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Crna Gora i Njemački rajh – Montenegro und das Deutsche Reich. Dokumenti iz političkog arhiva Službe inostranih poslova u Berlinu 1906–1914 – Dokumente aus dem Politischen Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin 1906–1914. Tom 1: 1905–1910 – Band 1: 1905–1910
 Priredili Senka Raspopović, Konrad Clewing i Radoslav Raspopović.
 Podgorica: SANUS, 2016. 747 S., Abb. ISBN: 978-86-7664-140-6.

Crna Gora i Njemački rajh – Montenegro und das Deutsche Reich. Dokumenti iz političkog arhiva Službe inostranih poslova u Berlinu 1906–1914 – Dokumente aus dem Politischen Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin 1906–1914. Tom 2: 1910–1914 – Band 2: 1910–1914
 Priredili Radoslav Raspopović, Konrad Clewing, Edvin Pezo i Senka Raspopović. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2019. 567 S. = DigiOst, 8. ISBN: 978-3-7329-0531-7.

Čelovek na Balkanach. Osobennosti „novoj“ južnoslavjanskoj gosudarstvennosti. Bolgarija, Serbija, Černogorija, Korolevstvo SChS v 1878–1921 gg.

[Man in the Balkans. Special Features of the “New” South Slavic Statehood. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, 1878–1921]

Otv. red. Andrej L. Šemjakin. Moskva: Inslav RAN, 2016. 407 S.
 ISBN: 978-5-7576-0358-2.

Varvara B. Chlebnikova

Černogorija. Fenomen nacional'noj gosudarstvennosti. 1878–1916 gg.

[Montenegro. The Phenomenon of National Statehood, 1878–1916]

Moskva: Inslav RAN, 2016. 238 S. ISBN: 978-5-7576-0373-5.

The four books under review (two volumes of primary documents, a monograph, and a collection of essays) illuminate how Russia and Germany cultivated contacts in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro during the decades preceding World War One. They underscore the significance of outside interference and intervention in the shaping of the modern Balkans: overall, Russia appears as a benefactor; Germany as a restraining outsider; and Montenegro as a mouse that roared repeatedly on the eve of the great cataclysm of 1914. The books demonstrate that policymakers in Berlin and St. Petersburg aimed to shape South Slavic society to suit their own interests. These volumes also indicate that

Europeanization, as a heuristic concept, remains ambiguous when applied to Balkan history.

The two stout tomes titled “Crna Gora i Njemački rajh – Montenegro und das Deutsche Reich”, edited by a team of Montenegrin and German scholars, are a treasure trove of new information regarding Germany’s interests in Montenegro during the decade preceding World War One. Official reports, treaties, dispatches, speeches, and private letters from the German foreign ministry in Berlin and the German consulate in Cetinje (in the editors’ parallel Montenegrin translation) constitute the main contents of the collection, which should reside in every major research library.

In brief, the documents demonstrate that Germany’s interests in Montenegro took a definite uptick toward the end of the nineteenth century. Up until then, the two parties had had few points of contact. Given Montenegro’s constant state of poverty, Berlin was spurred to engage in Montenegrin affairs in order to balance the Balkan policy of St. Petersburg, Paris, and Vienna. German consuls (Gisbent von Pilgrim-Balktazzi and Henrich von Ekardt) collected intelligence and discussed the many complex issues affecting the region, specifically: the volatile Albanian border, the Ottoman Empire, Adriatic commerce, Montenegro’s foreign relations, the decrees and policies of King Nikola I Petrović-Njegoš, the financial and political development of the independent kingdom, and specific events, like the annexation of Bosnia in 1908 and the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. The collection also includes reports from other German representatives based in Paris, London, Rome, Trieste, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Thessaloniki, and Istanbul, which illustrate the international significance of the region during the period.

Featuring introductory essays by the editors, footnotes, illustrated plates, and excellent indexes, these volumes ought to be of permanent value for historians of Montenegro, German foreign policy, and the origins of World War One.

The book titled *Čelovek na Balkanach* examines the political and social dilemmas facing the South Slavic states from 1878 until about 1923. The collaboration, containing a mixture of basic coverage and original interpretation, focuses on the contrast between the traditional “national ideal” and European “civil society”. The preface by the editor, A. L. Šemjakin, pays homage to one of the contributors, Ritta Petrovna Grišina, a Bulgarian specialist who passed away in 2015. Šemjakin contextualizes the book, which is part of a major project at the Institute of Slavic Studies at the Russian Academia of Sciences (RAN), begun in the late twentieth century, under the inspirational leadership of Grišina. The guiding themes are the uneven process of modernization and the problem of national unity after the landmark 1878 Treaty of Berlin, when the Slavic nations gained independence from Ottoman rule. The project aims to compare the separate paths of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria toward modernity and statehood. (It should be noted that the Albanians, Bosnians, Vlachs, Romanians, Greeks, Roma, and other Slavs and non-Slavs of the peninsula, are omitted from the discussion, as are Muslims and Jews.)

K. V. NIKIFOROV's insightful introduction, which frames the volume in the context of the RAN project, probes the "short nineteenth century", the era from the Treaty of Berlin until the outbreak of World War One. Territorial disputes between the countries under review, and tension between war and cultural development, provide the pivot for the four following chapters.

The lengthy, well-documented first chapter by RITTA PETROVNA GRIŠINA reviews the main institutions of the Bulgarian Kingdom. Drawing on Bulgarian archives and Bulgarian-language scholarship, the author begins with the traditional view of "the dark years" under the "Ottoman yoke", followed by a detailed summary of political parties, education, the church, and the military. We learn that Bulgaria earned a reputation as the "Prussia of the Balkans", due to the large portion (25–30 %) of the state budget devoted to the army (p. 55). An interesting subsection of the chapter covers the mobilization of the peasantry, whose work ethos (argues Grišina) helped construct an enduring sense of identity. Another valuable subsection examines the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (BANU) and its founders, Dimitr Dragiev and Aleksandr Stamboliiski. (With his tireless and venerable championing of the farming "class" and international peace, Stamboliiski was one of Bulgaria's unique contributors to modern political history, his work contrasting with the ugly rise of fascism elsewhere on the continent.) This chapter features a discussion of irredentism and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, and the heyday of BANU politics until 1923.

The second chapter by Šemjakin (a challenging essay of about 100 pages) covers the political history of Serbia from 1878 to 1918, with a special focus on political culture. Relying in particular on the manuscripts of P. A. Kulakovskii (a well-known Russian expert on Serbia during the 1870s and 1880s), the author claims that the Serbian political elite never completely Europeanized, due to the systemic nature of political violence, the close-knit ties between kinship groups and parties, and the determination of the parties to win at all costs. Once a party gained power, the high stakes and vicious personal rivalries meant that all other parties were ousted from positions of authority in a winner-take-all tradition, exacerbated by the newspaper press. Political murders became commonplace: the author concludes, ambiguously, that "the *political person* of the European type also slept deeply in the Kingdom" (p. 243).

Chapter three of *Čelovek na Balkanach* by V. B. CHLEBNIKOVA addresses the Europeanization of Montenegro at the turn of the 19th century. This lucid and informative discussion of politics, the economy, law, and society since 1878 summarizes the author's latest monograph (reviewed below).

The discussion focuses on the long reign of Prince-King Nikola I Petrović/Njegoš (1860–1918), whose efforts to lift the population out of poverty met with mixed success. In 1878, the country had only 404 km of roads (p. 279), and almost no industry or international trade. In the decades to follow, famine forced thousands to emigrate to the United States. However, by 1914, the country established an infrastructure, including a

constitution, a senate with two political parties, a ministry of education, a legal apparatus, and the professional military. Drawing on Montenegrin and Russian archives, Chlebnikova reviews King Nikola's efforts to get kinship to intermarry with European dynasties. In foreign relations, Russian influence remained paramount, and Austria-Hungary posed the greatest threat, especially after the annexation of Bosnia in 1908. The essay includes a survey of Montenegrin foreign policy on the eve of the Great War, as the country's leadership remained torn by commitments to Slavic solidarity and a higher devotion to the homeland.

In the final chapter of the book, A. A. SILKIN sketches the history of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the immediate postwar years. A postscript by the editor describes the evolution of the broader project at the RAN, which is now in its eighth and final volume of collected essays.

Copiously documented, the essays in *Čelovek na Balkanach* (the third volume under review) represent the current status of Russian historiography of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. However, the authors provide few references to European and North American scholars, such as Richard Crampton, Denis Vovchenko, Gale Stokes, John Lampe, and Michael Petrovich. Surprisingly, the work of Lora Gerd is also absent. In most cases, the essays avoid direct comparison between the countries (which is a theme of the project), and instead, each state is dealt with separately. Nevertheless, the essays ought to prove very useful for Russian university students. Scholars will find important insights into the modernization of the South Slavic lands.

The slim paperback (a *kandidat* dissertation) by Varvara B. Chlebnikova on Montenegro from 1878 to 1916, based on archives and published materials in Russian and South Slavic languages, is a solid piece of scholarship. The book opens with a thorough historiographical survey, emphasizing the innovative work of P. A. Rovinskii, a Russian scholar who resided in the country for 20 years, and whose research resonates throughout this book.

Chapter one addresses the Montenegrin economy in the immediate post-independence years. We are reminded of the poverty of the isolated region, the archaic farming methods, and the custom of banditry among the population. The tradition of warfare meant that industry and trade were frowned upon as un-Montenegrin. However, progress was made in the last decades of the nineteenth century, with Russia supplying key advisors and financial assistance to help modernize the country.

The body of *Černogorija* addresses politics and society in the capital and the countryside. The author provides an interesting discussion of the 1905 constitution and the development of the two main political parties. In contrast to the fierce infighting in neighboring Serbia, Montenegrin politics and civic power seemed to have evolved smoothly and relatively evenly, although the author, at times, seems more pessimistic than her findings suggest (p. 112). Meanwhile, education and women's rights improved, and a special institute for girls flourished under the leadership of the Russian

philanthropist, Sofia Mertvago. The final chapters of the book detail diplomacy, international relations, and military affairs until about 1916.

In sum, *Černogorija* is a very enjoyable study. The research is lively, the prose clear, and the subtopics novel. The comprehensive coverage indicates the core of a major work by the author on this fascinating country.

In conclusion, these books provide new details about the modernization of the Slavic countries south of the Danube. They demonstrate Russia's long-term connections with the Balkans and the special relationship that has emerged linking Russia to the people of the Black Mountain. The volumes reveal Germany's policy on the eve of the Great War, which, though pro-Austrian, was restrained. They also demonstrate the wealth of work that was carried out by Montenegrin and German scholars on Balkan history during the years preceding the Great War. One is left with an impression that foreign observers often misunderstood Russia's Balkan policy, and that imperial Germany could play a moderating role in international affairs.

LUCIEN FRARY

Lawrenceville, NJ

Ben Eklof / Tatiana Saburova

A Generation of Revolutionaries. Nikolai Charushin and Russian Populism from the Great Reform to Perestroika

Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2017. XV, 394 S., 2 Ktn., Abb.
ISBN: 978-0-253-03121-1.

This excellent book (a substantial revision of a volume published in Russian in 2016) is an extended biography of Russian populist Nikolai Charushin (1851–1937), his wife Anna Kuvshinskaia (1851–1909), and a cohort of the Russian intelligentsia that came of age in the 1870s. The authors, Ben Eklof and Tatiana Saburova, have collaborated to produce a vivid account of like-minded revolutionaries from the Viatka region (on the eastern fringe of European Russia), who were united by a passionate devotion to moral justice, democracy, and social equality. The generational approach, broad chronological framework (from late Imperial to late Soviet times), and a critical stance toward memory studies, make the book particularly valuable for scholars. In sum, the volume is a splendid contribution to our understanding of the Russian populists of the 1870s and their legacy.

Historians have long been fascinated by Russian Populism (defined as an “anti-capitalist” movement, whose advocates prioritized social justice and an agrarian-based,