

FRENCH INTELLECTUALS AND THE FRENCH POLICY CHANGE IN THE BALKANS (1912–1913)¹

Fransız Aydınları Balkanlardaki Fransız Siyasetinde Değişim (1912-1913)

Aleksandra KOLAKOVIC*

ÖZET

1912-1913 Balkan Savaşları boyunca, Fransa'nın Balkan siyaseti önemli değişiklikler geçirdi. Fransa bu döneme kadar statükoyu, yani Balkanlardaki Osmanlı yetkililerini muhafaza etmekten yanaydı. Fransız entelektüellerinin 19. yüzyıl sonundaki yazıları, Fransa'nın Balkanlarda belirleyici bir siyaset yürütmesi gerektiğine işaret ediyordu. Louis Léger (1843–1923), Victor Bérard (1864–1931), André Chéradame (1871–1948), Emile Haumant (1858–1942), Ernest Denis (1849–1921), Henry Barby (1876–1935), René Pinon (1870–1958), Alain de Penennrun, Alphonse Muzet ve diğerleri, yazıları ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Avrupa topraklarındaki sonuna, Avusturya-Macaristan'ın Balkanlar üzerindeki niyetlerine ve Balkan milletlerin aralarındaki karmaşık ilişkilere özellikle dikkat çekmişlerdi. Fransız düşünürlerinin yazıları ve gazetecilerin Balkan savaş alanlarından gönderdikleri raporlar, Fransız kamuoyunun Balkanlar ve Balkan milletleri hakkındaki tahayyüllerini şekillendirmekte etkili olmuşlardı. Bununla birlikte, resmi Fransız siyaseti, Balkan Savaşları (1912–1923) sırasında Balkanlar ile ilgili ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Avrupa'da varlığını sürdürmesi ile ilgili tavrını değiştirmişti. Bu makale, Fransız entelektüellerinin Balkanlara gösterdiği alaka ile Fransa'nın 1912 ve 1913'te Balkanlardaki resmi siyasetinin değişimi arasındaki ilişkiye ışık tutmayı amaçlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fransız aydınlar, Fransa, Balkanlar, Osmanlı Devleti, Balkan Savaşları

ABSTRACT

During the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, French policy towards the Balkans has experienced significant changes. Until that period France was in favor of preserving the status quo, i.e. the Ottoman authorities in the Balkans. Texts of French intellectuals in the period from the late 19th century indicated that France

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must take decisive policy in the Balkans. Louis Léger (1843–1923), Victor Bérard (1864 - 1931), André Chéradame (1871–1948), Emile Haumant (1858–1942), Ernest Denis (1849–1921), Henry Barby (1876–1935), René Pinon (1870– 1958), Alain de Penennrun, Alphonse Muzet and others, in their texts dedicate special attention to the end of the Ottoman Empire in the European lands, the Austro-Hungarian aspirations in the Balkans and the complicated relations between the Balkan nations. Texts of French scholars and journalists' reports from the Balkan battlefields influenced the shaping of images of the Balkans and its peoples in the French public. At the same time, the official French policy during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) changed its attitude towards the Balkans and the survival of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. This paper aims to shed light on the connection between the interests of French intellectuals for the Balkans and the change in the official French policy in the Balkans in years 1912 and 1913.

Keywords; *French intellectuals, France, the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, Balkan Wars 1912–1913*

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, the French state has recovered from the defeat in the year 1871; relatively stable businesswise and politically secured with an alliance with Russia (1893) and Great Britain (1907). Agitation and restlessness of the Third Republic in the internal political life: the Dreyfus affair, the social protests and the emergence of anarchism, complicated the international position of France.² Advance of industry, agriculture and transport, as well as the expansion of financial services and money market over time has strengthened the international position of France. The fight for the colonies and insurance of position in Europe as a primary interest of French statesmen were aimed at preventing expansion of Germany. The intellectual aspect in France in the early 20th century approached the analysis of defeat in order to redefine foreign policy, especially relations to Germany.³ The spirit of French revanchism, the search for ways to strengthen France and fight against national idea of a Great Germany, driven the activities of French intellectuals. Dreyfus affair, which began as a secondary event of military espionage on behalf of Germany, for which was suspected and arrested one Jewish blood Alsatian, captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), had a profound impact on the political, social and cultural life of France. Since the Dreyfus affair, which marked the first use of the term "intellectual", started the strong influence of scholars and publicists on social life and formation of an

² J.-M. Mayeur, **La vie politique sous la Troisième République 1870–1940**, Paris 1984, 27–34, 71, 115–137; C. Christophe, **Histoire sociale de la France au XIXe siècle**, Paris 1991, 141–164; D. Lejeune, *La France de la Belle Époque 1896–1914*, Paris 1997, 83–84; M. Winock, **La fièvre hexagonale Les grandes crises politiques 1871–1968**, Paris 1999, 117–119; 122–123, 141–191; M. Winock, **La France politique XIXe-XXe siècle**, Paris 2003, 80–82, 227–242.

³ Ž. Diga, **Kulturni život u Evropi na prelazu iz 19. u 20. vek**, Beograd 2007; further on complex relationship between France and Germany in the end of 19th and in the beginning of 20th century, in: C. Digeon, **La crise allemande de la pensée française (1870–1914)**, Paris 1959.

opinion of French politics creators.⁴ Thoughts of French intellectuals regarding the Balkans eventually have gained a certain amount of influence on the official view of the state.

France has long led a cautious policy towards the Balkans, which is particularly demonstrated in interventions to prevent war. However, the French commitment in order to calm the boiling situation in Macedonia by interventions of Great Power using system of reforms, which would not be threatened the sultan, did not give satisfactory results. Mainstay of the French capital in the Ottoman Empire was the *Banque Imperiale Ottoman*, and the biggest share in Turkey's sovereign debt amounting to over 60% was held by French capital.⁵ For these reasons, even in the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, France was interested in the integrity of the Ottoman Empire until a special interest in ensuring the French capital. Official French policy, based on the great importance the French capital invested in the Ottoman Empire, and the fact that in the eventual partition of Turkish territory France would have a secondary role, decided to preserve the Ottoman Empire in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Although the study of the Balkans was based in the Slavic studies the College of France (since 1840), and the School of Eastern Languages (since 1873), at the 19th and early 20th century the Balkans was still insufficiently known and understood to French people.⁶ French intellectuals observed that the Balkans and the only politically undecided block area in the early 20th century became a place two blocks collision forces. Louis Léger, Victor Bérard, André Chéradame, Emile Haumant, Ernest Denis, Henry Barby, René Pinon, Alain de Penennrun and others dedicated special attention to the end of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, as well as to the Austro-Hungarian pretensions and complicated relations among the peoples of the Balkans. Aforementioned French intellectuals belong to the first generation that did not take part in the Franco-Prussian War 1870-71, but they lived in a time when the consequences of the war were the main topic of intellectual circles, which shaped their interests. They come to Paris from the province and educate at the most prestigious scientific and educational institutions of France.⁷ This is a generation of French

⁴ *L'Aurore*, 13 Janvier 1898; P. Ory, J.-F. Sirinelli, **Les Intellectuels en France de l'Affaire Dreyfus à nos jours**, Paris 1986, 9; C. Charle, **Naissance des "intellectuels" 1880-1900**, Paris 1990; *Ibid.*, **Les intellectuels en Europe au XIXe siècle. Essai d'histoire comparée**, 1996, 248-249; Ž. Benda, **Izdaja intelektualaca**, Beograd 1996, 140; M. Winock, **La fièvre hexagonale Les grandes crises politiques 1871-1968**, 20-77, 141-191; **Zola l'autre visage**, *Magazine littéraire*, N° 413, Paris octobre 2002.

⁵ Lj. Aleksić-Pejković, **Odnosi Srbije sa Francuskom i Engleskom 1903-1914**, Beograd 1965, 26.

⁶ Luis Léger, member of Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, in papers: **Les Slaves du Sud et leur civilisation, Le Monde Slave: voyages et littérature et La Save, le Danube et le Balkan, voyage chez les Slovènes, les Croates, les Serbes et les Bulgares**, laid ground for scientific research on Slavic people in the Balkans. See: L Léger, **Les Slaves du Sud et leur civilisation**, Paris 1869; *Ibid.*, **Le Monde Slave: voyages et littérature**, Paris 1873; *Ibid.*, **La Save, le Danube et le Balkan, voyage chez les Slovènes, les Croates, les Serbes et les Bulgares**, Paris 1889.

⁷ ANF (Archives nationales de France), AJ/16/6074 (Dossier Mallet); ANF, F/17/2987a (A. Mallet - **Mission en Macédoine études ethnographiques**, 1902); F/17/26707 (Dossier Berard);

intellectuals, educated in the principles of Lavis education, in which patriotism is deeply woven.⁸ Education and socio-political circumstances motivate French intellectuals to analyze political and socio-economic situation in Europe. International relations and imperialist expansion plans, pan-germanism, converging of France and Russia, were the starting points of action and discovering of the Balkans. Additional incentives in the interest of French intellectuals in the Balkans were provided by the cooperation with the Balkan counterparts, which was established already during the education of young intellectuals from Balkan countries in France.⁹ Aforementioned, along with the strong diplomatic and propaganda activities of the Balkan countries in Paris, contributed to French intellectuals' interest for the problems of European Turkey.

The outbreak of the Annexation crisis in the year 1908 marked a threat to the European peace and influenced the French intellectual elite's devotion of significant attention for the Balkan question. French political elite did not support Serbian claims in the year 1908, and remained consistent with earlier principles, but was also aware that the current government of the Ottoman Empire in the European lands will not be long lasting.¹⁰ In the part of the French intellectual elite, Albert Malet, Victor Bérard, Ernest Denis, and Emile Haumant in their public appearances, lectures in favor of Serbia and in texts provided considerable support for the Serbian national goals and their affirmation in the French public.¹¹ Victor Bérard in the text entitled "Entente Austro-Russo" analyzed what has been done in the field of reforms in Macedonia from 1897 to 1907; this brought new ways of

AJ/16/113, AJ/16/6019 (Dossier Haumant); F/17/25832 (Dossier Leger); A. Scheikevitch, **André Chéradame et son oeuvre**, Paris 1928, 4–9; L. Eisenmann, "André Chéradame et la question d'Autriche", **Revue historiorque**, t. LXXIX (1902), 5–8; J. Žujović, "Ernest Deni", **Godišnjak SKA**, XXIX (1920), 206–209; K. Spasić, "Srpska javnost o četvorici poznatih francuskih istoričara", in: **Jugoslovensko-francuski odnosi**, Beograd 1990, 234; M. Vojvodić, "Francuski naučnici i jugoslovensko pitanje", in: **Izazovi srpske spoljne politike (1791–1918)**, Beograd 2007, 409.

⁸ P. Nora, "Lavis, instituteur national", in: **Les lieux de mémoire**, vol. 1, (sous la direction de Pierre Nora), Paris 1997, 239–275; <http://www.lefigaro.fr/livres/2009/10/03/03005-20091003ARTFIG00057--lavis-l-instituteur-national.php> (17.7.2012.)

⁹ D. T. Bataković, "Francuski uticaji u Srbiji 1835–1914. Četiri generacije Parizlija", **Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju** 56 (1997), 73–95; S. K. Pavlović, **Istorija Balkana 1804–1945**, Beograd 2004, 187, 297.

¹⁰ D. T. Bataković, "Evropski poredak i srpsko pitanje: Francuska perspektiva", in: **Evropa i Srbi, Istorijski institut SANU**, Beograd 1996, 447–459; M. Leymarie, **De la Belle Époque à la Grande Guerre 1893–1918. Le triomphe de la République [La France contemporaine sous la direction de Jean-François Sirinelli]**, Paris 1999, 252; M. Vojvodić, "O političkim i ekonomskim odnosima Srbije i Francuske od 1895. do 1914. godine", in: **Putevi srpske diplomatije**, Beograd 1999, 227.

¹¹ M. Vojvodić, "Emil Oman o srpskom i jugoslovenskom pitanju uoči Prvog svetskog rata", in: **Izazovi srpske spoljne politike**, Beograd 2007, 399.

looking at problems in the Balkan in French intellectual circles, and stressed the need for France to become more involved in the Balkans.¹²

At the same time, French capital, along with the cultural radiation, penetrated the Balkan states, creating a space for increased political influence of France. Indication of a firmer French policy in the Balkans was reflected in the increased economic penetration through loans, purchases of weapons, interests in the Adriatic railway project, the establishment of banks and businesses in the Balkan states.¹³ Young Turk revolution and identification of a possible route of Germany to the East after the annexation crisis, have led to France became, for economic and political reasons, more interested in the national awakening of the Balkan peoples and their relationship with the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary. Major crisis that rocked the Balkan Peninsula seemed to French intellectuals as proof of assumptions regarding the spread of germanism and the necessity for the unity of the South Slavs. The forefront in such assessments was Charles Loazo, diplomat and publicist close to the Yugoslav circles.¹⁴

When in the spring of the 1912, by the end of the Second Moroccan War, the Franco-German relations were definitely worsened, and when the Italian-Turkish war further rocked the international relations, French diplomacy gradually abandoned a long-standing policy of maintaining *the status quo* principle in the Balkans.¹⁵ The French government, however, sought to maintain peace in the Balkans, and the conclusion of Serbian-Bulgarian agreement in 1912 was accepted as a defense of the Balkan territories from Germany and Austria, but not as an alliance directed against the government of Sultan.¹⁶ The outbreak of the First Balkan War sparked concerns and outrages in France. Shortly before the war, the indifference and dislike of the French press about the situation in the Balkans came to the

¹² Top of Bernards' interest for problems in Macedonia can be found in collection of articles **Pour la Macédoine** from 1903. See also: V. Bérard, "A travers la Macédoine slave", **Revue des Deux Mondes**, t. CXIV 1. septembre 1892. **Ibid.**, **La Turquie et l'hellénisme contemporain. La Macédoine: Hellènes, Bulgares, Valaques, Albanais, Autrichiens, Serbes; la lutte des races**, Paris 1893; **Ibid.**, "Entente austro-russe", **Revue de Paris**, 15 mars 1908.

¹³ Serbian finances were in the hands of France since the founding of French-Serbian bank in 1910. Consequently, using loans and weapon purchases, France let its capital in other Balkan countries, although, there was significant German capital influence in Bulgaria. S. K. Pavlović, **Istorija Balkana 1804–1945**, Beograd 2004, 200, 212, 224–225, 260, 269, 271; A. Mitrović, "Les intérêt français en Serbie à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale", in: **La Serbie et la France Une alliance atypique**, Belgrade 210, 232–238.

¹⁴ **La Quinzaine** in volume XIX prints Loazo's study "Les précurseurs de l'unité balkanique", in which the author analyzes problems in the Balkans from historical and political point of view, emphasizing the need for South Slavic unity. Serbian translation of this paper was published in **Delo**, book 22, Belgrade 1897.

¹⁵ R. Girault, "Les Balkans dans les relations franco-russes", **Revue historique**, t. CCLIII (1975), 155–184.

¹⁶ **Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903–1914**, t. V, v. 2, Beograd 1985, № 315, 451, 471, 535.

fore. Editor board of *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which had a focus on the presentation of foreign policy events, felt that it was not a moment to write about the Balkans.¹⁷ However, an effective advertising activity of the Balkan states and the texts of French scholars and journalists, who have since the late 19th century pointed to major changes in the Balkans, have encouraged the greater interest of French public.

When in the 1912 came to the outbreak of war in the Balkans, French public has already had some idea of the Balkans, which was created due to the mentioned texts of French intellectuals in the past. French newspaper *Le Temps* and *La Figaro*, as well as periodicals *Journal des Débats*, *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Revue de Paris*, regularly informed their readers about developments in the Balkans.¹⁸ Henry Barby, journalist and correspondent for the Paris newspaper *Le Journal* from the Balkan war zone, published books *Les Victoires serbes (Serbian victories)* and *Brégalnitza. La guerre serbo-bulgare (Bregalnica. Serbo-Bulgarian war)*, based upon his articles published in the above mentioned newspaper.¹⁹ Barby "told what he saw, and vivid images collated before the reader's eyes", and the text is accompanied by photographs.²⁰

One of the French officers-correspondents on the Balkan battlefields (1912-1913) for highly published *L'Illustration* was Alain de Penennrun, who during the First Balkan War followed the battles of Bulgarian troops in Thrace, gaining a high opinion for the abilities of the Bulgarian Army. Later he moved to Macedonia, more precisely to Skopje from where he, as witness the Second Balkan War, sent articles, photos and reports on the Serbian victory, describing the state of the Serbian army.²¹ After the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), Alain de Penennrun published three editions of his collection of supplemented articles about the Balkans in 1912 and 1913, entitled *40 jours de guerre dans les Balkans. La Campagne Serbo-bulgare en juillet 1913*, in which, in addition to a description of the Serbian-Bulgarian dispute, he presented the organization of the Serbian army.²² Reports from the Balkan battlefields and descriptions of Balkan allies' victories tipped opinion in a new direction.

Heavily influenced by scientific and journalistic circles, the French public opinion began to observe the victory as an act of halting of further Austro-German penetration to the East. France had an interest in keeping the alliance of Balkan states on an anti-German

¹⁷ Archives of SASA [ASANU], №. 8723/3, E. Oman – S. Novakoviću, Paris 2. 3. 1912.

¹⁸ R. de Livois, *Histoire de la presse française*, t. 1–2, Lausanne 1965; M. Leymarie, *De la Belle Époque à la Grande Guerre 1893–1918. Le triomphe de la République*, Paris 1999, 186–190; M. Winock, *La Belle Époque La France de 1900 à 1914*, 316–318; C. Charle, *Le siècle de la presse (1830–1939)*, Paris 2004, 102–104.

¹⁹ H. Barby, *Les Victoires serbes*, Paris 1913; Ibid, *Brégalnitza. La guerre serbo-bulgare*, Paris 1914.

²⁰ *Srpski književni glasnik*, book XXXI, №1, 1st July 1913, 78–79.

²¹ A. de Penennrun, "Comment les Serbes ont vaincu les Bulgares", *L'Illustration*, № 3674, 26 juillet 1913, 71; M. Pavlović, *Francuzi o Srbima i Srbiji 1912–1918*, Beograd 1988, 272.

²² A. de Penennrun, *40 jours de guerre dans les Balkans. La Campagne Serbo-bulgare en juillet 1913*, Paris 1914.

line.²³ The problems of Balkan with the Austro-Hungarian interests and the question of German expansion in Eastern and Central Europe were connected, among the French intellectuals, for the first time by André Chéradame, historian and publicist, in *L'Europe et la question d'Autrich au seuil du XIXe siècle* published in 1901.²⁴ Chéradame connected the issue of the Balkans with the German invasion to the East, which was one of the most important political topic among the French intellectuals. Chéradame's book *Douze ans de propagande en faveur des peuples balkaniques (Twelve years of propaganda in favor of the Balkan nations)* is a testimony of the continuing interest of this French intellectual for the Balkans.²⁵ Articles and overall activities of French intellectuals in 1912 and 1913 was created in the effort to explore the possibility of creation of a defensive wall against German penetration to the East, which would be made by the Balkan states, and which would provide a huge benefit for France.

Ernest Denis and Emile Haumant, professors at the Sorbonne, were convinced that the Austria-Hungary was an extended arm of Germany's expansion to the East, and that it should be stopped, and simultaneously support the unification of the Slavic peoples. Defense of the Czech and Yugoslav idea were in the focus of Denis. In the circles of French scholars Denis enjoyed a great reputation as a person who "knows Central Europe best". As a part of *La Ligue internationale pour la défense du droit du peuples* he began propaganda lecturing on certain topical international issues.²⁶ Wars in the Balkans 1912 - 1913 left a strong impression on Haumant, who believed in the unity of the people between the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea, which was in line with the interests of France because it would form a dam for the German penetration to the East.²⁷ Decisive affirmation of a mentioned line of thought among the French scholars during the Balkan was contributed by the activity of Auguste Gauvin, professor and political director in the newspaper *Le Journal des débats*.²⁸

²³ **Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903–1914**, t. V, v. 3, Beograd 1986, № 50, 80, 83, 86.

²⁴ A. Cheradame, **L'Europe et la question d'Autrich au seuil du XIXe siècle**, Paris 1901; M. Pavlović, **Od Esklavonije ka Jugoslaviji**, Sremski Karlovci-Novı Sad 1994, 204.

²⁵ A. Chéradame, **Douze ans de propagande en faveur des peuples balkaniques**, Paris 1913; War years in the Balkans, and creations of new borders, encouraged Chéradame to publish "La question albanaise" (**Le Correspondant**) and "La guerre des Balkans et l'intervention autrichienne" (**Les Annales des nationalités**), in which he analyzes problems in the Balkans, its countries and peoples, as well as creation of a new state, in more details. See: A. Chéradame, « La question albanaise », **Le Correspondant**, t. CCXLVIII, 25 juin 1912, 1171–1190; **Ibid**, "La guerre des Balkans et l'intervention autrichienne", **Les Annales des nationalités**, février 1913.

²⁶ K. Spasić, "Srpska javnost o četvorici poznatih francuskih istoričara", 233.

²⁷ É. Haumant, **En Bosnie**, Paris 1906; A. Mazon, A. Livondelle, "Émile Haumant – Nécrologie", **Revue des études slaves**, v. 21, issue 21–1–4 (1944), 174–179.

²⁸ A. Gauvin, **L'Europe au jour le jour. La première guerre balkanique: 1912**, t. 4, Paris 1918; A. Gauvin, **L'Europe au jour le jour. La première guerre balkanique: 1912**, t. 5, Paris 1918; **Ibid**, **La question yougoslave**, Paris 1918.

Taking political responsibility in order to defy the Austro-Hungarian pressure and fulfillment of national goals and interests taken by the young Balkan states in 1912 and 1913 in the eyes of French intellectuals and diplomats has meant that the Balkans could be useful allies in the impending, any time possible collision with the Central Powers. Henry Barby in the preface to his collection of articles *Bregalnica. Serbo-Bulgarian War*, under the strong impression of the Balkan wars, which he witnessed, described Europe as "sleeping and blind for the constant progress of the Balkan peoples".²⁹ French journalist specially emphasized that in Europe, the prevailing belief was that the peoples of the Balkans were in the age of an infant, and that was denied during the recent wars, during which they demonstrated the necessary level of maturity and ability to engage in complex international relations. In his reports for the French newspaper *Le Journal*, Barby, based upon the win of the Balkan allies against Turkey, said that they "even adult and capable of great things," still bear the "levity and carelessness of youth," which was proven in their mutual engagements afterwards and in unwillingness to respond to intrigues of Austria-Hungary.³⁰

After the First Balkan War, the French tried to calm the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and decisively raised their voice against the new war in 1913.³¹ When the alliance of Balkan states fell apart in 1913, Haumant has in a lecture *La Serbie de demain*, held in association *Zora*, and then translated and published in *Serbian Literary Gazette*, expressed the view that the collapse of alliance caused great damage to Serbia and Bulgaria and their territorial claims. He pointed out the need for unity of the South Slavs in the future, and saw Serbia as "one who will gather around itself all Yugoslavs".³² The course of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), a powerful propaganda of the Balkan states in France, with aforementioned activities of French intellectuals led the development of the idea of building a wall made out of Slavic states against the Germanic world and its expansion ambitions.

In addition to the above, the Balkan wars woke observations of relations between the Balkan nations and societies, their characteristics, and the degree of emancipation and organization.³³ Although Penennrun, during the First Balkan War, fostered great respect for the Bulgarian soldier, during the Second Balkan War, he became impressed by "*human material* represented by a Serbian soldier".³⁴ After Bregalnica, there was a significant change in attitudes of French intellectuals towards certain Balkan nations. During vivid descriptions of battles of the First and Second Balkan War, Henry Barby emphasized superhuman

²⁹ H. Barby, *Bregalnitzza. La guerre serbo-bulgare*, Paris 1914, I

³⁰ H. Barby, *Bregalnitzza. La guerre serbo-bulgare*, Paris 1914, III

³¹ Lj. Aleksić-Pejković, *Odnosi Srbije sa Frnacuskom i Engleskom 1903–1914*, 684–685.

³² *Srpski književni glasnik*, book XXII, № 6, 16th March 1914, 438.

³³ A. de Penennrun, *40 jours de guerre dans les Balkans. La Campagne Serbo-bulgare en juillet 1913*, 238–239.

³⁴ "L'Homme consent à « se faire tuer, a souffrir » ... Le commandement sait « vouloir » ... Abnégation de l'exécutant, énergique volonté du chef : le secret de la victoire est là!" A. de Penennrun, "Comment les Serbes ont vaincu les Bulgares", *L'Illustration*, № 3674, 26 juillet 1913, 71–74.

resistance of Serbian soldiers, Serbian courage and achievements of the Serbian army.³⁵ Emile Haumant, stated in the preface of the book entitled *Serbian victories*, that this book "put things in their place" in the visions of the Bulgarians and Serbs in the French and European public's eyes, for the benefit of later who have been unjustly deprived of attention of public opinion "that fell in love with the Bulgarians."³⁶ Collection of historical-philological and literary articles on the South Slavs by Louis Leger *Serbes, Croates et Bulgares. Etudes historiques, politiques et littéraires* was one of the last books of French scholars in which Bulgarophile elements were noticeable.³⁷ French diplomacy has followed its own intellectuals and showed an increasing interest in Serbia, which was expected given the German plan for penetrating to the East.

French intellectuals were particularly interested in changes occurring in the Balkans and to the Austro-Hungarian politics during and after the liquidation of the European part of Turkey's territory. The new state in the Balkans, Albania, and its boundaries, were also the inspiration to Gaston Gravie, lector at the University of Belgrade. Gaston Gravies' professional, extensive argumentative article, in *Le Revue de Paris* ordered the borders of Albania and has made a significant impact on the discussion of the Albanian question in the French public.³⁸ Issue of the origin of Albania was also analyzed by André Chéradame in the article "The Limits of Albania". He saw Albania as a "hearthstone of intrigues: Austrian, Italian, Montenegrin, Serbian, Greek, Albanian, over which there should be a continuous control", emphasizing that "as the territory of Albania grows smaller, the European diplomacy will be easier in the future."³⁹ Chéradame made the case that the Balkan allies: Serbs, Montenegrins and Greeks, who already have built state machineries, can perform much better in the civilizing mission in the mentioned area. René Pinon, a historian and professor at the L'École Libre des Sciences Politiques, as an associate in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, said that the new Albanian state formed mainly due to Austria.⁴⁰ Europe agreed with Austria-Hungary and from the "irreconcilably separated tribes, without political, religious and spiritual unity" decided to create a state, which is considered by Pinon as legitimate but "for the European balance and peace in the Balkans, it is important that independent Albania is not an extended arm of one or two European powers."⁴¹ French author proposes, in the name of France, that the Council for supervision of the Albanian

³⁵ H. Barby, *Les Victoires serbes*, 65–67; *Ibid.*, Brégalnitza, *La guerre serbo-bulgare*, Paris 1914, 188–194.

³⁶ *Srpski književni glasnik*, book XXXI, N° 1, 1st July 1913, 79.

³⁷ L. Leger, *Serbes, Croates et Bulgares. Etudes historiques, politiques et littéraires*, Paris 1913.

³⁸ *Srpski književni glasnik*, book XXX, N° 8, 16th April 1913, 635; A. Lainović, "Bogdan Popović i Gaston Gravije", *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, XLI, 1–2 (1975), 108–111; P. de Lanux, *La Yougoslavie*, Paris 1916, 69–70; *Politika*, 18. 6. 1955; 18. 6. 1965.

³⁹ *Srpski književni glasnik*, book XXX, N° 8, 16th April 1913, 636–637.

⁴⁰ R. Pinon, "La liquidation de la Turquie d'Europe", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 juin 1913, 904.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 904–905.

state should include representatives of all other Balkan countries which will lose a part of the state to Albania.⁴²

In addition to war, diplomacy and political analysis of the situation, French intellectuals devote their attention to other issues, primarily economic. Raphaël-Georges Lévy in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* at the end of 1912, published the article " Les Finances des Etats balkaniques et les Bourses européennes " dedicated to the comparative analysis of financial situations in the Balkan states.⁴³ Interest for the economic situation in the Balkans, particularly the placement of French capital and a strong influence of French financial circles, was in the rise during the Balkan wars. Economy and culture became French assets for provision of stronger links with young Balkan states. In the article itself, the author emphasizes the need to examine the finance of warring factions of separately from the interests of France, "which was a major lender to the warring nations involved in this bloody war, and the majority of Turkish, Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek financial assets can be found in possession of our capitalist."⁴⁴ Alphonse Muzet, a mining engineer and a French commercial attaché in Belgrade, from the beginning of the 20th century until the First World War in 1914, came to the Balkans during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) in order to examine the possibility of building a railway network. As a result of Muzet's visit to Serbia, in 1912 was published a book dedicated to Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria.⁴⁵ Although Muzet had small inaccuracies in his presentation, significance of his work for the promotion of economic opportunity of the Balkan states is significant.⁴⁶ Muzet paid special attention to the complex geological view of land, mining exploitation, and mining legislation and incentives for the inflow of foreign capital into the Balkans.⁴⁷

The development of the international events and Germanys' interests in the Balkans, since the period of the Balkan wars until the period before the First World War, influenced on change of course of action of France's policy towards the Balkans. France, in 1912, abandoned its traditional policy of *status quo* in the Balkans.⁴⁸ Financial interest that France had in the area of the Ottoman Empire, was reflected in the lack of will towards the change of the borders in the Balkans, which resulted in political circles in Paris to support the

⁴² Pinon wrote about Albanian violence over non-Albanian population, emphasizing that Pec, once center of Serbian patriarchy, as well as Debar and Prizren were partially Albanised, while Skopje and Mitrovica were about to be Albanised, adding that „travelers who were passing over the course of several years, could not recognize towns and cities: terror has made them Albanian. Whole area was settled with Albanians who spoke Serbian language and who kept Serbian appearance“. **Ibid**, 905–906.

⁴³ Raphaël-Georges Lévy, "Les Finances des Etats balkaniques et les Bourses européennes", **Revue des Deux Mondes**, 1. décembre 1912, 559–594.

⁴⁴ **Ibid**, 570.

⁴⁵ A. Mouzet, **Aux pays balkanique: Monténégro Serbie Bulgarie**, Paris 1912.

⁴⁶ **Srpski književni glasnik**, book XXIX, № 11, 1st December 1912, 874.

⁴⁷ A. Mouzet, **Aux pays balkanique: Monténégro Serbie Bulgarie**, Paris 1912.

⁴⁸ R. Girault, "Les Balkans dans les relations franco-russe", **Revue historique**, tome CCLIII (1975), 155–184.

reforms efforts. However, the threat of penetration of Germany into East and inability to maintain Turkey in the Balkans, have resulted in the merging of economic and political interests of France for the Balkans during the Balkan wars. Until then, as French journalist Barby said, whole of Europe, France as well, saw Balkans as "just a large field of financial operations and speculation, seeing only its own financial gain."⁴⁹ During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) French capital in the Balkans, with cultural radiation already established itself.⁵⁰ Consequently, since the Young Turk revolution, there was an unsafe environment for the French capital in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The course of the Balkan drew the focus of France away from of the Ottoman Empire and made a foundation for significant political presence of France in the Balkans.

One of the French intellectuals that have visited the Balkans during the Balkan wars, Alphonse Muzet, in his book *Aux pays balkaniques: Monténégro Serbie Bulgarie* considers that the Balkan wars enabled the West to get to know the people that "until a few weeks ago he did not know as he ought to."⁵¹ Works of a general nature, in which the individual units are dedicated to the Balkans and its peoples and occasional publications devoted to one single country or nation in the Balkans, together with the daily and periodic news in the French press build the French image of the Balkans. Scholars: Léger, Bérard, Chéradame, Haumant and Denis in their long professional research and cooperation with the Balkan counterparts, gave particular weight to the new vision of the Balkans and the consequences of the suppression of the Ottoman Empire from Europe. Respected newspaper *Le Temps*, *La Figaro*, *Le Journal*, *L'Illustration*, and periodicals *Le Journal des Débats*, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, and *La Revue de Paris* and their associates: Gauvin, Barby, Pinon and Penennrun allowed the Western world to meet the Balkans. French artists and writers with their works gave a special touch to presentation of the Balkan wars to the French public.⁵² Common for aforementioned French intellectuals is that their interest in the Balkans are based on the

⁴⁹ H. Barby, *Brégalnitsa. La guerre serbo-bulgare*, I.

⁵⁰ A. Mitrović, "Les intérêt français en Serbie à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale", in: *La Serbie et la France Une alliance atypique*, Belgrade 210, 232–238.

⁵¹ *Srpski književni glasnik*, book XXIX, № 11, 1st December 1912, 876.

⁵² Thérèse Aubaret published in 1913 *Lettres sur la guerre balkanique (1912–1913)*, and Paul Liseron published collection of poems *L'Épopée balkanique*. Consequently, photographic campaign, made by French geographer (Jean Brunhes (1869–1932), photographers Auguste Léon (1875–1942) and Stéphane Passet (1875–?), under the patron of banker Albert Cannes, gave new overview on the Balkans. See: T. Aubaret, *Lettres sur la guerre balkanique (1912–1913)*, Paris 1913; P. Liseron, *L'Épopée balkanique*, Paris 1913; N. Broc, *Regards sur la géographie française de la Renaissance à nos jours*, Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 199; Jean-Louis Tissier, "Brunhes (Jean)", in: Jacques Julliard, Michael Winock (dir.), *Dictionnaire des intellectuels français*, Paris 1996, 195–196; Albert Kahn : *photographies, films, jardins. Un monde aux portes de Paris*, Paris 2008; David Okuefuna, *The wonderful world of Albert Kahn. Colour photographs from a lost age*, London 2008; *Du Bosphore à l'Adriatique: des photographes français découvrent les monuments des Balkans, 1878–1914 : dans le cadre du soixantième anniversaire de l'Institut français de Serbie*, Belgrade 2011.

analysis of international relations, pangermanism and fear of the growing power of Germany.

In accordance with the objectives of French policy in the Balkans, which during the Balkan Wars abandoned the tough stance of preserving the Ottoman Empire in Europe, French intellectuals, experts for the Balkans were invited to provide new information and ideas for the relations of France towards the Balkan states. During the Balkan wars in addition to the analysis of military operations, the situation in the European part of the Ottoman Empire, French intellectuals pointed to the degree of emancipation of the Balkan states likewise. Economic issues, while military operations were in full swing, showed new ways of placing the French capital, which has, by providing loans, acquired certain positions in Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. Change in the political map of the region, the break of the Balkan Union by Bulgarian-Serbian conflict and the emergence of the new state of Albania, were of a particularly interest for French scholars and journalists. Understanding the states and peoples of the Balkans as a defensive wall for Germanic penetration to the East, which would be a huge benefit for France, is prevalent in the works of French intellectuals. Since the Dreyfus Affair, power of the written word and the development of printing influenced decisively on the attitudes and analysis of intellectuals in the early 20th century becoming more influential in state politics. Activities of mentioned professors at Sorbonne and publicists had a significant effect in French political circles. Balkan Wars (1912–1913) brought a convergence of views on the Balkans within French scholars and writers with the attitudes of French statesmen. At the same time, harmonization of these views marked the beginning of a strong political influence of France in the Balkans as well.

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