

TEACHING MODERN SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN HISTORY
Alternative Educational Materials

The Balkan Wars

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WORKBOOK 3
The Balkan Wars

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Introduction

The Balkan wars of 1912-1913 are an event of significant importance in the 20th century history of Southeast Europe. Their long-term consequences have influenced the political, socio-economic and cultural development of the region for decades and some of their effects are still the subjects of scientific and even public discussions. Historiographies of the states involved in these wars have offered conflicting interpretations; varying not only between countries but also within them. In countries like Bulgaria and Turkey the trauma of the defeat triggered a quest for 'responsibilities' while the identification of the 'causes' of the war had political targets. In Serbia and in Greece, who were the 'victors' of the war, the Balkan wars were, for different reasons, integrated into a longer scope which included WWI in the first case and the Asia Minor war in the latter.

The roots of the Balkan wars date back to the consequences of the Russian-Ottoman war of 1877-1878, that marked the end of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878, one of the most severe crises in the history of the so-called Eastern Question. That question consisted of three main elements: the diplomatic struggles between the Great Powers for influence in the Ottoman territories, the gradual decline of the Empire of the sultan and the national liberation movements of the Balkan peoples in striving for the establishment of their nation-states. The crisis of 1875-1878 was solved by the Great Powers at the Congress of Berlin. It proclaimed the independence of Montenegro, Romania and Serbia, who all gained new territories, as did Greece, and created the Principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. Reforms and autonomy had to be implemented in the other European lands of the Sublime Porte: Albania, Macedonia, Epirus, etc. Cyprus was ceded to British administration while Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina and Novi Pazar.

Nevertheless, the treaty of Berlin created a number of conflicts and tensions among the Balkan nations, because it did not follow the modern principle of nationality when it created the new borders. In many places it was not possible to follow it because different nationalities had lived there for centuries side by side. None of the Balkan nations achieved its national unification inside one state, and that unification became the main goal in their foreign policies. That urge resulted in a set of crises: the union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria and the subsequent Serbo-Bulgarian war in 1885, the Greco-Turkish war of 1897, the uprising in Macedonia in 1903, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary and the proclamation of Bulgarian independence in 1908, the Albanian uprising of 1910-1912 and some more minor tensions.

However the main tendency in the history of the Balkan countries was of peaceful development and modernisation. Efforts were put into the establishment of modern liberal constitutional institutions and political systems, the creation of a well-spread communication networks with an emphasis laid upon railway and road construction, the building of industry and of active interior and foreign trade connections. In all respects the Balkan countries envisaged their integration into the European world. That created a spirit of competitiveness and progress. The development of national culture was one of the main fields for modernisation and competition in which the state acted as the key constructor of national identity. While all the Balkan nations created their nation-states, it was high time for the nation-states to consolidate the nations. The means used were public education, national holidays and celebrations, military service, national churches. The spirit of nationalism dominated in every event and process.

At the same time, all of the Balkan states tried to consolidate their existence, creating perspectives for further territorial gains at the expense of their neighbours and most of all of the Ottoman Empire. The motivation for this varied from ethnographical, geopolitical and economic realities to historical and cultural rights. The most efficient instruments of this policy of state nationalism were the “millet” schools and communal structures in the European Ottoman provinces and the clash between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Exarchate. They were supported by all kinds of civil and irredentist initiatives.

During the first decade of the 20th century the situation in Europe gave an impetus to this development. The establishment of the two antagonistic military blocks, the Entente and the Central Powers, deeply influenced inter-Balkan relations. Arms races and militarism became characteristic features of Southeast European societies as well. The war budgets of Southeast European governments amounted to one third of state expenditure. Armies doubled their size and new armaments were bought from Europe. Everything was ready for war. Under constant pressure from the Entente and most of all from Russia, the idea for the creation of a Balkan union that could solve the common problems of the Balkan states through cooperation became very popular. The Italian-Ottoman war of 1911-1912, which resulted in the Italian conquest of Libya and the Dodecanese, and the permanent instability in the European Ottoman territories urged the Balkan politicians on, even more.

The Ottoman Empire's disintegration was hastened after the Young Turk revolution of 1908. The Turkish nationalism of the Committee of Union and Progress increased Christian enmity while alienating the one people traditionally loyal to the regime, the Albanians. The Albanian rebellion in 1911 presaged radical changes in the balance of power in the Balkans. The Great Powers, particularly Italy and Austria-Hungary, were concerned with Albania's fate while the neighbouring Balkan states had territorial aspirations in the same region. The Albanian leaders, before the nightmare of partition among their neighbours –a likely perspective after Ottoman defeats in the Italian-Ottoman war– decided upon a full-scale insurrection in order to establish their autonomous position. By mid-July 1912 the Albanian rebels were victorious over the Turkish troops and on July 30, demanded that the Ottoman parliament be dissolved within forty-eight hours.

In February 1912 a pact of alliance was signed between Serbia and Bulgaria and in May 1912 a similar pact was signed between Greece and Bulgaria. In August 1912 a verbal agreement was reached between Bulgaria and Montenegro. The attempts to include Romania in the Balkan League were futile. The union was constructed under the close control of the Entente and the plans were to use it in the forthcoming World War, but the interests of the Balkan Allies made things different. They took the initiative to exercise pressure on the Ottoman government for reforms and autonomy in Albania and Macedonia. When the Porte rejected these initiatives, the war started at the beginning of October 1912, despite the efforts of the Great Powers to postpone it.

Up to the beginning of November, when the first phase of the war ended, the Balkan Allies had been victorious. The Bulgarian army moved close to Istanbul and Salonica, the Greek army entered the second city and controlled Epirus and part of Macedonia, the Serbian and Montenegrin armies took Kosovo, Novi Pazar, Northern Albania and part of Macedonia. The Greek navy paralysed Ottoman communications in the Aegean Sea, while the Bulgarian navy did the same in the Black sea. A truce was signed in late November, but Greece did not join it and continued the war, taking the Eastern Aegean islands of Limnos, Lesbos, Chios and Samos and advancing in South Albania.

The peace negotiations started at the beginning of December 1912 in London, where the ambassadors of the Great Powers held their conference, elaborating the conditions of the peace. The Balkan Allies tried to receive all European Ottoman possessions to the west of the Midia-Rodosto line and the Aegean islands, Crete included. The Porte suggested giving autonomy to Macedonia and Albania, but to lose no territories. The agreement, proposed by the Great Powers, was similar

to that proposed by the Allies. That generated a coup d'état in Istanbul and the new government broke the negotiations and renewed hostile actions in mid-January 1913.

The second phase of the war lasted for nearly three months. The Ottoman counterattacks in Eastern Thrace were driven back by the Bulgarian army; the Montenegrin army took the fortress of Shkodra, the Greek army took the fortress of Ioannina and the Bulgarian army took Adrianople.

The peace negotiations in London were renewed and on May 17th, 1913 the peace was signed. The Allies received all Ottoman lands in Europe to the west of the Midia-Enos line and also Crete. They had to distribute the acquisitions between themselves and that crucial problem led to the disintegration of the Balkan league. Meanwhile Romania claimed compensation in South Dobrudja. At first Bulgaria rejected the claim, but later in April 1913 agreed to cede the town of Silistra at the conference of Saint Petersburg. The real distribution of the spoils of war was still ahead.

All the Balkan statesmen, armed with all possible kinds of arguments, claimed more and more territories. The "apple of discord" was Macedonia where the delimitation of frontiers proved to be an almost insoluble problem. While the partition was easier between Serbia and Greece, Bulgaria's aspirations were horizontal and cut across the Greek and Serbian occupation zones. In the Balkan states, the opposition parties were extremely radical, pleading for a new war, this time against the former allies. The irredentist organisations threatened their own ministers with death if they were to agree to concessions. Despite this, the governments tried to reach demarcation agreements among the armies and in many respects were successful. The growing tension was manifest in minor clashes and incidents between the Allies.

On May 19th, 1913 Greece and Serbia signed a pact of alliance and broad territorial arrangement. The Russian attempt to hold another conference of the Balkan prime-ministers in Saint Petersburg to solve the territorial dispute was late and ineffective. On June 16th, 1913 king Ferdinand ordered general Savov to attack the Serbian and Greek lines in Macedonia. The Second Balkan (Interallied) war started. Greece, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Bulgaria and were backed by Romania. The Ottoman Empire also drove its armies against Bulgaria. After more than a month of fierce battles, the Great Powers intervened again and stopped the military actions. The treaties of Bucharest and of Istanbul set the new territorial arrangement in Southeast Europe. Romania took South Dobrudja. Serbia acquired Kosovo, Novi Pazar and Vardar Macedonia. Greece received Epirus and Aegean Macedonia. Montenegro annexed a number of neighbouring territories. Bulgaria took Pirin Macedonia and Western Thrace. The Ottoman Empire reacquired Eastern Thrace. Albania was proclaimed an independent country.

The Balkan wars created a new situation on the peninsula. None of the countries was fully content with the new borders, although this discontent was stronger in the Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria and Albania. Greece demanded the Aegean islands, Serbia aspired to an outlet to the sea and Bosnia and Herzegovina; Montenegro wanted Shkodra, and Romania was interested in Transylvania and Bessarabia. Those aspirations shaped the policies of the Balkan states at the outbreak of World War I that started in the Balkans and was considered by many contemporaries and historians as the next Balkan war, but this time involving the Great Powers as well.

At the same time the Balkan wars created hatred, suspicion and fear among the Balkan people. National narratives obliterated personal memories and common feelings and shaped in neighbouring nations the image of the enemy. The psychological trauma of the wars, which had existed for many years in each of the belligerent countries, merged with the new trauma, caused by World War I, and was extremely strong in the Ottoman Empire and in Bulgaria. It was borne for decades by the families of the refugees and influenced the collective memory of every Balkan nation. On that ground the wars strengthened national feelings and national identity, increasing the notion of national solidarity and a common fate.

The aim of this Workbook is to break away from the traditional way of presenting the Balkan wars in schools and universities as a predominantly political event, where the main figures are kings, ministers and generals. Of course, they played important roles, but the military actions were carried by the lower ranks; people who in normal life were civilians, and the wars influenced the everyday life of the whole society. The common idea of a war as something consisting only of battlefields, victories and defeats has little to do with reality, where ordinary people in the rear suffered the hardships of war under the fear of losing their most beloved. In those hard times there were acts of cruelty and atrocities, but also acts of humanism and solidarity. Even in the trenches and during ceasefire, human relations developed across the lines under the common suffering.

Our idea is to show, side by side, the different aspects of the wars and how they were perceived by different groups of people throughout Southeast Europe. The comparative approach will enable us to understand the multiperspectivity of the historical processes, considering not only the different positions of states and nations, but also to follow the different trends in a single society, that is thought to be by definition “homogeneous”. By comparing the different contemporary and modern perspectives we shall avoid the illusion of a “monolithic” history where the relativity of the “truth” is seen as an obstacle for understanding the past.

This Workbook is to be read in comparison and in parallel with all the other three Workbooks. First, it is a complement to Workbook 1, which describes the beginning of the Ottoman Empire’s disintegration. Second, it overlaps with Workbook 2, which follows the process of nation building in Southeast Europe. The Balkan wars were an important episode in the consolidation of Balkan nation-states and in the culmination of antagonistic nationalisms. Finally, Workbook 4, covering World War II, may be used as a point of cross-reference, in order to better understand the war phenomenon and the war experience in the 20th century.

Chronology

Year	Month	Event
1911	Summer	Activation of the Albanian national movement
	mid-July	Assault by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO) in Shtip, Macedonia. The Ottoman reprisals give an impetus to the initial talks between Bulgaria and Serbia
	September, 16 th	Italy declares war on the Ottoman Empire for the acquisition of Libya
1912	May, 16 th	Secret Bulgarian-Greek treaty of defensive alliance
	May, 21 st -27 th	Italy takes over the Dodecanese islands
	July, 19 th	Assault by the IMRO in Kozani, Macedonia. The Ottoman reprisals outrage the Balkan Christian states
	July, 30 th	Albanian rebels demand that the Ottoman parliament be dissolved within forty-eight hours and present their specific demands for autonomy (the four vilayets of Scutari, Kosovo, Janina, and Monastir to be united into one province; Albanian soldiers to serve only in that province; Albanian to be the language of administration and education; all Albanians to have the right to bear arms)
	August, 15 th (circa)	Oral agreement between Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro: Bulgaria gives a military loan to Montenegro and pays for the Montenegrin army during wartime. Montenegro agrees to attack the Porte without provocation
	September, 15 th	Secret instruction No 5669 is issued by the Serbian government to its embassies to act for the incorporation of Ohrid and Prilep to Serbia
	September, 17 th	Ultimatum of the Balkan League (Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Serbia) to the Porte: immediate autonomy to Macedonia according to the Berlin treaty. State of emergency and general mobilisation declared in Turkey and in the Balkan countries (September, 18 th)
	September, 18 th	Formation of 70 small bands of IMRO activists in Sofia for reconnaissance and sabotage actions in Macedonia and Thrace
	September, 22 nd	A secret military pact between Bulgaria and Greece
	September, 23 rd	Formation of the Macedonian-Adrianople VAD (Voluntary Aid Detachments) of refugees of general Petar Darvingov—circa 14,600 participants
	September, 26 th	The Montenegrin army attacks the Porte
	October, 2 nd	The Peace Treaty between Italy and the Ottoman Empire is signed in Ouchy
	October, 3 rd	The Porte rejects the ultimatum and breaks diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia but tries to improve relations with Greece

1912	October, 4 th	The Ottoman Empire declares war on the Allies. The next day, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia (October, 7 th) declare war on the Porte. Beginning of military activity. Romania declares neutrality
	October, 7 th -15 th	The Bulgarian troops take the Eastern Rhodopes and stop the Ottoman counteroffensive (October, 15 th -25 th)
	October, 8 th -13 th	1 st and 3 rd Bulgarian armies break the first Ottoman defence line at Eskipolos-Petra, take Lozengrad and the 2 nd Bulgarian army surrounds Adrianople. On October, 13 th the Serbian army takes Skopje, Kumanovo, Veles and Shtip in Macedonia
	October, 9 th -10 th	The Greek army wins the battle at Sarantaporo
	October, 15 th	Implementation of the Serbian administrative system in the new territories in Macedonia and Kosovo
	October, 16 th	First aeroplane bombing in military history- of Adrianople fortress by Bulgarian airforce
	October, 17 th -20 th	1 st and 3 rd Bulgarian armies break the second Ottoman defence line at Ljule Burgas-Bunarhissar
	October, 19 th -20 th	The Greek army wins the battle of Yannitza
	October, 27 th	A new government is formed in Romania headed by Titu Maiorescu
	October, 28 th	The Greek army enters Thessaloniki (surrendered on October, 27 th) in the morning and the Bulgarian Rila divisions enter in the afternoon. Beginning of the Thessaloniki dispute
	October, 29 th	The Porte asks for an armistice in Sofia, but the Bulgarian government, forced by king Ferdinand I, neglects the proposal and hides it from the Allies
	November, 1 st	Beginning of the Christianisation of the Pomaks in the Rhodopes. Official Bulgarian church mission is sent in December
	November, 4 th -5 th	1 st and 3 rd Bulgarian armies unsuccessfully attack the third Ottoman defence line at Chataldja
	November, 4 th -9 th	Declarations of the Central Committee of IMRO against the Serbian and Greek activity in Macedonia
	November, 9 th	Implementation of the Bulgarian administration in the new territories
	November, 14 th	The Macedonian-Adrianople VAD defeats the Ottoman forces in Western Thrace
	November, 18 th	The Macedonian-Romanian society presses the government for action
	November, 20 th	Armistice between the Allies and the Porte. Greece rejects the armistice and continues military action in North Epirus

1912	November, 20 th -21 st	First conflict between the Bulgarian and Greek troops near Thessaloniki, settled by the end of the month
	November, 28 th	A national congress assembled in Valona proclaims the independence of Albania
	December, 3 rd	Greek-Ottoman naval battle at Elly island
	December, 3 rd -24 th	London peace conference. The Allies demand all European Ottoman provinces to the west of the line Midio-Rodosto and Crete. The Porte proposes to grant autonomy to Macedonia and refuses to cede territories. On Christmas day the Porte breaks away from the negotiations, the Great Powers exercise pressure (note from 1913, January 4 th) and the proposals of the Allies are accepted. The London Conference of Ambassadors announces that Albania should become an independent state (December 20 th).
	December, 8 th -17 th	Bulgarian secret mission in Constantinople for separate peace with the Ottoman Empire
1913	January, 5 th	Greek-Ottoman naval battle at Limnos
	January, 16 th	Bulgarian-Romanian protocol in London for rectifying the positions of the countries in Dobrudja. Under Russian pressure, Sofia is ready to rectify the border
	January, 21 st	The Porte denounces the armistice and starts hostile actions with the cry "Sofia or death!"
	January, 26 th -28 th	The Ottoman counterattacks in Gallipoli and at Chataldja and the landing at Sharkjoi are thrown back by the Bulgarian troops
	January, 30 th -February 2 nd	Futile Bulgarian-Romanian negotiations in Sofia on Dobrudja
	February, 5 th	The secret treaty between Romania and Austria-Hungary is renewed
	February, 21 st	The Greek army captures Ioannina. Bulgarian-Greek incidents at Nigrita
	March, 5 th	Assassination of king George I of Greece in Thessaloniki
	March, 11 th -13 th 2 nd	Bulgarian army captures Adrianople
	March, 18 th -April, 26 th	Saint Petersburg conference of the Great Powers on the Dobrudja dispute. Bulgaria cedes Silistra to Romania and guarantees the privileges of the Vlachs in Macedonia, but the tension remains
	April, 10 th	The Montenegrin army takes the fortress of Shkodra
	April, 13 th	Armistice between the Porte and the Balkan union
	April, 22 nd	Greek-Serbian protocol signed, followed by a military pact (May, 1 st of 1913)
	May, 19 th -21 st	Meetings of the Bulgarian-Greek delimitation commission in Thessaloniki come to agreement. By the end of the month the delimitation is finished with some exceptions

1913	May, 17 th	London Peace Treaty
	May, 19 th	Greek-Serbian Treaty in Thessaloniki
	May, 30 th	Serbia breaks the railway connections with Bulgaria
	June, 1 st	Bulgarian prime minister, Iv. Ev. Geshov resigns and is replaced by Stojan Danev. Prime minister N. Pashich resigns in Belgrade. Both acts put pressure on Russia in connection with the arbitration settlement
	June, 5 th -13 th	Bulgarian-Serbian military clashes around Zletovo
	June, 15 th	The Tikvesh uprising of IMRO at the rear of the Serbian army with the consent of the Bulgarian general command
	June, 16 th	By oral command of king Ferdinand I, the Bulgarian troops attack the Serbian army to help the insurgents. Other Bulgarian troops take the port Leftera and shell the Greek cruisers there. Beginning of the Second Balkan War
	June, 18 th	The Bulgarian government cancels all military action and changes the supreme commanding general, appointing the pro-Russian general Radko Dimitriev. The Russian government proposes a conference
	June, 19 th -21 st	Bulgarian-Greek battle of Kukush/Kilkis
	June 21 st - July 11 th	Greek offensive in Eastern Macedonia reaches Simitli (July, 13 th), where it is stopped by the Bulgarian army. By July 15 th the Greek army takes Western Thrace
	June, 22 nd -28 th	The Bulgarian army takes Pirot in Serbia
	June, 28 th	Romania declares war on Bulgaria and by July, 5 th occupies Northern Bulgaria without resistance. On July 11 th Austria-Hungary stops the Romanian advance
	June, 30 th	The Porte begins its advance in Eastern Thrace and takes Adrianople (July, 10 th)
	July, 3 rd	The Romanian army occupies Varna in Bulgaria, on July the 6 th . A Romanian cavalry detachment arrives at Sofia
	July, 4 th	A new pro-Austrian Bulgarian government is formed headed by Vassil Radolavov
	July, 13 th	Muslim uprising in Western Thrace against the withdrawing Bulgarian troops – “the Gjurmurdjina/Komotini republic”
	July, 15 th -17 th	Bulgarian counteroffensive against the Greek army around Kresna
	July, 29 th	The Conference of Ambassadors decides that Albania should become “an independent, sovereign principality”. The powers select prince William of Wied, a 35-year-old German army captain, to be the ruler of Albania. On September 3 rd , 1914, prince William flees the country

1913	July, 17 th - August, 16 th	Bucharest peace conference; armistice on July, 18 th
	July, 25 th -August 15 th	Evacuation of the Romanian army from Bulgaria
	September, 16 th	Constantinople peace treaty between Bulgaria and the Porte. The latter takes back Eastern Thrace with rectifications of the border in favour of Bulgaria and the former takes Western Thrace
	November, 1 st	Peace treaty between Greece and the Porte signed in Athens
	December, 19 th	Protocol of Florence. The frontier commission appointed by the London Conference of Ambassadors delimits Albania's southern frontier and assigns Koritsa (Korcë) and Argyrokastron (Gjinokastër), occupied by Greece, to Albania
1914	February, 13 th	Greece obtains all eastern Aegean islands apart from Imvros, Tenedos and Kastellorizo and withdraws troops from the territory assigned to Albania
	February, 28 th	The Greeks of southern Albania (called northern Epirus by them) declare their independence under the leadership of G.Ch. Zographos, former foreign minister of Greece
	July, 28 th	Assassination of crown prince Franz-Ferdinand at Sarajevo, Bosnia. Vienna delivers an ultimatum to Belgrade—beginning of the July crisis
	August, 1 st	Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia—outbreak of World War I. All other Balkan countries declare neutrality

CHAPTER I: Economies and Societies

Although the wars of the beginning of the 20th century (Balkan wars and WWI) have mainly been interpreted in the light of ascending nationalisms in Europe, they cannot be understood if we rely exclusively on policies and ideologies. A deep comprehension of economic and social changes, both at a global and a local level, is necessary in order to problematise our perspective on a war that reshaped the map of Southeast Europe.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, all Balkan states, despite their differences regarding social structures, economic features and political systems, were examples of a rapid socio-economic development. The increase of population and the growth of towns, the impressive public constructions, the implementation of industrial development, active trade relations and the expansion of schooling were the most important trends in the modernisation process. That trend went side by side with the building of armies and navies and a real arms race in the decade before the Balkan wars.

The other side of economic growth was, however, the rise of government loans and the indebtedness of all Balkan countries, which permitted foreign control over national economies as a means to avoid bankruptcy or as a consequence of it (in the case of Greece in 1893). Both the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states were subjected to intensive Western economic penetration in the 'age of imperialism and capitalism' –in L.S. Stavrianos's words– characterised by a 'race for empire' and the quest for foreign markets by the industrialised West.

Government loans were closely related to railway building, which responded to and satisfied Western economic and political interests in Southeast Europe. British interests favoured railway constructions from the coastal ports into the Balkan interior, which would facilitate the penetration of the peninsula by British commerce. Austria was, however, interested in constructing a north-south line through Bosnia and Serbia to Salonica. After the Crimean war, railway building started in the Balkans, illustrating the dominant Western model of economic development but also echoing the conflicting economic and political interests of the Great Powers.

Besides, the rise of a market economy and the consequent shift from the traditional economy to a money-based economy as well as overpopulation, had unhappy consequences for Balkan peasants who suffered from land hunger and were forced into emigration. Industrial development was rather slow and all Balkan countries remained overwhelmingly agrarian.

However, urbanisation, the advent of new technologies and new transport, and the expansion of elementary schooling, considerably influenced the lives of people not only in towns but also in the countryside. Changes in ideas, in everyday life and in ways of living were undermining traditional society together with the establishment of the modern bureaucratic state.

This chapter offers an overview of the pre-war Balkan societies in comparison with parallel changes in Western, Central and Southern Europe. The first subchapter focuses on demographic and social changes and continuities: people living in traditional multiethnic cities such as Salonica –a typical polyglot Ottoman port city, people migrating to America chasing the dream of a better life, peasants cultivating their land or breeding their sheep. In the second subchapter, economic evolutions are documented through different aspects such as state budgets, trade relations, agriculture, industry and railway building. Finally, in the third subchapter, we trace the cultural and technological changes that considerably influenced people's lives: schooling and literacy, cinema and telegraphs, bicycles and novel pastimes are only some of the issues explored that may help us to better understand the decade before the Balkan wars.

Ia. The People

TABLE 1
Growth of Balkan Population, 1878-1912

	Romania	Bulgaria	Serbia	Greece
Census date	(in thousands)			
1878-79	4,486			1,679
1880		2,823		
1884			1,902	
1887		3,154		
1889-90	5,038		2,162	2,187 ¹
1892		3,311		
1894	5,406			
1895-96			2,312	2,434
1899-1900	5,957	3,744	2,494	
1905		4,036	2,689	
1907				2,632
1910		4,338	2,912	
1912	7,235			

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.166.

? Calculate percentage growth rates per country. Compare your findings and try to explain the differences between the countries. What factors influenced the population growth of the Balkan countries?

► v1. Monastir / Bitolj



National Historical Museum, Athens, K2 1581.

? Of what religions do you think that people living in this city are?

¹ Greece annexed the provinces of Thessaly and Arta in 1881, which explains the increased population growth. In general, we should consider changes in the boundaries of states in that period in order to better assess demographic changes.

TABLE 2
Population of Towns^a and Capital Cities in Balkan Nation-States, 1860-1910

	Romania		Bulgaria		Serbia		Greece	
	Total Pop. (thousands)	Urban %	Total Pop.	Urban %	Total Pop.	Urban %	Total Pop.	Urban %
1860-61	3,918	12						
1874					1,354	11		
1877-79	4,486				1,700		1,654	18
1884	4,862		3,024	18	1,902	12		
1889-90	5,318	17	3,232	19	2,162	13	2,187	
1895-96	5,710		3,441		2,312	14	2,434	
1899-1900	5,957	19	3,716	19	1,493	14		
1907	6,684						2,632	24
1910	6,996	18	4,306	19	2,912	14		
	Urban Pop.	Bucharest	Urban Pop.	Sofia	Urban Pop.	Belgrade	Urban Pop.	Athens
1860-61	313	122						41
1874					174	27		
1877-79		177	543	20			293	63
1884					236	35		
1889-90		220	610	45	286	54	465	108
1895-96					319	59	526	
1899-1900	1,120	276	700	67	351	70		111
1907							628	167
1910	1,195	341	829	103	483	90		

Note: (a) Minimum of 2,000 people.

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.240.

? Comment on the increase of the urban populations in comparison with the growth of the Balkan population as a whole. Why did the populations of capital cities tend to increase more rapidly than the others?

Compare this data with contemporary data: what percentage of the population is urban?

► v2. Women in Kastoria, early 20th century

? How are the three women dressed? What can you conclude from the coexistence of traditional and westernised clothes?



Papazoglou², p.51.

² The photographer Leonidas Papazoglou (1872-1918) lived and worked in Kastoria. As a young man, together with his parents and his younger brother Pantelis, he moved to Istanbul where the two brothers learned the art of photography. They started their career as photographers in Kastoria in 1898 or 1899 and managed to monopolise the photographic activity of the whole region.

TABLE 3
Population estimates of the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire for 1911

Provinces	Muslim	Greek	Bulgarian	Armenian	Catholic	Jew	Other	Total
Edirne (Adrianople)	795.706	395.872	171.055	33.650	12.783	9.034	44.552	1.426.632
Selanik (Salonica)	604.780	397.795	271.359	87		62.290	11.604	1.347.915
Yanya (Janina)	244.638	311.032				3.990	1.175	560.835
Manastir (Bitola)	455.720	349.541	246.344	9		10.651	2.614	1.064.789
Işkodra (Shkoder)	218.089	10.755			120.611			349.455
Kosovo	959.175	92.541	531.453		14.887	3.287	1.606	1.602.949
Total	3.242.108	1.557.536	1.220.211	33.746	148.281	89.162	61.531	6.352.575

Source: Cem Behar, p.54.



The ethno-linguistic categories devised by the Ottoman officials conformed closely to the denominational divisions that had emerged after the disintegration of the classical *millet* system. All of the Muslims were counted as one homogeneous group despite the ethnic and linguistic differences among them. Orthodox Christians tended to be seen either as Greeks, because they supported the Ecumenical Patriarchate, or as Bulgarians, adhering to the Exarchate. This explains why, for example, there are no Albanians or Serbs in the table (who would have been counted according to their religion or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, rather than nationality). In addition to this, some groups, such as women, were undercounted. The last Ottoman census was undertaken in 1905/6. The question of the reliability of the Ottoman censuses has been debated extensively. In general, we should be very cautious when using statistical data from this period even when this data has not been deliberately distorted for political purposes (as in the case of table 13).

► v3. Everyday life in the streets of the market area, Salonica



Look carefully at the clothes of the men walking in the street: how are they dressed? Of what nationality do you think that they are? Do you know which nationalities coexisted in Ottoman Salonica just before the Balkan Wars? Does this market scene remind you of similar places that you have visited?

Megas, *Souvenir*, p.50, ill.49.

► v4. Sheep market in Istanbul



Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, Athens

TABLE 4
Ethnic distribution of Istanbul population, 1897

Ethnic Group	Number
Turks	597,000
Albanians	10,000
Kurds	5,000
Greeks	236,000
Armenians	162,000
Jews	47,000
Serbians	1,000
Christian Arabs	1,000
Total	1,059,000

Source: Karpat, p.104.

► v5. Shepherds in Epirus, 1912



Boissonas, *L'image de la Grèce...*, Genève 1913 in Hadjiiossif, vol. A1, p.57.

TABLE 5
Balkan Nation-States Overseas Migration, 1876-1915

	To areas outside EUROPE ^a	ROMANIA Gross	BULGARIA Gross	SERBIA Gross	GREECE Gross		
	1876-85	1,224			530		
	1886-90	5,224			1,881		
	1891-95	2,211			4,790		
	1896-1900	10,541	160		11,189		
	1901-05	37,225	6,661	42	51,479		
	1906-10	20,707	37,643	228	122,275		
	1911-15	15,295	35,836	1,117	127,811		
	ROMANIA		BULGARIA		SERBIA ^b	GREECE	
To the U.S.A. only	Gross	Net ^c	Gross	Net ^c	Gross	Gross	Net ^c
1876-85	1,224				530		
1886-90	5,135				1,881		
1891-95	2,209				4,790		
1896-1900	10,541		160		11,189		
1901-05	35,181		6,662	42	49,962		
1906-10	17,823	14,239	32,643	21,889	228	117,557	84,355
1911-15	11,187	9,057	21,487	1,575	1,052	118,916	46,577

Note: (a) Includes Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil and the US;
(b) Serbia and Montenegro combined; (c) Extrapolated on basis of 1908-1910 data.

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.196.

❓ What kinds of migration do you know about? How would you characterise overseas migration? I.e. for economic, cultural, ethnic, religious reasons, or involuntary / forced migration (e.g. refugees from a war, or borders being changed) or something else?
How does population growth and urbanisation influence emigration?
What economic factors influence emigration?

I-1. A Greek emigrant to the U.S., Steve Hadzis³, relating his experience

Two brothers of mine came initially to the U.S. and started working in Chicago. We were six brothers. The two brothers that came to Chicago did not send remittances as they were supposed to in order to pay the debts of our family in Greece. Then our father fell ill and wrote to his children in Chicago to come to Greece and see him for the last time. Of them only one of the brothers, Pericles, who was the most free-spender, borrowed money and came to Greece. When my brother came to Greece my father got out of his illness. After one week the father wanted to buy a sack of flour for the family. He asked my brother from America. "Pericles, do you have any money I can borrow to buy some flour?" My brother despite the fact that he came from the States did not have any money. Then our father had to go out in the village and borrow some money from an uncle of ours to buy flour. But in a small village word leaked soon out that Hadzis' son from America did not have any money. Pericles when heard the whisperings of the villagers lost face and told my father. "You come with me to America so we can make money and show these fools what they are worth." This is how the rest of us decided to emigrate. [...]

America sounded to me like a colorful kaleidoscopic picture before I left Greece and abundant in money. I have never thought that I would be here. We only knew that there was abundance of everything.

Vlachos, p. 122.



At around 1890, emigration from Greece became a mass phenomenon, with most emigrants heading for the USA. Although the exodus never reached the levels of some other European countries, it is estimated that about 500,000 Greeks emigrated to the United States during the last decades of the 19th century up until 1924. The factors that drove Greeks to migrate were similar to those which led other European populations to the USA during the same period: the possibility of finding a job and ameliorating one's economic position during the full force of American industrialisation; the socio-economic conditions in the homeland: because of market force intrusion into the traditional system of small holdings, Peloponnesian agriculture, especially in the regions which produced raisins, after a period of prosperity, fell into a severe crisis, with many farmers unable to pay taxes due to high rates of interest and higher labour and production costs. This, combined with the fact that Greece did not create an industrial sector and with the will –due mostly to rumours about wealth in America- and the possibility - due to better transport- to migrate were amongst the main reasons that led so many Greeks to leave their villages for a far away foreign country. Most were males who began with manual work in factories, mills, mines and railroads. However, a significant portion of the early immigrants catered to the needs of a swelling urban population by becoming proprietors of their own business.

³ Steve Hadzis was a Greek emigrant from the Peloponnese region who went to the USA at the beginning of the 20th century. Hadzis was one of the few Greeks who, after a few years in the US, settled in Anderson, Indiana attracted by the possibility of opening a small store that could serve the increasing working population of the city.

? Try to see extracts from the film “America, America” by E. Kazan; discuss the “American dream” and the ways in which it spread across the countryside of various Balkan states; its role in motivating migration and in helping migrants to overcome their fears. Try to find information about the life of emigrants from your country to the USA at the beginning of the 20th century and compare their expectations to their experiences during the first years of their settlement there.

Read documents III-19, III-20, V-10 and V-11 and compare the experience of people who were forced to emigrate with the emigration experience described in the document above.

? Overall questions on chapter Ia

Do some research on your own town in the early 20th century: was it an Ottoman city or a city of a nation-state? Do you know of any novels describing urban life in that period?

Compare multi-ethnic cities (like Salonica or Istanbul) with capitals or other urban centres of nation-states: are there differences in architecture, everyday life, pastimes, or anything else?

Combining different documents from other chapters, along with the tables above, try to categorise population movements in South-east Europe before and during the Balkan wars.

Ib. Economy

TABLE 6
Balkan State Budgets, 1898-1912⁴

	Romania	Bulgaria	Serbia	Greece
	Rev. Exp. R-E	Rev. Exp. R-E	Rev. Exp. R-E	Rev. Exp. R-E
1900	210 237 -27	81 96 -15	75 84 -9	120 109 +11
1905	308 263 +45	128 125 +3	95 87 +8	130 116 +14
1910	583 525 +58	81 198 -17	126 128 -2	175 141 +34
1911	644 533 +111	199 181 +18	140 125 +15	240 181 +59

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.234.

? Compare the figures for the four countries. What are your remarks?

TABLE 7
Structure of state expenses per capita in 1911⁵

Expenses	Total	Public Debt	Military	Infrastructure	Public Education	Agriculture and Industry
Romania	75	13	12	13	7	1
Serbia	43	12	10	5	3	1
Bulgaria	42	9	9	10	5	2
Greece	67	28	11		2	
Austria-Hungary	62	10			2	
Germany	55	5	16			
France	114	32	25		8	
Great Britain	126		19		11	1

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.234.

⁴ In millions of lei, leva, dinars, and drachmae.

⁵ In franc equivalents.

? Please compare and comment on the differences in the expenses between the different countries.

How do the tendencies in the Balkan states' expenses correspond to those of the Great Powers? Why are the military expenses so high?

I-2. Farming in Ottoman Macedonia, 1900s

From the legal point of view, farmers consist of:

1. Landowners
2. Çiftçis (sharecroppers)
3. Labourers and domestic servants

The first group, who are masters of the çiftçis, are the Muslim beys; the second are the Christian villagers.

There are also Christian landowners, but they have only small holdings, not exceeding 200 dönüms (of about 1,200 square metres each); beyond that limit, landownership is mainly in the hands of the beys. Small holdings are predominant in mountainous regions, large holdings in the plains. Large Christian landowners are a rare exception, represented by Greeks who own vast estates in the cazas of Serres, Drama, and Salonica.

[...] Sharecropping is one of the main causes of the awful misery of the Christian rural population, for it gives rise to permanent arbitrariness and abuses by the bey, against whom there is no recourse. In theory, sharecropping works thus: the bey, who owns the land, hands it out in plots according to the number of families in the çiftlik—a family tills 60-100 dönüms, depending on the number of its members. The bey also advances the seed and provides free lodging. The produce, after deduction of the tithe, is divided in equal parts between the owner and the cropper. Such a sharing can provide the land-owner with a profit varying between 18 and 25 percent of his capital. But, more often than not, the landlord is not satisfied with such a share and—as absolute master of the fate of his Christian sharecropper, whose labour he exploits according to his pleasure—he manages to seize from him, by threats and violence, the better part of what is due to the latter.

[...] Christian landowners are, in the main, Bulgarians. As we said earlier, their holdings seldom exceed 200 dönüms. They till the land

themselves and could have enjoyed a certain well-being if taxes were more equitably assessed and more honestly levied and also if insecurity were not a constant threat to the lives and property of Christians.

Draganof, *La Macédoine et les Réformes* (Paris 1906), pp.43-53 in Issawi, pp.225-7.

? What was the situation of Christian peasants in Ottoman Macedonia?

► v6. The spinning mill of the Saias brothers in Salonica



Megas, *Souvenir*, p.86, ill.92.

Key The spinning mill of the Saias brothers was set up in 1873. It employed about 470 workers, of which 350 were young Jewish girls between fourteen and eighteen years old. In 1902, the factory suffered damage in an earthquake which struck the city. It was completely destroyed in the fire of 1917.

? Why did so many young girls work in the factory? Do you know what the working conditions were like? How would you feel working in a spinning mill instead of going to school?

TABLE 8a
Balkan Exports, 1901-1911

	Average Exports	% to Austria-Hungary	% to Germany	% to France	% to U.K.	% to Belgium	% to Ottoman Empire
Romania	(mil. lei)						
1901-05	361	13	7	3	9	29	
1906-10	501	10	6	7	10	30	
1911	692	9	5	7	8	28	
Bulgaria	(mil.leva)						
1901-05	120	10	9	6		16	19
1906-10	119	8	12	6	12	18	27
1911	185	6	12	6	13	28	16
Serbia	(mil. dinars)						
1901-05	66	86	5	1			6
1906-10	84	28	25	1			10
1911	117	41	25	1			8
Greece	(mil. drachmae)						
1901-05	87	14	8	10	27		6
1906-10	120	10	10	8	26		11
1911	141	10	11	10	24		4

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.174.

TABLE 8b
Balkan Imports, 1901-1911

	Average Imports	% from Austria-Hungary	% from Germany	% from France	% from U.K.	% from Ottoman Empire
Romania	(mil. lei)					
1901-05	299	27	28	6	17	
1906-10	409	25	34	5	15	
1911	570	24	32	6	15	
Bulgaria	(mil.leva)					
1901-05	95	27	15	6	17	14
1906-10	140	27	17	6	16	14
1911	199	24	20	13	15	8
Serbia	(mil. dinars)					
1901-05	53	58	13		9	
1906-10	70	33	33		12	
1911	115	41	27		8	
Greece	(mil. drachmae)					
1901-05	140	14	9	8	21	10
1906-10	149	12	9	7	22	9
1911	174	17	9	8	4	5

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.181.

? What are the trends in the foreign trade of the Balkan countries? Please comment on the differences⁶.

Why did Romania and Serbia have such restricted trade relations with the Ottoman Empire, compared to Bulgaria?

How did foreign trade influence economic growth?

⁶ Also consider the possibility that Greece may have already had a shipping surplus.

► v7. Means of transport at the beginning of the 20th century in Albania



Gjurme te Historise Kombetare ne Fototeken e Shkodres, p.60.

TABLE 9
Balkan Railway Lines⁷ in Service, 1870-1912

	ROMANIA	BULGARIA	SERBIA	GREECE
1870	248	221	0	12
1880	921	224	0	12
1885	1,356	224	253	222
1890	2,424	803	540	697
1895	2,534	861	540	916
1900	3,100	1,566	571	1,033
1905	3,179	1,567	707	1,351
1910	3,437	1,897	892	1,573
1912	3,532	2,109	976	1,584

Source: Jackson-Lampe, p.211.

? Were the railways thought to be a means of, or a proof of economic growth and why? Could they be constructed for reasons unrelated to economic considerations?

I-3. Analysis of the Bulgarian railways system, made by the chief-of-staff of the Bulgarian army, general Fichev⁸

The Operation Projects in 1911 and 1912

The recent research has shown that our railways will not be able to suit the military requirements in case of war. So, our operation projects could hardly be implemented concerning the necessary transport during the mobilisation and concentration of the army in the field.

Due to the very short period of existence of the Bulgarian kingdom, the railway system had not been able to reach its full development, thus becoming a reliable means for national defence.

The two trunk railway lines which went along through North and South Bulgaria and the trans-Balkan line - Gorna Oryahovitsa, Turnovo,

Stara Zagora, became the most important for army transport in time of mobilisation.

Technically speaking, our railway lines, which had been exclusively built for trade needs, had many drawbacks: steep gradients, small radii, very few and narrow railway stations, no loading platforms for military trains, unsatisfactory water supply at most of the railway stations, few turn-round circles.

Fichev, Избрани произведения [Selected Works].

? What military problems arose from the situation of the Bulgarian railway system as described in this source? In what way are the railways connected with the possibilities for a successful war? How could the inadequacy of the railway system be compensated for?

⁷ In kilometres.

⁸ General Ivan Fichev (1860-1931) was chief-of-staff of the Bulgarian army in 1910; he worked out a new plan for war against Turkey. He opposed the beginning of the Second Balkan War. He was a member of the Bulgarian delegation for negotiating the peace treaty in Bucharest in July 1913.

TABLE 10
Telegraphs in 1910

Country	Telegraph Offices	Telegraph Net	
		Length of Lines in Km	Length of Wires in Km
Serbia	208	4.350	8.289
Bulgaria	350	5.935	12.760
Romania	3.127	7.321	20.641
Russia	8.423	199.502	705.752
Sweden	2.849	9.317	32.220
Denmark	559	3.644	12.842
Netherlands	1.393	7.526	36.884
Belgium	1.634	7.880	41.858
Great Britain and Ireland	13.959	98.625	931.532
France	20.303	182.794	690.636
Spain	1.902	42.935	92.109
Italy	7.664	49.443	203.711
Switzerland	2.361	3.614	26.021
Germany	45.116	274.593	2.050.332
Austria	6.970	46.952	235.493
Hungary	4.592	23.068	144.124
Bosnia and Herzegovina	173	3.231	7.374

Source: Sundhausen, p.523.

? Do you know of any other technological devices that changed communications and life in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century? When did the first telephone appear in your country? What do you think were the reactions of people to these innovations?

► v8. Villa Allatini in Thessaloniki, 1913



Megas, *Souvenir*, p.107, ill.120.



Villa Allatini was built as a private residence in 1895 by Charles Allatini on the designs of the Italian architect Vitaliano Poselli. In 1909 the mansion was bought by the 3rd Corps of the Ottoman army and in 1912 it was taken over by the Greek army. Abdul-Hamid II was forced to live in Villa Allatini after the failure of the counter-revolution and his dethronement in April 1909; he was transferred back to Istanbul in October 1912 when the Greek troops were approaching. The Jewish family of Allatini was one of the richest in Salonica and owned two of the largest industries of the city (the Allatini brickworks and the Allatini flour mill, established in 1880 and 1882 respectively).



Who can you see on the picture? How are they dressed? Was the bicycle commonly used in SE Europe at that time? What were its usages –for recreation or for transport? Do you know what the reactions to women riding bicycles were?



Overall questions on chapter 1b

Write a chronology of technological changes in your country in the late 19th and early 20th century: electricity, automobile, gas, telephone etc.

Find information on the means of transport in your country in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Ic. Culture

► v9. History lesson at a girls' secondary school, Athens 1911



*Statistiki tis Dimosias
ekpaideuseos...,
Athens 1912 in Koulouri,
Istoria, p.12.*



How are the students dressed? Do you know if there were separate schools for girls and boys in your country? Does your classroom look like the one on the picture? What is hanging on the walls?

I-4. A Jewish boy⁹ describing his school experience in Salonica, 1904

Le Petit Lycée Français opened its doors early in the year 1904. It was modestly housed on the lower floor of a small dwelling in the Campania, on the eastern edge of the city.

The score of children who made up the two initial classes represented a fair cross-section of the heterogeneous population of Salonica. The lower group, in which I was placed, was made up of three French boys, one Greek, four Spanish Jews, a Serb, a Mamin¹⁰, an Armenian, a Turk, and a Montenegrin boy who had come from Cetinje expressly to join us.

While we all spoke French with fluency, we had come from communal schools or private tutors, and none of us had had more than causal contact with any children but those of his own nationality. And here, for the first time, sitting side by side on the new benches, facing the blackboard on its tripod, we listened to M. Thierry, the ruddy-faced, blue-eyed, and blond-mustached director, outline for us the course of our studies. [...]

His genuine interest in the customs of the country loosened the tongues of the most shy and retiring among us. Soon Mehmed, the Turkish boy, was volunteering explanations of the rites of Kurban Bairam, the holiday following Ramadan; Yovanovich, a relative of King Nicholas of Montenegro, spoke freely of his people and his mountains; and we found with Papopoulos that the Greeks had many cus-

toms in common with the Serbs, when Ivan, the son of the consul, told us of his home celebration of Easter. As we talked freely together and played together, as we made warm friendships, visited one another's homes, and shared our confidences, we came to know more intimately of those things about one another's ways which, viewed from the outside, might have appeared strange and meaningless.

Sciaky, pp.152-153, 154.



In Salonica in 1908 there were 48 Jewish schools, 32 Turkish schools, 20 Greek Orthodox schools, 7 French schools and different Italian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Romanian institutions. The French speaking schools were the ones of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the *Mission Laïque*, the *Lycée* and the Brothers and Sisters of St Vincent de Paul. The majority of the city's Jewish children received their education from institutions outside the control of their religious authorities.



What was Salonica's ethnic composition in the early 20th century? Were pupils influenced by their school experience and how?

What is the ethnic composition of your class? Do you have friends from different nationalities?

⁹Leon Sciaky, the author of this excerpt, was born in Salonica in 1893. His family were descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, from Italy in 1493, and from Portugal in 1497. The Jews of Salonica spoke a fifteenth-century Spanish dialect known as Ladino. In 1915, Leon emigrated to New York. His family followed him shortly after (his father Salomon, his mother Paloma, his sisters Elda and Laure and his brother Maurice.) They fully intended to return, when the political turmoil in Turkey ended but they never did. Leon studied mechanical engineering at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. In 1922 he married Frances Hillmann from Latvia. He died in Mexico City in 1958. He first published his memoirs of his childhood in Salonica in 1946.

¹⁰ Followers of Sabbetai Zevi who converted to Islam.

TABLE 11
Illiteracy in the beginning of the 20th century (percentage of illiterates)

Country**	Total	Men	Women	Children ^a
France (1901)	17,4	14,8	19,8	16,9
Austria (1900)	23,8	22,1	25,5	31,3 ^b
Hungary (1900)	40,7	34,4	49,6	36,2
Greece (1907)	60,8	41,8	79,8	55,0
Bulgaria (1900)	72,1	57,9	86,9	68,4
European Part of Russia (1897)	73,0	62,5	83,1	77,5
Romania (1899)	78,0		70,6	
Serbia (1900)	79,7	67,3	92,9	78,3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	87,8	82,9	93,4	87,3 ^c

**Year of empirical study

Source: Mayer, p.102.

^a: Of a school-going age—usually 5-14 years old

^b: 6-10 years old

^c: 7-20 years old

❓ Why do you think there is such a difference between men and women with regard to literacy?

TABLE 12
Primary schools and pupils in Europe (late 19th – early 20th centuries)

Country*	Schools	Pupils per 1000 inhabitants	Pupils per 1000 inhabitants (5-15 years old)
Serbia (1904)	1,267	46	175
Greece (1902)	3,263	81	376
Bulgaria (1898)	4,686	96	436
Romania (1903)	4,207	75	351
Russia (1903)	84,500	44	187
Belgium (1905)	7,144	121	608
France (1903)	85,437	155	899
Portugal (1890)	5,339	47	238
Spain (1901)	33,763	105	525
Italy (1901)	61,777	84	393
Austria (1903)	21,292	146	670
Hungary (1905)	18,976	133	598
Bosnia and Herzegovina (1899)	293	18	76

*Year of empirical study

Source: Sundhaussen, p.555.

❓ Compare tables 11 and 12: can you detect a connection between schooling and literacy? Compare data from Western, Southern and Southeastern countries: does schooling correspond to this categorisation?

► v10. Jewish women dancing, Salonica



Megas, *Souvenir*, p.27, ill.11.

🔑 In Salonica there were many groups of professional singers who performed at weddings, circumcisions and other social gatherings. Jewish musicians were known as 'tchal-ghidjis'. On the eve of the Balkan wars, there were around 60,000 Jews living in Salonica, out of a total population of 150,000 inhabitants.

► v11. Women weavers, Avdela 1907 –The first Balkan film



Chr.K.Christodoulou, p.39.

🔑 The brothers Yiannis (1878-1954) and Miltiadis (1883-1964) Manakia, of Vlach origin, were born in Avdela (Grevena region) and lived in Monastir until 1905. They filmed lots of events, people, ceremonies and customs in the declining Ottoman Empire and are considered as the fathers of cinema art in the Balkans. In 1921/2 they opened the first permanent cinema hall in Monastir. Their film "Women weavers" (1907) is considered to be the first film shot in the Balkans.

❓ Compare visuals 2, 10 and 11. Try to compose two questions referring to all three pictures.

❓ Overall questions on chapter 1c

Find information about the education system in your country in the 1900s: primary and secondary schools, curricula, school attendance, textbooks etc.
Find a textbook from the early 20th century and compare it with your own textbook. Identify the differences and the similarities.

CHAPTER II: Policies

Wars have mostly been the results of the policies of a certain state or a group of states with common interests. The Balkan wars were no exception to this rule. After the treaty of Berlin in July 1878, the main problem for nations in Southeast Europe was that of national unification, or the “national question” as it was known at that time. The idea of living in a homogeneous mono-national state, that had to encompass all of the territories thought to belong to one’s nation for historical or demographic reasons, was dominant in the collective imagination. That is why the border settlements determined by the treaties were perceived as unsatisfactory and temporary. A vast part of the peninsula remained under the rule of the sultan and was considered by the neighbouring countries as a field for territorial gains. Rival policies were triggered by the Great Powers’ policies in the region, which tried to strengthen their influence in the peninsula in case of a diplomatic or military clash.

The so-called ‘Eastern question’ had been at the top of diplomatic agendas, since early 19th century, given the fear of a European war and the determination to preserve the status quo. The effort to reconcile the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire with the European balance of power generated innumerable plans for a potential solution. The two alternatives of the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire, or else its partitioning among the Great Powers, were challenged by the policies of the new Balkan states who envisioned national integration through territorial expansion. After the Berlin Congress, the Great Powers were forced to integrate the future of the Balkan states into their policy by partitioning their ‘spheres of influence’.

The policies of the Balkan governments, leading to a war, were challenged only by individuals and small political groups in all Balkan societies. The Social-Democrats were the only well organised political group that opposed the war policy. They created the idea of a Balkan federation that was supposed to be the general solution to all the political and social problems of Southeast European countries. However, the influence of these groups was insignificant and did not create a real alternative to the dominant policy.

Since the 19th century, Ottomanism had tried to promise the peaceful coexistence of all different nationalities within a modernised Ottoman Empire. However, the autocratic regime of Abdul Hamid, who dismissed the first Ottoman parliament in 1877, provoked opposition and conspiracies from both his Christian and Muslim subjects. After thirty years of autocracy, the Young Turk revolution brought both elections and Turkish nationalism; thus, rather than reconciling the non-Muslim subjects to Ottoman rule, it contributed instead to the Empire’s disintegration. Balkan irredentisms met with the Turkish nationalism of the Committee of Union and Progress. The more lasting consequence of the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan wars was, in fact, the abandonment of Ottomanism in favour of an aggressive nationalism.

Mobilising ideologies are not only to be found in rival nationalisms but also in ideological changes detected all over Europe at the turn of the 19th century. The cult of youth, the search for a ‘new man’, the new ideal of militant masculinity, social Darwinism and finally the positive image of war were among those ideological trends that prepared European societies for a war that was foreseen and expected.

The sources in this chapter do not try to document in detail the many aspects of the internal policy of the Balkan states and of their foreign policies in the context of the Eastern question. Neither do they aspire to record the different ideological trends that had developed in the region at the turn of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. However, they help us to understand the complexity of political and ideological factors that drove Balkan peoples to a war amongst themselves.

Ila. Mobilising Ideologies

Map 1: National aspirations of the Balkan countries



Carnegie, p.38.

► v12. Romania's sole - Romanian cartoon, 1913

Furnica, IX, no. 20, 17 January 1913, p.1.



Translation:

-Oh my, master Carol; why do you try so hard, in vain, to patch that, if you won't fix the sole as well?
-What sole?
-The sole of the country, don't you see what plight it is in?!



TABLE 13
Rival statistics about Macedonia

BULGARIAN STATISTICS (Mr. Kantchev, 1900)	
Turks	499.204
Bulgarians	1.181.336
Greeks	228.702
Albanians	128.711
Wallachians	80.767
Jews	67.840
Gypsies	54.557
Serbians	700
Miscellaneous	16.407
TOTAL	2.258.224

SERBIAN STATISTICS (Mr. Gopcevic, 1889)	
Turks	231.400
Bulgarians	57.600
Greeks	201.140
Albanians	165.620
Wallachians	69.665
Jews	64.645
Gypsies	28.730
Serbians	2.048.320
Miscellaneous	3.500
TOTAL	2.870.620

GREEK STATISTICS (Mr. Delyani, 1904) (Kosovo vilayet omitted)	
Turks	634.017
Bulgarians	332.162
Greeks	652.795
Albanians	-
Wallachians	25.101
Jews	53.147
Gypsies	8.911
Serbians	-
Miscellaneous	18.685
TOTAL	1.724.818

*Carnegie*¹¹, pp.28, 30.



There was no Ottoman administrative area called 'Macedonia' and therefore the rival statistics are based on different definitions of what geographical regions made up 'Macedonia'. In general, Macedonia was thought to consist of the vilayets of Salonica, Janina, and Monastir.



Try to explain why according to the Bulgarian statistics the Bulgarians make up the majority of the population, Greeks form the majority according to the Greek statistics and Serbs comprise the greatest part of the population according to the Serbian statistics.

Use map 1 and identify the territories where the interests of the Balkan countries overlap.

Compare this table with table 3 omitting the provinces of Edirne and Shkodra.

¹¹ *Carnegie's Committee*: sent by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace to investigate the atrocities committed during the Balkan Wars. The Foundation was established by Andrew Carnegie, an American industrialist and philanthropist. Members of the Balkan Commission of Inquiry: Dr. Joseph Redlich, Professor of Public Law at the University of Vienna (Austria), Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator (France), Justin Godart, lawyer and member of the Chamber of Deputies (France), Dr. Walther Schücking, Professor of Law at the University of Marburg (Germany), Francis W. Hirst, Esq., editor of *The Economist* (Great Britain), Dr. H.N. Brailsford, journalist (Great Britain), Professor Paul Milioukov, member of the Duma (Russia), Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, Professor in Teachers' College, Columbia University (US).

II-1. The expectations of a Serbian soldier

The Serbian soldier, like the Greek, was firmly persuaded that in Macedonia he would find compatriots, men who could speak his language and address him with *jivio* or *zito*. He found men speaking a language different from his, who cried *hourrah!* He misunderstood or did not understand at all. The theory he had learned from youth of the existence of a Serbian Macedonia and Greek Macedonia naturally suffered; but his patriotic conviction that Macedonia must become Greek or Serbian, if not so already, remained unaffected. Doubtless Macedonia had been what he wanted it to become in those times of Ducas the Strong or the Byzantine Emperors. It was only agitators and propagandist Bulgarians who instilled into the population the idea of being Bulgarians. The agitators must be driven out of the country, and it would again become what it had always been, Serbian or Greek. Accordingly they acted on this basis.

Who were these agitators who had made people forget the Greek and Serbian languages? First, they were the priests; then the schoolmasters; lastly the revolutionary elements who, under the ancient régime, had formed an "organisation"; heads of bands and their members, peasants who had supplied them with money or food, - in a word the whole of the male population, in so far as it was educated and informed.

Carnegie, pp.50-51.

? How were the soldiers trained? Try to understand why they were trained in this manner.

In what way is this text related to the statistics presented in the tables above?

Can you find any evidence in this Workbook –or elsewhere- that would challenge the interpretation of the above text?

II-2. The ideology of sacrifice, by a Romanian soldier

For a man, in the prime of life, to unhesitatingly go to the battlefield, knowing very well that he might die there, for him to give up the most powerful instinct, the one of self-preservation, serenely walking towards the mouth of a gun, that man has to fulfil some moral conditions, to be convinced that through his sacrifice he will free his own people from oppression, or that, although he or his own will not lose or win, the bloodshed will serve his country and fellow men. This moral feature requires a certain material state, a certain degree of culture, certain citizen rights, and such an army will either be unbeatable or its defeat will be at a terrible price.

Popescu, pp.5-6.

? What male ideal is represented in this document? Do you think that recruits were going 'unhesitatingly' to the battlefield?

II-3. Turks and Ottomanism

Preface

I wrote this little novel five years ago. My purpose was not to create a literary work. I only wanted to contrast the strange ideas of our enlightened people with social realities. I came to know many of our great men after the Constitution. Almost all their ideas could be summarised as follows: "Being Ottoman is a common nationality. Being Ottoman is not only being Turkish or Muslim. Every individual who lives under Ottoman jurisdiction belongs to the Ottoman Nation (*Osmanli milleti*) regardless of ethnicity or denomination! (*bila tefrik-i cins-u mezheb*)". However, this idea was no more than an illusion, in those minds that were products of the non-national Tanzimat system of education. There was no possibility of forming

a common nation out of the totality of those individuals who had a different language, religion, morals, history, culture and who prided themselves on different things. Was “Ottoman” something else other than the name of our state? One could not call those Germans who lived in Austria ‘the Austrian Nation or the ‘Habsburg Nation’. A German was a German regardless of where he came from. Likewise, we who speak Turkish were a nation, the possessor of a history thousands of years old, and of a mythology even older. We were genuine Turks wherever we were living whether in the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Turkistan, Buhara, Kashgar wherever... On the other hand, our Intelligentsia had such absurd political views and so ridiculous a social goal in attributing mystical meanings to the term Ottoman that tears would come to one’s eyes!

Ömer Seyfeddin, *Ashab-Kehfimiz*.



Ömer Seyfeddin (1884-1920) -short story writer, propagandist, proponent of spoken (or popular) Turkish and fervent modernist nationalist. He created a consolidated demonology. In most of the novels the recurring themes are nationalism and minorities. Some of his novels are about Balkan wars and Bulgarian atrocities. His novel “Our Seven Sleepers” was written in the form of a diary of a fictitious Armenian former revolutionary named Hayikyan. In his preface in 1918, shortly before his death, Seyfeddin claims that he wrote the novel in 1913. However, according to Halil Berktaş, it was actually written in 1918, as an indirect apology or defence against the prosecution in the war crimes trial that had then started in occupied Istanbul.



What was the ideology of Ottomanism? Why does Seyfeddin believe that this idea was an ‘illusion’?

II-4. The feelings of Christian peasants towards Young Turks in Ottoman Macedonia

For the integrity of the Ottoman Empire the peasant, living in the mud hut of his remote hamlet, cared not a whit. All he knew of the empire was within the confines of his valley. He had been told it would be different now that *hurriet*¹² had been proclaimed. And he had hoped that it would mean an end to the extortions of the tax collector, to the arrogance of the *bey*, to the brutality of the soldiery. He had hoped that he could now till his field without fear. Perhaps he could enjoy a greater share of the food he and his family toiled so hard to produce. That is how he understood *hurriet*. His oxen, the few belongings in his hut, his fields and his church—that was the extent of the empire he wanted to preserve.

But it was not to be. They had come all of a sudden and told him his son must go to the army, to the army with the Turks. Then one day Anatolian soldiers had surrounded the hamlet. They had entered the houses, opened chests, and ripped the straw mattresses. They were looking for rifles, they said. And they had beaten him cruelly and insulted his wife when he told them he had none.

“*Giaour*,”¹³ they had said, “give us your rifle because we kill you.” A good thing he had a little money to buy them off.

And now the priest of his church in the village on the other side of the mountain had been arrested. They had manacled him and taken him to the *Konak*¹⁴. No one knew what crime he was accused of.

No, you could not trust the Turks. Old Turks, Young Turks, *hurriet* or no, they were the same! They wanted the Christians bowed down, on their knees.

By 1911 the Young Turks’ party and its new regime had become a veritable nightmare. In vain did it attempt to recapture the good will and the confidence of the people that it had

¹² Liberty.

¹³ Deprecatory term hurled at Christians. It means ‘infidel’.

¹⁴ Large building, palace. In Salonica, the government administration building.

had at the outset, by bringing the new sultan¹⁵ to Salonica and parading him in Albania.

Sciaky, p.248.

► v13. Comitadjis in Kastoria region, early 20th century



Papazoglou, p.106.

On the right, voyvoda (chief) Marko Ivanov from Kailar (today Foufa in Kastoria region) born in 1877 and died in Sofia in 1933. In the middle, voyvoda Manol Rozov from Bobista (today Verga in Kastoria region), born in 1878 and killed on 3rd September 1903. This photo was probably shot just before the Ilinden resurrection.

II-5. The idea of a Balkan Alliance by Ivan Vazov, Bulgarian poet

Eight years ago, when fraternal meetings of Serbian and Bulgarian academic youth and cultural workers became frequent, our editor addressed many renowned Bulgarian politicians, authors and public figures asking them to give him their concise opinion about the Balkan Alliance, which at that time was only a dream of patriots on both sides. Here is what the greatest living Bulgarian poet, Ivan Vazov, responding to our request, said about the Balkan Alliance:

"The Balkan Alliance is a word which I wish from all my heart to get body and blood and turn into reality as soon as possible.

And why hasn't it become a reality yet? There are many reasons for that: mistakes from our histories (both Serbian and Bulgarian), our past, ancient and recent, lack of mature political thought among those who direct the fate of our two nations, weakness for mutual conflicts and rivalry, typical only of the Slavs. As one can see, there are many obstacles for carrying out this idea.

We should arm ourselves with courage for mutual concessions; we should have the courage to forget all selfish national concerns and to think only of one thing: that both the Bulgarian and the Serbian people will be free, mighty and great only in a fraternal march forward in firm political alliance."

Balkanski rat u slici i reci, No 6, 24 February (9 March) 1913.

Try to explain the reasons why, according to Vazov, it was very hard for the Balkan peoples to unite.

Do you think it would have been possible for neighbouring countries "to forget all selfish national concerns" at the beginning of the 20th c.? Is it possible nowadays?

¹⁵ Mehmet V Resat (1911-1918), 35th sultan and son of Abdul Metzit. He succeeded his elder brother Abdul Hamid (1909). He ceded complete power to the CUP and the politicians. He died before the end of WWI.

II-6. Balkan union according to the Serbian Social Democratic Party

A. From the speech of the leader of the Serbian Social Democratic Party, Dimitrije Tucovic, at the anti-war protest rally in 1912

As for the views on national freedom we, social democrats differ from the bourgeoisie. For, the bourgeoisie wants freedom for its people at the cost of depriving other peoples of their freedom. If Macedonia were annexed to Bulgaria, then for every liberated Bulgarian there would be one or more imprisoned Serbs, Greeks, Romanians, Turks, etc. If Old Serbia were annexed to Serbia, then for every free Serb there would be two oppressed Albanians, Turks, etc. We want

freedom of our people while not destroying the freedom of the others.

This goal can be reached only by creating
one political unity

in the Balkans in which all peoples—Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks, Romanians, Montenegrins and Gypsies—would be fully equal, regardless of which ruler ruled in which region several centuries ago.

B. From the speech of the Serbian Social Democratic Party deputy (D. Lapcević) in the National Assembly, 7th (20th) October 1912

We are, gentlemen, opponents of the status quo, we do not support the perpetuation of the feudal and caste Turkish empire in the same way as we are against the perpetuation of empires and kingdoms of others; we are for the elimination of the status quo on the entire Balkan Peninsula, for a democratic revolution, which would be a guarantee, not only for our liberation and for putting up resistance against European capitalist countries, but, if you will, the only way to achieve our national unification and for the national unification of all Balkan

peoples.(...)

Partitioning of the Balkans into individual small countries will *precisely create new sources of friction among the Balkan nations and statelets*. After that, the Serbs will go to liberate the Serbs under the Bulgarian rule, and Bulgarians will go to liberate the Bulgarians under the Serbian rule. *And then that would cause endless friction, weak Balkan peoples will perish and the Balkans will gradually, like a ripe pear, fall into the hands of the greedy European capitalists, who have imperialistic appetites and colonial thirst.(...)*

We are, gentlemen

against the war between the Balkan peoples
not only because it would be

bloody and terrible

for us, Balkan peoples, because it would

degrade and ruin us

but because by its consequences it would have terrible effects unless the European powers have an agreement between them for the division of the Balkans immediately and directly.

Lapcević, *Rat i srpska socijalna demokratija*, pp.61-66.

II-7. Report by the Central Committee of Bulgarian Labour Social Democratic Party (left-wing) to the ISB¹⁶

Sofia, 13.11.1912

The union of the Balkan countries, which has been, until recently, considered a utopia by the bourgeois leaders, today is *a fait accompli*. In fact, we are quite far away from that economic, political and cultural union, which is the aim of the Balkan Social-Democrats. But the agreement, reached by the Balkan governments, discourages the opponents of the idea for a Balkan union. If this agreement still lasts after these courtiers have completely defeated their mutual enemy, this will be a decisive step towards a closer and stronger union of the

¹⁶ *International Socialist Bureau* – a section of *Second International*—international union of the socialist parties, established in 1889 in Paris. After WWI it was dissolved.

Balkan people, towards the Balkan Federation.

We are striving for Turkey's entrance into the Balkan union too, because there cannot be a real and final union of the Balkan people without the Turkish as an independent nation, as they are about 4-5 million people living in the Balkans. However, the bourgeoisie and the ruling dynasties, in whose hands is the power in the Balkans nowadays, preferred a Christian union of the Balkan countries against Turkey.

D. Blagoev¹⁷, *Bulletin*, No 9.

❓ What is the alternative to the division and annexation of Macedonia according to the socialist parties of Bulgaria and Serbia?

Compare the two documents II-6 and II-7. Do you find any differences? If yes, try to explain them. Comment on the idea of a Balkan Federation. Was it achievable at that time?

II-8. Report by the "Socialist Federation of Saloniki" sent to the ISB, 1913

And we support, based on the reality of the facts, that if the nations that live in these territories were left free to show their inclinations and express their wishes, they would have never fought one another: all nations would fight against the authoritarian regime, united and in accordance with the Turkish population. The fight between them was impossible because each nation could not accommodate its own interests by imposing itself on another nation but on the contrary, by having tight unity and mutual cooperation. The Balkan nationalities are so mixed inside the same territories that for the interest of each one, only a regime of total national equality would be desirable. [...]

The unattainable distribution

Thus, every solution to the question of Macedonia and Thrace that would aim to distribute these provinces between the old or the new Balkan Allies, meaning Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro, or even between the last three allies, instead of bringing appeasement, instead of easing the destiny of the populations that suffered so much, would rather open a new period of hurt for them. And the country, more than now, would be transformed into a field of anarchy and rivalry. The Balkans, if the old provinces of European Turkey were to be distributed, would constitute a continuous danger for the European peace.

Elefantis, pp. 44, 48.



The Socialist Federation of Saloniki was founded in 1909 and functioned until 1918 when, together with other socialist organisations, it founded the Labour Socialist Party of Greece. Its members were mostly Jewish but it also included some Bulgarians and a small number of Greeks and Muslims. While Bulgarian socialists followed the German model and Karl Kautsky (asserting the principle of national independence), the Federation –just like the Serbian socialists- followed the Austrian model of Karl Renner and Otto Bauer who dissociated the notions of nationality and national territory. The Federation was against the partition of the Ottoman territories in Europe and in favour of the abolition of Ottoman absolutism and the advent of socialism. This is the reason why, in contrast to the other Balkan socialists (the Bulgarians e.g.), it supported the Young Turk revolution, expecting from the CUP the political and social modernisation of the Ottoman Empire. After the first Balkan War and before the treaty of Bucharest, the Federation revised its positions, this time supporting the idea of an autonomous Macedonia (and Thrace). This new position is echoed in the report sent to the ISB under the title "The solution to the Balkan question" and signed anonymously by "A Balkan".

¹⁷ Dimitar Blagoev (1856-1924), was the founder of the Bulgarian socialist movement in 1891 and leader of the BLSDP (left-wing). The BLSDP split into two parts in 1903. In 1919 it was named The Bulgarian Communist Party.

? Using texts II-6, II-7 and II-8 describe the two solutions suggested by Balkan socialists about the future of the Balkans in general and Macedonia in particular. Make two lists and put into them the respective arguments.

? **General question**
Compare Ottomanism, the idea of an autonomous Macedonia and the idea of a Balkan Federation: can you identify common elements and differences?

TABLE 14
Human resources during the Balkan Wars 1912-1913

Country	Population (in thousands)	Men (in thousands)	Levy in mass (in thousands)	Maximum strength of the armed forces (in thousands)
1.Bulgaria	4,430	2,253	800	67
2.Serbia	2,910	1,500	530	175
3.Greece	2,630	1,350	480	90
4.Montenegro	247	127	60	30
Total	10,217	5,230	1,870	902
5.Turkey	23,000	12,000	4,200	40

G. Georgiev, *Human resources of the countries which took part in the Balkan War 1912-1913*.

? Compare the numbers and make a conclusion about the military potential of the war-engaged countries.

II-9. The newspaper of the ruling party in Bulgaria, about the Serbian-Bulgarian conflict over Macedonia, 1913

The alpha and the omega of this glorious epic are connected with the destiny of Macedonia; and if Bulgaria had not preliminarily assumed an obligation to Serbia that the territories in Macedonia would be divided according to the contract, it would *never, never and under no circumstances* have waged a war against Serbia. If it had been a question of tearing and giving away Bulgarian territories, Bulgaria could have long ago found other allies, with

whose help Serbia could have also been divided. We believed Serbia's word of honour, which had been given by its official representatives, with tears in their eyes. Bulgaria had signed a treaty with Serbia, which, when published, will show that it cares more about Serbia's welfare than the liberation of the Christians under the Turkish yoke.

Mir, 3887, 17 May 1913, in KishkiloVA, *Балканските войни*.

🔑 "Mir" was the organ of the People's Party, ruling during the Balkan War; Russophile.

- v14. Albania defending Scutari and Janina from the monkey Montenegro, the tiger Greece, and the snake Serbia



newspaper *Dielli* (The Sun), 13 February 1913, p. 3.

Translation: "Get Away From Me!
Bloodsucking Beasts!!"

► v15. Romania presented as bearing the mandate of European civilisation



Gazeta Ilustrată, II,
6 July 1913, p. 1.

Key Translation:
Romania, bearing the mandate of European civilisation; the Bulgarians—the barbarians from the Balkans.

? Describe the symbolic figures on visuals 14 and 15. How are the neighbours of each country presented?

II-10. The explanation of the Romanian interests by a professional historian immediately after the Balkan wars

This operation called *Romania's Military Action* was grounded on three points, all important to the realisation of vital Romanian matters in the Balkan peninsula:

1. Romania having to make itself heard in the decisive moments of the Balkan peninsula.
2. Romania's political and organisational state tendencies as being a neighbour of the Balkan allies having social and economic interests for keeping a constant balance.
3. The National question represented by:
 - a. the insurance of the Dobrudja territory
 - b. the regulation of the fellow countrymen from Macedonia.

Grunberg, p.7.

❓ What were the vital Romanian interests on the eve of the war? To what extent do they differ from the interests of the other belligerent Balkan countries?

Are there similarities between the attitude of Romanians towards Bulgaria and the attitude of the other Balkan nations toward the Ottoman Empire?

Could the Romanian interests have been imposed in a wartime situation without leading to war?

❓ Overall questions on chapter IIa

Do some research on records of recruits' enthusiasm for the war in two cases: (a) at the beginning of the Balkan wars and (b) at the beginning of WWI. Compare Balkan and Western European documents and try to identify the common elements.

Role play

Split in two groups and by using the documents included in this chapter try to present your arguments (a) for the war and (b) against the war.

IIb. The Eastern Question

II-11. Description of the Eastern Question by a French historian, 1898

A. Islamism vs. Christianity

For a long time the Eastern question was limited to the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Christian states of Europe. It could not be otherwise since the only problems that the European politicians were facing were the independence of the Danubian principalities¹⁸ or of Greece, the war between Russia and Turkey for the rule of the Black Sea, the autonomy of Egypt, the internal organisation and the administrative reforms, under European influ-

ence, of the Ottoman Empire, the diplomatic relations between the Christian Powers and the Sultan. [...] In the phrase "Eastern Question," the meaning given should have been broader. As for the best way to deal with the problems, that we just mentioned, we have to face them by placing them in the history of the whole Islamic world. All political (and social) problems of our contemporary age are no longer presented as European matters, but as global issues, where Peking, Cape Town and New York are as much involved as Paris, London or Berlin. We are obliged to face political problems according to their contribution to global development.

¹⁸ Wallachia and Moldavia.

[It is presented] a clear and brief outline of the Eastern question in its wider sense, meaning as a history of the relations between Islamism and the Christian world. Islamism, from the 7th century until the 17th century, in a period of one thousand years, was spread throughout all West and South Asia, North Africa and South Europe imposing its religious and political rule. Only Spain and some Mediterranean islands managed to escape from its rule in the Middle Ages. The effort of Christian Europe, with the Crusades, to resist the Muslim invasion was proved weak, and the Christian states resulted in looking for an ally and a client in the Ottoman Empire. But from the 17th century onwards, the Ottoman Empire started weakening because of the abuses of its own power and prosperity; and even more because of its inability to assimilate the occupied peoples; it succeeded neither in creating a unified people, nor in merging them with the Turks, who remained conquerors camping out on hostile grounds.

B. The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan peoples

As far as European Turkey is concerned, the competitive claims of the Bulgarians, the Serbians, the Greeks and of Austria, render impossible any understanding between those Powers. There was a period when, among all Turkey's enemies, the Greeks were regarded as the natural inheritors of these European regions. There were Greeks, who were dreaming of Constantinople becoming Greek again. Their dreams were thwarted; and many Greeks would have accepted the Turkish hegemony, only because of hate towards their Christian rivals, if the Turks were capable of organising a proper administration. Today, Bulgarians are the most martial people of the Balkans, the fastest developed, with the most stable and active government. They are already occupying a large part of Thrace and they are extending their aims to the entire Macedonia. However, this people of peasants, without any trade and industry, is still very poor. They cannot face military operations and they find it sufficient to achieve continuous concessions from the Sultan by threatening him with attacks,

which are never actually realised. Bulgaria together with Romania blocks Russia's way, so that Russia is no longer able to reach Constantinople by land. It could only reach Constantinople through Asia Minor, but it would never allow the Bulgarians to be settled in the Bosphorus. The ambitions of the Bulgarians towards Macedonia come up not so much against Serbia, which does not seem capable of reconstructing the greater Serbia of its dreams, but against Austria, which by occupying Bosnia, is forced to look towards Thessaloniki. In that case, Macedonia would be totally separated from Bulgaria and distributed between Montenegro, Albania and Greece.

C. The European concert

Thus, the French-Russian alliance was not distinguished during the last intricacies of the East but only as the orchestra conductor of the European concert, a concert where the instruments were only in harmony when they were silenced. After all, if we follow the egoistic opinion derived from our interests, this *status quo* policy is obviously for us the most conclusive solution. It is the only one that doesn't endanger the accidental outbreak of a European War, the extent, the duration and the result of which no one can forecast.

Driault, pp. 66-67; 72-73; 75.

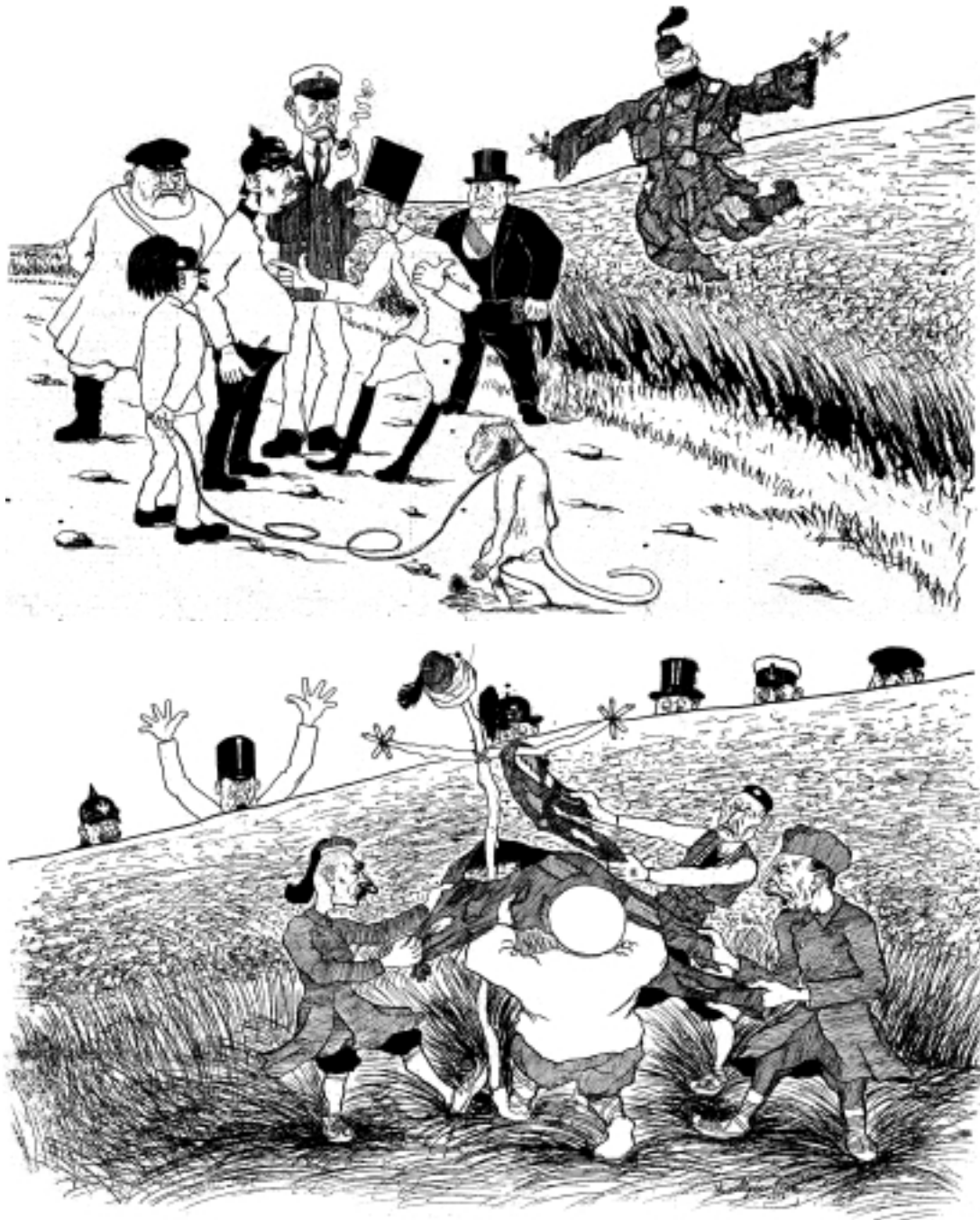


This text is an excerpt from the preface written by Gabriel Monod for the book of his student Edouard Driault on the Eastern Question. Gabriel Monod (1844-1912), professor at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and at the Collège de France, was the founder of positivist history in France. Edouard Driault (1864-1947) was a professor of history and geography at the Sorbonne.



What is the main meaning of the Eastern Question according to Gabriel Monod? How is the Eastern Question presented in your textbooks?

► v16. *Splendid scarecrow*, cartoon by E. Muanovic (Belgrade, 1912)



Published in the Russian newspaper *Iskr* 45, 1912.



Caption:
The Austrian: 'Guard! Robbery!'

► v17. *The milk cow* (Ottoman cartoon, 1909)



Kalem, 22 July 1909 in Brummett, p. 172.



Caption: The Turkish soldier –You have had enough; leave a little bit for the owner.



Look at the two cartoons: who do the different figures represent? How is the Great Powers' policy towards the Ottoman Empire presented?

II-12. The role of the Great Powers described by a Macedonian revolutionary from Veles

But all of them seemed to be out of their wits. They could not imagine that the victorious Bulgarian army could be beaten and believed strongly in its victory. I emphasised to them that Bulgaria would have against itself the Great Powers of the Entente which were at the moment dominating Europe. Besides, I was trying to prove that those same Great Powers—in the case of Bulgaria's victory—would not allow the interests of Serbia and Greece to be harmed.

On the contrary, they claimed that the Great Powers had an interest in Bulgaria's victory, because that way Bulgaria would take up a dominant position in the Balkans and could safeguard the peace in that part of Europe. Only after that would the Balkans not be a source of wars and uprisings.

I could not imagine a bigger idiocy than supporting such an attitude...

Martulkov, p. 275.



According to the author, what was the role of the Great Powers in Balkan politics?

II-13. Circular letter from the Russian minister of foreign affairs Sazonov to the Russian diplomatic representatives abroad, 18 Oct. 1912

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN DIPLOMATIC
REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

St. Petersburg, 18 Oct. 1912

From the beginning of the intensification of the crisis in the Balkans the following two points were clearly presented to the Imperial Ministry:

1. That the outbreak of war in the Balkans was almost unavoidable and that

2. While it was necessary to do as much as possible to influence peace in the region it was also necessary to simultaneously prepare measures for the localisation of war, should it break out.

Only when these two aims had been achieved could direct contact with the Vienna cabinet be assured . [...]

If we continue now with an evaluation of the significance of these actions to the present-day, firstly we must draw attention to 'the declaration of the inviolability of the territorial status quo' and secondly it is also necessary to be aware of the following considerations:

It is widely known that this declaration was inextricably linked with another factor – that the great powers would also assume responsi-

bility for the accomplishment of the reforms. But who prevented them from realising this aim? Was it the Balkan countries that prevented them from doing so? No, they only made queries regarding the meaning of the guarantees concluded upon in the above mentioned contract. It is, in fact, absolutely the opposite. The Great Powers referred to Turkey with no such categorical declaration and Turkey answered that it would not allow foreign intervention and would implement the necessary reforms by itself. In this way the second issue regarding the declaration: – the realisation of the reforms by the Great Powers - disintegrated due to Turkey not granting permission for foreign intervention. This, in our opinion, invalidates the first section: – the declaration for the inviolability of territorial status quo. But nevertheless we will not create obstacles for the Balkan countries regarding this matter.

If in this way of thinking, the question of status quo is not a matter of principle importance to us, we will insist strongly, that in case of its violation, the following basic points should be noted:

1. The lack of interest amongst the Great Powers regarding the territorial increases and

2. The principle of 'equilibrium' in the compensation between the Balkan countries based on the contracts preceding their alliance.

Signature: Sazonov

The Balkan War or the Russian Orange Book, pp.19-21.

II-14. A 'good monarch'

In this crisis the Emperor stands well, better than all of us [...] He is serene, he solves the problems with conscience and accuracy which are natural to him. His ability to make decisions at the age of 83 has to be admired. The Emperor wants peace [...] He wants to overcome the dispute with Serbia and to justify his surname of the 'Emperor of Peace' that

Europe gave to him. But, if it should be necessary, the old man would not hesitate...

Hrvatski Pokret, 2 December 1912¹⁹.

❓ Do you know what the attitude of the emperor Francis Joseph really was during the Balkan crisis? Was he decisive or did he hesitate? Do you agree with the description of the Austrian monarch conveyed by the text?

II-15. Article in a Romanian newspaper, 16th June 1913—the day of the Bulgarian attack against Serbia

The Serbian - Bulgarian conflict

In what concerns Austria, it sustains the Bulgarians, because it is interested in Serbians not gaining more power. Serbia is some kind of an irredentist annex to the Habsburg monarchy. The Serbian population in Hungary bitterly fights against the idea of a Hungarian state. Austria, by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina has intensified the Serbian irredentism and that is why it sustains the Bulgarians, with whom it does not have any conflicts related to ethnical matters.

Viitorul, VI, no. 1921, 16/29 June 1913, p.1.

II-16. Extract from a book written by a Romanian politician

The war among the Balkan allies has been prepared for sure in Vienna. Austria Hungary wanted to prevent Serbia from growing larger by all means. Count Berchtold hoped to obtain the support of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and of Carol I of Romania. Because the order given by Ferdinand to his troops to attack the Serbians coincided with the assurance given by Vienna that he would be helped by the Romanians...

Diaconescu, pp.34-35.

¹⁹ The article appeared in an Austrian newspaper and was republished in *Hrvatski Pokret*.

❓ Why was Austrian-Hungarian policy important to the Balkan countries? What was the role of Austria-Hungary in the inter-Balkan relations at the time of the Balkan Wars?

II-17. Sharing out the Spoils of War

The ultimate defeat of Turkey will not be the end of the Balkan tragedy. That is beyond any doubt. The nations who have founded the Balkan alliance have started the battle for conquest and territories. And it is only very natural, given the secular rivalry among these people and their reduced mentality, that the most critical moment in the development of the events south of the Danube will be the moment when the allies will have to share out the spoils of the war. [...] Under the ruins of European Turkey, a new volcano has remained, that will forever shake Europe's peace. Such a situation cannot be cured with half measures and platonic interventions. Europe has the moral obligation to make a supreme display of energy in order to end, one hour sooner, the competitions and fights that torment the Balkan world.

"Micareea" newspaper, Bucharest, 20 March/2 April 1913.

► v18. Europe and the furious children (Romanian cartoon, 1913)



Furnica, IX, no. 20, 17 January 1913, p.9.

🔑 Caption:
Europe and the furious children: Why Mother-in-Law did not utter a word about the Balkan War.

❓ Overall questions on chapter IIb

How was the role of the European powers in the Balkan conflict perceived by Balkan peoples? What was the policy of the different European countries in the Balkans?

Role play


Split into groups representing the different European powers. Try to present each European country's interests in the Balkan peninsula and its position in the Eastern question.

IIc. Expecting and Proclaiming the War

II-18. Not expecting the war in the Ottoman Empire

No one from any of our different milieus believed that there would be a war with Bulgaria, even less against the four Balkan countries. Everyone said, from all directions: "It's a bluff". Nevertheless it had been obvious for a long time. These small states, together with Russia and Austria, could not leave us the time in order to become very powerful one day. Had the Abdul Hamid regime persisted, the war would not have happened because the politicians of those small and great powers were perfectly aware that this regime would lead us very quickly to a result that they had dreamed of.

Izzet-Fuad pasha²⁰, p.33.

 Under what circumstances would the war have not happened according to Izzet-Fuad pasha?
Whom is he blaming for the war?

II-19. Announcement by George I²¹ of the declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire, October 5, 1912²².

TO MY PEOPLE

Our sacred obligations to our precious country, to our enslaved brothers and to humanity demand that the State, following the failure of peaceful attempts to secure the human rights of Christians under Turkish rule, take up the arms to put an end to the suffering they have endured for centuries.

Greece, along with her allies who are inspired by the same sentiments and bound by the same obligations, undertakes the holy struggle

of justice and freedom for the oppressed peoples of the Orient.

Our army and navy, fully aware of their duty towards the Nation and Christianity, mindful of their national traditions and proud of their moral superiority and value, faithfully enter the struggle ready to shed their honest blood in order to restore freedom to the tyrannised.

Greece, together with her allies, shall pursue this sacred cause at all costs; invoking God's help in this fully justified struggle of civilisation, we exclaim Long Live Greece, Long Live the Nation.

Gardika-Katsiadaki, Margaritis, *The Aegean*.

II-20. The Bulgarian king Ferdinand declares war

Manifesto to the Bulgarian People

5 October 1912

During the 25 years of My Reign I have always worked peacefully for the progress, happiness and fame of Bulgaria. And this was the direction I wanted the Bulgarian people to follow.

But fate has decided differently. Here comes the time when all the Bulgarian people should leave their peaceful life and take up arms to fulfil a glorious task. Beyond the Rila and the Rhodope Mountains our brothers in blood and religion still do not have the happiness to live with human dignity even now, thirty-five years after our Liberation.

All the endeavours to reach this aim, made not only by the Great Powers but also by the Bulgarian governments, did not create conditions in which these Christians could obtain human rights and liberty.

Our peaceable disposition is over... In order

²⁰ Izzet-Fuad pasha was general inspector of the Ottoman cavalry and ex-commander of the 3rd mixed army corps of Thrace.

²¹ George I, 'king of Hellenes' (1863-1913), was the second son of the king of Denmark Christian IX. Born in Copenhagen in 1845, he was murdered by a madman in Thessaloniki on 5/18 March 1913.

²² Original document signed by King George, E. Venizelos and the members of the Cabinet.

to help the depressed Christian people in Turkey we have no other means left but to take up arms. It has become obvious that this is the only way to ensure these people protection of their life and possessions. The anarchy in Turkey has also threatened our country. After the massacre in Shtip and Kochani, instead of giving the suffering people rights and satisfaction of their demands as we insisted, the Turkish government ordered mobilisation of its armed forces. That has put an end to our long-lasting patience.

The humane Christian feeling, the sacred duty to help your brothers when their very existence is being threatened, the honour and dignity of Bulgaria imposed on Me, the duty to call to the colours the sons of the country who are

ready to defend it.

Our cause is right, glorious and sacred. With a humble trust in the protection and help of the God Almighty, I announce to the Bulgarian people that the war for human rights of the Christians in Turkey has been declared.

I order the brave Bulgarian army to invade the territory of Turkey! Together with us against our mutual enemy and with the *same* aim will fight the armies of our allies, the Balkan countries - Serbia, Greece and Montenegro. And in this fight of the Cross against the Crescent, of freedom against tyranny, we will have the sympathy of all the people who love justice and progress.


Ferdinand²³

Kishkilova, *Балканските войни*.

► v19. Entertainment trip (Ottoman cartoon, 5 October 1912)



Cem 41, 5 October 1912, p.8 in Heinzelmann, p.221.

 The weekly magazine *Cem* is considered to be a competitor as well as a successor magazine of *Kalem* (pencil). Like *Kalem*, *Cem* also had a part in Ottoman and a part in French. The name *Cem* comes from the publisher's surname Mehmed Cemil *Cem*. It was first published on November 10th 1910.

Translation

Entertainment trip!

-Give me circular tickets to Sofia, Belgrade, Cetinje and Athens; optional return.

-How many tickets, please?

-7 or 800,000 for the moment.

II-21. Proclamation to the soldiers by the commander of the Eastern Turkish army, Abdullah pasha²⁴

8 October 1912

Brothers-in-arms and fellow countrymen,
We have decided to defeat the enemy who is treading on the sacred land of our country.
Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow are

²³ Ferdinand I Saks-Koburgotski (1861-1848), a German prince, was Head of the Bulgarian Principality from 1888 and Bulgarian Tsar from 1908 to 1918.

²⁴ Abdullah pasha was commander-in-chief of the Eastern Turkish army at the beginning of the First Balkan War.

going to be the most sacred Bayram days for every Muslim. The final defeat of the enemy, who has been disturbing our country and people for so many years and who does not leave in peace our brothers who live in Bulgaria, must be considered a sacred duty of every Muslim. That is why every officer and every brother soldier should fight to the bitter end to save our fatherland, where each handful of earth is soaked with our ancestors' blood.

The salvation of our homeland and our people will depend on the bravery and decisiveness, which you will show in these two days.

My brave and inflexible friends! I believe that the hunger for revenge, which you can feel in your hearts, will be the guarantee for fulfilling this duty. By the encounter with the enemy we have had these days we can say that they are cowards and that they will take to flight as soon as they meet a real power. That is why the given orders must be carried out.

Come on my dear children!

Forward!

Remember that happiness on the earth and paradise beyond awaits you. God is with us, also the spirit of Mohamed and the prayers of the caliph of the Earth - our dear Sultan.

V. Georgiev-St. Trifonov.

- ? Compare texts II-19, II-20 and II-21. Underline the common words and phrases. What feelings do they inspire? What are the aims of the war according to the official statements of both kings? What are the aims of the war according to the Ottoman commander?

II-22. Expecting the war in Serbia, 8 October 1912

Belgrade, October 8, 1912.

Unfavourable news spread through the town yesterday. "It smells of peace!"—people were talking putting their handkerchief on their nose. If a Serb is given a choice: peace or cholera?

► v20. *The Balkans against the tyrant,* 5 October 1912 (Greek lithograph)



Colour lithograph on hard cardboard,
55x41cm / 62x47cm / IEEE Collection, no. 4951/1
in *Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι 1912-1913...*, p.57.

- ? Find out who is who on the poster. Identify the symbols and match them to the key words from the Manifestos of the kings of Greece and Bulgaria. Do you think that the Empire is a preordained victim as depicted? In what way does the poster affect public opinion?

— he would embrace cholera (...)

When will the war start? Everybody asks; only a cold wind that blows from Macedonia knows the answer; or the tables of ministers which are lightened by electric light long in the night; but none of them wants to answer.

Hrvatski pokret newspaper, October 9 to 31, 1912.

II-23. A Bulgarian describing popular feelings before the war

On the 5th of October a solemn public prayer was served. Ferdinand read the proclamation for declaring war and Metodi Kusevich, metropolitan bishop of Stara Zagora, delivered a speech. I can remember those moments like a dream. As we were leaving the church we were all deeply moved, but most of all we felt an enthusiastic belief that we are going to be victorious. The consistent struggles of the Revival²⁵, which had always started with courage and had always been successful-the latest example being the Union of the Eastern Rumelia with the Bulgarian Principality in 1885, have given the Bulgarian people great self-confidence, I can even say, a new religion of national optimism. On the other hand, Sheinovo, Shipka and Slivnitsa²⁶ showed that the Bulgarians have retained unimpaired, the bravery which their ancestors were famous for back over the centuries. We had in front of us a strong enemy but we underestimated its power. How odd: after being under the Turkish yoke for five centuries, now, after having ruled over the Turkish in Bulgaria for only 34 years, we disparaged them. There was a popular rumour in Bulgaria that Turkey was a dying state. In the newspapers, the Sultan was always shown as an ill man with a bandage around his head. So many Bulgarians have shot in the army, as a target practice, at a dummy with a fez, that it made them consider the Sultan a preordained victim.

S. Radev²⁷, *Това, което видях*.

❓ How did ordinary people feel about the war? Why were they so sure about a victorious end to the war? What was the role of the official propaganda for creating such beliefs?

II-24. Excerpts from two of the newspapers published in Albanian abroad, expressing two different attitudes towards the First Balkan War

A. From a newspaper published in Boston

The Great Meeting that the patriots held in Boston on the 6th of October 1912 is remarkable in the history of the Albanian movement. Other meetings that were held in America have expressed the patriotism and the ideals of our youth. But the meeting on 6 October displayed another unexpected and very remarkable thing, because it was rare: I want to talk about its political meaning.

It wasn't unimportant to have patriots gathered from all corners of America and unanimously to declare that the interest of Albania is a total union with Turkey against the Balkan countries.

Albania is in danger to get divided and it could be saved only by its supporters and friends.

This meeting is the reason which influenced, to a certain degree, the Ottoman government to protect Albania's rights in the Conference of London. It can not be denied that if Turkey wanted to give up the protection of Albania it would be in her interests to give Greece, Serbia, Montenegro what these countries require, and make peace with these kingdoms and it would be left to face only Bulgaria. But our unified actions made her milder, and our policy made her understand her faults and damages caused in the past, and she wanted to reward us insisting that Janina, Shkodra and if possible Monastir be part of the new Albania.

Dielli (The Sun), 19 December 1912, p. 1.

²⁵ Bulgarian Revival: a period of the Bulgarian history (the end of the 18th–19th century), characterised by a considerable national economic and educational uplift.


²⁶ Sheinovo, Shipka, Slivnitsa: historical places, famous for great Bulgarian victories in the 19th century.


²⁷ Simeon Radev (1873-1967) –Bulgarian historian, publicist, diplomat.

B. From a newspaper published in Sofia

This program of the four united Powers is a desirable one, therefore the Albanian nation must not unite with Turkey and fight together with the one that is sentenced to death. It should raise its voice and require its rights from the Great Powers. It should be presented all over the world that the Albanian nation is under slavery and there are 4 years now that it is fighting and asking for Albania's autonomy.


"Mbi Aleancen Ballkanike" (About the Balkan Alliance), *Liri e Shqiperise*, (Albania's Freedom) 12 October 1912, p.1.

 *Dielli (The Sun)* was a weekly published in Boston by one of the most prominent Albanian intellectuals, Faik Konica. *Liri e Shqiperise (Albania's Freedom)* was another weekly published in Albanian in Sofia by Kristo Luarasi, a patriot and intellectual.

 What are the two attitudes toward the war and what argument does each of the articles use to support its idea?

► v21. Saying good-bye – In Sofia and in Istanbul



 Compare the two pictures. What are the differences and what are the similarities?



L'illustration, t. CXL (1er juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.301.

II-25. Extracts from The Treaty on Alliance between the Kingdom of Greece and the Kingdom of Serbia, signed on 19 May (1 June) 1913

Article 2

On the occasion of division of the territory of European Turkey, which upon the end of the present war will be ceded to the Balkan states by the peace treaty [...] two High Contracting Parties undertake that they will enter into no special agreements with Bulgaria, that they would support each other and that they will always act in agreement, mutually supporting their territorial claims and border lines specified below.

Article 3

The two High Contracting Parties, considering that it is the vital interest of their two Kingdoms that no other state lies between their territories west of the river Axios (Vardar), state that they will lend support to each other so that Greece and Serbia would get a common border [...].

Skoko, pp. 405-408.

► v22. Montenegrins rejoicing at the declaration of war, 1912



Balkanski rat u slici i reči 6, 24 February (9 March) 1913.

II-26. Proclamation by king Nikola of Montenegro, 27th July 1913

Montenegrins!

[...] Overwhelmed with acquired victories and the glory of its allies, our fourth companion wanted to seize our joint exploits by force, disregarding God's justice and fatherly judgment of the Czar Patron²⁸ [...] Bulgarians, misguided, detached from our Slavic flock [...] attacked their brothers and allies. Bulgarians should be prevented with the same weapon and instructed to respect mutual interests and Slavic solidarity. This decision fell very hard on my heart, because an arm must be cut with an arm, but we could not do otherwise. My soul is overcome with sorrow because I have to encourage your bravery to strongly repel Bulgarian attacks, but I cherish hope that once the angel of peace spreads his wings over the Balkans, a fresh and strong tree of Slavic unity will grow from our mixed Slavic blood [...]

Nikola (sgd)

At Cetinje, 27th July 1913

Balkanski rat u slici i reči 23, 14 (27) July 1913.

II-27. Proclamation by king Constantine of Greece, 21st June 1913

To My People!

I call My People to a new struggle.

Having formed an alliance with the other Christian States to liberate our suffering brothers, we were fortunate to see the joint struggle come to victory and dissolve the tyranny, and the Greek forces triumphant at both land and sea.

The defeated Empire ceded the liberated territories jointly to the allies. Greece, in her standard fairness and with the agreement of two of her allies, wished for a friendly division of the liberated regions according to each nation's rights and suggested that any differences be

²⁸ The Russian tsar.

resolved through arbitration; yet her avaricious ally, Bulgaria, refused any discussion or settlement and sought to seize most of the fruits of the common victory, recognising neither the ethnological rights and the sacrifices of the others nor any other rational need for balance. Having used all kinds of deception and arbitrariness and oblivious to the liberating cause of the war, her obligations to her allies, to the bitter experience of the Christian peoples of the peninsula as a result of their past dissent or to the brilliant results brought about by their collaboration, Bulgaria went as far as to attempt an illiberal war, turning against her allies to violate and usurp their rights, thus desecrating the sanctity and the cause of the joint struggle.

In view of the despicable behaviour of Bulgaria, the duty of the other allies was clearly obvious. They had to close ranks again and retain their unity to face the insatiable rapacity of their former ally, to defend their vital interests by stamping out the hegemonic claims and ensuring the balance among the States of Aemos [Mt Balkan], so necessary for their peaceful coexistence.

The Greek People, in close solidarity with Serbia and Montenegro and convinced of the sanctity of the cause, are taking up the arms again in a new fight for hearth and altar.

My army and navy, having made Greece greater, are called upon to continue their noble fighting and save those liberated from the Turkish tyranny from the threat of a new, most terrible slavery. [...]

This new struggle is as much sanctified as the first one by God, whose blessing I invoke, "for the King trusts in Jesus and in the Lord's mercy for us to win". [...]

Baltsa, June 20, 1913²⁹.

Government Gazette of the Kingdom of Greece 121, June 21, 1913.

❓ Compare texts II-26 and II-27: what is the meaning of the word 'brother' in each case? Identify the meaning of the same word in text II-20.

Explain the meaning of the phrase "to defend their vital interests ... peaceful coexistence". Compare this idea with the idea of the balance between European powers at the same period.

II-28. Newspapers and public opinion in Romania on the eve of the Romanian invasion of Bulgaria during the Second Balkan War

A. *We want war*

From all our country's comers; there is just one sound that comes from all our hearts, shouting in one voice;

We want war

There isn't any power in Romania left that could stop the war: anyone who will rise against the current will be crushed by the impetus of its waves. [...]

The Romanian people—and any Romanian—feel today that a greater Bulgaria is of national danger: a political, ethnic and economic danger for the Kingdom of Romania and for the whole Romanian nation. [...]

This war is a *mere preventive war*. We want to ensure the future of our country, we want to eliminate the danger that could imperil it, we also want to live from now on in peace, to develop away from any competitions, to nip in the bud any possible threat.

Universul, XXXI, no. 176, 29 June/12 July 1913, p. 1.

B. *The crowd was huge*

The crowd was huge. Many placards had inscriptions related to war and the shout "*Mobilisation!*" came out of thousands of people's lips. [...]

²⁹ Document signed by king Constantine, prime-minister El. Venizelos and the members of the cabinet.

The mobilisation decree raises a storm of enthusiasm. The reservists hurry to Bucharest from the most remote centres, trains are crowded, people on top of the wagons are singing and full of life: yet how far we are from the great war.

Bacalbasa, p.116.

? Why was “a greater neighbour” a national danger? Do you consider this statement to be true?

Find and explain the differences between these texts and the proclamations of the Greek king and the Bulgarian king declaring war against the Ottoman Empire.

► **v23. Hora –a traditional Romanian circle dance, danced by the Romanian soldiers on their way to Bulgaria**



Gazeta Ilustrata, II, nr. 31, 13 July 1913, p.4.

II-29. An article in a Romanian newspaper, aiming to explain the reasons and the goals of the Romanian invasion in Bulgaria

We would forever stay under the threat of the Bulgarian cannons, and with war every year on

our doorsteps the flourishing of our nation would be impeded; while if now, from the beginning, the Bulgarians could feel the weight of our iron arms, under the pressure of our yoke, they would forever give up their aspirations, daring and unjust to their weakness, that we would make them feel for sure.

Now, the role of today's Romania is the one of a skilled and bold surgeon who has to mercilessly cut into the flesh in order to eradicate all the evil that threatens the life of the entire organism from the roots. Our military operations on the other side of the Danube have to be regular surgical operations today, and not mere palliatives that would stop the fever for the moment, leaving us with the threat that it would return much stronger tomorrow.

Miscarea, V, nr. 152, 8/21 July 1913, p. 1.

? Identify and analyse the propaganda elements in this text.

II-30. Declaration of the Bulgarian prime minister, St. Danev³⁰, on the Romanian invasion of Bulgaria

The day before yesterday the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Danev made the following declaration to the National Assembly:

Ladies and Gentlemen Members of Parliament, Since yesterday new dangers have been threatening Bulgaria. At 6 o'clock yesterday evening the Romanian Ambassador in Bulgaria notified me that the Romanian government had given an order to its army to invade Bulgaria. Their motive is that, on one hand, Romania had reserved the entire freedom to act in case of war between the Balkan countries, while on the other, the war had broken out; moreover, we had provoked this war.

I would only like to say a few words about our

³⁰ Stoyan Danev (1858-1949): a lawyer, professor, politician, leader of the Russophile Progressive-Liberal Party; prime minister (01.06-04.07.1913).

relations with Romania. You all know that our relations with Romania have always been very friendly (...) That is why the Bulgarian government, bearing in mind the former friendly relations between the two countries, considers Romania's actions unjustified. In our opinion, the Romanian government, whatever reasons for such actions it might have had, should not have run to such extremes, for which we disclaim all responsibility.

Gentlemen! The Romanian army is invading those outlying parts of our country which are inhabited only by old people, women and children at the moment. In this situation, any

armed resistance is out of the question. So, to prevent any actions of that kind, we ordered our frontier guard to retreat, and the civil servants to stay there and try to calm down the people as much as possible.

Apart from this, we can only protest against this unjustified invasion of our homeland. Standing by these positions, which are also the positions of the established order and justice, we bring the matter to the verdict of the public European conscience and we hope that our rights will be done justice to.

Bulgaria, No.230, 30 June 1913; *Mir*, No.3929;
Narodna Volya, No.36, 1 July 1913; *Narod*, No.15,
2 July 1913 in Kishklova, *Балканските войни*.

? Overall question on chapter IIc

Compare visuals 21, 22 and 23. What feelings do they convey and what feelings do they intend to inspire? Try to find more visuals from your country, which illustrate feelings towards the war.

Role play

Split into groups: a) Bulgarians, b) Greeks, c) Serbians and try to discuss your rights over the Ottoman Empire. Explain through your respective national idea why you should occupy specific regions of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER III: Societies at War

During every war the societies that participate in it are united and divided at the same time. At the beginning of the war they are mostly united in their ultimate ideals and striving for victory but little by little they are confronted with the brutality of the war. At the same time they are divided not only on the ground of politics, but also on the ground of reality: while most of the men are at the fronts, women, children and seniors stay at home in constant fear of losing their most beloved. The attempts to lead an ordinary everyday life are simply impossible. The war has its overwhelming impact on practically everything. Being at the front or in the rear, everybody exercises the same supreme effort that the society willingly or unwillingly undertakes.

The war fronts have always been the place where the official history of the war is created. Detailed descriptions of victories and defeats, of skilful or disastrous manoeuvres are only one side of what is actually going on, on the war fronts. Both the victories and the defeats create a gallery of idealised supernatural heroes and situations that construct the mythology of any war. The Balkan wars were no exception to this. At the same time, it is the horrific face of the war that totally prevails in every personal memory: thousands of deaths, wounded and disabled, extreme fatigue, eruptions of violence.

Assorted paramilitary groups -often loose armed bands or groups- played a significant part in the complete picture of the Balkan wars. Unlike the regular armies, where military discipline is adequate, those groups were the main causes of most of the acts of violence upon civilians in the war areas. Burning of the villages of “the others” and traditional brigandage also became an integral part of the history of the wars, as well as forced conversion and migration.

This chapter provides an opportunity to create a more balanced view upon the life, that the armies at the fronts and the civilians, both on the fronts and in the rear, lived during the Balkan wars. We put emphasis on the experience of the war communicated by soldiers of different nationalities, in this way showing the commonality of suffering but also the uniqueness of the war as an everyday experience generating feelings such as camaraderie.

The role of women in wartime is also documented from two perspectives: (a) the idealised woman—as a mother or heroine and (b) women at the front or behind the front, as nurses, mothers and wives.

Moreover, national clashes at the front were reflected in the position of minorities behind the front. Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Muslims in the Balkan nation-states were afflicted by insecurity and forced migration.

The conflicting perspectives of most of the sources are aimed at the demythologisation of the heroic national narratives of the wars and at showing the complexity of the war.

IIIa. The War Fronts

► v24. The Bulgarian army



INFANTERIE EN CAMPAGNE
Tambours. — Officier monté. — Jeune clairon du 1^{er} régiment. — Officiers et soldats (réserve).
Page de croquis en couleurs de LÉON BERAUD 1913

L'illustration, janvier-décembre 1913, p.249.

III-1. Description of the Serbian army's victory at Kumanovo

The battle lasted two days and one night. The Turks have taken exceptionally good positions, which they fortified very well and skilfully camouflaged in due time. Military attachés of foreign powers, who examined the Kumanovo positions after the battle for the purpose of study, state that judging by the selection of positions and by the manner of fortification of the Turks, one can clearly see that Turks had excellent commanders, who knew all the rules of modern warfare in detail, and who applied these rules in the battle of Kumanovo in every respect and with full understanding. The fact that Serbs so brilliantly beat them and pushed them away strongly from these fortified positions is only a proof of the ability of the Serbian officers and the unmatched courage of the Serbian soldiers, whose guiding idea was revenge for Kosovo! We would be unjust to the opponent, and that is not characteristic of our people, if we failed to mention with due respect the courage of the Turkish troops. For two days and one night -innumerable times, ignoring death- they tried to penetrate our ranks by assault, and managed many times to check our assaults until our soldiers along the entire front started to charge with bayonets with the firm determination to resolve the battle in hand-to-hand bayonet fight, as once on Kosovo—whose victory will it be. At that moment, nearly one hundred thousand Serbs had only one goal—victory or death equal to the death of the Kosovo martyrs. Turks, whose courage cannot be denied in any way, could not withstand that torrent, and it would be irresistible for any other army, because where one hundred thousand heroes decide to go to death and go into fire with the firm determination “We shall never return alive!” the enemy must be defeated whatever his size.”

Balkanski rat u slici i reci 2, 27 January (9 February) 1913.

► v25. The last salute (the battle of Kumanovo)



Rista Marjanovic's War Album 1912-1918.

? Compare the text and the picture. Does the photo fit with the description of the battle?

III-2. The Capture of Salonica by the Greek army

TELEGRAM ANNOUNCES THE CAPTURE
OF THESSALONIKI
THE KING IS ON THE WAY ON A SPECIAL TRAIN

The Capture of Thessaloniki

The capture of Thessaloniki had been expected for the last 24 hours, but the announcement that the Greek army had marched into the city led to a burst of emotion and joy yesterday, as Athens first and then the rest of Greece felt the indescribable relief that follows all great events and springs directly from the soul of the nation. The struggle undertaken against Turkey did not allow anyone to believe that the Greek army would triumphantly enter this greatest of Macedonian cities so soon. And this victory—with the losses commensurate with the importance of the event and after a long and arduous course, especially at this time of the year, where bridges destroyed by the retreating

enemy had to be crossed and floods had to be shrugged off—becomes even more significant in view of the irony with which the European public opinion had received the declaration of the Greco-Turkish war at first, and the sheer numbers of enemy forces our army had to fight against.

The first Macedonian city has already been freed by the Greek lances, as have been the other provinces, formerly Turkish but always absolutely Greek, and the populations that had been under Turkish oppression until yesterday can now breathe the air of freedom; the slaves can raise their heads and celebrate their liberation. The Greek blood shed for this cause came as a drop of dew to revive the parched flowers of Macedonian freedom. No one is sad for this. The parents who heard the loss of their sons in the holy struggle for their country blessed their fortune, and if the mothers shed a tear, they did so because they learned that the death of their beloved gave freedom to

thousands of our brothers. Their sisters did not mourn. And if their little brothers expressed their sorrow, it was because their luck kept them out of this noble triumph. And the realisation of the ideals of the nation, at least for some of our compatriots, brings a feeling of universal, unrestricted joy; every Greek heart, every Greek mind wherever it is on the planet is now turned to the fields of Macedonia.

By entering Thessaloniki, the Greek forces have added one more glorious page to Greek history and obtained honour and respect for their power.

Embros newspaper, Athens, October 27, 1912.

❓ Do you find similarities in the descriptions of the battle of Kumanovo and the capture of Salonica? Can you identify exaggerations? What purpose do they serve?

► v26. The crown prince of Greece marches into Salonica



Colour lithograph on hard cardboard, 42x62cm / 44x62cm / IEEE Collection, no. 4951/99 in *Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι 1912-1913...*, p.103.

❓ Of what nationalities are the people welcoming the Greek crown prince?

► v27. The Bulgarian king Ferdinand on the ruins of the fortress of Kavala



? Compare v26 and v27. How are the two personalities presented? What is the symbolic meaning of both pictures?

L'Illustration, janvier - décembre 1913, p.17.

► v28. Greek-Bulgarian 'brotherhood'



Adevarul, XXV, no. 8353, 11 December 1912, p. 1.

Translation:

In Thessalonica, the King of Bulgaria has kissed the king of Greece. The Bulgarians have occupied the heights of Thessalonica with cannons! (telegraphed news reports)

Ferdinand: *Let's kiss, but you can kiss Thessalonica good-bye.*

III-3. A Serbian soldier helping Turkish children

*What a Serbian soldier is like
Compassion toward the opponent*

All larger towns in newly liberated areas are full of miserable, naked and shoeless, hungry and thirsty Turkish poor. Their breadwinners

and defenders went into the army to defend the Empire, while women, old people and children remained without protection. Out of fear for the enemy they left their homes and everything in them and fled to the cities hoping that it would be easier to find protection there. Hunger made them beg for a piece of bread. And therefore, in newly liberated towns one cannot walk in the streets without being bothered by the Turkish poor who beg to be given something to get food.

One officer described me this scene from Kavadarci:

Kavadarci is filled with Turkish poor, dying of famine. At one corner a Serbian soldier, a simple private, sat on a stone, took two Turkish boys in his lap, sitting one of them on one knee, the other on the other knee, embracing them with both arms. He held the soldier's bread in one hand, bayonet in the other; he was cutting bread with bayonet, giving the first bite to one Turkish boy, the second one to the other and taking himself the third bite. I watched from the sidelines and felt pain in my heart because I did not have a camera to take a picture of this magnificent scene of love of the Serbian soldier for the children of a defeated enemy and his compassion for their misfortune.

Balkanski rat u slici I reči 12, 7(20) April 1913.

② Are such acts of humanity characteristic of a certain nation? What do they show?

Do you believe that such acts of compassion are possible in times of war?

Have you read about any humanitarian acts carried out by the "opposite side" in your textbooks?

Do you think that this is a real situation or could it be a propaganda story?

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► v29. Turkish children saluting Serbian soldiers, 1912



Key Caption : *On the «margins» of the war.*
The salute to the winners by children
unconscious of having been defeated.

L'illustration, t. CXL (1er juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.373.

III-4. Riza Nur explains the causes of the Ottoman defeat

On the battle of Ljule Burgas

They say that some soldiers at the head quarters shouted 'run... why do you stay here? It is over. Everybody is for himself'. Thus some soldiers fled the front. A needless panic ensued. The privates who started the rumours were Bulgarians. I think this was the truth. There were Greeks, Bulgarians in our army, they were our subjects. They all were traitors to the Turk. Many of them fought against us as for years. This is a lesson. The autocracy must have tried this a thousand times so that it

would not enrol soldiers other than Muslims. Well it had a point. They (the unionists) say 'This is a constitution. There can be no such thing. They are also citizens. They are partners in good and bad'. This too was the truth but such was the situation. It was the Turk who always paid the blood tax; it was he who always died off. The Turkish nation was becoming extinct. Yes the foreign elements, too, should die off, it is true, but they caused such a huge disaster. Some say that this panic was caused by Unionists who reportedly shouted 'run'... our army of Rumelia was defeated by the Serbs. It retreated deep into Albania. They said that the Albanian battalions

fled the front. The Serbs at the time deceived the Albanians in doing that. This is true. The Greeks besieged Janina. There, Vehip pasha and his brother Esad pasha put up a stiff defence. Their chief of staff, Ali Fuad displayed valour and was wounded. The Albanian soldiers deserted Janina too. The Turkish soldiers were in hunger and sickness. The heroic soldiers defended Janina for a long time then Janina too fell. Hasan Riza pasha displayed a great heroism in Shkoder. Thanks to him the siege of Shkoder lasted for a long time. Hasan Riza was a very valuable soldier. Ultimately, the Albanian Esad pasha who once upon a time went to force Abdulhamid to abdicate, had Hasan Riza assassinated. His death is a great loss for the Turks. Esad was one of the scoundrels. Later, after independence, the Albanians killed him but what is the use? Shkoder fell thus. The Commander of Salonica, the Albanian Tahsin pasha delivered Salonica without fighting and without any condition. They say that he took money from the Greeks for that. This chain of events shows that it was Albanians who caused these disasters. What a nice proof to show what it means to employ foreign elements in great posts. This cabinet was truly stupid.

Riza Nur, *Memoirs*.

② What were the reasons for the defeat according to the author of the memoirs? Why is he saying that soldiers should only be Muslims?

III-5. Major Milovan Gavrilović describes how he captured Shukri pasha³¹

My regiment, 20th, had the task to seize Kazan tepe. [...] It was met with a strong response, particularly artillery fire. [...] Yet, the regiment kept pushing strongly forward in a wide wave, forcing the Turkish infantry in front of it on the bayonet and shattering it. There could no

longer be any doubt in our definite victory. And indeed, small white flags soon waved on the forts and an envoy of Shukri Pasha approached a 20th regiment officer, explicitly demanding the commander of the Serbian army, general Stepa Stepanović, to negotiate surrender with him [...]

The officer led me through dark casemates and brought me in front of Shukri Pasha's office. As soon as the door to the office opened, I stepped inside. Shukri Pasha stood up with all his staff. I approached him, saluted militarily and in this moment which I will never forget I addressed him with the words:

- Your Excellency! Major of the Serbian army Milovan Gavrilović is honoured to inform you that as of this moment you are under the protection of the Serbian army.

I deliberately wanted to avoid harsher terms, such as "prisoner". I immediately asked him to receive, with all his officers, the sincerest compliments from the entire Serbian army for their heroic defence of Edirne.

- I knew before, said Shukri in an excited voice, that the Serbian people were good and brave people. During this war I became convinced of this in person.

He immediately introduced me to other generals and the entire retinue and offered me a seat. The most solemn act of the seizure of Edirne was over. [...]

Time was running short and I had to interrupt this pleasant conversation. I asked His Excellency to be excused and got out.

As soon as I got out, a Bulgarian officer, a lieutenant, arrived to the fortress and told me that he was coming with an order to take Shukri Pasha away.

- At whose order, I asked.

- At the order of general Ivanov.

- Do you have identification?

- No!

- I do not know you! I told him calmly.

- We are all under the command of general Ivanov, he replied.

³¹ Shukri pasha was commander of the Turkish army besieged in the fortress of Adrianople.

- That is correct. All officers are under the command of general Ivanov, but who guarantees that you are an officer at all. I need papers and authorisation to hand Shukri over to you. [...]

I went to Shukri Pasha again.

- Your Excellency, I said, there is a Bulgarian officer who says that quarters are prepared for your excellency. If your excellency wants to go, you may go there immediately. If, on the other hand, ... your excellency wants to remain here tonight to take care of his affairs, he is free to spend the night here. [...]

That is what has been done. Shukri spent the night in our fortress where he was captured.

Balkanski rat u slici i reči 13; 14th (27th) April 1913.



After a siege of five months and after fierce attacks from the Bulgarian army and the two Serbian divisions and similarly heroic defence of the Ottoman garrison, the main Ottoman fortress in Thrace, Edirne/ Adrianople was taken by the Allies on March 13th, 1913. Both the Bulgarian and the Serbian commanding officers declared that the defence lines were broken by their soldiers and they were the only "victors". Similar disputes occurred about different places and later influenced public opinion in the respective Balkan countries and their historiographies.

III-6. Report by the French military attaché in Sofia declaring that the fortress of Edirne had been captured by the Bulgarian army

22.04.1913

The relations between the Bulgarians and Serbians are nowadays extremely strained and proof of this can be found on different occasions.

One of these occasions is the occupation of Adrianople.

The Bulgarian units form the eastern sector alone, fighting hard, captured the main position. And only due to this event did the Turkish surrender in the other sectors, did they leave

their positions and yield the fortress to the attacking enemy.

The examination of these positions proves that: in all the other sectors, apart from the eastern one, the Turkish have had time to destroy the material.

Obviously, they have had enough time in the other sectors to destroy everything, while in the eastern sector the material is undamaged, because the fierce Bulgarian attack did not leave time for it to be destroyed.

Still the Serbian newspapers claim that their divisions have captured the main positions in their sectors all by themselves.

They also claim that Shukri pasha has surrendered to the 20th Serbian regiment. But, according to his own declaration, made to Mr Neklyudov, the Russian Ambassador to Serbia, he was captured on the 13/26 in the morning by colonel Marholev, Commander of the Bulgarian Guards regiment. The 20th Serbian regiment was only later given the task to guard him.

Matharel³²

The Balkan War Viewed by a Frenchman.



Who took Adrianople according to Major Gavrilovic and according to Matharel?

Do you know other cases of dispute over the question of to whom a victory belongs?

III-7. *Adrianople has fallen!* -an article in a Romanian newspaper

The fall, after almost five months, of this stronghold, isolated by the Turkish armies, surrounded by enemies, starved and forced to surrender only by the lack of food and, of course, of ammunition, cannot be a victory of the Bulgarians either.

For the Turks do not have to be ashamed, because this holy town has not been surrendered, but taken by storm after a desperate fight that will make its bold name Shukri Pasa

³² Major Matharel: the French military attaché in Sofia from May 1912 to April 1913.

endure forever. The heroic resistance of Hadrian's town has somewhat rehabilitated the Ottoman Empire, so badly morally compromised by its disgraceful defeats and so much hurt by its being almost banished from Europe.

Adevarul, XXVI, no. 8443, 15/28 March 1913, p. 1.

? How does the author explain the fall of Adrianople?

Who is the author sympathising with? Try to explain why.

► v30. The settling of the Turkish-Bulgarian conflict, Romanian cartoon 1913



Furnica, IX, no. 52,
29 August 1913, p. 12.

🔑 Translation:

The settling of the Turkish-Bulgarian conflict Turkey dropping Adrianople from its hands... The united European powers have decided to give it back to her.

IIIb. Life at the Front

III-8. *From Mt. Starac to Bitolj*: The diary of a conscript in the Danubian Medical Column (the Battle of Kumanovo), revealing the situation in the Serbian army

12th October (1912)

[...] There are very few nurses, and those who are here retreated to hospital rooms and do not visit these miserable people, who sacrificed their life and peace of their dear ones at home for the country.

Now, just think how these miserable people felt seeing their comrades pass out near them not from wounds or pain, but from the night cold and without the assistance of those whose duty it is to watch over them, begging and asking nurses and those in charge, these soldiers who sacrificed everything, including their life, for the benefit and glory of our Fatherland. But, what can you do, those in charge did not give much thought to that.

Thus the whole day passed. Our troop physician, Dr. Medjera, was running tirelessly about the wounded although he had his duties in the Column, and at least alleviated the situation of the poor wounded as much as he could [...]

Loud screams of the wounded whose wounds were getting cold could be heard. Their sad moaning breaks your heart.

The commander orders that they be offered water, because these miserable people, as they themselves said, did not get a drop of water to soothe their thirst. The moaning of the wounded pierced the night's silence throughout the night.

13th October

The wounded are screaming terribly. We brew some tea in a mess kit and take it to the wounded and quench the thirst of every one of them with a cup.

Ah, how grateful these poor guys were. "May

God give you all the best"; "This is really good", said many of them. Many of those who, exhausted, could not even speak, would look at us with such kindness, such tenderness, that you could read their gratitude from their eyes.

During the night many died from cold and rain that was pouring at dawn.

One poor guy died sitting on the ammunition box, leaning on his elbows. He looked as if he were sitting absorbed in his thoughts. Major Milan Popović, thinking that he was alive, came to him and offered him some tea, but when he got no response, he looked closer and realised that he was dead. I approached him to see who he was and read on the tag that was hanging on his chest that he was a peasant from Žarkovo³³. When a wounded Turkish soldier, who lied among our soldiers, saw us, he begged us with his folded hands, crying: "Aman kardas, aman" and something else that we did not understand, to give him water. I gave him a cup of tea too and covered him with straw and oilskin. [...]

Balkanski rat u slici i reci 7, 3th(16th) March 1913.



What do you think about the author helping the Turkish soldier?

Why were wounded soldiers not receiving the attention they needed?

III-9. The suffering of horses, described by a Turkish lieutenant³⁴

Since yesterday it hasn't stopped raining. We passed the night under the tent, the horses tied; we were wet to the skin. Our cattle have suffered a lot. After the long marches and covering manoeuvres we've done, these poor animals should deserve a little more comfort, but what can we do?

³³ Village near Belgrade.

³⁴ Lieutenant Selim bey wrote a diary describing the operations in Thrace from October to December 1912. His diary was published in French in 1913.

[...] I take advantage of this day off to complete my notes and take care of my beautiful mare Kara Chebek Black Monkey. The poor animal, she already looks tired and I'm going to carry out the whole campaign on her back.

Selim, pp.28-29.

► **v31. The transportation of wounded soldiers from Thessaloniki Port**



Η Αθήνα των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων 1912-1913.

III-10. The situation of the Bulgarian army in Thrace, described by a Frenchman

24.03.1913. Being so exhausted, people easily got ill. The sanitary state in some units was poor even at the time they entered Turkey; just as they had crossed the border, the 7th infantry regiment had to be isolated in the camps, as there were 30 cases of typhus among its soldiers. But the situation became really serious when the army going to Chataldga replaced the Turkish army in the camps, which had lost many people because of diseases. The Bulgarian Command, lacking any prudence, ignored the basic preventative hygiene measures: there were not any latrines near the camps; there were many corpses and carcasses lying around instead of being buried. In a word, several days after our army had arrived at Chataldga, the cholera broke out. It is re-

ported that there were 15,000 cases of cholera but only few of them were fatal.

Energetic measures were taken: changing and improving the camps; an explicit order was issued to drink only boiled water-those who did not obey would be shot; the people were given rest.

Today it seems that the outbreak of the cholera has been overcome: the people who have had some rest are now able to do their duties.

As for their own wounded, the Bulgarians regarded them with the same carelessness and indifference as the rest of the campaign. Of course, some measures were taken regarding them, but most of the doctors obliged to carry out these measures did not care at all and the wounded were treated when there was time.

There have been countless numbers of ferocious scenes during this war. The Bulgarians will pay for it, as many people, who could have been saved, died because of their indifference to the wounded. The number of their dead for the whole campaign has recently risen from 30,000 to 32,000; out of the 50,000, who were wounded, many became invalid due to lack of care. This is a sheer loss, bearing in mind that Bulgaria will certainly need these people for its economic development after the war.

The Balkan War Viewed by a Frenchman.

► **v32. Czech physician, Dr Jan Levit, in the Circle of Serbian Sisters' hospital**



Balkanski rat u slici i reci 2, 27 January (9 February) 1913.

III-11. A Croatian doctor expresses his feelings after a visit to the battlefield near the river Maritza

"The way to Drinopolje"

"After getting the pass from general Stepanovic's adjutant and after asking for directions, we started walking towards Drinopolje. It is about 35 kilometres from Mustafa-pasha to Drinopolje [...]"

After an hour and a half's walk, an empty army wagon with quite good horses reached us.

The coachman, a Serbian soldier, gladly took us along and after an hour and a half we arrived in a village called Keml, where the Serbian pioneer troops are situated; the ones who built the bridge over the Maritsa. The troops' commanding officer, captain Ruzic, whom we found reading the newspapers in his tent, received us kindly after we presented us and showed him the pass. He took us to inspect dugouts (underground rooms) where soldiers were cooking beans for lunch in large cauldrons. Those dugouts are quite comfortable; there is room for about 12 soldiers in each, they are a bit higher than a man, they even have windows and large bottles are used for window glass, on the floor there are straw-mattresses. The soldiers we met there were lively and cheerful [...]"

When we returned to the camp from the bridge, the captain ordered a boy with a driving cap on, to prepare a car and take us to the position. The car is at general Rasic's disposal, and the boy explained to the captain that the general forbade him to drive anybody without his permission; but the captain ordered him to take us, "dear brothers", wherever we want to, on his responsibility.

"Around Drinopolje by car"

We found the soldiers not far from the cannons, walking, smoking, cleaning their clothes and bringing water. The weather was fine, the air a bit fresh but not cold, the sun hot, so we wished to stay till the next day and spend the night in the dugout; we would surely do that if the doctor at

Mustafa-pasha didn't frighten us with quarantine if we stayed one more day. The soldiers we visited were very cheerful and, to please us, they showed us how cannons are loaded with shrapnel and shells; they gave us pots of unexploded Turkish shrapnel as a souvenir.

The soldiers told us that now, after a long practice and control, both sides shoot quite well; still very few get killed and a small number of cannons are damaged because they are properly sheltered. But as soon as soldiers come into sight, the enemy shoots out fiercely. Whoever shows himself on the hill can't hide anywhere because on that whole area around Drinopolje there is not a tree or a bush where one can hide, only short grass. During night fights everything is illuminated by Turkish reflectors, of which only one has been broken up to now; but the Serbs also light up the Turkish position.

At ceasefire they often meet Turkish soldiers in the neutral zone. The Turks give them cigarettes, and they give them bread in return. Talking to them they have found out that Turkish soldiers think that the Turks have captured Nis and Plovdiv and surrounded the Bulgarian army at Mustafa-pasha; Turkish soldiers simply don't believe that Drinopolje is completely surrounded.

We found many Serbian soldiers in a friendly conversation with the Bulgarian soldiers. From the Serbian position we were watching Turkish soldiers who were a couple of hundred metres away, and they were killing time in the same way as the Serbian soldiers.

Brave soldiers told us a lot about their battles at Drinopolje and Kumanovo, and we would have listened to them longer if we didn't have to hurry back to Mustafa-pasha.

Hrvatski pokret newspaper, December 28, 1912.



Croatian and Slovene doctors volunteered in the Balkan countries during the wars, to treat the wounded. Dr.T. who is the author of this text travelled to Adrianople with the recommendation of the Bulgarian Red Cross administrator together with a Slovene and a Bulgarian doctor.

? Describe the soldiers' life on the battlefield during the ceasefire. Was it the same during the battles?

What do you think life was like in the dug-outs? Was it "comfortable", as Dr.T. described it?

What do you think were the motives of the doctors to visit the battlefield? What was the opinion of Dr. T. about this war and the war in general? How were the doctors received by the soldiers?

III-12. Izzet-Fuad pasha³⁵ describing the Turkish soldiers' lack of bread

December 15th

From various sides at the same time, I heard that our soldiers had not been distributed any bread for two days... I immediately carried out an investigation: the truth had been hidden from me and I learned that the "indifferent"³⁶ of Hademkoy had made provisions in a such a way in order to play this nice game against us! And our poor soldiers did not complain until the last moment. Oh, the brave men. The really good bread, it's them.

Once the peace has been signed, there will be a big military football match among us, between the Abdullahists³⁷ and the Nazimists³⁸ concerning the responsibilities. What a chance, what a happiness not to belong to any side. This story about the bread not having been distributed, is confirmed more and more. From all sides, from all the army corps everyone is attacking the "indifferent" of Hademkoy. This has gone crazy. The commandant has gone crazy, the commanders of the troops have gone crazy, we've all gone crazy.

There are men who haven't eaten bread for three days. The railroad is there and the capital lies behind us.

³⁵ About Izzet-Fuad pasha see n.20.

³⁶ That's the name I've given to our inspection (the author's footnote).

³⁷ Abdullah pasha, eastern army commander.

³⁸ Nazim pasha, minister of war.

December 16th

Have you ever in your life been surrounded by 21,000 men who haven't been given any bread for four days? Well, I am in this situation.

Izzet-Fuad pasha, p.255.

? Why did Izzet-Fuad pasha call the military inspection 'the indifferent'?

III-13. Excerpt from the memoirs of a Romanian soldier

At last the sentence was pronounced, in the end I had enough moral strength left in me not to need any other implications. In a simple and sad voice one man told me: *It is Asian cholera!* My fellow soldiers stood away and looked at me with frightened eyes. I understood that all of a sudden I had turned in their eyes into an apocalyptic beast. [...] But when I entrusted my wishes to the one closer to me, perhaps my last, and commissioned him with instructions for all the loved ones that were waiting for me, I saw real and cruel pain in all their eyes... In spite of that nobody shook my hand when I left. [...] I left for the quarantine room. I can tell you that I was neither despairing, nor terribly sad. There was just one feeling that overwhelmed me. I was watching myself and waited. [...] I was lucky to return soon to the regiment and to my fellow soldiers.

Sadoveanu, pp. 276-277.

? Can you trace the spread of cholera on the Balkan peninsula? Where did it come from?

Why were both soldiers and civilians so frightened by that particular disease?

► v33. Greek camp outside Xanthi



Η Αθήνα των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων 1912-1913.

III-14. Excerpt from the diary of Vassilios Sourrapas, a Greek volunteer

We set out and reached a Bulgarian village. There we found a host of hens, ducks, turkeys and geese. We rushed at them with stones and swords, and soon everyone in the battalion was carrying two or three birds, eggs and other things. I caught a turkey, the only one to be found. We continued towards the bridge. We were a sight to behold. Some slaughtered the birds, others plucked them or broke lines to chase them. An exquisite subject for the cinema. Finally we reached the bridge, where a battalion of the 19th stood guard. We took over the guard, camped and lit fires to roast the spoils. I lit a good big fire and roasted the turkey; I had no salt so I stuffed it with cheese, and it roasted to perfection. It weighed some 5 *okas*. I ate some of it at eight and the rest I packed in my rucksack with childish joy. We were ordered to put out the fires and turn in, and so we did. At 2 after midnight the sergeant-major woke us up. Some of us got up and went to double the guard, as noises had been heard from the other bank of the river.

Trichas, pp.175, 187-188.

🔑 Vassilios Sourrapas emigrated to America at the age of eight. When the war broke out in 1912 he returned to Greece to join the army. After the war he went back to America.

❓ If a film episode were to be shot following the source above, into what genre would it best fit?

How does it correspond to the traditional epic description of the Balkan wars?

Was the plundering described in the document an act of violence or a question of survival?

III-15. The morale in the Bulgarian army, analysed by the Bulgarian head of staff, years after the war

The morale of our army wasn't high at all. After suffering privation and diseases for so long, our army felt depressed. The prolonged political negotiations made our soldiers feel uneasy. They were all homesick and wished they could go back home as soon as possible. Besides, the idea of waging a war against our allies was not at all popular among the soldiers and they all wanted it to be avoided.

The officers consistently concealed the fact that there had been demonstrations and riots against the war in the units, as the Deputy Commander-in Chief had threatened them that they would be dismissed for allowing disorder. Thus, nobody could tell the truth. Of course, there was some defeatist propaganda by the extreme elements, but it was not as dangerous as each soldier's inner conviction that this fratricidal war would not bring any good.

The earthquake in Veliko Turnovo and Gorna Oryahovitsa also added to the depression.

Fichev, *Selected Works*.

? Why is Fichev calling the war 'fratricidal'?

III-16. From the memoirs of a Romanian officer about crossing the special pontoon military bridge across the Danube at Corabia

An endless number of Romanians who went to fight somewhere, anywhere; what did they know about where they were going to and what they would be fighting for. I was looking attentively at them when they were stepping on the last plank of the bridge on to Bulgarian soil. Some of them started to sing and shout, throwing their caps in the air, others stared ahead with sadness in their eyes. Yet most of them, and I can say this without being wrong, I think eight out of ten, most of them quickly made the sign of the cross such as if our God was not the God of the Bulgarians as well, as if He would be able to take a decision and watch over the life of those who went to war. [...]

Gane, pp.27-28.

? Compare texts III-15 and III-16: do you think there are differences in the behaviour of the soldiers related to the fact that in the first case it is about an unsuccessful war and in the second it is about a 'victorious' army?
Can you find any hints in both texts about common elements between the 'enemies'?

III-17. The meeting of Turkish and Montenegrin soldiers in Scutari after the city had surrendered

24 April 1913.

Going down to the Bazar, the Montenegrins encountered the Turkish soldiers that were going to the bridge from where they would depart. They stop and talk shortly; the Montenegrins offer white bread and the Turks accept gratefully and some times exchange with a cigarette. Often the enemies of yesterday were shaking hands. Short episodes like these repeated frequently, in the eyes of the public, which did not get involved nor showed any little sign of being moved. Later, after midday, the Turkish soldiers came down from Tepe in a column and abandoned the town definitely.

Berri, p.252.

? Overall questions on chapter IIIb

What were the experiences of the soldiers at the front? Try to identify negative and positive experiences.

Why does everyday life at the front make war enemies friends?

Detect the different reasons for the soldiers' discontent through the documents.

Compare with chapter IIc: was pre-war enthusiasm confirmed by experience of war?

IIIc. The Parallel War

III-18. Letter from Ippokratis Papavassiliou to his wife, Alexandra

Sneftsi, June 23, 1913

My dearest wife,

In the Turkish campaign I used to write to you from Turkish villages. Now, in the Bulgarian campaign I am writing from Bulgarian places. I wrote again to you two days ago, my love, immediately after the battle of Kilkis—this great triumph. Kilkis was the den and sacred town of Bulgarians and the *komitaci* guerrillas, as well as the birthplace of Danef. After the battle they set fire to it. It was a grand spectacle; it was burning for two days; the people, all Bulgarians, had already left it. Our army, my dear, is constantly advancing *en gallopant*, pursuing the blustering Bulgarians who flee like hares, the scoundrels. They run too fast for us, but we'll get them—they'll have to stop somewhere. You cannot imagine, dear, the picture this war scene presents. Everywhere we go we come across desolation and misery; the Turks, who seem to have suffered a lot under the Bulgarians, are now avenging themselves by burning down their villages and produce. There is always a burning village in sight. The Bulgarians have fled; there are no more Bulgarians in Macedonia; the monsters have left for good; and you should see what *laches* they are: the prisoners we take all tremble with fear.

How happy I am that this war came to rid us once and for all of these bullies, to make us know each other, to enable us to remove their lion's hides and expose them, as their impudence had tricked the world into calling them 'Prussians of the East', those ridiculous, stupid people! Not content with what they had got, the cheating scoundrels, they wanted to seize the

share of their allies, those who helped them in their conquests and without whom they would have long perished under the Turks. Now they will lose everything they'd got. They deserve it. They are a living example of the myth with the dog and the meat.

I feel you are always at my side, you and our dear children. I yearn for you, but the victory is a solace and relief, because it means that our separation will not last much longer. I don't suppose the war will take more than a fortnight now.

What does Evgenios have to say now about the Bulgarians, whom he admired so much?

With all my love,

Your husband

Trichas, pp.318-319.



Papavassiliou studied at the Military School in Athens and the War Academy of Berlin. He participated as an officer in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 and in the Balkan Wars. Queen Olga and crown prince Constantine were bridesmaid and best man at his wedding (1909). He was later dismissed from the army for a while due to his royalist convictions. He was minister of Naval Affairs in the dictatorial government of I. Metaxas (1936-1941).



Why was victory important to Papavassiliou?

What was the image of Bulgarians in Greek society before the Balkan Wars?

What would you write in a letter to your family if you were a soldier at the front?

Try to find letters of soldiers who participated in other wars in the 20th century and compare their contents.

III–19. The Carnegie endowment for international peace comments upon the ‘parallel’ losses from the burning of villages and the exodus of people

The burning of villages and the exodus of the defeated population is a normal and traditional incident of all Balkan wars and insurrections. It is the habit of all these people. What they have suffered themselves, they inflict in turn upon others. It could have been avoided only by imperative orders from Athens, Belgrade, and Sofia, and only then if the church and the insurgent organisation had seconded the resolve of the governments. A general appeal for humanity was in fact published by the Macedonian insurgent “Internal Organisation”³⁹, but it appears to have produced little effect.

Carnegie, p.73.

? Was “the burning of villages and the exodus of the defeated population” in fact “a normal and traditional incident”? Do you agree that “the burning of villages” and exodus of the defeated population (a) is a Balkan tradition and (b) has happened nowhere else in Europe or in the world?

► v34. Ruins of Serres



Carnegie, fig. 7, 8 and 9, pp. 86-87.

³⁹ IMORO (Internal Macedonian-Odrin Revolutionary Organisation) –set up in Salonica in 1893 with the task of achieving full political autonomy of Macedonia and Adrianople Thrace.

III-20. The flight of Muslims, October 1912

We set out but it was almost impossible to advance in order. The road was blocked by carts, flocks, women and children walking at random; it's our Muslim population that's retiring towards the interior. Poor people! They're all in tears because they're leaving their property and their houses: the horror of the war has already begun.

Selim, p. 24.

III-21. The Bulgarian Exarchate trying to convert Bulgarian speaking Muslims to Christianity

It remains to mention the practice followed by the Bulgarians over a wide area, of reconvert-ing the Pomaks by force to Christianity. The Pomaks are Bulgarians by race and language, who at some period of the Turkish conquest were converted by force to Islam. They speak no Turkish, and retain some traditional memory of their Christian past; but circumstances have usually made them fanatical Moham-medans. They number in the newly conquered territories at least 80,000 persons, and are chiefly concentrated to the north and east of Nevrocop.

The Bulgarian Holy Synod conceived the design of converting them *en masse*, and it was frequently able to reckon on the support of the military and civil authorities, not to mention the paramilitary bands. It was not usually necessary to employ actual violence; threats, backed by the manifest power to enforce them, commonly sufficed to induce whole villages to submit to the ceremony of baptism.

The policy was carried out systematically, and long before the outbreak of the second war, the Pomaks in most districts conformed outwardly to the Bulgarian church, and listened with a show of docility to the ministration of the priests and nuns sent by the Holy Synod to instruct them in the dogmas of the Christ-

ianity. This aberration, in sharp contrast to the tolerance, which the Bulgarian Kingdom has usually shown to the Moslems within its frontiers, must rank among the least excusable brutalities of the war. The Holy Synod argued that since force had been used to convert the Pomaks to Islam, force might fairly be used to reverse the process.

Carnegie, p.77.



In the Rhodopes mountains, the Bulgarian Exarchate, with the support of paramilitary groups, tried to convert Bulgarian speaking Muslims to Christianity. While at the beginning those actions were supported by different nationalist intellectuals, later on it became an official state policy.



Why did this practice occur during the First Balkan war?

What was the role of religion in the process of nation building in the Balkans? Try to find relevant documents in Workbook 2.

► v35. A Bulgarian Red Cross convoy



Carnegie, fig.23, p.217.

III-22. Official disapproval of violent practices by the Bulgarian General HQ

ORDER No. 69 OF THE DEPUTY COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF GENERAL M.SAVOV⁴⁰ CONCERNING THE SAFETY OF THE LIFE, PROPERTY AND HONOUR OF THE POPULATION OF THE LIBERATED TERRITORIES

Lozengrad, 13 December 1912


Some information has reached the headquarters, which unfortunately makes us suspect, that certain people and officers had dared to resort to plunder and violence against the civilian population in the conquered territories. As, on one hand, such extremely reprehensible and inhumane acts compromise the Bulgarian nation, and on the other hand shake the trust of our would-be subjects, especially that of the civilian Muslim population, in the capability of our country to secure their honour, property and life, I order:

1. The army commanders and the military governors must take quick and strict measures, so that a prosecution is started for such acts, committed in the area, occupied by their armies; the culprits must be immediately taken to court irrespective of their rank and position. All the commanders must be warned to punish such criminal acts mercilessly, bearing in mind the responsibility they will have otherwise.
2. Strict measures must be taken to establish order and discipline in the rear. Anybody who does not belong to the army or work for it must be sent back to Bulgaria. Everybody who belongs to the army, but because of their unreliability compromise service in the rear, must be sent to the front-line.
3. All the ranks should be warned that the civilian population of the occupied territories, irrespective of their nationality and religion, is under the protection of our military laws and any unjustified violence and injustice against it will be prosecuted by the same laws. In order to achieve this, I appeal to all the military and civil authorities to co-operate.

⁴⁰ General Mihail Savov (1857-1928) – a famous Bulgarian military figure; he had been minister of war a number of times and had rendered great services to the establishment of the Bulgarian army. During the Balkan War he was appointed deputy commander-in-chief (Tzar Ferdinand, himself, was Commander-in-chief); one of the initiators and culprits of the Second Balkan War.

4. In conclusion, I would like to remind you that we had started this war in the name of a highly human idea, i.e. 'to liberate these people from a regime, which is unbearable in its violence and injustice'. God helps his brave Bulgarian sons to succeed in achieving this noble aim. At this moment I appeal to them not to allow some of their fellow men to compromise their great and glorious exploit in the plain sight of the civilised world with such acts.

V. Georgiev-St. Trifonov.

 What were the main threats for the civilians of the conquered territories?

Do such kinds of military orders have a direct effect upon the activities of the paramilitary bands or regular detachments? If so, in which cases?

If we consider the date of issue, does it mean that up to that point violence had been allowed?

III-23. The destruction caused by the war in the villages near Shkodra and the agony of the people who try to find a "valid" reason for their misery –An account by Mary Edith Durham

Some districts were so large it took me three days of ten or twelve hours to ride around them and assist them and return to Scutari. In all, I visited near Scutari some 1,022 burnt-out families. The most piteous thing of all was that few of the unhappy victims had any idea why this ruin had fallen upon them. Women with starving children would ask: "Why did the Great Kings (the Powers) let soldiers come and rob us and kill us? We were doing no harm. And they took our goats, and our sheep – everything, everything. And when my husband tried to save the sheep, they shot him. Our house is burnt. We are starving on the highroad."

M. Edith Durham, p.296.

Mary Edith Durham was a fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, she was also a member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and author of several books. At thirty-seven, Durham sailed to Cetinje, the capital of Montenegro. During this journey, she found her vocation. Over twenty years, she travelled frequently in the south Balkans working in various relief organizations, capturing scenes of village life in water-colour, and collecting folklore and folk art. Over the next two decades, she wrote seven books on Balkan affairs. "The Struggle for Scutari" is an eyewitness account of the events the author experienced before, during and after the First Balkan War.

► v36. Poor, hungry people who invaded the garden of the Italian Consulate, Scutari (mid-January 1913)



Berri, p.149.

► v37. Bread distribution by the Bulgarians to the starving people of Adrianople, April 1913



L'Illustration, janvier - décembre 1913, p.347.

III d. Behind the Front

III-24. Description of Belgrade by a Croatian newspaper correspondent

"Coming to Belgrade"

"We climbed up that famous Belgrade cobbled pavement, built with round stones, back in Turkish times. Walking on it is like walking on inverted plates.

When we arrived at some stairs, we saw a soldier with half of his bare foot sticking out of his boot. To avoid inquisitive persons asking questions, he was shouting: Yesterday I put grease on them so rats ate them!—and hurried away to change them.

Walking along wide ribbed streets with small houses, at every step we see soldiers dressed in grey or blue suits with grey rain-coats and "opanak"⁴¹. Being used to watching soldiers in polished shoes and heavy boots, we are amazed to see Serbian infantry in "opanak", as they appear in the Vienna magazines. But after a closer look, you are aware that the advantage of "opanak" over shoes is great. "Opanak" (I wore it myself) is more practical because water and mud don't enter into it by the side where the sole meets the upper part of the shoe; even more, it is light (...) If a soldier born in "opanak" was to wear heavy army shoes or boots, he would move in them as if we had coffers on (...)

All the way we're meeting soldiers and those who are going to be dressed in uniforms. Those others, wearing brown trousers of local cloth, which people from Zagreb would think to be Turkish, pace steadily, followed by their wives in short peasant coats and their skirts lifted to avoid splashing of mud (...)

All kinds of soldiers are constantly coming; aligning and marching indifferently, kneading the mud of the Belgrade streets. Small and dark inns are crowded with peasants while women are standing in the street, waiting for

their men to come out (...)

Everybody here has got used to getting ready for the war, so preparations and hurrying up have become a common thing, although in inns, in the streets and during meals people talk only about the war. The general opinion is that there the war must be, not might be. At the market corner, a fourteen-year-old boy is anxiously telling his friend—If only France doesn't upset the plans (*for the war*) (...)

The masses are caught up in war enthusiasm. At "National Defence" a certain maid insisted to be registered into the Sisters' Circle in order to be sent to the frontier, thus protesting against the fact that only fine ladies are sent there and they will, she says, get medals later on (...)

Extremely sad and significant was the case of major Keseric who killed himself because he wasn't taken in the army due to his age (...)"

Belgrade, October 9, 1912.

"Yesterday afternoon I met (...) Serbian cavalry in the street. It flew over the street as if it were the sea, filling it up from one side to other.

Riding on fine horses with well-formed breasts, as we see in the picture presenting Turkish wars in old days, those soldiers carry themselves calmly and the fact that they are going to war makes the scene mysterious and solemn. Music on horses, consisting of trumpets of various sizes, play while passing by the War Ministry. That war music thrilled me strongly, pushing my blood towards my heart and back. There was weeping and joy and bitterness in those sounds, you could hear cannons roaring, war cries and delicate tone of the *gusle*⁴² encouraging soldiers on the battlefield (...)

I went towards the railway station. Soldiers guarded it. The space in front of the modern

⁴¹ Balkan peasant footwear.

⁴² One-stringed Balkan folk fiddle.

and beautiful station is full of men and women peasants who are seeing their sons off. I couldn't see any tears in women's eyes; yet there was a woman dressed as belonging to the middle class; she was squeezed by some pile of wood and was staring at trains which were starting up and whistling constantly. Her big black eyes were glowing from retaining tears."

Hrvatski pokret newspaper, October 9 to 31, 1912.



The "Hrvatski pokret" newspaper sent its correspondent Slavko Vörös to Serbia, towards the end of 1912. In a number of reports (published from October 9th to October 31st, 1912) under the title "The Way to the Balkan Battlefield" he described Belgrade on the eve and at the beginning of Balkan War I. It seems that he didn't manage to get to the battlefield. "The Hrvatski Pokret" published about ten very attractive reports from wartime Belgrade.



Describe the atmosphere of Belgrade before the war started. Why were the people wishing for war to break out? Comment on the case of major Keseric. What were the author's feelings about the military and "heroic" atmosphere all over Belgrade? Did he approve of the war? Was he aware of the horrors of war? Explain. Describe the women's behaviour. Why was the author impressed by this behaviour?

III-25. Description of Istanbul by a French journalist

A. In November 1912

We thought that we would have found a deserted Constantinople, but no change; a few less cars, a few less tramways, but only a few. These days, they were stopping all of them, even the masters' crews. We had to give the password, to prove that the horses did not fall under requisition and, if we did not have the

documents in hand, the team was unharnessed in a flash, the horses were taken and the coachman and the travellers were let free to pull the car, among laughs and approvals of the crowd. The result: no horses anymore. However, with the help of a veterinary, I managed to discover two of them for my campaign's entry, which were hidden underground; I am not inventing this: their owner had put them in his cellar and had shut them away for fear of requisition.

In the streets of Pera, an enormous world, as usual, a cosmopolitan world which seems to stay completely indifferent in the face of war at least superficially: the same cinemas, the same coffee-concerts, the same theatre groups as last year, or at least so similar that we can call them the same; in different repertoires, nothing warlike; I see on the posters: *The Misérables*, *Magda*, *The Child of love*, etc... There are Greeks among the crowd in spite of the war, Italians in spite of the expulsion, Montenegrins in spite of their recent victories; these latest are chaouks, kawas, servants, it's true. However they are wearing the national military costume. All these peoples mix with Turks and wish for their extermination deeply in all honesty, without their indifference looking disturbed. If the battalions pass, none of these people can hide a smile of contempt very well: *Zoa! Zoa!* (they are animals), one Greek was saying yesterday, next to one of my Turkish friends who put him in a difficult situation, and while shaking him up, told him: "Do you want me to repeat your words to them?". The Greek ran away without asking anything else. But it is clear that, more than one half of the empire cordially detests the other. Cosmopolis is a difficult city to govern, and difficult to create a joint passion for an identical ideal, and now I do not know if even one strong ideal remains among the Turks anymore in order to counterbalance the quantity of enmity that they have accumulated towards themselves, in their own country.

Georges Rémond, "Impressions de Constantinople", *L'Illustration*, 3636, 2 novembre 1912, p. 320.

B. In March 1913

Carnival and bonfires

What a strange city! And what numerous contrasts she offers! The carnival is at its height; there are five balls per week; the masks and the dominos pass pell-mell in the big street of Pera with injured and sick persons brought back from the battle lines of Tchataldja or Gallipoli; men with frozen feet, with dead hands, and nobody pays attention. (...) And apart from the faces of patriots troubled by the

uncertainty of the moment, penetrated by sadness, and fearing the new peace negotiations entailing the loss of Adrianople according to the rumours; apart from the expression in the eyes of an injured man, who is passing on horseback in the middle of the public indifference and whom a friend is taking to the hospital, almost nothing else betrayed this accumulation of defeat, of ends of tragedy, of ends of people which press on the city. In short, nobody is seeing it.

Georges Rémond, "A Constantinople",
L'Illustration, 3655, 15 mars 1913, p. 237.

► v38. Aid distribution to the families of the soldiers mobilised in the Romanian-Bulgarian war, 1913



Gazeta Ilustrata, II, no. 31, 13 July 1913, p.9.

III-26. The situation in Scutari during its siege described by an Italian journalist

13 November 1912

This morning the price of bread has risen again; it costs three Albanian piasters a kilo, which is around sixty cents. Who is not able to buy it, engages in the eminent works and as a reward receives notes that can be presented at the bakeries. The reason for the increase of bread price is not only the lack of flour. Inside the depots there are several thousands of sacks: it is said seven or eight thousands. It is the means to bake the bread which is lacking; there is neither wood nor coal; in the villages it was collected as much wood as possible but now it can not be done any more.

[...]

21 November 1912

Today is the only day of Bairam. There should be four but were reduced to only one considering the circumstances. The governor has ordered that all the shops be closed, even those of the Christians. The canon fired five times, twenty-one shots. The Vali held receptions of notables and military music was played a little in the morning, in front of the Konak [town hall].

The closure of the shops did not have any effect: the ceremonies were cold, the gun powder was wasted. Not even for a single day the moslem population knew how to make its Easter solemn with celebration, which their religion and strict tradition requires. Everything was lacking, almost invisible, just like in the other days of the siege.

[...]

Succeeding in buying a loaf of bread did not mean being secure of possessing it; those who had been pushed or pretended to have been, asked for the bread of the ones that acquired it; in the fights that derived from this, the strongest prevailed. During these violent episodes, there were times when the rare gendarmerie patrols intervened: but they could only stop the fight and not resolve the question which was really difficult to sort out.

At the bakery near the new Konak, a lady who fought bravely, was walking with the bread in her hands. Suddenly, a young man got near her, took the precious acquisition and ran away. Before leaving he threw the money on the ground. The unfortunate froze with her empty hands, stared motionless at the person who ran away, and while the people around were laughing of it, she burst into crying. Tonight she won't take anything home. She got on her knees to collect the thrown money from the mud. But now the money doesn't have any value.

Berri, pp. 9, 35, 38-39.



Gino Berri was a young Italian journalist and war correspondent who entered the town of Shkodra before its final siege and remained there for the whole period of six months that the siege lasted. In the book the events are written chronologically based on the diary that Berri kept during the war.

► v39. In Cetinje –women, children and wounded soldiers



L'illustration, t. CXL (1er juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.293.

III-27. "The Serbian woman"

"The Serbian woman"

She surpassed all the most famous women of all nations in the world.

She saw off her father, her husband, her brother, her son to war with flowers and exuberance. She used to tell everyone that the Fatherland is more precious than life. She subjugated her motherly love to the love for the Fatherland. She understood that only a happy Serb woman can be a happy mother. She is convinced that the Fatherland is more important than anything. She worked in the field and harvested the crop. She dug, ploughed, sewed, harvested, threshed, she did all the farm work to be able to feed her children, to be able to send offerings to the warriors and to have ceremonial bread for the celebration of the family patron saint and to be able to pay tax to the government. She did all that with great stamina.

She knitted socks and sewed undergarments and sent them to the soldiers far away with her sincere heart.

She nursed the wounded of her own and of the enemy army most devotedly.

She preserved her woman's chastity with all her virtue.

Those who could carry a rifle but did not go to war she called rejects and despised them most arduously.

Congratulations to you, Serbian woman! You are glorious! You have surpassed all the most famous women of all peoples in the world.

Serb man, your woman is your strength. She is the pillar of your family and the pillar of your state.

My dear and precious daughters. Earthly laws are very unfair to you.

In these wars in these great and historic days you have proved with your impeccable attitude that our legislators and statesmen did not

know your great soul...

Husbands and state should now show and prove that they deserve you, that they are worthy of you. There lies their great interest both moral and material.

Uncle Miloslav"

Balkanski rat u slici i reči 27, 11(25) August 1913.



What is the purpose of writing such a text?

Compare the qualities of the female heroic figure to those of the male hero (read text II-2).

III-28. An upper class Greek woman offers her services as a nurse and records her experience

Oh, I tried hard on the first day to get used to the environment. The picture of misery was most vivid there. The patients who came in were all of the lower classes, dirty and ragged, and the odour they gave off was so bad it nauseated me.

[...]

After two or three stops we arrived in Larissa. We had to stay somewhere, but there was nothing. A small room was hastily prepared for the Princess in the station. The rest of us had to sleep in the carriages. I decided to hire a cab and visit some hospitals. The situation was horrible! The hospitals were all makeshift, without enough beds, nurses—nothing. We heard nothing but moans, sighs and crying. No one answered the cries of the hapless patients. A single male nurse went sleepily around, unable to do anything other than step on some of those who were on the floor. Some of them were very seriously wounded. We helped as much as we could all night, and in the morning we returned to the station.

Trichas, pp.32,35.

Key Excerpts from the 1912 diary of Aspasia Mavromihali-Ralli, daughter and subsequently wife of Greek prime ministers. Soon after the mobilisation she offered her services as a nurse for the wounded from the front. After a short training she accompanied princess Eleni on the first journey of the hospital train and recorded her experiences.

? What was the role a woman could undertake during the war? How did this upper class woman feel when faced with the reality of war? Compare with text III-24, especially the paragraph “At ‘National Defence’...medals later on”.

► **v40. Serbian women exercise the use of rifles, 1912**



Vojska na Balkanu [The War in the Balkans], Ljubljana 1912.

► **v41. Nurse with military patients, ca. 1913**



Historic Archive of the Benaki museum, Athens in Fotopoulos, p.266.

► **v42. Turkish women offering their services as nurses in Istanbul**



L'Illustration, t. CXL (1er juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.372.

Key Caption: Turkish ladies of the Red Crescent at Gulhane hospital. [...] This photo witnesses that the ladies of Turkish high society, married and engaged women, anxious mothers, decided despite Muslim traditions to serve at the hospitals [...]

III-29. An incident between Bulgarian civilians and armed Romanian soldiers in a Bulgarian tavern, told by a Romanian officer

In Orhania I found a map of Bulgaria on the wall of a tavern that was of interest to me. I wanted to buy it. It should have cost at the most one Leu, but I offered two. He wouldn't sell it to me. I offered five. He wouldn't give it to me. I wanted to steal it. They saw that and then four Bulgarians gathered in front of the

map, ready to fight me if I touched it. The tavern was full with Romanian soldiers, all of them armed, and they, unarmed. And they would have fought! Their insolence was almost heroic, but nevertheless it was mere insolence...

Gane, p.90.

? Why, in your opinion, was the map in the tavern so important to the Bulgarians? What do you think the map showed? What is the attitude of the author? What would have been your reaction if you were in his place?

III-30. Turks and Jews in Belgrade during the First Balkan War

"In front of the Turkish mosque"

As it is a fine autumn day, people are walking on the walls of Kale Megdan and at Topcider. Kale Megdan is crowded, but they are only women so, you feel uneasy to stroll into womenfolk who have only recently sent their husbands and sons into war.

Somehow I find myself in a small street in front of the Turkish mosque. It is fairly large but simple, resembling a big fireplace or a baker's oven, standing peacefully in the town centre, the people of which stood up to fight against the tyrants of their brothers; the Turk will slaughter them in the name of the prophet whose crescent is shining on the sharp point of the minaret.

People say that every Friday evening, when the old muezzin appears on the minaret balcony to invoke Allah, a crowd of children gather in front of the mosque and throw stones at the Turkish sanctuary.

Since tension between Turkey and Serbia has reached its height, the old muezzin doesn't show up and the name of Allah is not heard over the small houses of Belgrade.

Has the Great Prophet become ashamed of the shameful deeds of his children in Old Serbia and Macedonia? ...

For quite a long time I stood in front of the remains of the power who has been repressing us and our brothers for ages, and somehow I feel uneasy thinking of the old muezzin who hid himself inside those walls as a chicken before storm.

"Jews"

Not far from the Turkish mosque there is a Jewish synagogue. Then I recall that these days Jews in Belgrade raise quite large sums of money for the families whose defenders went to war. The same thing is going on in the province. Would there be such Jews in our country, those who would do that in such a critical moment? I think there would...

Hrvatski pokret newspaper, October 9 to 31, 1912.

? What was the attitude of the two minorities in Belgrade? Try to explain the reasons for their respective behaviour.

III-31. Children playing war games in Belgrade

In Belgrade, October 16

In the Belgrade streets the brats have already started playing a Serbo-Turkish war game. Up to now they've only heard people speaking generally about the Serbo-Turkish war so they are not sure how to play it. But children have got quite a clear picture of Chetniks⁴³, whom people here call "komita"⁴⁴ and talk so much about. Their adventurous life, full of heroic deeds in the battles against the Turks, bursts from the imagination in the market-places, having a lively effect on children.

Those little warriors mostly meet at the green square between Knez Mihajlo street and the small street where the inn "At the Golden Barrel" is; the place that was and still is the centre for Belgrade bohemians and artists.

⁴³ Guerrilla warrior, and later on, especially in WWII, militant Serbian nationalist.

⁴⁴ Guerrilla warrior.

That square is probably the Kosovo field because it is crowded with children shouting “Long live Isa Boljetinac, shoot a Turk!” The “Turks” were less numerous, of course they hid themselves round the corner of the inn “At

Golden Barrel”, not because they were afraid of the Serbs but due to the fact that they had to play the Turks.

Hrvatski pokret newspaper, October 9 to 31, 1912.

► v43. Children playing war games in Vranje, Serbia



? How did the war influence children's games? Why did only a few children in text III-31 play the role of the “Turks”? Think about comparable games from your childhood. Are there war games for children today? Who are the ‘enemies’?

L'illustration, t. CXL (1er juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.346.

► v44. Children serving as nurses in Podgoritsa



L'illustration, t. CXL (1er juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.346.

► v45. Serbian women's committee of the Red Cross in New York, organised for the collection of aid for the wounded



Balkanski rat u slici i reči 35,
20th October (13th November) 1913.

III-32. Actions for raising money for the “South-Slav brothers” in Croatia

ZAGREB FOR THE RED CROSS OF THE BALKAN NATIONS

At today's city council session at 4 p. m., a proposition will be made that Zagreb, the metropolis of the Croatian Kingdom, will assign from its funds a sum of 20,000 K (*twenty thousand krunas*) for the Red Cross of the Balkan Nations.

That proposition will, of course, be accepted. So far, it is the largest sum assigned by any City council. Zagreb would give more if its economy was better.”

*Kolo*⁴⁵ On Thursday, at the rehearsal of our Croatian singing society ‘Kolo’, its vice-president Mr Prilepic announced that fund raising for the Red Cross of the Balkan Nations will soon be allowed, and ‘Kolo’ must take part in it. That news encountered great enthusiasm. Everybody clapped and cheered.

Then it was decided that the concert would be held on Thursday, November 7, and the net income would be given to the Red Cross.”

Hrvatski pokret newspaper, November 4, 1912.



Expressing support for South-Slav countries and nations, the people of Croatia and Slovenia undertook numerous actions for raising money. The news of these actions was regularly published on the front pages of the newspapers. It seems that there was not a place in the Slav territories of Austria-Hungary where help for the “South-Slav brothers” was not collected.



What were the reasons for this charity in Zagreb?

Why were the authors of the news so sure that the city fathers would support the donation?

Was participation in such practices a question of social prestige?

▶ v46. Cypriot volunteer in the Balkan Wars



Katia Hadjidemetriou, p.331.

III-33. Volunteers and offers of money from Cyprus⁴⁶

In the night a telegram arrived from Reuters to announce the complete defeat of the Bulgarians. The announcement was communicated like lightning to all neighbourhoods. The first groups of people started coming down cheering from the coffee shops of *Jamouda* towards the city. The unions as well as many private houses were decorated with flags. Out of the “Equality” the flags of Serbia and of Montenegro were floating together with the Greek flag. Suddenly and out of nowhere a huge unique demonstration formed. The Philharmonic orchestra, whose 7 students were already fighting in the front line, led by the maestro, Mr. Kalligeri, was situated in front of the popular masses playing war songs. The

⁴⁵ Kolo = wheel dancing. Kolo was much popularised in the time of national awakening.

⁴⁶ Cyprus sent around 1,500 volunteers to the Balkan wars; 776 volunteers' names have been collected by P.Papapolyviou.

orchestra turned onto Georgios I Street and standing in front of the unions played the anthem. The vanguard of the demonstration was at the “Atheneon” and the crowd stretched as far as Konstantinos Palaiologos Street.

Long live Konstantinos XII⁴⁷! Long live ‘Voulgaroktonoi’⁴⁸! Long live *Enosis*!

Two thousand people accompanied the music, singing the anthem. A huge flag was passed through the demonstration and it was greeted with a fierce display of enthusiasm. People were throwing their hats up in the air and many were kissing the sacred symbol of the fatherland.

The demonstration, which was already lit by fireworks, went along Georgios I Street and through Vasileos Evagoros Street, Saint Andreas and Kritis Street, went back to the unions. At midnight the demonstration ended. However, various groups continued demonstrating after midnight too, filling the streets and singing national songs.

The next day, among crowds of people, a ceremony was held at Saint Napa, where the Bishop of Kition gave a speech, generating new emotions and new excitement. (...)

On Sunday the city started taking new collections in order to reinforce the funds for the national needs. Hundreds of young people in the city and its outskirts are ready to depart.

Limassol, holding strongly in its memory its glorious traditions, will make the departure of its noble children as easy as possible. The city is proud because, whenever needed, it proves through glorious actions that it knows well how to serve the great ideals of its people.

Newspaper *Alitheia* (The Truth),
5 July 1913 in Papapolyviou, p.73.



At the Congress of Berlin (1878) Cyprus' administration was ceded to Britain. The island remained under Ottoman sovereignty until 1914. After the Ottoman Empire had entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers, in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), Turkey recognised the annexation of Cyprus to Britain. In 1925 Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony. The idea of ‘enosis’ (union) with Greece developed in Cyprus in accordance with Greek irredentism and the Great Idea. A strong unification movement rose under British rule.



Compare texts III-32 and III-33: do you find any similarities? What kind of solidarity is expressed? What were the expectations of the Croats and Cypriots respectively?

III-34. Bulgarian milkmen in Istanbul

So we're always in a state of war with the Bulgarians. And the whole world is aware of the atrocities that this brutal, malicious people has committed against us. Is there one village they have not burned down, one mosque they have not torn down? Are there women and children they have not assassinated and prisoners they have not killed? Although that's how things are, there are still thousands of

Bulgarian milkmen working in Istanbul, who dare to wear the Kalpak⁴⁹ and have not suffered at the hands of the Turks even the least mistreatment. This is already enough to prove the whole western world the greatness of the noble Ottoman people.

The Bulgarians have once said, in order to cover their own atrocities, that we have also committed atrocities against them, and they have made them known to the European press.

⁴⁷ Greek king Konstantinos I was called Kostantinos XII, implying that he was the successor of Konstantinos XI Paleologos, the last Byzantine emperor.


⁴⁸ ‘Bulgarian Killers’: an allusion is made here to the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976-1025) ‘the Bulgar slayer’, as he was later known.

⁴⁹ Fez-like headgear of fur.

In reality one recognises that all these are lies. Nowhere in Europe, that is regarded as the civilised world, could the citizens of two states at war live in the opposite country. During the German-French war⁵⁰ there were no Germans on French soil, exactly as there were no Frenchmen in Germany. And if there were one there the people would have torn him in pieces.

When someone looks at the situation in Europe and here, one realises that the Ottoman milk is healthier than the bad milk of the Bulgarian milkmen. We're therefore proud of our sense of justice. And we would like to see of what the criminals can be proud of!


"Sütçülerimiz" (Our milkmen),
Column: Hasb-i Hal (Private/Friendly Chat), *Karagöz* 548,
23rd August 1913 in Heinzelmänn, pp.246-247.


 *Karagöz* was published from August 10th 1908 until 1951 twice a week. The name *Karagöz* comes from the comical, rather rough character of the traditional Ottoman shadow theatre. The magazine changed publishers twice during its long history. Ali Fuad, the founder, published *Karagöz* until his death in 1919. His successor, Ali Fuad's sister Fatma, sold the magazine in 1935 to the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi ("Republican People's Party").

► v47. Milk advertisement in Greece



Η Αθήνα των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων 1912-1913.

 Translation: During the recent Balkan war the brave Greek soldiers consumed large quantities of "VLAHAS" milk which gave them strength and health.

 How does this advertisement use the Balkan war experience? Do you know of any advertisements using soldiers today? Who would be the protagonist in a similar advertisement? How do you explain this?

Overall questions on chapter III d

1. Compare texts and visuals referring to the role of women during the war. Identify stereotypes and real situations. Do some research in Workbook 4 and compare the texts here with role of women in WWII: could you see any differences or similarities with the Balkan Wars?
2. Try to find all visuals in this workbook where children are represented; describe the different aspects of the impact of war on children's lives.
3. Classify the texts into those referring to (a) before the war, (b) during the war, and (c) after the war. Can you describe what the image of the war is in all three cases?
4. Find documents referring to war experiences during WWI (in Western Europe) and try to detect similarities.

⁵⁰ The 1870-1871 German-French war is implied here.

CHAPTER IV: Battlefields and Onlookers

The beginning of the Balkan wars caused different reactions and mixed feelings among the population of the peninsula. Both combatant sides had their strong supporters and equally strong opponents. The officially proclaimed neutrality of the Entente and the Central Powers in the armed conflict went side by side with enthusiastic support for the “brothers in faith and in arms”.

The Balkan wars started a new round of political and diplomatic discussions on the future of the region. Plans for the creation of new states in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire re-emerged. While the political circles were trying to exploit the new situation for their own reasons, ordinary people were moved by the disasters of the war and the unclear perspective of a peace, in which the victors would impose their terms without a respect for the needs of the others. The sense of solidarity among people from different denominations and especially among the Slav nations was perceived as a serious threat by the ruling circles of the neighbouring non-combatant countries and remained for many years after the end of the wars.

The sources in this chapter try to reconstruct the attitude of the Balkan people under different political regimes towards the Balkan wars. They vary from total involvement up to the point of forming corps of volunteers to comparative indifference and good humour. Parallel to those natural reactions were the contradictory long-term political plans.

IVa. The Balkan Provinces of the Ottoman Empire

In the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkan wars were met with different hopes. Some people entered the Ottoman army hoping to destroy her enemies and preserve her integrity, while others were struggling for their own nation-states.

ALBANIA. As Albania was granted a limited autonomy immediately before the outbreak of the Balkan wars, the attitude towards the belligerent sides was not homogeneous. The main aim was to secure, and if possible, to expand the autonomy in all the regions that were claimed as part of the Albanian lands. That could be achieved by acting on the side of the victors and with the support of the Great Powers. Ottoman defeats in the first Balkan War forced the Albanians to give up their traditional autonomist strategy and to strike out for full independence. However, the conflicting interests of the Great Powers compelled the new Albania to lead a precarious existence amid diplomatic intrigue and armed assault for several years.

IV-1. Decisions about the attitude that Albanians should have, in case of a Balkan war - Skopje, 14 October 1912

The branch of the Committee “Salvation” in Skopje and the “Black Society” held an emer-

gency meeting with subject:

Turkey will bring the war. So how will we rescue Albania?

The decisions taken were:

1. Send a proclamation to the Great Powers
2. Form a group of delegates to break Scutari's

Highlanders agreement with Montenegro.

3. This delegation will have the competency to join the Albanian regions in order to rescue the country from the danger of breaking apart.

The proclamation signed in 16.10.1912 by the "Black Society" stated that: "The Black Society", representative of the Albanian people, is honoured to inform you that the Albanian people is fighting not to enforce the Turkish domination in the Balkans but to take hold of the whole Albanian territory. Therefore, whatever the end of the war may be, Albanians will never admit any other form of administration for the four vilayets than that of a single government.

Akte të Rilindjes Kombëtare Shqiptare, pp. 255-256.



The "Black Society for Salvation" (1911-1912) was an Albanian revolutionary and nationalist society which was active in several towns such as, Vlora, Gjirokastra, Korçë, Monastir, Skopje ect. Its primary aim was the unification of Scutari, Kosovo, Monastir and Janina vilayets into a single autonomous political unit with an Albanian administration and a separate parliament. It was a society with radical views and regarded the armed uprisings as the means to realise its goals. It played an important role in organising and coordinating the uprisings of 1911-1912 in Albania against the Ottoman rule. It also kept close contact with the Albanian patriotic societies abroad.

IV-2. Herbert Adams Gibbons, a young student of history who travelled the Balkans, working for the Red Cross during the Balkan Wars, writes about the Albanian defence of Scutari

Scutari was invested but the Montenegrins who had been able to put into the field scarcely more than thirty thousand men, found themselves mobilised for the entire winter. The great fortress of Tarabosh, a high mountain, towering over the town of Scutari and the lower end of the lake, was too strong for their forces and their artillery. Inside the city of Scutari, it was the Albanians fighting for their national life, and

not the Turks, who organised and maintained the splendid and protracted resistance.

Gibbons, pp.274-275.



Why were the Albanians supporting the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the war? Did they fight for the Sultan in Istanbul, or for their national cause? What were the pluses and the minuses of that policy?

► **v48. Before leaving Scutari: a Montenegrin mother and her son in front of his father's tomb, May 1913**



L'Illustration, janvier-décembre 1913, p.449.



Look carefully at the picture. Do you think that this is a natural picture or is it posed especially for the camera?

IV-3. Telegram from the head of the Albanian Provisional Government sent to the foreign ministers of Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, 29 November 1912

I want to inform your excellences about a remarkable event in the national life of the Albanians.

The representatives from all the Albanian regions, of different religious affiliations, gathered yesterday in a National Assembly, in the city of Vlora, declared the independence of

Albania, and elected a Provisional Government. Albanians are happy to join the family of the free nations of East Europe, having no other aim than to live in peace with all their neighbours. Hoping that this change in the national life and the Provisional Government will be recognised by the Governments of Your Royal Highnesses; that every hostile action from your armies inside our national land will cease and all the Albanian territories occupied by the Allies' armies now, will be free again.

Qeveria e Përkohëshme e Vlorës..., pp.42-43.

► v49. Albanian insurgents from Mirdita prepared to go to war against the Turkish army, 1912 (before the Balkan War)



*Gjurme te Historise
Kombetare ne Fototeken
e Shkodres*, p.127.

IV-4. Official message from the Austrian-Hungarian consul sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Vlore, 30 November 1912

During the conversation in our consulate today, with Ismail Kemal Bey⁵¹, where our Italian colleague was also present, the former assured us that he was satisfied with the administrative operations until now. His authority in the unoccupied parts of the country had

been recognised. Moreover the Turkish troops and generals in these territories are staying totally neutral. [...]

Troops of the west Turkish army are located in huge number in Lushnje under Mahmud Pasha's command, in Kelcyra under Seid Pasha, in Berat under Xhavid Pasha, in Leskovik under Ali Riza Pasha. These troops are totally demoralised, tired and unequipped.

Ismail Qemal and Documents, p.246.

⁵¹ Ismail Kemal Bey, (1844-1919) was born in Vlora to a wealthy feudal family. He did his elementary schooling in his hometown and afterwards attended the "Zosimea" college in Janina. In 1859 he moved to Istanbul with his family where he began a distinguished career in the Ottoman service and remained to contribute substantially to the winning of Albanian independence. Participated actively in the Young Turks movement but opposed their policy when they estab-

❓ What was the situation in Albanian lands at the end of the war?

Why was the Provisional Government seeking good relations with the Balkan allies?

Was there a contradiction between the demands of the Albanians, Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks?

IV-5. The dangers of delimitating Albania for European peace –a French perspective

European Implications of the Albanian Question

In what way, can the delimitation of Albania now be a threat to the European peace? The reason for this danger is simple.

Austria-Hungary, which did not take part in the war, has in reality, no title to intervene in the sharing of European Turkey between the allies who invoke the right of conquest and the enor-

mous sacrifices that they had to make, both human and financial. *However, the project of Albania presented by Vienna's government only aims at stripping the Montenegrins, Serbians, and Greeks of the main results of their victories.*

The Great Powers already concede a lot to Austria-Hungary by approving the principle of an autonomous Albania, but it is obvious that this Albania should be restricted in size, in order to reconcile the preferences of Austria with the rights of the victorious Balkan allies.

But, if Austria is more or less supported in its ambitions by Germany and Italy, the Balkan allies have, as natural support, the *Triple Entente* powers, whose doctrine was proclaimed on the 9th of November 1912 by Mr. Asquith, the British prime minister. He said during the banquet of the lord mayor: "*The victorious shouldn't be deprived of such an expensive victory.*" Consequently, the two important political European groups are grappling with each other over the Albanian question.

André Chéradame, *L'Illustration*, 3650, 8 février 1913, p. 115.

MACEDONIA. The situation in Macedonia⁵² was far more complex than that in Albania. While parts of the population sought the opportunity to join the neighbouring nation states, the idea of autonomy, as given in article 23 of the Berlin treaty in 1878 was raised once again by some political circles in the emigration.

IV-6. Memorandum by a group of Macedonian intellectuals living in Saint Petersburg, dated 7th of June 1913, and addressed "To the Governments and societies of the allied Balkan states"

[...] In the name of the natural law, in the name

of history, in the name of the practical purposefulness, we beg You, brothers, to accept for your information the following:

Macedonia is populated by a homogenous Slav people, that has its own history, its own way of life, it had its own state in the past, its own ideals, and therefore has the right to self-

lished their authoritarian rule. Despite the Young Turks' efforts against his candidacy, in December 1908, Ismail Kemal was elected member of the Ottoman parliament for the sanjak of Berat. After the outbreak of the first Balkan War, together with a group of other Albanian patriots, he organised several meetings with Albanians in the diaspora to discuss the Albanian issue. He made public his views about the future of Albania in several articles and interviews given for foreign newspapers. Returned to Albania on 19th of November and after a meeting of representatives from all regions inhabited by Albanians, on 28th November 1912 he proclaimed the independence of Albania from the Turkish rule and became the first Albanian prime minister. In 1914 his government resigned and a European prince was established by the European Powers as king of Albania. Ismail Kemal died in 1919 in Italy and was buried in his hometown, Vlorë.

⁵² As variously defined: see table 13.

determination;

Macedonia should be an independent state within its own ethnographic, geographic and cultural-historical borders, with a government responsible to a people's assembly;

The Macedonian state should be a separate and equal unit within a Balkan union with common custom borders;

In ecclesiastical matters, it is necessary to re-establish in Macedonia the old autocephalous church of Ohrid, which would then establish its canonical relations with the other Orthodox churches: the Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian, and Syrian-Arabic;

In order to work out a better internal arrangement of the Macedonian state a general representative body (national constitutive assembly) should be called together as soon as possible in Thessaloniki through general elections under the patronage of the other countries.

Brother allies – liberators! We hope that our words will find the way to your heart and mind and that You, following the example of the generous country of Russia and in the interests of your own future, will support the immediate creation of an independent Macedonian state by which You will preserve the peace and harmony amongst you. The sooner, the better for all of us. Such a solution derives from the realisation of the great Slavo-Hellenic idea of a Balkan alliance and that is also what the interests of the world's culture and justice demand you to do.

Signed by Dimitar Chupovski (probable author), Gjorgji A. Georgov, G.K. Konstantinovich, Nace D. Dimov, I.G. Georgov.

Odbrani tekstovi za istorijata na makedonskiot narod, pp.810-812.

❓ What are the main political ideas in this document?

Why do you think they are referring to 'generous Russia'?

Compare with texts II-4, II-5 and II-6: try to understand what the meaning of 'Balkan Union' is in each of the four cases.

► v50. Greek and Serbian diplomats and military representatives on the Kajmakchalan mountain to discuss the determining of the borders in the partition of Macedonia



IV-7. The idea of an autonomous Macedonia questioned by a French journalist, August 1912

Are we going to apply this progression towards the autonomy of Macedonia? The idea of a Macedonia for the Macedonians has progressed in these last few years and tends to replace the idea of a more dangerous breaking up of Macedonia and its division between the different Balkan States. But the convulsions which have been continuously disturbing this province seem to originate in a Bulgarian movement rather than a Macedonian movement. In these conditions, it would be difficult to organise a Macedonian autonomy without considerably favouring the Bulgarian party by sacrificing other nationalities' parties. This would provoke apparently desperate resistances even in the heart of Macedonia. Finally, we should not forget that Greeks and Koutzo-Vlachs (Romanians) of Macedonia, for fear of hegemony of Slavic elements, are in favour of the *status quo*. [...]

A Balkan war at the moment would be a significant danger for Europe. Europe should make an effort to avert this danger with the means that it has. Nothing is more legitimate.

Albéric Cahuet, "La situation en Turquie et la proposition Berchtold", *L'Illustration*, 3626, 24 août 1912, p. 123.

? Overall Questions on chapter IVa

What were the common elements in the expectations of the political circles in Albania and Macedonia at the end of the Balkan wars?

Do they have anything in common with the expectations of the other Balkan nations and in what respect?

Point out the differences in these expectations and try to establish “the best solution”.

IVb. The Balkan Lands of Austria-Hungary

The Balkan provinces of Austria-Hungary had to follow the official neutrality, proclaimed in Vienna, but for many reasons the population in them felt far more engaged than the cabinet ministers in the imperial capital.

SLOVENIA. The Slovenes showed great interest in the Balkan wars and strong sympathy for South-Slav nations was evident. The war was presented as a war of the suppressed nations against Turkish supremacy, as a cultural and religious (Christianity against Islam) war, and also as a war for the union of South-Slav nations. Though the policy of the Slovenian political parties was not directed towards finding perspectives for the solution of the Slovenian national question outside the borders of Austria-Hungary, they shared the belief that the liberation of South-Slav nations would strengthen the position of the Slav nations within the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy.

IV-8. *War in the Balkans 1912/13*, a book published in 1914, brought an in-depth analysis of the nations involved in the war, the causes and consequences of the war

Before the War - Reasons for War

...Serbia will to the sea

It is obvious that Serbia could not develop accordingly within such borders. Only if Serbia could get Old Serbia from which there is the shortest access to the Adriatic coast along the river Drina valley, to the ports of Sv. Ivan, Lješ and Drač, would it have the necessary conditions for normal life and economic development. [...]

...Bulgaria will liberate the Macedonians

Now, that their happier brothers in the Balkans went into battle to free themselves from terrible slavery, the Macedonians have risen again too. They forgot party disputes and embraced each other in a brotherly spirit, when fighting for their home country. Some of them have

joined the Bulgarian army as volunteers, others went to the mountains; they were both fighting for the freedom which they had craved for such a long time and for which so much blood had already been shed. They have risen to avenge themselves for the innumerable wrongs and atrocities, to avenge their fathers and mothers, their wives and children. Now, they did not retreat to the mountains to hide from the Turks, they were allured by a bright glow, which announced a new, free life to the home country. The big day now came for them. [...]

...Greece demands Crete

The reason, which led the Greeks to join the Balkan states in the war against Turkey, was the island Crete. [...]

Anyway, Greece had a number of other reasons for the attack. Like the Slavs, the Greeks also suffered under Turkish rule. Particularly in Epirus, the Turks and the Albanians slaughtered each other constantly. There was no

peace on the islands either; shortly before the war, a ruthless rebellion was raging on the island of Samos.

Vojška na Balkanu (War on the Balkans), pp. 27, 42.

? What do the Slovenes see as the main reasons for the outbreak of the Balkan wars?

Are they familiar with the problems in the Balkans?

Although recognising the interests of the Balkan nation-states, why do they not recognise the interests of the Ottoman Empire?

IV-9. A Slovene perspective on the situation in Macedonia

A dispute about Macedonia

Slovenes are surely friends of the Slav nations in the Balkans. They are fond of all of them. Therefore they feel very sorry that the Serbs and Bulgarians got into a quarrel. Slovenes do not take sides and behave impartially. This however does not mean that they are indifferent observers of the dispute; for we know well that what matters here is not only the destiny of individual ethnic groups, but the destiny of the Balkans, of all South Slavs and of Slavs in general. No Slav would come to an idea to set fire to this dispute; even the Russians, as the oldest brothers avoid interfering directly in the

conflict as arbiters. [...]

The "Russian Word" ("Ruskoje Slovo") explicitly warns the Serbs – and implicitly also the Bulgarians – that in the case (of the war) they should not reckon upon the Russian support nor the sympathies of the entente..." A new Balkan War should in no way be allowed. The Great Powers have the necessary means at their disposal to put an end to the stupid disputes and intransigence of one or the other side. Such a measure is the autonomy of Macedonia – it is clear that such a measure will be taken only in an extreme case, when all the other means become ineffective".

The opinion of the Russian newspaper is nothing new to the world. It has been known in smaller circles in the Balkans for months that a party exists – a more or less important one – which would like to create an autonomous Macedonia; this is the party of separatists. They act secretly, and it is clear why. But if they get support from such a strong side as the Russian one, this can pluck up their courage, they can soon get new followers and future can unexpectedly smile at them.

Slovenec, 122, 31 May 1913.



The author of this article is Anton Bezenšek, a Slovene stenographer and translator living in Sofia. *Slovenec* (Slovene) was a daily Catholic newspaper.

CROATIA, being closer to the allied Balkan nations, had a more near and concrete look at the Balkan wars. Side by side with analytical materials, some of the Croats shared their personal impressions of the belligerent countries in the Zagreb newspapers. At the same time both points of view were subjected to the criticism of the cartoons.

IV-10. The *Obzor* (*The Horizon*), daily paper in Zagreb, October 10, 1912

WAR IN THE BALKANS

The Balkan countries surely don't enter the war only to obtain that little promise for reforms in Turkey but also with hope of getting complete autonomy for Christian provinces or at least to widen their territory (...) Of course, the final suc-

cess of the Balkan countries depends on their war readiness and the understanding and carrying out of their mutual interests. If that Alliance is based on a solid foundation, the success is granted; they will be able to oppose to all external attempts as a whole, as a new authority.

Key The Obzor (The Horizon), issued between 1860-1941, was one of the most widely read daily papers in Zagreb. When the Balkan wars broke out, the editor was Slavko Vodvarka.

? What is the attitude towards the Balkan alliance and towards the Ottoman Empire of Croatian public opinion according to the text above?

► v51. Croatian cartoon, 1912

RAT JE OBJAVLJEN!...



Koprive (Nettle) satirical magazine, 1912.

Key Translation:
-“Mum, mum, the war has been declared!”
-“I’ll show you what the real war is!”

? Why are some of the Croats so enthusiastic about the declaration of the Balkan war?
Is the official neutrality of Austria-Hungary reflected in the above sources?
What kind of similarities and differences do you see in the attitudes of the Croats and the Slovenes?

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA as a new province in Austria-Hungary since 1908 and as a part of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, was in a very specific situation when the Balkan wars started. The provincial government had to secure neutrality, but the population was not so reserved.

IV-11. The provincial Habsburg authorities developed special measures in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Since the beginning of the Balkan Wars the head of State government [in Bosnia and Herzegovina] Oskar Potchiorek has done lot of things in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the goal

to prepare for war against Serbia and Montenegro. Personally, he has great desires for this war, with the common Austria-Hungarian minister of war. So they just have waited for a good reason. Enlargement of military functions was given to Potchiorek, so he was promoted to army inspector and commanding general. The mobilisation of recruits has started.

Even before the First Balkan War Potchiorek had prepared the introduction of so called special measures in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to secure his back in case of eventual war against Serbia. The Skadar crisis was a good reason for him to introduce this special status in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through a deal with the common minister of finances, Bilinski, and common minister of foreign affairs, Berthold. The approval of the emperor for this action was granted on May 1st, and already on May 3rd 1913, posters with information about special measures were posted all over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under the special measures, some citizens' freedoms have been restricted or aborted: some articles of the Bosnian constitution have been suspended, freedom of movement and freedom of press have been restricted. This status has very negative affect on the whole population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Madzar, *Balkanski ratovi i iznimne mjere u Bosni i Hercegovini...*, pp. 64-65.

? What kind of measures did the Habsburg authorities implement in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Were they caused solely by the outbreak of the Balkan wars or did they have further aims?

Why does the population have a negative attitude to the state policy?

IV-12. Restriction of the volunteer movement inside Bosnia and Herzegovina

After the escorting of 300 soldiers on their way to volunteer for the Turkish army in October 1912, public manifestation of volunteering became illegal. On that occasion, together with the volunteers, a group of a few thousand

Muslim demonstrators marched under green flags until the railway station. The common ministry protested against this kind of public support for one of the sides involved in the war. The order was immediately sent to regional institutions that the collection of volunteers had already been forbidden on 14th of October. From that time volunteers have only passed the border illegally.

Ekmecic, *Uticaj balkanskih ratova ...*, p. 416.

IV-13. Serbian volunteers in Bosnia and Herzegovina

It was not simple to become a member of the volunteer units, especially not when it was about a special one. The criteria were extremely specific for reception in units led by vojvodas [commanders] Vojislav Tankosic and Vuk Popovic, but many Serbs wanted to be part of these units. Still, only tall people could be accepted into those units. So, in the front of the command place of Tankocis's unit there were a lot of happy and sad pictures. Of course, happy was the one to whom admittance was granted, and sad, even crying, were they who had been rejected, for different reasons, mostly because of age or physical status. Among the group rejected by vojvoda Tankosic, was one short dark skinned boy. It was Gavrilko Princip.

Micevic, *Srpski dobrovoljci u ratovima...*, pp. 15-16.

? Why do young men go as volunteers to a war in which their state is not participating?

Compare this with the volunteer movement in WWI.

Do you know any cases where young men volunteered to go to war for motives other than nationality (i.e. from Western Europe to Balkan countries)?

? General questions on chapter IVb

Why were some of the peoples in the Balkan provinces of Austria-Hungary trying to participate in the Balkan wars, while the others remained only interested in it?

To what extent does a feeling of common belonging exist between them, or a common loyalty to the country they live in?

Can we compare it to the feelings of the peoples living in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire or in the Balkan nation states?

? Overall questions on chapter IV

What were the key factors in the formation of Balkan public opinion at the beginning of the Balkan wars?

Could the Ottoman Empire or Austria-Hungary rely on the loyalty of all their citizens?

CHAPTER V: After the War

The results of every war are usually estimated from the viewpoint of winners and losers. These political results can easily be traced along the new borderlines on the political maps and calculated through the data of territorial and population gains and losses. Side by side with these formal consequences, wars cause a total disturbance in the life of every state, of every society and of every family for many years. Destruction, disease, injuries are rather short-term problems that every state and every society overcomes in a comparatively short period of time. What cannot be overcome in the life of a whole generation is the psychological trauma - "the horrors of the war", as they were usually referred to in those times. They include not only the memories of the most ugly and inhuman incidents, but also the suffering for lost relatives, the lost home town or village, the "lost fatherland" in the words of the hundreds of thousands of refugees. Traumatic memory is transmitted to the next generations and is often transliterated into historical narrative, in this way being perpetuated in the long term.

The consequences of the Balkan wars are no exception to this tendency. Pain and fear survived to their end, people migrated leaving behind them their burnt villages while people who remained in the provinces that became part of a different state had a hard time adapting. The transition to the nation-state was not just a political matter.

Consequences became even more crucial because of the outbreak of the First World War, only one year after the end of the Balkan wars. The countries that felt victorious in the Balkan wars, joined the constructors of the Balkan union from the Entente, while those who felt humiliated, joined their antagonists from the Central Powers. Some of them did not have the choice of choosing at all, being invaded by foreign armies. That is why many contemporaries and historians regard World War I as "the next Balkan war".

This chapter does not try to document in detail all the possible short and long-term consequences of the Balkan wars. It only proposes a selection of sources that help the students understand the complexity of the post-war consequences and their far-reaching repercussions.

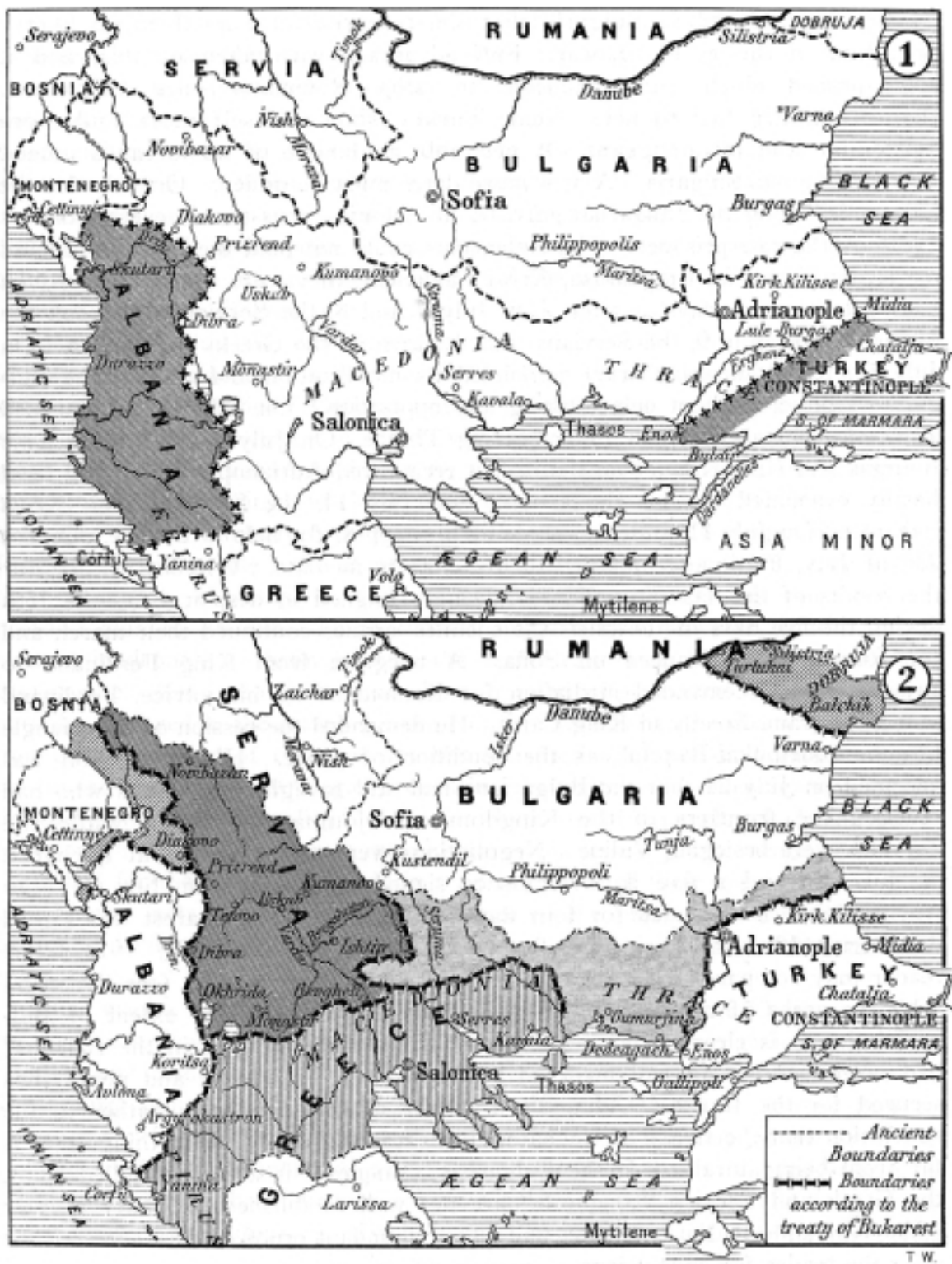
Va. Political Consequences

TABLE 15
Area and population of the Balkan states before and after the War

	Area in Square Miles		Estimated Population	
	<i>Before the war</i>	<i>After the War</i>	<i>Before the War</i>	<i>After the War</i>
Albania	—	11,317	—	850,000
Bulgaria	33,647	43,310	4,337,516	4,467,006
Greece	25,014	41,933	2,666,000	4,363,000
Montenegro	3,474	5,603	250,000	500,000
Romania	50,720	53,489	7,230,418	7,516,418
Serbia	18,650	33,891	2,911,701	4,527,992
Turkey in Europe	65,350	10,882	6,130,200	1,891,000

Carnegie, p.[418].

Maps 2 and 3: Territorial modifications in the Balkans.
The treaty of London and the treaty of Bucharest




Carnegie, p. 70.

? Study the maps and the table and trace the territorial modifications.
 What was the main outcome of the wars compared to the situation before them?
 Compare maps 1, 2 and 3: what is the relation between initial aspirations and final outcome?

V-1. *Finis Turquiae?* –Commentary of a French journalist, February 1913

This broken old man so close to the tomb, whom a servant was helping to walk, and this priest who was praying, bowed down in direction of the Orient, within the European furniture of this pretentious living room, these two ulemas resembled 15th century persons and were having their flavoured tobacco on the step of the palace with such a nice gesture; but above all, the material and moral decoration of such a spectacle, the relentlessness of one hostile part of Europe, the betrayal of the other, on whom they were relying, the indifference of the people, the political hates – the only ones to be vivid, the battleships of the foreign powers supervising the palace, supervising the city. Did not all of this appear to be expressed very clearly in only a few words? *Finis Turquiae?*

Georges Rémond, "Les angoisses et les convulsions de Constantinople", *L'Illustration*, 3649, 1^{er} février 1913, p.79.

 The scene described in this excerpt took place on January 22nd after the meeting of the "Grand Divan" where minister Kiamil pasha was authorised to cede Adrianople to the Balkan allies. The next day, January 23rd, the minister of the war, Nazim pasha, was shot in the Parliament and a Young Turk coup overthrew the Ottoman government.

V-2. An excerpt from an article in a Bulgarian newspaper, 26 July 1913

THE PEACE TREATY IS SIGNED

The peace treaty has been signed in Bucharest, but there will be no peace at all in the Balkans. There cannot be peace where there is violence. The peace treaty signed in Bucharest is an approval of the most brutal violence. Bulgaria will never be reconciled with

it. Truncated, narrowed in borders, plundered, stifled, raped, it will start working within its frontiers to strengthen ten times its economic, cultural and physical powers, so that, at its earliest convenience, it will take what belongs to it, both by national and historical rights.

Народна Воля [Narodna Volya]⁵³, No.58, 26 July 1913
 in Kishkiloova, *Балканските войни*.

? Try to explain the reaction in Bulgaria.
 Do you agree with the statement "there will be no peace at all in the Balkans"?

V-3. From the speech of Jovan Skerlić, author and people's deputy, in the National Assembly of Serbia on 18 October 1913

(...)

When we say "result" there are a number of prior questions that have to be discussed. First, it is necessary to resolve: *is that all a definite result*, did Serbia with the Treaty of Bucharest and situation in which it is today, the system of alliances which currently prevails in the Balkans, *did Serbia today get absolutely everything that it could get, is its position better and safer than it was before?* After the recent Albanian incursion, after Austria's brutal ultimatum that we get out of Albania, we can have doubts about the completeness of these results. But, if we assume that these results are ideally good, they are still debatable. It does not only suffice to point to expanded territory, *it is necessary to see how these results have been achieved, it should be assessed whether they could have been achieved with less casualties and it should be determined who deserves credit for these successes.*

Skerlić, *Feljtani, skice i govori*, pp. 343, 347, 354.

? Try to identify the mood of this excerpt.

⁵³ A newspaper, organ of the opposition Radical-Democratic Party.

► v52. *The Liberation of Enslaved Greece*



Colour lithograph on hard cardboard, 57x41cm / 64x45cm / IEEE Collection, no. 4951/14 in *Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι 1912 -1913...*, p.203.



Signed, allegorical popular picture with Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos as the main figure but dedicated to all those who contributed to the liberation of the enslaved Greek regions.

The composition comprises historical symbols, allegorical figures and forms associated with the Great Idea, all familiar motifs from other popular pictures of the Balkan wars. The picture was published before the Greco-Bulgarian war.



Translation: The Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos with the victorious Crown Prince leading our brave army smashes the shackles and restores freedom to our captive sisters.



Identify the symbols and their meaning. Can you find any indications that reveal the Great Idea? Discuss the “historical rights” of Greece to have Istanbul in its borders.

► v53. *Bucharest peace conference*
–Romanian cartoon



Furnica, IX, no.48, 1 August 1913, p.12.

Translation:
Bucharest Peace Conference
(snap-shots)
During the meeting
The meeting ends

V-4. Consequences of the Balkan Wars for Romania as seen by the Romanian historian Constantin Kiritescu

The Peace Negotiations conducted with distinct authority by Maiorescu have led to the conclusion of the Bucharest Peace Treaty from 1913 according to which, in the words of general Ficev, Bulgaria's military delegate, his country had to pay *the bill* for its greed and

political short-sightedness. With regard to our country, at the end of these events it emerged with its completed territory, that ensured the frontier of Southern Dobrudja, with its European prestige considerably raised, but also with a relentless enemy, in which all the hatred comes out of envy, out of disappointment and endured humility, that took the most heated proportions.

Kiritescu, *Istoria razboiului...*, p. 96.

? Who is the “relentless enemy” of Romania according to the text?
What are the political consequences of the wars for Romania?

► v54. The flags of the Great Powers on the fortress of Scutari, May 1913



► v55. Serbian army in Bitolj



Marzanovic, War Album.

V-5. Martulkov's memories about the first contact between the Serbian army and the citizens of his native town Veles, in the fall of 1912

Since the very beginning the Balkan allies—the 'liberators' marked great victories against Turkey. On the occasion of the Serbian army occupying our town Veles, we the citizens received the 'liberators' very solemnly. One should recognise the fact that in the first days of the war the largest part of the population—with few exceptions—was deliriously happy. The end of the five centuries of Turkish yoke had finally come! We were filled with hopes that favourable conditions for a better life and reconstruction will

come, putting an end to the difficult past and protecting the interests of the Macedonian people. But, unfortunately, from the very first days, the kind of winds that were blowing amongst the allies—'liberators', and the kind of surprises could be expected in the near future could be seen ... Our 'liberators' were not hiding their great-Serbian aspirations. When they started a conversation with some citizen, the first question was 'What are you?'—and if they received the answer that he or she was not a Serbian, they would continue: 'It was that way until now, but it will change in the future. The Bulgarians were working on you a lot to make you Bulgarians. But now you will become good Serbians... You should know: where the Serbian foot steps, there it will be Serbian'.

Martulkov, *Moeto učešstvo...*, pp. 243-4.

❓ Try to explain the reasons for the change in people's attitude towards the 'liberators' in Macedonia.

Do you think the pointed change refers equally to everyone in Macedonia?

Which phrases can you relate to the competing national ideas in Macedonia?

Comment on the last sentence. Make a suggestion about the ways in which someone's national self-identification could be changed.

► v56. Changes to names: from Uskub to Skopje



L'Illustration, t. CXL
(1^{er} juillet-31 décembre 1912), p.373.

❓ Do some research about your region and try to find the different names that your town and neighbouring towns had a) during the Ottoman era and b) after the establishment of the nation-state. Why do you think that these names changed (if they did)?

V-6. The Serbian king Petar promises equal rights to all peoples of different ethnic origin living in territories annexed to Serbia

*From the proclamation of the
Serbian king Petar*

To my dear people

Of liberated and united annexed territories
With my proclamation today, on the bases of
concluded international treaties, your countries
are annexed to the Kingdom of Serbia... I will
focus all my efforts... on making sure that all of
you, irrespective of your religion or origin, be in
every respect content, emancipated and
shielded with justice and security that will be
guaranteed by the rule of free Serbia. You will
all be equal before the laws and authorities.
Everyone's religion, property and person will
be respected as sacred. My government will
continuously work on educational, economic
and every other field of your progress.

You yourself should get down to work with all
your effort, reject former fallacies, cleavages
and discord and unanimously in fraternal
embrace erase from the face of our beautiful
homelands all traces of long-standing slavery.
Petar (sgd)

25th August 1913, in Ribarska Banja
(followed by signatures of the members of
Serbian government)

Balkanski rat u slici i reči 29, 31 August (13 September) 1913.

? Compare the text to the previous one
and say if you find any differences.

V-7. Article in a Romanian newspaper, reporting on the reactions of the people in the recently annexed South Dobrudja as a result of the Second Balkan War

From the Quadrilater

In the summer of 1913, in a village in the
Quadrilater, a group of Romanians, including
soldiers, were given shelter by a wealthy
Bulgarian family. "From now on you will be
Romanian soldiers", we said to them; and we
told the youngest one that he would serve in

the Romanian army. Hearing this, the young
man looked as if he was struck by lightning.
They hoped that Romania would occupy the
Quadrilater only temporarily and that the
troops would withdraw after the peace was
concluded. But when we explained to them
that this territory would belong to Romania for-
ever, we were able to see the grief on their
faces. The women asked for explanations as
well, and the mean look in their eyes showed
that they had also understood the cruel truth.
[...]

The Bulgarians have looked with sorrow in
their eyes at their territory being passed to
Romania, but many Tatars and Turks have
welcomed this thing. As ugly and hostile were
the looks in the eyes of the Bulgarians, as
friendly were the ones in the eyes of the
Muslims and the Turks.

Universul, XXXI, no. 213, 5/18 August 1913, p. 1.

? Try to explain the difference between the
reaction of the Bulgarians and the reac-
tion of the Turks and Tatars in the Quadrilater.
How did the lives of people change after the
territories had passed from one country to
another?

V-8. Bulgaria's national interests

STATEMENT OF THE SUPREME PARTY COUNCIL
OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY ON BULGARIA'S
FOREIGN POLICY

Sofia, the 4th of January 1915.
[...] making a cool and sober estimation of
Bulgaria's interests, we see that the only way in
which it is possible to solve the vital problems of
the country in a satisfactory manner is with the
assistance of the Powers of the Triple Entente.
Firstly, with each day that passes the chances
of the Austro-German alliance achieving a vic-
tory become less and less likely. Following the
inexcusable and immoral invasion of neutral
Belgium, belligerent German imperialism en-
countered not only real opposition from its ene-
mies but also had to face the conscience of
civilised mankind. This unexpected adversary

proved to have enough strength to convict the Austro-German alliance and leave them in a state of complete isolation. It became morally impossible for the neutral nations to intervene in favour of Germany and Austria-Hungary. In fact, just the opposite happened; the popularity of intervention against the Austro-German alliance increased among the masses and became more and more frequent.

Bulgaria's most significant interest is to secure the widest possible national union of territories. This can only happen through the return of the neighbouring lands that were absorbed by the agreements made in Bucharest and Istanbul. Furthermore, only the Triple Entente is in the position to be able to impose the return of the lands. This is because some areas of the countries, on whose behalf this will take place, are its enemies whereas other areas are its allies (because they are hoping that the Triple Entente will satisfy their national aspirations).

The other significant aim Bulgaria will work towards, after this current European crisis finishes, is the aim of being able to live peacefully with her neighbouring countries, and through this peace she wishes to be able to devote herself entirely to the cultural and economic development of Bulgaria. In other words, within the

fundamentals of Bulgarian policy, an element of agreement with neighbouring countries must exist. This will provide a step towards complete solidarity and the association of different countries' mutual cultural, economic and political interests. This can only be achieved through the peaceful settlement of Bulgaria's claims with the mediation of the Triple Entente.

The third significant interest of Bulgaria is the maintenance of Balkan independence. This interest is in agreement with the aims and political interests of the member countries of the Triple Entente. These countries aim to see free and powerful nations established in the Balkans in order for them to act as barriers against the aspirations of expansive German imperialism in the East. They express this hope clearly through their attitude towards the First Balkan alliance.[...]

Because of the above mentioned reasons and considerations, the People's Party, faithful to its existing political ideas, holds the strong conviction that the solution to our national problems can be achieved through developing a sincere understanding between Bulgaria and the country-liberator Russia and Russia's allies -England and France.

Mir newspaper, 4451, the 1st of January 1915
in V. Georgiev and St. Trifonov, pp.258-259.

Vb. Socio-Economic Results

TABLE 16
Casualties (Losses) in the Balkan War

Country	Population (in thousands)	Maximum strength of the armed forces (in thousands)	Killed and deceased (in thousands)	Casualties coefficient for the population (in %)	Casualties coefficient for the armed forces (in %)
1.Bulgaria	4.430	607	30	0,68	4,9
2.Serbia	2.910	175	5	0,17	2,8
3.Greece	2.630	90	4,75	0,18	5,2
4.Monte Negro	247	30	2	0,80	6,6
Total (for coefficients- mean):	10.217	902	41,75	0,46	4,9
5. Turkey	23.000	400	50	0,22	12,5

Georgiev, G. Human resources of the countries which took part in the Balkan War 1912-1913. A collection of Military History, 1983, vol. 1.

► v57. *The apotheosis of the Balkan war –Romanian cartoon*



Furnica, IX, no. 49, 8
August 1913, p. 1.

Translation:
The apothe-
osis of the Balkan
War Death: *Cheers
and thanks! If it had
not been for you, I
would have died of
thirst this summer!*


V-9. Losses of the Serbian army in the Balkan wars

Under the date of February 13th, 1914, the Serbian Minister of War has communicated to the Skupština (=Parliament), the following figures of the losses of the Serbian army during the two last wars:

Serbo-Turkish war: Dead, 5000; wounded, 18.000.

Serbo-Bulgarian war: Dead 7,000 to 8,000; wounded, 30,000. Two thousand five hundred soldiers died as a result of their injuries. Between 11,000 and 12,000 from sickness, and 4,300 from cholera. Among the latter, 4,000 died during the Serbian-Bulgarian war.

Carnegie, p.395.

 Since the economy of the Balkan states was mostly agricultural, think about the dimensions and the consequences of the human losses.

Find more information about the economic situation in the Balkan countries after the wars.


V-10. The First World War: A different kind of war

[...] The encounter with mass death is perhaps the most basic war experience. [...] Through modern war many met organized mass death for the first time face to face. [...] More than twice as many men died in action or of their wounds in the First World War as were killed in all major wars between 1790 and 1914. Some figures will help clarify the unprecedented extent of the encounter with mass death, which dominated the memory of that war. Some thirteen million men died in the First

World War, while Napoleon in the war against Russia, the bloodiest campaign before the time, lost 400,000 men—some 600,000 fewer that fell on all sides in the inconclusive battle of the Somme in 1916. The greatest war in the nineteenth century, the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), saw 150,000 French dead, while 44,780 Prussians fell in battle. By the time of the First World War the memory of the great losses in the Napoleonic Wars was fading, and the losses in war in the nineteenth century could not compare with what was to come. The new dimension of death in war called for a much greater effort to mask and transcend death in war than had ever been made before.

The First World War had other important new dimensions as well, which influenced how men and women perceived it. This was war in an age of technology, of new and more effective means of communication, all of which helped diffuse its image and stimulate the imagination. However, most important of all, the war introduced a new type of warfare on the Western Front, which influenced what meaning the war was to have in most soldiers' lives. Trench warfare determined not only the perception of war of those who passed through it, but also how the war was understood by future generations. [...] The Western Front with its peculiar and unique style of warfare dominated the prose and poetry, as well as the picture books and films about the war; it decided what contemporaries and future generations would make of it.

Mosse, pp.3-4.

 Compare the figures in Table 16 with the figures mentioned in Mosse's text: which is the comparison of human losses between the Balkan Wars and WWI?

V-11. New Serbia – Results of the population census

According to the population census, taken in the towns of new Serbia by the military authorities, certain towns in the newly liberated areas of Serbia have the following population count: Bitolj 59,856, Skoplje 47,384, Markov Prilep 21,783, Prizren 21,244, Priština 18,174, Veles 16,624, Djakovica 14,500, Novi Pazar 13,434, Ohrid 11,038, Debar 10,199, Tetovo 10,070, Mitrovica in Kosovo 9,354, Pljevlje 7,935, Kruševo 7,903, Djevdjelija 6,000, Kavadar 5,861, Vučitrn 5,749, Kičevo 5,400, Krivorečka Palanka 4,893, Resan 4,756, Orahovac 4,593, Sjenica 4,539, Kumanovo 44,21, Ferizović

(Uroševac) 4,405, Gostivar 4,384, Struga 4,120, Negotin 4,050, Prijepolje 3,355, Kratovo 3,020 and Nova Varoš 2,909. Several other towns, such as Dojran, Gnjilane, Preševo, Priboj, etc. are missing from the list. The urban population of new Serbia amounts to over 400,000 persons.

Balkanski rat u slici i reci 34, 13(26) October 1913.

? In what ways could the increase of the urban population affect the economic life of Serbia at that time? Could this situation cause a kind of economic crisis and why?

► v58 and v59. Refugees



Carnegie, fig.43 and 48, pp.253, 256.

V-12. Number and accommodation of the refugees in Bulgaria according to the report of the Prime Minister V.Radoslavov⁵⁴ to the 17th National Assembly

Sofia, 21 April 1914

[...] 10,000 more or 10,000 less, but they are about 150,000. Some of the refugees have settled by themselves, without the committees, because they do not want to carry out the com-

mittees' orders. They have chosen some villages and we leave them in peace. I have left them, although there are many difficulties, as the local people do not want them, fearing that the refugees will take their land. I must confess that the local people either envy them, or are afraid that in the future they might rob them of their property, so they do not welcome the refugees in a very hospitable way. There have been some complaints that the refugees had

⁵⁴ *Vassil Radoslavov (1854-1929)* – Bulgarian lawyer, politician, leader of the Liberal Party (Radoslavists), which was oriented against Western Europe. He was prime minister several times.

been evicted from the schools in some villages, at the time when it was freezing cold, so we had to intervene and take precautions to guarantee their lives.

V. Georgiev, St. Trifonov.

? What were the reasons for the floods of refugees after the Balkan wars?
Can you find any connection between the refugee issue and the economic processes?
Why people are afraid of the refugees, in your opinion?
Find more information about floods of refugees in your country.

V-13. Muslim refugees in Salonica

No. 5. The officials of the Comité Islamique, of Salonica, informed us on September 1st that there were 135,000 Mohammedan refugees in and around the town, most of whom had arrived since the second war. Of these, six or eight thousand had already gone to Asia Minor, chiefly to Mersina, Adalia, and Skenderoun. The Greek government had promised to supply five steamers, and in the last few days 3,000 had received tickets. The committee reminded the Greek government that it was responsible for the refugees now in Salonica, since it had obliged them to quit their homes. It has requested the government to supply these refugees with bread. The committee was then spending £50 daily on bread. In reply to questions, the committee did not believe that any considerable number of the Moslem refugees would be given lands in Greek Macedonia. Some perhaps might be given at Kukush, but not more than one or two thousand people could be absorbed as farm laborers.

Carnegie, p.278.

TABLE 17
Balkan Immigrants to Turkey
(Mostly from Thrace and Macedonia)

Year	Number of Immigrants
1912-1913	177,352
1914-1915	120,566
1916-1917	18,912
1918-1919	22,244
1919-1920	74,848
Total	413,922

Sources: Cem Behar, *Osmanli İmparatorluğunun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu (The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey) 1500-1927*, Ankara 1996; Daniel Panzac, 'L'enjeu du nombre. La population de la Turquie de 1914 à 1927', *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*. 1988, 4, p.45-67; Justin McCarthy, 'Muslim Refugees in Turkey' in *The Balkan Wars, WWI and the Turkish War of Independence. Essays in honor of Andreas Tietze*, Istanbul 1993.

V-14. The economic consequences for Thessaloniki, as described by the "Socialist Federation of Saloniki", 1913

After having examined the question from the point of view of the interests of the different nationalities, let's examine it now from the economic point of view, because the question of European Turkey is in fact both a national and an economic question, and indeed it is more economic than national.

The allied Balkan countries were neither interested in the solution of the problem of nationalities nor in the improvement of the destiny of Christian populations of these provinces. They were only interested in expanding their territories.

Therefore, if we look into this question from this point of view, we will see that the occupied territories that (the allies) want to share would never reach the economic level that was expe-

rienced in the past. And this assertion is true as long as it concerns the economic condition of Thessaloniki. This city used to service all the villayets of European Turkey except the villayet of Adrianople. Almost all the imports and exports of Macedonian provinces and a great part of Albania passed through the port of Thessaloniki. After the partition of the provinces of European Turkey, some industries will be destroyed -mainly the industry of the cultivation and the processing of tobacco, which is a vital industry for the country: it employs 160,000 workers, the majority of whom are organised in powerful syndicates. If the territorial distribution becomes reality, the regions that were using the services of Thessaloniki will have to find another way. The inland of Thessaloniki will be very much restricted, a fact that will entail the disaster of the biggest city of European Turkey, a disaster that is fated to happen unless the customs Union between the Allies is established. But can we expect such an economic Union to happen in the Balkans

after this terrible war and after so many massacres that all the belligerents have caused?

As we mentioned above, the only solution to this problem is the autonomy of the provinces of European Turkey, an autonomy guaranteed by an international agreement. In this case, the unity of the Balkan nations will be a reality in a short time. Moreover, the provinces of European Turkey have to join a Balkan Federation. With the Federation not only we will be able to accomplish political and cultural developments as well as economic prosperity but also we will avoid a new war of revenge, a new “national” and “liberating” war. The Balkan countries would not be obliged to ask for help and protection from the ostensible protectors of Balkan peoples like Austria and Russia.

On the contrary the Balkan countries, by being united, will constitute a power that will be able to successfully resist Russia's and Austria's impressions and to avert every threat of conquest.

Elefantis, p.49.

Vc. Ideological Consequences

V-15. From a reader for fifth-grade elementary school, 1914

The Greek nation's two greatest enemies have been the Bulgarians and the Turks. The former are most dangerous and inhuman. There are horrible accounts in our history of the harshness and monstrosities of these wild people who call themselves Christians. They are Tatars, related to the Turks. They crossed the Danube and sought hospitality in our countries. We gave them land to cultivate, security, justice as well as the Christian faith so that they could save their souls, yet all in vain; they remained Tatars.



This reader was published by Galatia Kazantzaki, a noted writer and author of children's books. The title was “The Soldier”. On the cover page of the reader there are allusions both to antiquity and Byzantium, with the ancient Spartan dictum ‘come back either a victor or dead’, which, according to tradition, was said by Spartan mothers to their sons as they left for war, and the two-headed eagle.

► v60. Title page from a reader for fifth-grade elementary school



V-16. Critical commentary from a report by the pedagogue and advocate of the demotic (spoken) language, D. Glinos, on Greek schoolbooks, written in 1926

In reviewing the general findings of this study, we could say the following:

1. In the early 19th century, Greek education was inspired by warm patriotic feelings. Yet the Grand Idea of the Greeks, i.e. their desire to free all Greeks from Turkish rule and re-establish the Byzantine state with Constantinople as the capital, is directed exclusively against the Turks. The other Christian peoples in the Balkans—who had yet to display any strong signs of national reawakening, with the exception of the Serbs—were rather viewed as brothers in suffering and were urged to participate in the struggle for freedom (Rigas Fereos).

This national ideal against the Turks has remained undiminished to this day. The recent disaster in Asia Minor and the displacement of Greek populations from Asia Minor and Thrace may, if the current status quo in eastern affairs remains unchanged, eventually curb this idea. 2. After the mid-19th century and particularly from 1870 onwards—when the Bulgarians, aided by Russia, begin to seek their own national heritage and turn against the Turks but also, most vehemently, against the Greeks—the memories of the medieval conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarians gradually resurface and the resultant racial hatred is stronger than that against the Turks. Greek education was heavily influenced by this situation.

3. In the time of the Balkan wars and immediately afterwards, this hatred, which was only briefly abated during the Greco-Serbo-Bulgarian alliance, becomes stronger. The Greek successes during these wars, which brought Greece closer to the realisation of the Grand Idea, reinforced patriotism and national pride and fuelled the nationalist ideals. This explains why school textbooks of all subjects from 1914 to 1917 reached the ultimate in cultivating nationalism and racial antagonism.

4. In 1917 the newly implemented educational reform in elementary schools—being inspired by a liberal spirit, based on a better knowledge of the child's soul, focused on cultivating the positive elements of a peaceful and a nobler civilisation—introduced a series of readers for the first four grades which were far from fostering a blind, exclusive nationalism or fuelling racial passions, without failing to inspire in pupils a positive love for the country and Greek culture, for national freedom and independence. The national ideal can be cultivated without contempt and hatred for other peoples. These books are the true dawn of a bright day. They are lucid and humanitarian. At the same time, the grades which the reform has not reached remain under the influence of the old trends.

5. The educational reform was interrupted between 1920-22, i.e. during the resurrection of the monarchy under King Constantine, and

resumed from 1923 to 1926, without being able for it to advance beyond the fourth grade of primary education. The higher grades, and above all secondary education, have undergone no change at all from 1914 to this day.



Dimitrios Glinos participated in drafting the education policy of E.Venizelos in 1917, but later became a Communist. The comment explains, among other things, why the worst textbooks were those written immediately after the Balkan Wars, when Greeks believed that the time had come for the fulfilment of the Great Idea.

The excerpts from the reader and the report are quoted in: F. Iliou, «Σχολικά εγχειρίδια και εθνικισμός. Η προσέγγιση του Δημήτρη Γληνού» [School textbooks and nationalism. The approach of D. Glinos], in *Η Ελλάδα των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων*, pp. 271, 277-8.



How were the pupils educated in Greece after the Balkan wars? What may the effect of this kind of education be? Is it appropriate, in your opinion, for education systems to propagate this kind of picture of neighbouring peoples? Find textbooks from your country right after the Balkan wars and see what the respective image of your country's neighbours was.

V-17. The radicalisation of national feelings in Bulgaria, following the poems of Ivan Vazov

A. This War (November 1912)

From the stormy Lozengrad to the Aegean Coast,
Sown with corpses, fields and ravines,
And our road was a road erected by graves,
From burning villages over people's tombs.
[...]
War a horrifying, evil, infuriating element,
Exterminating whip, rumble of anger, sobs,
Merciless war, a sea of tears, pains
O, Goodness - and yet a sacred war!

B. Is that What We were Fighting For? (April 1913)

Masses of bleeding bodies,
Killed in a fight for fraternal freedom
A great marvelous done deed
In horrified fights with the enemy, elements,
nature;
[...]
Is that for what our brave sons
Reaped laurels and sowed with graves
The Thracian fields and snow
To see the slaves once again slaves today?
[...]
Bulgaria, is that for what
You gave these tombs of hero's forces
Is that for what you bravely shed
The most fervent blood of your veins.

Is that what we were fighting for?

C. To Macedonia (May 1913)

[...]
We will not abandon you! Let curses be
called down
on our heads and on our fames
if we don't break up the new chains
of our poor brothers with our strong fists.
[...]

Ivan Vazov, pp.52, 152, 153-4.



Compare Vazov's poems with his ideas on the Balkan Alliance (text II-5).

V-18. An excerpt from the memoirs of Mihail Madjarov, a Bulgarian politician from the People's Party, expressing his grief upon his son's death

On the evening of the 23rd of June a Bulgarian officer arrived at my home and wanted to talk to me in private. I accepted his request. He was shy and confused. He told me that he had participated in the battles of Lahana on the

Thessalonika front. Our army had, by this point, been defeated. My son lieutenant Iv. Madjarov was wounded by a grenade during this battle. He had been an advocate and aide-de-camp of the 2nd battalion of the 25th Dragoman's regiment. During these moments my son acted as a replacement for one of the dead company's commander's and was leading the company, when a grenade forced him down. The officer did not inform me in an exact manner about the circumstances regarding what had happened to my son but instead left me under the impression that he had been left at the battlefield and that if I sent a telegram to Venizelos, they would be responsible for looking after him. It is needless to remark that obviously this came as an immense shock to my family and me. For several days there were anxious rumours circulating around Sofia about the destiny of my two sons, but by this point, there was no doubt that I had suffered a terrible ordeal. I sent my telegram to Venizelos with haste and enclosed within the telegram a request for them to inform me if my son had been found amongst the wounded captives on the Thessalonika front. After a few days I received a telegram from the Greek Prime Minister, who was my acquaintance and friend from the London conference. In the telegram he informed me that, to his deep regret, my son had not been found amongst the remaining injured captives. I lost my very last hope. From that moment forth I became a man haunted by grief. All around me seemed to go dark. All the misery and all the sorrow of Bulgaria appeared to me to be twice as great. Each and every object in my home served as a reminder to me of my lost happiness. The consolations of my friends and relatives only filled me with more unhappiness and I could even go as far as to say that they irritated me. I needed the loneliness. Each conversation with my friends and relatives ended up in a discussion about men who had perished. This felt like a continual re-opening of an excruciating

wound. It was only the isolation I felt, and the concentration within me, that provided me with relative composure. My deep sorrow corresponded with the sorrows of Bulgaria. Bulgaria was losing in the same manner that I had, all that was dear and precious to her. It was within this context of unhappiness, that I had been reduced to, that I was able to turn a blind eye to all the mistakes and crimes of Tsar Ferdinand and his apparatus of power. Instead I directed my anger principally, to yesterday's allies who had deprived my fatherland of what it was due, to the bitter end, through not granting Bulgaria all that had been formally agreed upon and recognised in earlier times through contractual agreement. Prior to this point I had been convicting our own haughtiness and blindness, but when I saw the malice of our neighbours, I understood that these failings were common to us all. Then, involuntarily in my mind, the wish to see all those other parties humiliated too, appeared to me, so that they could understand the extent to which the qualities of magnanimity and condescension are necessary not only for the individual but also for the nations.

Madjarov, p.185.



Mihail Madjarov (1854-1944) was a Bulgarian politician from the People's Party, he was a diplomat, a journalist and a public figure. In 1912-1915 he was Bulgaria's minister plenipotentiary in London and in St. Petersburg. Following the Balkan wars he supported the following ideas: maintaining close relations with Russia and the Entente, signing a Bulgarian-Serbian agreement, reconciliation with Greece and Romania, i.e. (through a policy based on political reason rather than on sentiments and fanaticism). However, this particular excerpt from his recollections illustrates his own personal grief and resentment upon hearing of his son's death on the Thessalonika front in June 1913, typical of the widespread feeling of the time.

V-19. A well-known Croatian writer, Antun Gustav Matos⁵⁵, wrote a commentary in the beginning of the First War, in which grief over his Serbian friends who died in a War is mixed with highly ideological views

“I’m looking at four of my friends lying in front of me, and four wounds are opening on my body. I see a blonde head with Christ-like beard belonging to my friend Branko Lazarevic, who has been the pride of younger Serbian literary criticism. Today, Lazarevic is dead, happy is the country which bore him, and the breasts which gave him milk. He was a critic and journalist, now, he is a hero. And my Vladeta Kovacevic, the son of minister and great historian Kovacevic, kin to a poet Rakic. He fell too, my God! He dressed himself like a dandy, there in Paris, he watched himself as a lady would have, so we have loved him as we would have loved some pretty and dear young lady. I am alive today, and they are lying dead, next to Milos and Lazar⁵⁶ (...) All those wounds burn, but not for the one who knows: those wounds are the best medication for a great, painful wound of–Kosovo⁵⁷.”

Antun Gustav Matos, “Zivi i mrtvi” (The Dead and the Alive), first published in the newspaper *Obzor*, November 3rd 1912, number 303, pp.1-2; in idem, *Pjesme / Pecalba* (The Poems / Working Abroad), Samobor 2003.

❓ Do you agree with the author that the death of his friends can heal the “painful wound of Kosovo”?

Do you think it is right to “take revenge” for certain historic events?

What would you feel and think in a similar situation?

V-20. Results of the wars as seen by The International Commission to Enquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars

The Commission, from what they have seen and heard, indulge in no optimism regarding the immediate political future of Macedonia. Serbia is now at war with Albania, Bulgaria is brooding over what she regards as her unjust treatment, and Greece is not yet sure of her tenure in some parts of the new territory. None of these nations can reduce their armies to a peace footing, for their neighbours are as ready to break treaties as they are to make them. Doubtless the greatest menace to the moral and social welfare of the Balkan States is the increasing tendency to militarism, whereby they become a prey to the agents of the makers of guns and other war material, involving enormous expenses and leading to national impoverishment.

Reference has already been made to the reflex psychological effect of these crimes against justice and humanity. The matter becomes serious when we think of it as something which the nations have absorbed into their very life,-a sort of virus which, through the ordinary channels of circulation, has infected the entire body politic. Here we can focus the whole matter,-the fearful economic waste, the untimely death of no small part of the population, a volume of terror and pain which can be only partially, at least, conceived and estimated, and the collective national consciousness of greater crimes than history has recorded. This is a fearful legacy to be left to future generation. If we look for palliating causes of these gross lapses from humanity and law, we must find them in the extreme youth of these nations, the immaturity of national and civic character, as well as in the conditions which

⁵⁵ Antun Gustav Matos (1873 - 1914): Croatian poet, short story writer, essayist, columnist and critic. He lived in Zagreb, Belgrade, Paris, Munich. Matos is considered to be one of the founders of modern Croatian literature. Subtle lyric poet but also very engaged in all kinds of social criticism.

⁵⁶ Milos and Lazar are legendary Serbian heroes from the time of Ottoman wars.

⁵⁷ Kosovo was the site of a great Ottoman-Serbian battle in 1389 which Serbia lost (although some historians still think that the result of the battle was not very clear).

have beset them during their long period of vassalage. Life was cheap; nothing was absolutely safe or sure; deeds of injustice and violence were common facts in their daily lives; and danger of some kind or other was generally imminent. Events, however revolting, are soon forgotten by the outside world and it is in the inner consciousness of moral deterioration and in the loss of self-respect that the nations will chiefly suffer.

Carnegie, p.272.

❓ Discuss the comments of the Commission.

Do you agree with the statements about the reasons and the consequences of the wars? Are these comments objective or not? Argue your opinion!

V-21. Kilikis region after the Balkan Wars

A. The feelings of a Turk, Ibosh Agha

Sitting cross-legged on the divan, quietly puffing on his cigarette at the end of a long *tchibouk*, he recounted his experiences of the past few days.

"Over there, toward Kilikish, were the Bulgarians," he said, "mostly *comitadjis* and some regulars with cannons. On that side the 'Rouns', the Greeks, held the railroad station." He had been caught between two fires, and for a whole day, while the bullets and shells whistled overhead, he had sat in this very room, praying.

The Greeks had then come into his yard and continued the firing behind the protection of the walls. They had called to him to bring water, and he had gone to the well and filled the earthen jugs.

"*Vallah*⁵⁸, Yudeco," he said, his hand on his breast, "I thought that Azraël, the Angel of Death, was at my side." Thoughtfully he rolled

himself another cigarette. "The days of a man are counted, even as the beads of a *tesbih*," he commented. His time had not yet come, and he gave thanks to Allah for his mercifulness.

Yes, the smoke that darkened the sky to the northeast was Kilikish, burning. The day before he had gone to the station and the soldiers had told him.

What sat there in the quiet of the room now full of the shadows of dusk, listening to Ibosh. He spoke without head, without hatred. All this was the will of Allah! And He knew His purpose. Only once did he refer to the defeat of Turkey. "When the lion becomes old," he said with a sigh, "the wolf attacks him." [...]

B. A meeting with a Bulgarian

It was on the road to Sarigöl, after having hurriedly moved away from the ghost of Kilikish, that we had in the gathering twilight come upon the sorry little group. A Bulgarian peasant was leading a scrawny donkey on the wooden saddle of which sat a child, her bare legs dangling on one side.

How he had for so many days escaped the death stalking him on all sides was a mystery into which neither Grandfather nor I thought of inquiring. The misery, the look of a dread and utter agony in the small blinking eyes of the pockmarked face with the yellow straggly beard were the very embodiment of human fear and despair. No, not human. It was the animal dread of cattle at the slaughterhouse, the wild glassy stare of terror in a cornered animal. It was a look which, once perceived, made one cringe with shame and humiliation, the shame of its having been in a human eye.


Grandfather has asked no questions. He had carefully directed him to Kara Mahmud's house in Asha Mahale. "Go through the back path," he had said. "You won't meet anyone." And as the man, probably remembering how the Bulgarians had dealt with the Turks during *their* occupation, stood on the road bewildered

⁵⁸ By God!

⁵⁹ About the author, Leon Sciaky, see text I-4.

and hesitating, Grandfather reassured him. “It will be all right. He will take good care of you and the little one.”

Sciaky⁹⁹, pp. 267, 269.

 Describe the feelings of the Turk and of the Bulgarian respectively. Why would Kara Mahmud help the Bulgarian peasant?

V-22. *The fear*. A novel by Necati Cumali about the legacy of the Balkan Wars

I counted them, one, two, five, eight troopers with a sergeant in charge. The distance between us and them was two hundred or two hundred and fifty paces. They had their guns slung from the shoulder as they walked uphill in no hurry. They must have spent the night at Sorovich and set off early in the morning. Yet they seemed tired, as if they had been walking for days. They were looking ahead, our way. They had seen us, of course. Nothing in their behaviour had changed. We realised from the way they moved their heads and arms that some of them were singing. They didn't stop their song. I felt some fear. They were Christians, we were Muslims; they were Greeks, we were Turks. Our pouches were full. I had some money on me. Most importantly, their sergeant and corporal were going on foot while we had horses. If they could agree among them to keep it a secret, what could stop a Greek sergeant and a corporal from killing two Turks in that wilderness, so that they would not have to walk in the heat?

[...] They kept walking, we got closer—we were forty or fifty paces apart. We had stopped talking. They still kept their hands resting on the tips of their rifles, which were hanging from their shoulders at an angle. I began to steer the horse off the road to let them pass. The sergeant was quicker, and got off the path before me. The troops followed suit. They were all young lads. The gendarme's uniform was

too big for him. The sergeant brought his hand to his cap in salute.

I was relieved, and I smiled. I raised my hand to my head and then to my chest:

– *Hello, mister!*

– *Hello, sergeant!*

– *Do you have a light?*

I offered him my packet of cigarettes and the box of matches.

[...] I had been scared. And I was right to be scared. It was just two years after the end of the Balkan War. Many had been killed, too many had been wasted in these parts. Who knows how many youths had lost their lives on the very soil we were now crossing on horseback. The mountains were still full of deserters. In the towns the women still changed direction when they saw a soldier, and children would scamper home to hide.

[...] We met like human beings in the still of the morning, on the edge of the empty forest. No one said “shoot” or “kill”. They did not think that they were soldiers, nor did they see us as enemies!

[...] Joy has come to settle here again, spreading its banners and flying its kites to start a feast. It is great to have trust and affection among the people! It is great when armed men who speak different languages and believe in different religions meet in the mountains, offer cigarettes and wish one another “Godspeed”!

N. Cumali, “The fear”, transl.
by Hercules Millas in Eideneier-Toker,
pp.540, 541, 542, 543.



Necati Cumali (1921-2000) was born in Florina and migrated to Turkey as part of the population exchange. He lived in Izmir and studied in Ankara. Author and poet, he wrote also the book *Macedonia* 1900. He is one of the rare cases of a Turkish author referring to a ‘lost fatherland’ in the Balkans.

In this novel titled “The fear”, Mustafa, a tax collector, with Yasin, his kehaya, are travelling in the region of Florina in August 1914.

? What were the Greek soldiers thinking when they met the two Turks? In which language do you think that the two groups communicated?

? **Overall questions on chapter V**

Are there any holidays in your country or in your town related to the Balkan wars? What events are celebrated?

Do you know of any novels inspired by the Balkan wars? What is the picture transmitted?

Map 4: Southeast Europe after the Balkan Wars



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