change and preservation emphasizes reactionary tendencies that also concern gender issues. In Serbia, there are numerous potential indicators of an emancipatory stance toward sexual orientation including clinics offering sex/gender reassignment surgery, as noted in James Caspian's article "My Battle with the Transgender Thought Police" (2019) and *The New York Times* celebrating the prosperity of Serbia in Dan Bilefsky's article "Serbia Becomes a Hub for Sex-Change Surgery" (2012). The lesbian Prime Minister should also signal a progressive, non-discriminatory approach to gender.

However, the everyday and the lives of ordinary people bear witness to patriarchal oppression where sexism is more a rule than an exception, and sexual abuse, domestic violence, and human trafficking are part of the social and economic dynamics. This can reflect conservatism, but also mechanistic implementation of international laws in the local context, which ambivalently oscillates between the ossified traditional paradigm and European, legally defined liberties.

Some aspects of the thematic framework can be pondered through Irvine Welsh's novel *Porno* (2002). It can be read through the lens of women's liberation as indiscriminate sexual conduct and engagement in the porn industry, albeit within the eerie dynamics of objectification and discrimination. The group of sex and drugs enthusiasts in the novel makes a porn movie *Seven Rides for Seven Brothers*, featuring some of them playing themselves. The movie enters the Cannes Film Festival's adult entertainment competition.

Nikki, the main female protagonist and actress is on a junkless junk trip. Stardom is her high of choice. Can she be trusted? Simon, the director and her partner, is mesmerized by her appearance: "You are the very essence of femininity, he says, seeming almost awestruck in admiration."[13] He further discriminates: "Pot's a great drug for chicks, pot and E. I'm so glad you don't do coke. It's a boy's drug, girls can't take it."[14] While arguing that his supposedly feminist stance recognizes "woman's autonomy,"[15] he claims that fatness is degradation and a mental illness in women, and somewhat of a charm in men.[16] He calls his hospitalized, immobilized friend "*FAGGOT ASS.*"[17]

13 Irvine Welsh, *Porno* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 454.

14 Ibid, 445.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid, 289.

17 Ibid, 482, emphasis original.

The character's worldview featuring elements of sizeism, ableism, and sexism poses a challenge with regard to the question of free speech. William Burroughs (n.d.) observes: "when ever Iago comes on to the stage, Shakespeare must stand up and say: 'I disapprove of this man'. No writer does that. On the other hand..."[18] Do people still think like this in the time of socioscape darkly sanitized by political correctness? At times, it seems that the advancement in perception and beliefs coincides with the reconfigurations in the legal sphere. Sometimes, they seem discrepant, and the relationship between them hollow. However, there is a ray of hope. In the interstices spiking the darkness, it glistens through the thick haze of pain, violence, and inner turmoil. It is called resistance to junkless junk and (self-)dissolving noise.

Architects of Void: Between the Flesh and Flash--CA$H

The oscillations in the realm of free speech complicate the possibility of progressive critique. They may impede questioning some instances of the distorted struggle for equality and questionable antidiscriminatory activism, practically perpetuating the paradigms originally confronted. This might further obscure the idea and practice of free speech. The reason could be a hypocritical implementation of the politics of inclusion, where equality is more a matter of rhetoric than social relations. Also, some demands that originate in the protection of the rights of marginalized demographics lean toward rigid sanctioning and extreme limitations of the public debate. Regardless of the shape and form, instances that allow for the normalization of the critique by reactionary politics and occlude open exchange in public discourse are instrumental in the oppressive political regime, ideology, and social fabric built on discrimination, exclusion, inequality, and suffering.

The problems with progressive critique can be explored in the context of the modernization of Serbia, notably concerning renewal and economic growth based on the reinforcement of and investment in infrastructure. The reconfiguration of urban spaces is constitutive both of the approach to and consequences of this strategy. Gentrification of particular segments in urban areas is its integral part, and it often implies the real estate industry enabling the mushrooming of owned, yet uninhabited, properties. These ghost apartments are part of money launder-

18 William Burroughs and Alexander Trocchi, Transcript of the interview with Daniel Farson for *Something to Say.* William S. Burroughs papers. Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, n.d., p. 18.

ing schemes frequently channeling corruption-based profiteering, where the postsocialist accumulation of capital features both traditional capitalist and modern "postcapitalist" financial and speculative streaks. Clearly, investment in the infrastructure in Serbia might be a quick fix, but it is questionable what kind of benefit it can generate in the long run.

The idea and the phenomenon can be tracked through Stewart Home's short story "The Cripplegate Blockchain Massacre" (2020). It provides a glimpse of the glamour and blues of the club of the superrich. One of its members is the protagonist of Home's story. He owns multiple luxury ghost apartments worldwide purchased with the money he inherited from his grandfather and invested in cryptocurrency. One of those ghost apartments is located in a fictitious version of Taylor Wimpey's notorious "The Denizen aka Clarendon Court aka The Turd"[19] at 43 Golden Lane in London, which in this book is deployed to "stand in for what's wrong with property speculation pretty much anywhere."[20]

The development and construction of the actual building were subject to vigorous disputes, objections, and protests. The book itself is part of the rebellion against the real estate industry that sweeps people's everyday and forces them out of their neighborhoods due to rising rent and the cost of living. Some of the consequences of this reckless entrepreneurship include the depravation of light caused by the height of the building, blocked views, and a mindlessly refashioned horizon.

The protagonist of Home's short story is a solitary rider: "Having huge liquid holdings, I had assets falling out of my asshole and I was self-reliant, so I didn't need anyone else working on my enterprises."[21] He made a plan prior to his arrival in London with intent to transfer his cryptoprofit into actual US dollars to pay off his mortgages and continue investing in property. His plan is flawed. Hence, it fails. Having landed at Heathrow, he experiences a blackout that keeps him unconscious and bedridden for two months. Having recovered, he is dismissed from the hospital and he learns that "his" property no longer belongs to him because of the unpaid mortgage during these two months. Due to hospitalization related expenses and disrupted trade, he is facing bankruptcy.

His response is revenge on the system by shooting from a window in his ghost apartment random visitors to the nearby park with the illegal guns he kept in his buy-to-leave apartment. This would cause major costs to the National Health Service and, consequently, strike a blow to the

19 Stewart Home, "The Cripplegate Blockchain Massacre", in Stewart Home (ed.), *Denizen of the Dead: The Horrors of Clarendon Court* (London: Cripplegate Books, 2020), 7.

20 Ibid, 11.

21 Ibid, 46.

British economy. He ends up trapped in limbo, surrounded by police helicopters and planning to blow himself up, which would supposedly help him recuperate his "dollar losses in pounds of flesh."[22]

Between the body and the flesh — ca$h. Like many members of his club, instead of dwelling in the owned apartments, he inhabits the void, thus epitomizing McKenzie Wark's apt point from her book *Capital Is Dead: Is This Something Worse?* (2019): "The human becomes thinglike and passive in order to impart something human into the passivity of the thing."[23] The world is atomized and populated by dispersed insular, self-absorbed wandering particles. Just as ghost homes are haunted by the absence of dwellers, so are the owners haunted by the absences of that what is supposed to be constitutive of who they are. As such, they embody junkless junk.

Rather than by name, nationality, or citizenship, the character in Home's story identifies as follows: "My name doesn't matter. I have five different passports and many other types of fake ID. I hope the authorities never identify me. I am a denizen of our financialised world!"[24] As Wark notes, in these boring times bereft of substance, abstraction is supposed to do the job.[25] When everything is melting in sweeping alienation, entertainment is not a viable response. Re-hacking the abstraction *is*.

Junk, Junkless Junk, and Other Highs

If cultural transfer is about the exchange of ideas, objects, and lifestyles, drugs are probably part of that trade. Whether they come to Serbia from the West or East, North or South is an issue that exceeds the scope of this article. One thing is rather certain, though: there is junk, junkless junk, and other highs. That distinction is being blurred by the socio-political fluctuations moving toward: a) legalization and/or decriminalization of drugs; and b) proliferation of junkless junk--compulsive, obsessive, and addiction-like patterns that characterize certain portions of contemporary cultures.

In an interview with Daniel Farson, Alexander Trocchi and William Burroughs are answering the questions related to the legalization of substances. The latter lays a rather decisive claim: "no-one is fit to drive if they've –er—if they've smoked or taken marihuana – it upsets your sense of timing."[26] Although well aware of the possibility of abuse, Burroughs

22 Ibid, 50.

23 Wark McKenzie, *Capital Is Dead: Is This Something Worse?* (London: Verso, 2019), 113.

24 Home, "The Cripplegate Blockchain Massacre", 50.

25 Wark, op. cit., 83.

26 W. Burroughs and A.Trocchi, op. cit., 15.

is nevertheless supportive of legalization.[27] In that scenario, the change in the relationship between the underground and overground imposes the question about legality generally and, above all, human relationships. Getting high becomes a matter of a legal, revenue-boosting machinery, ensuring jobs and economic flourishing. Everyone is free to choose their world at the price of a safe, guiltless, state-provided product. The world is a better place. The question is: which one?

Burroughs's remarks in *Naked Lunch* (2005) shed light on the issue: "I have heard that there was once a beneficient non-habit-forming junk in India. It was called *soma* and is pictured as a beautiful blue tide. If *soma* ever existed the Pusher was there to bottle it and monopolize it and sell it and it turned into plain old-time JUNK."[28] The short story entitled "The Great Hindu Cow Conspiracy" (n.d.), co-written by Dennis Cooper and Casey McKinney, further reveals the intricacy and possible ramifications of the situation. The connection between science, academia, and the military-entertainment complex is the context for challenging the inverted image of authority and offering a glance at a historical trajectory of supremacy and exploitation. It interrogates the arcane interstices between legal and illicit highs. It also investigates the potential of language through the prism of fellowship and critical thinking.

The opening portrays a liberal art college in a fictionalized New England in a fictitious year 1992. The scene featuring students and an educator addresses the questions of substance, mind, and control. In an effort to enlighten the students' uninformed, disaffected, and uninterested minds, the professor delivers a message that casts light on some aspects of the colonial past of the British Isles--centuries of perpetual daytime in the shadow of the hegemonic night.

A fictitious prediction presented in Cooper's and McKinney's story concerns the rise of the novel high called POP (pituitary opiate peptides) produced from the pituitary glands of cows. It is legal, accessible, affordable, *organic*, and ...well, kind of mandatory. In the meantime, pushers keep pushing. Were an urban arcadia possible, it would be embodied in an idyllic megalopolis in the guise of utopia that no one believes in because there is nothing to resist, to reimagine, since your dreams have been chosen for you. In a world where the shift in drug policy, rather than drug abuse, renders governments and police redundant, crime is nearly nonexistent. When peptide labs--integrating the corporate mindset and a deviant image of authority--are running the show, oppression reigns.

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27 Ibid, 15.

28 William S. Burroughs, *Naked Lunch* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005, 1st ed. 1959), 201.

Now, in the future safely distanced from that hellish past, research continues, as a student testifies: "my research proves what we've always suspected. That for all its great holiness—Arnie crossed himself—heroin's fucking dogshit. It's SUPPOSED to enslave us. which. as we both know too well. it does."[29] By contrast, POP is unrivaled: "there is no addiction. way way way fewer fixes. less ratty looking veins."[30] And yet, just why the next fix is craved to start with remains a nut as hard to crack as POP itself.

Polyphony, Play, and NO to "No Future": From Cacophony to the Remix

In the world where distinctions tend to blur, fully-fledged awareness is needed. Countercultural thinking and activism that oppose the politics of distraction can be the source of resistance to oppression. It could be contextualized within globalization integrating cultural, social, technological, and political components that Jameson explores, emphasizing both the formative and subversive potential of these spheres. He emphasizes the way in which globalization has redescribed people's habits. As it is reminiscent of some characteristics of the old school socialist authoritarian regimes from the Soviet and Chinese past, the phenomenon may be perceived as a cultural revolution of global dimensions.

Globalization thrives on the military-entertainment complex: through the cultural climate of artificial, forced pleasure and fun, it operates as anesthetization of the nations. In the midst of global warming, civilization is frozen in the perpetual present, incapacitated by the torpor of the absent past, and hindered by the occluded reimagining of the future. If revamped, the past threatens to dissolve the current dynamic in reactionary modes of social functioning. In that scenario, the future remains obscured.

When Jameson investigates the possibility of thinking and acting against that what is in this article perceived as the "no future" threat, he summons up a "reawakening of the imagination of possible and alternate futures, a reawakening of that historicity which our system — offering itself as the very end of history — necessarily represses and paralyzes."[31] This should enable reawakening of the atrophied capacities of revolutionary, utopian, futural thinking.

29 Dennis Cooper and Casey McKinney, "The Great Hindu Cow Conspiracy" (TS. New York University, Bobst Fales Library, Downtown Collection, Dennis Cooper Papers, n.d.), p. 18, emphasis original.

30 Ibid, 19.

31 Jameson, *Valences of the Dialectic*, 434.

In order to sustain the awareness of consumer logic and to devise oppositional thinking, one needs to be reminded of the components that accompanied the introduction of capitalism to the former socialist countries:

> The fundamental misunderstanding which lends Eastern European stampede towards the market its tragicomic resonance also omitted any sense of the difference between the simple availability of commodities and the frenzies of consumerism itself, something like a collective addiction with enormous cultural, social and individual consequences which can only be compared, as behavioral mechanism, to the related addictions of drugs, sex and violence (that in fact tend to accompany it).[32]

Junkless junk. In a globalized world, one desires nothing, but craves everything. In the maze of a worldwide cultural revolution of the commodity acting "as it were becoming its own ideology,"[33] the political, social, and cultural spheres integrate the corporate paradigm mainly governed by compulsion, coercion, and utility-oriented oppressive *modus operandi*. Sitting comfortably with postmodernist discarding the idea of authenticity, such discourse disqualifies the idea of false consciousness.[34] Similarly, it shuns alienation, as Terry Eagleton suggests in *Against the Grain* (1986) while ruminating about the postmodernist predicament: "there is no longer any subject to be alienated and nothing to be alienated from, 'authenticity' having been less rejected than merely forgotten."[35]

In postmodernism, dystopia is an impossibility because there is no utopia, either. The imagination has been impaired, thereby obstructing the possibility of social vision:

> Utopia, I argue, is not a representation but an operation calculated to disclose the limits of our own imagination of the future, the lines beyond which we do not seem able to go inimagining changes in our own society and world (except in the direction of dystopia and catastrophe).[36]

In such a world, there is no falsehood. Nothing is wrong. No need to mask. No role play. Everything is "transparent." There is no alternative because there are no distinctions. The proliferation of oppositions has created an illusion of the disappearance of exploitation, discrimination, and divides, including that between good and evil. This encompasses nearly everything "virtually from the beginning of history to its far future, if it has one (but let's not omit future versus past)."[37] (18). Rather than

32 Ibid, 381–382.

33 Ibid, 448.

34 Ibid, 413.

35 Terry Eagleton, *Against the Grain*: *Essays 1975–1985* (London: Verso, 1986), 132.

36 Jameson, op. cit., 413.

37 Ibid, 18.

bringing prosperity through multiplicity, such a situation has inhibited the possibility of imagining. Postmodernist culture features a paradoxical mixture of constraint and unrestrainedness. Weird valences of inertia both block and propel. However, one should always be reminded that it is possible to re-hack the abstraction.

The problem with globalization is its ubiquitous geographical, political, cultural, technological, and social tendencies: its totalizing aspirations. Its free market economy promise of freedom is a disguised enslaving strategy. The free market is neither free nor is it freedom. Its coercive grip can be understood in the vein of Alex Trocchi's statement: "It's very difficult to use opiates in a casual way. You are either on or you are off. That's the trouble with them."[38] The problem with capitalism is that the clear-cut distinction between on and off is blurred. Our choices are limited by the opportunities the system allows. One adopts the way of life. There is always a possibility to imagine and play.

In the play *The Ash Gray Proclamation* (2009), Dennis Cooper depicts the totalizing tendencies of both junk and globalization logic. The dots on the map of the world are connected by drug trafficking: "Josh: Afghanistan is where heroin comes from, right?"[39] The characters epitomize subjecthood decentered in the cacophony of falsehood (if it hasn't been discarded): "Josh: If it's not about heroin, I don't care."[40] They condemn violence, but only if it's inflicted on them. Their communication is severed: "Josh: (*angrily*): Friends don't do that. So we aren't friends. I don't know what to call this, though. We like categories over here."[41]

Cooper's play mirrors the post-truth cacophony of the military-entertainment complex and the chimera of misconstrued epistemologies: "Mackerel: I'm bored. / Psychic: I don't know that term. / Mackerel: Boredom is what we call knowledge over here. The idea is that we never quote-unquote know, you just stop caring if you quote-unquote know. That's when you know. / Psychic: Sounds interesting."[42] This might seem to resonate with Steven Connor's observation about the limits of knowledge and the ambiguous character of that insight:

> There is a secret majesty in the humility of the mind that abases itself before the certainty that the cosmos is infinitely beyond the powers of knowing: for it hides from itself the knowledge that, if this were absolute-

38 Burroughs, op. cit.,14.

39 Dennis Cooper, *The Ash Gray Proclamation* in *Ugly Man* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 212.

40 Ibid, 212.

41 Ibid, 222–223, emphasis original.

42 Ibid, 223.

> ly true, there would be no occasion for it to occur to that mind that it might be so.[43]

To humbly acknowledge one's limits is the confirmation of the power of weakness. Manipulation of decentered categories is something else. The distinction is manifested at the level of the tone. Connor invokes light, while Mackerel's potentially nihilist indifference might not: no agency in the atrophied social fabric, no desire in the afflicted imagination, no passion in a need-driven, goal-ridden, derevolutionized business of culture/culture of business.

It characterizes the world in which, as Jameson remarks, the artificial absence of boundaries does not necessarily indicate equality. It merely masks that what it claims to redeem, thereby perpetuating dominance, injustice, and aggression. However, it can enable re-hacking by virtue of the change of valences: "it was necessary for human society to have gone through the experience of consumerism as a way of life, if only in order more consciously later on to choose something radically different in its place."[44] It calls for the remix.

Postmodernism is not merely the cultural logic of late capitalism, but the vocabulary of playfulness relying on versatility and diversity, where distance and exchange, critical and creative vernaculars coexist, where the capacity to imagine, the potential of/for revolution endures. The limits of the imagination indicate both human weakness and power. Acknowledging them ensures reinstating the power of weakness. According to Jameson, utopia enables the change of valences that transforms the current negative situations into vibrant socioscape. He suggests the grassroots potential of play as a response to both nationalist and globalist oppression.[45] To enable the wizardry of the dialectic, peaceful/peaceable resistance is needed. It is integral to and resonates with the remix thriving on the idea and practice of recuperating the past, reimagining the future, and resurrecting the present.

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43 Connor, op. cit., 19.

44 Jameson, op. cit., 382.

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FROM KNOWING THE MECHANISM TO THE MECHANISM OF KNOWING: EURASIAN CULTURAL TRANSFER AND HYBRID THEOLOGIES OF (NEO)LIBERALISM

Abstract: The founding fathers of neoliberalism are usually imagined as very rational neoclassical economists uninterested in cultural and religious issues. The aim of this paper is to paint a different picture by discussing the ideas of (neo)liberal economists regarding spiritual heritage, with an emphasis on eastern religions. Starting from the existing historiographical debate on the role of Daoist notions in the birth of political economy in 18th-century Europe, as an example of cultural transfer *par excellence*, argumentation develops into a comparative analysis of philosophical underpinnings of modern *laissez-faire* liberalism and neoliberalism. The main thesis of the paper is that important epistemological differences between analysed doctrines imply the differences in the attitude of modern economic liberalism towards religion, which is demonstrated via examples of appropriations and translations of eastern heritage. This is a preliminary analysis but with the potential to shed new light on the political theology of contemporary culture and neoliberalism itself.

Keywords: neoliberalism, physiocracy, cultural transfer, political theology, eastern spirituality

This paper deals with a rarely discussed aspect of economic liberalism – its attitude towards religious heritage. Inside this problem, in itself a relatively narrow politico-theological niche, we will look at the even more particular question of the role of Eurasian cultural transfer in the politico-theological constitution of modern liberalism. In critical strains of religious and cultural studies, it is more or less taken for granted that, in the globalized capitalist economy, western receptions of eastern spiritual notions do play various roles of ideological justification.[1] This problem is not unrelated to the aims of this paper. However, what is missing in contemporary discussions of this sort are links between these cultural developments and the intellectual heritage of economic liberalism itself. That is, *the ideas of economists* are absent from the analysis.

1 Kimberly J. Lau, *New Age Capitalism. Making Money East of Eden* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Jeremy Carrette and Richard King, *Selling Spirituality: The Silent Takeover of Religion* (London: Routledge, 2005); George González, *Shape-Shifting Capital: Spiritual Management, Critical Theory, and the Ethnographic Project* (London: Lexington Books, 2015); James D. LoRusso, *Spirituality, Corporate Culture, and American Business: The Neoliberal Ethic and the Spirit of Global Capital* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

In an attempt to show that this level of inquiry can be important, I will make a move towards filling this gap. I will do that via a politico-theological comparison of two movements: 18th-century physiocracy and 20th-century neoliberalism. I can only scratch the surface of these complicated intellectual and cultural histories here, but my overall goal is to show that focus on economic ideas and hybrid milieus in which they were developed can shed a different light not just on neoliberalism itself, but on contemporary cultural and intellectual tropes as well.

Such seemingly "exotic" interest came into my problem field in a rather accidental way. Namely, my doctoral dissertation examines links between popular western esoteric spirituality and neoliberal ideology, and as its essential part it included a comparative reading of New Age literature and major texts of neoliberal economists. The latter task I entered with some anxiety, expecting to find baroque mathematical equations, highly technical drafts of business cycle, packed with – for me at the time utterly impenetrable – jargon of neoclassical economics, so that I would have to rely on questionable hermeneutic acrobatics in order to extract the politico-theological content I was looking for. But to my surprise, a substantive part of my neoliberal corpus consisted of fairly familiar topics – philosophies of society or cultural histories and, not so rarely, discussions of religion. To make the experience stranger, one of the first passages I encountered were these words of Alexander Rüstow, a German economist who contributed to the very introduction of the signifier "neoliberalism". As Rüstow puts it:

> [Ancient idea of] the divine Logos [...] which pervades and guides everything, from the whole course of the universe down to the actions of men [...] although it could hardly be harmonized with Christian ethics [...] gained new influence, beginning with the Renaissance, and [...] found its way to the Physiocrats. Adam Smith's doctrine of the automatism of the market economy [is actually] the perfection of the Physiocratic conception of the *ordre naturel* [natural order] [...] At the same time in the teachings of the Physiocrats appears a second, equally theologico-metaphysical line of thought, viz. that of Chinese Taoism. [...] The 'invisible hand' [...] unmistakably contains a vestige of Pythagorean mysticism [,] the Logos of Heraclitus and the Stoics, and the Tao of Lao-tse [...] converted into the Christian anthropomorphic language of deism.[2]

This excerpt is located in an appendix written by Rüstow in a book[3] by Wilhelm Röpke, a German-Swiss economist who in 1947, together with Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek, founded the Mont Pelerin

2 Alexander Rüstow, Appendix to *International Economic Disintegration* (London: William Hodge and Company, 1942), 269, 270.

3 Wilhelm Röpke, *International Economic Disintegration* (London: William Hodge and Company, 1942).

Society (MPS), the central neoliberal organization that, at least until the turn of the millennium, played a role of the neoliberal international.

Finding ancient Daoism at the end of this brief "genealogy", I first thought this must be some kind of wacky free association, far removed from any historical reality. But once again, I was mistaken. As it turns out, Rüstow was aware, already during the 1940s, if not even earlier, of actual hybrid ideational roots of the *laissez-faire* doctrine. The debate on Eurasian "co-production" of the *laissez-faire* ideal, present at least since the 1960s (being mentioned during the late 1930s but getting clearer only during the first half of the 1980s) is resurfacing today but still remains under the radar.[4] There seems to be a consensus among specialized historians of culture and/or economic ideas[5] that the transfer of Chinese politico-theological concepts played an important role in the very birth of the discipline of political economy, among the physiocrats of 18th-century France. This debate is important in itself, but also because it indirectly shows not just that Max Weber's views on Calvinism and world religions were quite arbitrary, parochial and orientalist, but that contemporary "economic theologies" (standard works by Giorgio Agamben or Dotan Leshem)[6] are Eurocentric and purist as well in their exclusive attempt to derive economic liberalism from Christian dispositif. Gerlach even argues that Confucian and Daoist notions should be seen as the master-model of the 18th-century physiocracy.[7]

I will briefly explain this neglected politico-theological problematic, its philosophical underpinnings and their background in Eurasian cultural transfer, and then show that vestiges of religious ideas are still present in contemporary neoliberalism and, moreover, that we can locate an explicit politico-theological interest in eastern religions at its ideological heart – that is, in Hayek himself. However, as I will show in the second

4 Lewis A. Maverick, "Chinese Influence upon the Physiocrats", *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 1 Suppl. (February 1938); Christian Gerlach, "**無為** – On the Eurasian Roots of the Laissez-Faire Doctrine", *Man and the Economy*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Dec. 2019), 4–8.

5 Ina B. McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 5, 270, 271. Daid E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West 1500–1800* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 128. Christian Gerlach, op. cit.

6 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Taylor & Francis eLibrary, 2005); Max Weber, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951); Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Dotan Leshem, *The Origins of Neoliberalism: Modeling the Economy from Jesus to Foucault* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

7 Christian Gerlach, op. cit.

half of this paper, the ideological role of these spiritual ideas in classical *laissez-faire* liberalism and in (Hayekian) neoliberalism is very different, even epistemically opposed. In other words, we will, in an awfully compressed form, discuss the politico-theological implications of the epistemic discontinuity between liberalism and neoliberalism via the example of appropriations of eastern heritage.

The Physiocrats and Cultural Transfer

In Christian Gerlach's view, the term *laissez-faire* is a direct translation of the Chinese term *wu wei* (無 為), or the syntagma *wu-wei erzhi*, meaning literally: "order and equilibrium will be achieved without ruler's intervention", which was the "description of the ideal Confucian ruler: one who reigns but does not rule".[8] Assertions about the translation of *wu wei* into *laissez faire* by the famous physiocrat François Quesnay or about Chinese ideas as the primary model for physiocracy are somewhat contested[9] in the still scarce discussions. Nevertheless, strong cultural proximity and elective affinity between physiocratic and Chinese concepts seem indubitable, while homologies between these eastern and western political concepts are more than striking.

This was the result of a physiocratic obsession with China, itself part of much broader European Sinophilia or Sinomania, widespread among intellectuals from Leibniz and Voltaire to Quesnay. Moreover, Quesnay's admiration for the agricultural boom of the Chinese Wu Wei Empire was so strong that he was known among his contemporaries as the "Confucius of Europe"; he wrote on China extensively and published his *Physiocratie* (1767) in made-up Peking to avoid French censorship.[10] According to Gerlach's account, this was the result of a twofold cultural transfer, lasting c. from 1648 to 1848 and resulting from the economic power of the Low Countries (i.e., "Netherlands"), at the time the hegemonic merchant force. As Gerlach shows, the first (textual) nexus of cultural transfer came from Jesuit missionary activity in China, which was supplying the printing presses of Amsterdam and other commercial centres with fresh descriptions of the prosperous agricultural Empire of the East and its supporting philosophies. The second (visual) nexus was the "ceramic boom" – the quick influx of more than three million pieces of Chinese Minben porce-

8 Quoted in Christian Gerlach, op. cit., 2.

9 Stefan G. Jacobsen, "Against the Chinese Model: The Debate on Cultural Facts and Physiocratic Epistemology", in Steven Kaplan and Sophus Reinert (ed.), *The Economic Turn: Recasting Political Economy in Enlightenment Europe* (London: Anthem Press, 2019), 92.

10 Christian Gerlach, op. cit., 5, 7.

lain, painted with images picturing idyllic scenes of the successful Wu Wei Empire and having an effect of visual demonstration of the soundness of Chinese economic thinking.

In their universalist pursuits, the physiocrats were conducting comparative studies of world "wisdom traditions" and related governance models in search of at all places and times valid rational principles of the "natural economic order" (*ordre naturel*). As Jacobsen put it: "Their conviction was that the general principles were of divine origin, although accessible to every clear-thinking individual".[11] This was part of the deist project of finding the core of "natural religion" in concordance with the rules of reason being primary. In the deist view, God created the universe as a "clock" – a Cartesian-Newtonian mechanism in which he does not interfere, which was a move through which the Enlightenment aimed to exclude the possibility of miracles, that is, non-reasonable phenomena in nature. Thus, as a naturally occurring part of the reasonable universe, "the economy" was a big mechanism as well, ruled by fully rational and thus knowable natural laws. In homology to the deist God as the "absentee landlord" that does not interfere, the physiocratic ruler should recognize and respect the natural laws of the economy, which spontaneously produce harmony. This is where homologies with Daoism come into play. As Gerlach explains, *wu wei* is best translated as "*action by non-action or doing nothing, yet there is nothing that is not done* [emphasis in the original]."[12] Gerlach argues that the physiocrats not only mobilized these politico-theological notions in their fight against mercantilism but actually valued Chinese sages much higher, seeing them as closer to alleged original rational wisdom than European ones.[13]

This was a reformist project of so-called enlightened despotism, modelled according to Gerlach, on the Chinese "enlightened monarchy". The French term *physiocratie* comes from the Greek "physis" meaning nature (in contrast to customs or laws), and "kratos" meaning rule or power, physiocracy thus being "the rule of nature", or "the government in accordance with nature". In China, Physiocrats saw both the agricultural model[14] they were trying to develop and a justification for their philosophical naturalism. As McCormick puts it: "Harmonizing with the Tao, which is universal and whose power extends everywhere, even to the social realm, allows a beneficent *natural order* to emerge [emphasised by the author]."[15] For Huai Nan Tzu, a treatise on political philosophy from the early Western Han Dynasty, which Gerlach quotes, *wu wei* means

11 Stefan G. Jacobsen, op. cit., 96.

12 Christian Gerlach, op. cit., 3.

13 Ibid, 6.

14 Physiocracy was also defined by the idea that only agricultural labour is productive.

15 Ken McCormick, "The Tao of Laissez-Faire", *Eastern Economic Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jan. 1999), 334.

> that no personal prejudice [private or public will,] interferes with the universal Tao [the laws of things], and that no desires and obsessions lead the true course [...] astray. Reason must guide action in order that power may be exercised according to the intrinsic properties and natural trends of things.[16]

In physiocratic "naturalism", there is an identity or unproblematic relationship between nature and human reason. Physiocracy entailed not only the idea that a harmonious economy arises "naturally", meaning spontaneously if left unhampered, but also a deeper *philosophical* proposition that nature is rational in itself. Being natural, the mechanisms of political economy that Quesnay's famous Economic Table neatly represented were rational as well. Interference in the natural course of things is thus harmful.

Gerlach constructed a new genealogy – we cannot discuss it here – which maps this spread of the Chinese model all the way to 1848 Switzerland, in his view, the first European "Wu Wei State", highly influenced by the revival of physiocratic Sinophilia during the 1760s among Swiss physiocrats such as Albrecht von Haller, who wrote the novel *Usong*, an orientalist *Staatsroman* (description of the ideal state) set in Persia but modelled on the Wu Wei Empire.[17] Gerlach argues that this revival played a role in Swiss nation-building, but also that Switzerland was the primary inspiration for Richard Cobden's Anti-Corn Law League, which launched the *laissez-faire* ideal as the dominant economic model for the British Empire.[18]

Fast forward to the 1966 Mont Pelerin Society meeting in Tokyo

All this inspired me to dig deeper in search of any possible remnants of both Chinese (and eastern in general) and physiocratic ideas in the works of contemporary neoliberals, and I was not expecting much. However, another surprise was waiting for me. On the one hand, I did find discussions of religions, in important cases eastern, but on the other, the rare discussions of the physiocrats (fathers of the European free trade ideal!) by the neoliberals were often critical and sometimes downright stigmatizing.[19]

16 Christian Gerlach op. cit., p. 4.

17 Ibid, 7–10.

18 Ibid.

19 Here we are not counting routine mentions in textbooks and works in history of economic ideas written by neoliberals where physiocracy is sometimes noted in a positive light for being the first systematic economic science or for its opposition to mercantilism and cameralism.

In Hayek's view, physiocracy should be considered the "source of modern socialism as important as the properly collectivist theories".[20] Rougier, the philosopher who convened the Walter Lippmann Colloquium, the meeting that preceded the founding of the MPS, argued that physiocracy was a "mystique", whose legacy is harmful to the liberal goal.[21] Similarly, Rüstow believed that what he termed the "theologico-metaphysical origin" (including the Daoist one) of physiocratic ideas made liberalism blind for sociological issues.[22] In Rüstow's perspective, this "sociological blindness" was the factor that led to the destruction of liberalism.[23] Comparable critiques were expressed by many other important members of the society, for example by Lord Lionel Robbins,[24] who authored the statement of aims for the MPS, or by the co-initiator of the MPS, Röpke, for whom: "The prototype of the modern economocrat[25] is the eighteenth-century physiocrat. The physiocrats – or *économistes*, led by Quesnay – are clearly the ancestors of all the power-thirsty, cocksure, and arrogant planners and organizers".[26]

On the other hand, some six years later, Hayek concludes the paper he prepared for the meeting of the MPS held in 1966 in Tokyo by asking a curious question: "Is [liberalism] all so very different from what Lao-Tzu says in his fifty-seventh poem?:

> If I keep from meddling with people
> They take care of themselves,
> If I keep from commanding people,
> They behave themselves,
> If I keep from imposing on people,
> They become themselves"[27]

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20 Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, Vol. 13: *Studies on the Abuse and Decline of Reason, Texts and Documents* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 50.

21 Jurgen Reinhoudt, Serge Audier (eds.) and conference participants, *The Walter Lippmann Colloquium: The Birth of Neo-liberalism* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

22 Alexander Rüstow, op. cit., 270, 272.

23 Ibid.

24 Lionel Robbins, *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1978), 34–49.

25 His neologism for the rulership of economic experts.

26 Wilhelm Röpke, *A Humane Economy: The Social Framework of the Free Market* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1960), 283.

27 Friedrich A. Hayek, "The Principles of a Liberal Social Order", in *Il Politico*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Dec. 1966), 617.

So, a strange dynamic is going on here, an odd and obvious combination of continuity and discontinuity. Hayek's remark on Laozi and countless other comments on religion by other neoliberals make it clear that their animosity towards physiocracy has nothing to do with a simple rejection or critique of religion. Neoliberalism does not stem from a program that calls for new atheistic, modernized or purely scientific liberalism freed from all spiritual vestiges and without any place for religion. On the contrary (!), MPS members often were and still are staunch critiques of "scientism" and defenders of religion. Quite a few major neoliberals understand religion as a potentially useful, if not essential, component of what they imagine as the "functioning market society".

Take Röpke, who held that humankind is *Homo religiosus* and that it was "necessary to reconcile the market with the deep spiritual longings this identity entailed."[28] Hayek himself argued that "intolerant and fierce rationalism [...] is mainly responsible for the gulf which [...] has often driven religious people from the liberal movement into reactionary camps".[29] In his opinion, "unless this breach between true liberal and religious convictions can be healed there is no hope for a revival of liberal forces".[30] Rüstow dedicates very long sections of his *magnum opus*[31] to discussions of theology and religion and holds "that the striking failure of economic liberalism, so successful up to then, is to be explained as a problem in the history of religious doctrine",[32] that is – a politico-theological problem.

So, what is going on here with anti-physiocratic defenders of the free-market ideal, who attack "theological vestiges" in liberalism, but at the same time extensively discuss the history of religion and/or argue for reconciliation with religion or a return to religion? Unable to live with such contradictions, I set out to solve them.

When it comes to the problem of "anti-physiocracy", my first idea was that the neoliberals simply did not like the despotism of the physiocrats. However, not just that I could not find a sufficient and convincing textual support[33] for this thesis, but it was also becoming increasingly

28 Angus Burgin, *The Great Persuasion: Reinventing Free Markets since the Depression* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 115.

29 Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, Vol. 4: *The Fortunes of Liberalism, Essays on Austrian Economics and the Ideal of Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 244.

30 Ibid.

31 Alexander Rüstow, *Freedom and Domination: A Historical Critique of Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

32 Alexander Rüstow, op. cit., 455.

33 Hayek mentions despotism in a negative light in a footnote in Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, Vol. 13*: Studies on the Abuse and Decline of*

clear to me – by reading texts by neoliberals and texts on neoliberalism – that the founding fathers of the neoliberal project were not exactly the champions of democracy. The constitutive influence of Carl Schmitt's authoritarian ideas on the members of the MPS is well documented, as well as their elitism and support for various authoritarian regimes: from intermingling with interwar reactionary forces to Hayek's and Friedman's post-war support for Pinochet, Röpke's open support for the Apartheid regime in South Africa, or the tactical association with the Jim Crow regime by Buchanan, Friedman and other MPS actors supported by the Foundation for Economic Education and the Volker Fund, to mention just a few examples.[34] A different explanation was in order.

Fortunately, it was also becoming quite clear to me that the new social philosophy that MPS had produced was critical of the Enlightenment (especially French) and that this should be considered *the* difference between physiocrats and neoliberals. As I will show in the following sections, this difference, which partly constitutes the neoliberalism's "neo", entails an important change in the politico-theological modality of modern liberalism as well.

Political theology of unknowability

As Michel Foucault noticed already in the late 1970s, the physiocratic ideal was geared toward *knowability*.[35] Their search for "natural religion" was tied to the Cartesian-Newtonian idea that the economy was a mechanism whose laws were knowable. As exponents of the Enlightenment, the Physiocrats wanted to arm the "Prince" with *evidence* produced by the new science of political economy, so he could conclude: I understand that it works rationally, thus I will not interfere, *Laissez faire, laissez passer!* Or in Foucault's words: "What the physiocrats deduce from their discovery is that the government must know these mechanisms in their innermost and

Reason, Texts and Documents (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 51. However, he is also famous for saying that he is much more in favour of authoritarian liberalism than democratic socialism.

34 Renato Cristi, *Carl Schmitt and Authoritarian Liberalism: Strong State, Free Economy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998); Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe (ed.), *The Road from Mont Pelerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective* (London: Harvard University Press, 2009); Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America* (New York: Penguin, 2017); Werner Bonefeld, *Strong State and the Free Economy* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017); Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

35 Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 61, 62, 285, 286, 293–295, 321.

complex nature. Once it knows these mechanisms, it must, of course, undertake to respect them."[36]

However, as leading new historiographical works[37] show, neoliberalism is ideologically organized around the diametrically opposed issue of *unknowability*, or as Foucault sees it, for neoliberals the physiocratic naturalism is terribly *naïve*.[38] Starting their careers in the interwar period, the neoliberals were conditioned by the cultural climate in which it seemed that the intellectual and social foundations of the nineteenth-century world had melted away. The idea that universal natural laws of political economy were leading the world into ever greater peace and prosperity was shattered into pieces first by the shock of World War I and then by the economic slump of 1929. Cultural developments, science and philosophy were working equally hard to break the old idea of knowable and rational nature – from new quantum mechanics, which postulated the fundamental limitation to knowability to the explosion of the cultic milieu of easternizing spiritualities in parallel to the zenith of irrationalist philosophy. This was accompanied by more modest versions of *Kulturkritik* blaming the collapse of the "western civilization" on misguided rationalist faith in the powers of human reason. On the opposite end, the positivist philosophy of the Vienna circle variety was also attacking rationalism, but from a radically nominalist and empiricist angle.

Future members of the MPS were not living in a vacuum. For many founding fathers of neoliberalism, Cartesian rationalism was worse than an innocent *naïveté* – it was responsible for the collapse of liberalism in the interwar years, which was a formative experience in their lives. When the mechanism started to "malfunction", that is, when capitalism entered into the interwar crisis, the idea of knowability implied that *it was possible to fix the mechanism*. As Foucault puts it, "the physiocrats say that the existence of an Economic Table [...] gives the sovereign the possibility of exact knowledge of everything taking place within his country, thus giving him the power to control economic processes."[39] For Robbins of the MPS, however, this is the *naïve* idea that the principles of economic governance can be simply "deduced from revelation or the principles of pure reason and written on half a sheet of notepaper."[40] This potential for interference in economic mechanisms, which stems from the Cartesian philosophical stance rendering the economy transparent to human

36 Michel Foucault, op. cit., 61.

37 Philip Mirowski, *Never let a Serious Crisis go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown* (London: Verso, 2014); Quinn Slobodian, op. cit.

38 Michel Foucault, op. cit., 119–121, 133.

39 This does not imply that the physiocrats were "interventionists". This is a question of philosophical potential.

40 Lionel Robbins, op. cit., 57.

reason was, in neoliberal view, the slippery slope towards communism. And stopping the spread of socialism was the very foundational purpose of the MPS. In other words, neoliberals like Hayek or Röpke[41] concluded that the enlightened ideal of the knowability of natural laws eventually led to the destruction of liberalism, so they tossed away the ideal itself. As Hayek puts it in a speech to the MPS:

> I have gradually come to realize that the great obstacle to the preservation of the liberal tradition is the philosophical conviction which overestimates the powers of human reason: Cartesian philosophy [for which] reason is strong enough to reorganize society deliberately in the service of known, foreseen ends and purposes.[42]

This conviction, which according to Hayek, drove "the best and most intelligent of the young people into the left camp", in his understanding, "turned out to be factually wrong."[43] Here, Hayek saw the main philosophical axis for furthering the neoliberal goal. For neoliberals, "the economy" is not the causal mechanism to be known by human reason; on the contrary (!), Hayek is celebrated among today's neoliberals precisely for his new notion of "the market" as an *exclusive mechanism through which (otherwise very weak) human reason can get informed about the intricacies of (an otherwise unknowable) economy*. In his famous notions of the market as a discovery procedure[44] or information processor, Hayek saw a response to socio-epistemological stance on unknowability. The idea dominant in the MPS and, according to Mirowski and Nik-Khah, the dominant cultural doctrine as well, posited the market "*to be an information processor more powerful than any human brain, but essentially patterned upon brain/computation metaphors* [emphasis in the original]".[45] For the contemporary neoliberal author Leslie Marsh, Hayek's notion of the market is an example of "extended cognition" or "extended mind", which is a response to the

41 As Röpke puts it: "Pascal's famous phrase [...] 'The heart has its reasons, of which the reason knows nothing,' seems to us no less true because a Cartesian would call it 'romantic'." Wilhelm Röpke, *The German Question* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1945), 134.

42 Hayek, Friedrich A. Hayek MSS (Hoover Institution, Box 109), Margaret Thatcher Foundation, *Conservatism: Hayek speech to the Mont Pelerin Society („Professor Friedrich Hayek's Closing Speech") [reflections on the history of the society and the resurgence of classical liberalism]*, March 1984.

43 Ibid.

44 Friedrich A. Hayek, "Competition as a Discovery Procedure ", *The Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Summer 2002).

45 Philip Mirowski and Edward Nik-Khah, *The Knowledge We Have Lost in Information: The History of Information in Modern Economics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 54, 55.

problem of "agnoseology", that is, a theory of unknowability radically different from modern Cartesian rationality.[46] As a superiorly intelligent environment, "the market" is unsurpassable by reason. As Slobodian points out, neoliberalism should be seen as a variant of apophatic, that is, *negative* theology, for which the market surpasses the powers of the human mind since the neoliberals "concluded that the world economy was sublime, beyond representation and quantification."[47] Following this line of reasoning, I soon understood that appropriations of religious heritage by neoliberals serve this new and opposite politico-theological function – supporting the ideal of the alleged *unknowability of the economy*. In Hayek's words:

> I've recently discovered that the polytheistic religions of Buddhism appeal rather more to me than the monotheistic religions of the West. If they confine themselves, as some Buddhists do, to a profound respect for the existence of other orderly structures in the world, which they admit they cannot fully understand and interpret, I think it's an admirable attitude.[48]

Interest in *Daoism* is still present among contemporary neoliberals, though marginally. It is even undergoing a micro-revival led, curiously enough, by the followers of Ludwig von Mises and Murray Rothbard, known to be the extremist defenders of the old rationalist *laissez-faire* ideal abandoned by mainstream neoliberalism.[49] In a slightly more interesting celebratory text titled *The Tao of Laissez-faire*, Ken McCormick compares the Daoist notions to Hayek's.[50] Cultural transfer is necessarily a phenomenon of ideological articulation, and spiritual ideas can be bent to play different social roles. This is apparent in McCormick's text as he stresses the aspects of *wu wei* thought which, just like Hayek, postulate that "human reason cannot possibly begin to grasp the nature of the whole."[51] This epistemic shift in liberalism itself corresponds with material interests, as the physiocrats were expressing the aspirations of the rising agrarian bourgeoisie, thus teaming up with "the rational laws of nature" in order to open up the space for trade and limit the interference of the old ruling

46 Leslie Marsh. "Mindscapes and Landscapes: Hayek and Simon on Cognitive Extension", in Roger Frantz and Robert Leeson (eds.), *Hayek and Behavioral Economics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 198, 199.

47 Quinn Slobodian, op. cit., 18.

48 Friedrich A. Hayek, *Hayek on Hayek: An Autobiographical Dialogue* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2005), 35.

49 For Rothbard's view see: Murray Rothbard, "Concepts of the Role of Intellectuals in Social Change Toward Laissez Faire", *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall 1990), 44–46.

50 Ken McCormick, op. cit.

51 Ken McCormick, op. cit., 338.

classes. The neoliberals, however, were facing the *inverse* historical problem. The issue of the day for them was what the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset named "the revolt of the masses". For neoliberals who experienced the end of empires and the birth of new democracies instantly rocked by the revolutionary attempts of the European working class, the combination of *mass politics* and *knowable nature* equalled socialism.

Desiderata for future research: MPS and the religious question

We arrive at the answer to our second conundrum – how to understand the simultaneous critiques of theological vestiges in liberalism and the calls for reconciliation between religion and liberalism that we encounter among members of the MPS? The answer is somewhat semantic.

Neoliberal critiques of "mystiques" and "spiritual remnants" amount to a view akin to Frankfurt school's "dialectic of enlightenment", another – to neoliberals politically opposed – product of the interwar experience. As I showed, the break between *laissez-faire* liberalism and neoliberalism entails a critique of rationalism. Many neoliberals saw this as politico-theological problem, that is, a problem in the history of ideas, where modern rationalism, in its attempts to replace theology, "overestimates its own powers" and therefore itself becomes something like a "dogmatic theology", leading to materialist socialism. As Rüstow formulates this:

> [Just as] general rationalism arose as a reaction against dogmatism, so did materialism arise as a reaction against theologico-metaphysical 'idealism'. The result was a heretical, negative form of metaphysics that with fanatical intolerance and mocking grimaces placed naked matter on the throne of the absolute [previously] erected by theology; materialism thus resembles a trivialized black mass.[52]

The "metaphysical vestige" attacked by Rüstow is *the very belief that deterministic and automatic laws of nature/economy exist*. For the neoliberals, this amounts to essentialism,[53] which must be replaced with new *constructiv-*

52 Alexander Rüstow, *Freedom and Domination: A Historical Critique of Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 386. While Rüstow understands *laissez-faire* liberalism as a whole through this lens of "theological error", including, as we saw, Adam Smith, Robbins and Hayek make very sharp distinctions between physiocrats and Smith in an attempt to project their theories on Smith. How much of invented history this is, is a question for another paper.

53 In Hayek's view, "individualism is a necessary result of philosophical nominalism, while the collectivist theories have their roots in the 'realist' or (as K. R. Popper now more appropriately calls it) 'essentialist' tradition [but] 'nominalist' approach is characteristic only of true individualism, while the false individua-

ist politics – thus the "neo". This is what Rüstow means by the previous "sociological blindness" of liberalism. As Foucault puts it, *neo*liberalism is "not an economic government, it is a government of society."[54] Market is dependent on frameworks: "Not only the good society, but the market itself is an artifact."[55] Being rationalist, *laissez-faire* liberalism was deeply *naïve* in its blind faith in the natural laws of the economy that automatically lead to social harmony (or, in the "inverted" socialist version, to collapse). Without this "theological" error, liberalism can become attentive to the *social preconditions* of the "functioning market society" – preconditions like statecraft, jurisprudence, science, culture, mentality or religion.

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54 Michel Foucault, op cit., 146.

55 Lionel Robbins, op. cit., 57.

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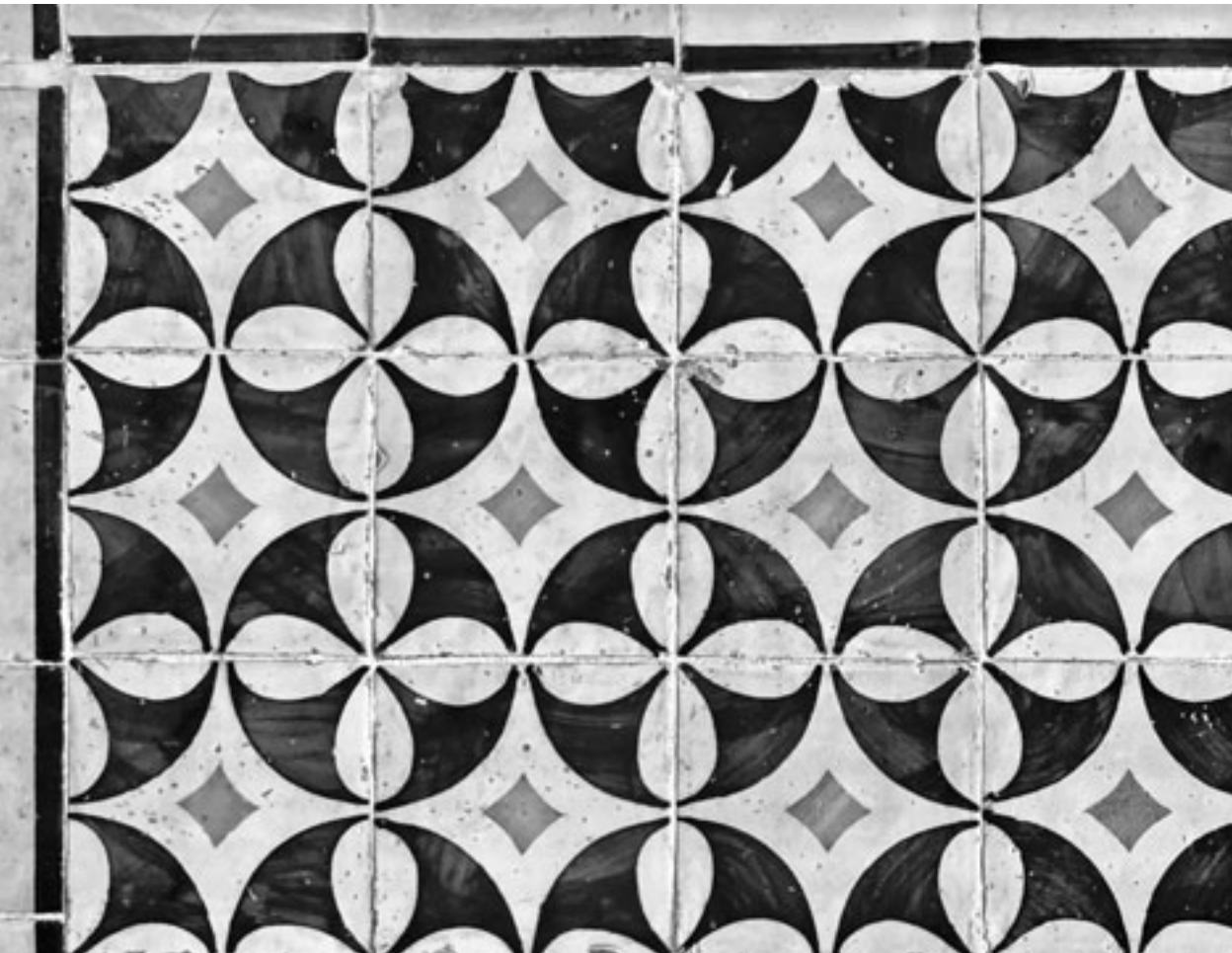

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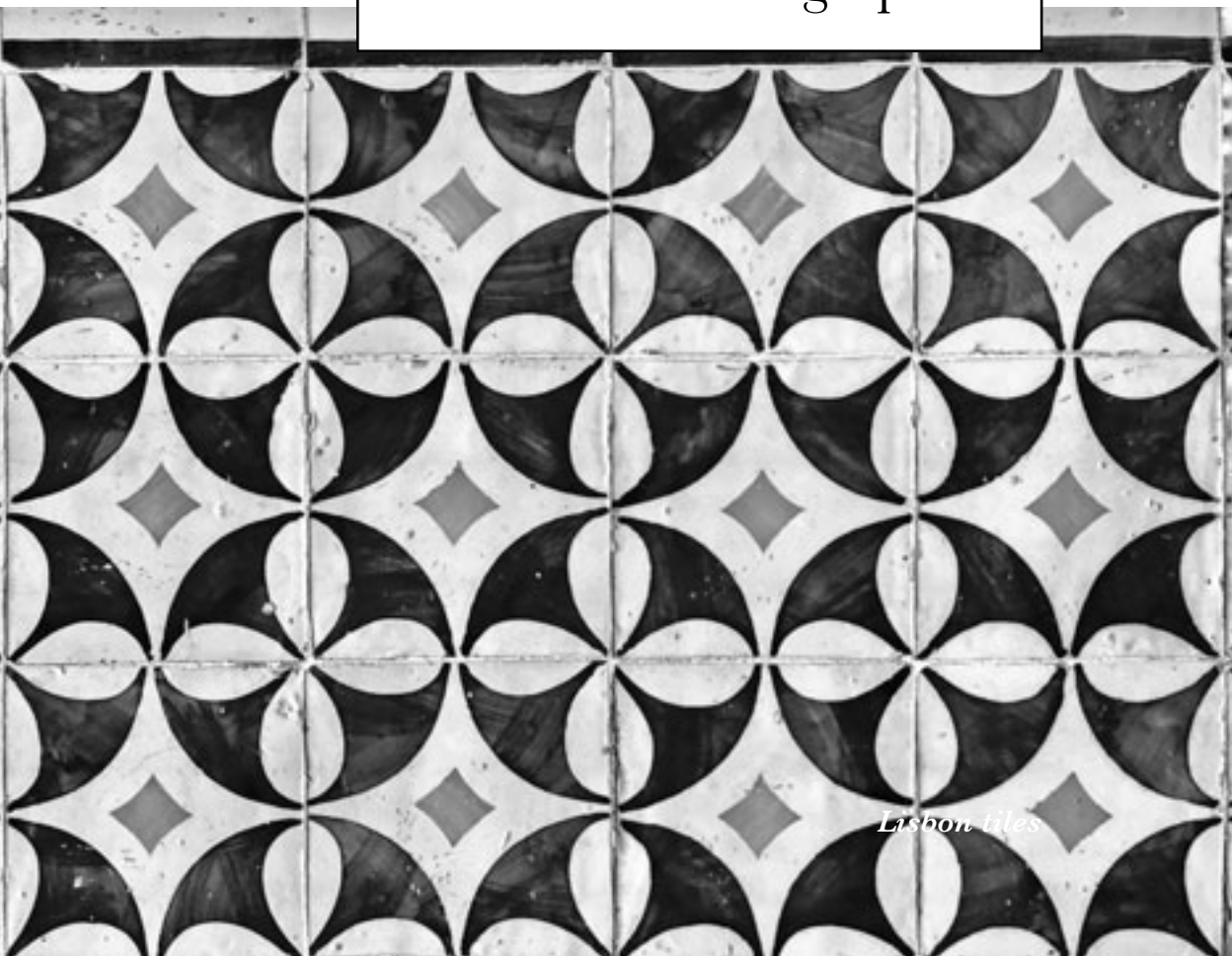

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