Modern Antiquities: Arthur Evans, the Balkans, and the Discovery of a Lost European Civilization

Arna S. Elezovic

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Reading Committee:

Joel Walker, Chair

Bojan Belić

Ray Jonas

Robin Stacey

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

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University of Washington

Abstract

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Arna S. Elezovic

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Joel Walker

Department of History

This dissertation employs the career of British archaeologist Sir Arthur J. Evans as the fulcrum to examine the concept of "modern antiquities," which Evans defined as the study of ancient customs and societies best represented in the Balkans, and which he understood as essential to understanding the ancient past. The dissertation seeks to connect Evans' more widely known expertise in the Bronze Age Aegean (circa 3000–1200 BCE) with his experience in the Slavic Balkans in the late nineteenth century, to show he participated in the construction of European and Balkan identities, including an imagined past of Europe. Previous studies of Evans have focused, for understandable reasons, on his discovery on Crete of the physical remains of Minoan civilization, which he himself termed "that earliest of European civilizations."[1] Evans' first career began in the Balkans in the 1870s and included a five-year residence in Dubrovnik

[1] Arthur Evans, "New Archeological Lights on the Origin of Civilization in Europe. II," *Science* 44, no. 1135 (1916): 452.

(now in Croatia), while he was a journalist writing for *The Manchester Guardian*. His substantial political involvement in southern Slavic causes continued after his formal expulsion (for spying) by the Austrians in 1882, in particular during the period of the First World War and the peace process of 1919. Using Evans' own published books, unpublished travel journals, unpublished letters and draft memoranda, and published articles, the dissertation examines how Evans contributed to the construction of a southern Slavic identity in a multi-tiered way. For example, he perpetuated stereotypes about the 'barbaric Balkans' while simultaneously idealizing the Balkan peoples for having ancient customs; and yet, he supported their modernization efforts when he designed maps of the region based on Roman roads to illustrate the potential train or road routes to improve communication. This dissertation will contribute to regional studies of southeastern Europe and identity studies (gender and ethnicity) by bringing a lesser-known aspect of Evans' career forward. The goal of the project is to understand Evans' legacy and how he perpetuated a tradition where current popular academic journalism continues to treat the Balkans as on the edge or even beyond the borders of Europe.

DEDICATION

To my mother.

Mom, I wish you had lived to see me finish this thing.

And with love and gratitude for my father.

¿Qué es la vida? Una ilusión,

una sombra, una ficción,

y el mayor bien es pequeño:

que toda la vida es sueño,

y los sueños, sueños son.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dissertations are but moments in time. My dissertation is a one such imperfect moment that took me years of reading, research, writing, revising, and thinking. Such an endeavor would not have been possible without the efforts of many people.

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Thank you to sisters Marissa and Bethany Bea for their gift of professional copy editing on the final draft of this project. On only one issue did I ignore their advice: I chose not to capitalize the adjectives in descriptions of "southern Slavs" or "southeast Europe," but did explain why in footnotes. Any errors that remain are inadvertent and my own.

There are too many friends and colleagues at the University of Washington to acknowledge all by name, but here are the highlights with a definite switch to the second person voice. Thanks to Kevin McKenna, for being the first colleague who shared with me your teaching expertise. Mira Green and Alyson Roy, you made me feel included at the start of my graduate student experience, with all the conversations, coffees, and reality checks. Mei Feng Mok, Zach Smith, and Sarah Zaides, TAing with you three was a heyday moment; I loved our

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CHAPTER 1

Introducing Sir Arthur J. Evans (1851 – 1941)

Sir Arthur J. Evans fits the stereotype of a slightly eccentric Englishman from a wealthy Victorian family, whose later twentieth century accomplishments made him both a famous and controversial public figure. Evans is best known as the archaeologist who discovered and named the Bronze Age civilization (3000 – 1200 BCE) based in Crete, known ever since as Minoan. This dissertation explores another important, but lesser known dimension of Evans' career: his engagement with the Balkans and status as an influential expert on the Slavic world.[2] Between 1875 and 1882, Evans published extensively on the history, culture, and politics of the Balkans, spanning the genres of travel writing, ethnography, ethnology, journalism, archaeology, and political activism. Evans' writing on this topic began with the chronicle of the walking tour that he undertook with his brother Lewis in 1875; it reached its climax with his work as a journalist based in Dubrovnik, until the Austrians expelled him from the territory for spying and supporting insurgents in 1882. Central to this corpus of writing was his interest in teasing out the southern Slavs' relationship to Europe and notion of modernity. He continued his Balkan work as a political activist (in a gentlemanly sort of way) during the First World War, when he hosted Serbian refugees on his estate at Youlbury and drew maps of potential lines of communication

[2] I define the "Balkans" as a geographic territory that roughly corresponds to current nation-states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, the Republic of North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, and parts of Albania. For the purposes of this project, I am excluding Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. When referring to the southern Slavs and to southeastern geographic region of Europe, I have deliberately chosen to not capitalize directional adjectives (north, south, east, and west), to de-emphasize the dominance of cultural constructions of a unified "West" that continue to place Balkans outside of Europe. Many scholars of southeast Europe and the Balkans follow this convention, and I discuss regional history and historiography in chapter 2.

and transportation for the British Foreign Office. He also participated in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 in support of the southern Slavs and their unification efforts.

Evans' published work about the Balkans includes two monographs and many articles, as well as a large trove of unpublished documents now held in London and Oxford. These unpublished archives, alongside his books, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (first edition 1876, second edition 1877) and *Illyrian Letters* (1878), reveal how Evans used the Balkans as a lens to develop his ideas about the relationship between antiquity and modernity and the survival of antiquity in the dress, customs, and beliefs of the Slavic population of the Balkans. As close study of his publications and notes reveals, Evans expected and hoped to find in the Balkans traces of an ancient civilization. Instead, he concluded that the southern Slavic peoples represented a type of modern-day antiquity. The themes explored in his Balkan writing anticipated the conceptual framework that would inform his labeling of the Minoan remains on Crete as "the birth-place of our European civilization."[3]

Evans' engagement with the Balkans offers a striking case of the effort to define the temporal and geographic boundaries of Europe. He ranged across a variety of disciplines in his studies of the Balkans, including the interconnected fields of ethnography, ethnology, journalism, and archaeology.[4] Late nineteenth century intellectuals within these emerging disciplines used their authority as experts to assert and maintain European superiority over the

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[3] Arthur Evans, "New Archeological Lights on the Origins of Civilization in Europe," *Science* 44, no. 1134 (1916): 402-403. Evans framed his thinking as a question of origin: "My own recent researches have been particularly concerned with the much more ancient cultural stage—that of prehistoric Crete—which leads up to the Greco-Roman, and which might seem to present the problem of origins at any rate in a less complex shape. The marvelous Minoan civilization that has there come to light shows that Crete of four thousand years ago must unquestionably be regarded as the birth-place of our European civilization in its higher form."

[4] In his seminal *History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Bruce Trigger mentions Evans only twice, first for Evans' excavation of a late Celtic urnfield in southeastern England (p. 223), second, to illustrate the influence of Gordon Childe's *The Dawn of European Civilization* (1925). This dissertation traces the roots of similar ideas about the emergence of "European" ways in Evans' publications, more than forty years before Childe's influential book.

Balkans. Evans was a participant in this larger discourse about the boundaries of Europe, but his perspective and approach were unusual. His support for the political aspirations of the Slavic peoples blended with his fascination with the region's antiquities, leading him to conclude that Slavic lands still possessed some of the same invigorating qualities as early Europe. He used those invigorating qualities (e.g., the Slavs' connection to their deep past) about the Balkans to create narratives about the southern Slavs and European pre-history.

Dissertation Roadmap

The chapters that follow are organized partly by chronology, but also by themes, exploring different aspects of Evans' thought in areas of ethnography, ethnology, some journalism, and archaeology. My research methodology is grounded in analysis of the published and unpublished texts and images that Evans produced from the 1870s to 1880s. The chapters are organized around books by or about Evans, supplemented with archival materials. Evans' interest in modern antiquities is a thematic motif that runs throughout. Chapter 2 examines the modern biographies of Evans, especially that by his half-sister, Dame Joan Evans, and includes a brief section on Balkan historiography. Chapter 3 investigates how Evans created those narratives based on his ethnographic objectification of the southern Slavs as "other," with particular attention to gender. Chapter 4 examines how Evans articulated his beliefs on ethnicity, religion, and borderlands as an ethnologist, focusing on the regional demographic groups. I show how Evans participated in the civilizational discourse of the late nineteenth century that included widespread European ideas about religion, race, folklore, and the "family of man."[5] Western Europeans used these ideas to advance their own superiority over the southern Slavs along with

[5] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

other groups of people globally.[6] Doing so allowed Europeans to justify their need to intervene in the political crises of the time. For example, Georgios Giannakopoulos argues that Evans "fused two interrelated temporal frames: the deep anthropological and archaeological time of ancient civilizations and the modern framework of nationalist politics," resulting in Evans' response to the "Eastern Question." [7] While Giannakopoulos' work is closely related to my own, he focuses more on the history and politics of Britain and southeastern Europe, as opposed to my exploration of Evans' construction of narratives and reclamation of European antiquity. I argue that by mapping and documenting the Balkan peoples' connections to the past, Evans gave Europe a new view of its own antiquity with his constructed narratives and identities. Chapter 5 serves as the epilogue to illustrate how Evans was lauded and critiqued for his archaeological work on Crete in the twentieth century.

Chapter 2, "Arthur Evans and the Balkans – A New Framework," starts with analysis of biographies and includes the details of Evans' early life (1851–1882) because learning briefly about his family history and youthful travels will help in understanding his positionality in the later dissertation chapters. Evans began his career as an author by writing about the Balkans. Between 1875 and 1882, he produced material for four monographs, a slew of articles, and many lectures for various societies. He self-published two books, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1876, 1877) and *Illyrian Letters* (1878). They offer vital evidence not only about the Balkans, but also about his perspective as a travel writer. Evans participated in the creation of narratives about the Balkans that continue to be perpetuated in journalism, travelogues, and other

[6] For European travel writing as an instrument of colonial and postcolonial thought, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[7] Georgios Giannakopoulos, "Re-Staging the 'Eastern Question': Arthur J. Evans and the Search for the Origins of European Civilization in the Balkans," *History of European Ideas* 46, no. 5 (July 3, 2020): 601–13.

publications.[8] These lasting narratives are frequently negative and involve tropes, currently challenged by historians.[9] My inquiry presents Evans as a public intellectual and scholar, situated among his Balkan publications, biographies about him, and several shorter articles about Evans *in* the Balkans. Joan Evans' biography *Time and Chance* (1941) is pivotal to this inquiry because she had access to familial letters, documents, and papers. Most publications about Sir Arthur J. Evans, whether they tend to be positive or negative, focus on his archaeological accomplishments on Crete. The Balkan dimensions of Evans' career have not yet received adequate treatment in the academic sphere, and there has been little attention to the ways he constructed European prehistory *prior* to his excavations on Crete.

Chapter 3, "Evans the Ethnographer in Croatia and Slavonia," examines how Evans practiced ethnography in his depiction of the southern Slavs in Croatia and Slavonia. The definition of what constitutes "ethnography" has long been a subject of debate.[10] For the purposes of this chapter, I adopt Lila Abu-Lughod's definition that ethnography is the "textual rendering of social worlds."[11] This definition allows me to examine Evans' travel writing as part of a larger stream of nineteenth century European travel writing about exotic peoples and locales, which would eventually become what later ethnographers describe as "fieldwork."[12] Evans' first

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[8] For a landmark work arguing how the Balkans have been constructed, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). For British travel literature about the Balkans, see Vesna Goldsworthy, *The Balkans in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Writing* (London: Anthem, 2006); Andrew Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans: Themes and Contexts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010); and Omer Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (New York: East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 2001).

[9] For portrayals of the Balkans in European travel literature, see Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers* (London: Saqi in association with the Bosnian Institute, 2004) and Marija Krivokapić, ed., *The Balkans in Travel Writing* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

[10] Anthony Kwame Harrison, *Introduction to Ethnography* (Oxford University Press, 2018), surveys the field to show how ethnography "involves studying, describing, representing, and theorizing (with a certain degree of particularity) a culture or social world" (4).

[11] Lila Abu-Lughod, "Locating Ethnography," *Ethnography* 1, no. 2 (December 1, 2000): 261–67.

[12] For other English and European travel writing on the Balkans during the same decades, see Janos de Asboth, *An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1890); Robert Munro, *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia: With an Account of the Proceedings of the Congress of Archæologists*

Balkan book, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* is just such a text: a travelogue and young man's adventure story based on his trip in 1875 to the Balkans with his brother Lewis.

During their journey, Slavic Christian peasants took up arms against their Bosnian Muslim landlords and also against some Ottoman officials.[13] The Islamicization of local populations occurred predominately between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, but new work shows that it continued into the early twentieth century.[14] In 1875, the peasant uprising against landlords and unfair taxation morphed into a full-scale revolt that spread from Herzegovina to Bosnia. Evans did not intend to travel during a revolt, but neither did he cancel his summer holiday because of it. The combination of the timing of his trip and publication of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* made Arthur Evans an "expert" on the region in the eyes of the British reading public, even though he only spent two months there at the ripe age of twenty-four.[15] By contrast, Paulina Irby, Georgina Mackenzie, and later Edith Durham gained their expertise and authority only after many years of study, residence, and humanitarian work in the region, and in some instances could not overcome their gender.[16] *Through Bosnia and*

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and Anthropologists Held in Sarajevo, August 1894 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1895); and Charles Yriarte, *Bosnie et Herzégovine souvenirs de voyage pendant l'insurrection de 187 –1876* (Paris: Plon, 1876).

[13] Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 203. Hajdarpasic examines nationalism's cultural forms in Bosnia-Herzegovina produced by intellectuals, and explains how some Serbian and Croatian nationalists tried to differentiate "between 'the Turks' (non-Slavic Ottoman rulers) and 'our Turks' (meaning Bosnian Muslims)," with varying degrees of success.

[14] Nathalie Clayer and Xavier Bougarel, *Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History*, trans. Andrew Kirby (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd, 2017). Clayer and Bougarel outline three periods of the Islamicization of local populations in their introduction, but the monograph focuses on the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, suggesting a distinction between sociological Muslims and Muslim believers.

[15] Joan Evans, *Time and Chance: The Story of Arthur Evans and His Forebears* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943), 183. See also Joseph A. MacGillivray, *Minotaur: Sir Arthur Evans and the Archaeology of the Minoan Myth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), 50.

[16] Paulina Irby and Georgina Muir Mackenzie, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (London: Daldy, Isbister and Co, 1877); M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* (G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1928). Durham, later known for the stridency of her views and support of the Albanians, was both challenged for those beliefs and marginalized by notable scholars of both genders such as Rebecca West and R.W. Seton-Watson. Her writing feud with Seton-Watson during the 1920s lasted years. Another colleague, Arnold Toynbee, wrote to Seton-Watson on February 8, 1929, asking him to consider collaborating with Durham. Toynbee's letter quotes Durham as follows: "There is nothing that would please me better than to co-operate in

Herzegovina and Evans' regional expertise involved more than just the luck or the happenstance of taking a vacation during a revolt; he wrote about his journey in an engaging manner, and was determined to publish a travelogue about the trip. Evans examined multiple aspects of the southern Slavs, their languages, culture, and customs. In so doing, he mixed genres by combining ethnography, antiquities, history, and politics in his commentary on the southeastern Slavs. Evans' putative expertise was justified by the fact that he had some knowledge of the region's history and an aptitude for scholarship, but his credentials were also derived from his social status, financial position and family connections.[17]

Chapter 4, "Evans the Ethnologist in Bosnia and Herzegovina," again uses the travelogue but focuses on Evans' views of borderlands, his use of ethnology as a strategy to categorize and understand the southern Slavs, and his assertions for causes of 1875 revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The chapter also explores Evans' interest in the region's distinctive religious history because he saw elements of ancient paganism in the prayers and ritual actions of the Slavic peoples. My analysis will demonstrate that Evans intended his historical interpretations about the Balkans to connect European antiquity and modernity. As he observed in the expanded introduction to the second edition of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*: "In the Historical Review of Bosnia I have attempted to elucidate and emphasize a most important aspect of

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getting out an English edition of the recent and other Serbian publications, if you can persuade Seton-Watson to work with me. I have made ever so many attempts to conciliate him. Have sent him facts and recently a book. But only once did have politeness to reply. I would gladly have worked with him from the beginning. I have in fact fought his battles more than once and have denied that he is heavily subsidized by the Serb government, receives valuable concessions, is paid for lecturing at Kings College by a Slav combine and so forth." See UCL SSEES Library Archives Seton-Watson, Box 6, folder 9 (SEW17/6/9). The length and public nature of Seton-Watson and Durham feud highlights how rapidly Evans was recognized and accepted as a Balkan expert when compared to a woman like Durham. Evans and Seton-Watson were friends and united in the support of the unification of the southern Slavs, especially during the period of 1914–1919.

[17] Evans' female contemporaries known as Balkan experts were all women born into middle to upper class families: Paulina Irby (1831 – 1911) was the daughter of a rear-admiral; the father of Georgina Muir Mackenzie's (1833 – 1874) was knighted, and she later married a man who became general consul of Corfu, where she was known as Lady Sebright; the father of Edith Durham (1863–1944) was a London surgeon.

Bosnian history—the connection, namely, between that till lately almost unknown land, and the Protestant Reformation of Europe, and the debt which even civilised England owes that now unhappy country."[18]

Evans urged the British reading public to repay that debt by supporting the southern Slavs in their quest for political autonomy. These efforts were necessary—from his perspective—because major European parties were becoming increasingly concerned about the health of the Ottoman Empire, as Balkan Christians revolted against the Turks, taxes, and localized misrule. In the mid to late nineteenth century, for example, ninety-five percent of the landowners in Bosnia and Herzegovina were Muslim, while ninety-one percent of the *kmet* (sharecropping peasants) were Christian, and their unresolved social and economic claims led to repeated insurrections.[19] The 1875 revolt precipitated (or at least exacerbated) the Eastern Crisis, in which the Great Powers of Britain, France, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Russia all vied with each other and with the Ottoman Empire for control of the region because of upheaval. [20] The political machinations of the European states were complicated by the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876, an event that had a long shelf life in developing nationalism in Bulgarian literature.[21] The massacre sparked furious outcry among Europeans who condemned the Ottomans' response and expressed

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[18] Arthur Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot During the Insurrection, August and September 1875: With an Historical Review of Bosnia Revised and Enlarged, and a Glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the Ancient Republic of Ragusa*, 2d ed. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877), xi.

[19] Clayer and Bougarel, *Europe's Balkan Muslims*, 29-30. Insurrections were relatively frequent throughout the late Ottoman Empire; notable ones include the revolts in Crete in 1841, 1858, and 1866–69, Herzegovina and Bosnia in 1875, and Bulgaria in 1876.

[20] For the Habsburg perspective on these borders, see Dragan Damjanović, "Building the Frontier of the Habsburg Empire: Viennese Authorities and the Architecture of Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier Towns, 1780–1881," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 187–207. On the Ottoman-Habsubrg frontier, see also Edin Hajdarpasic, "Frontier Anxieties: Toward a Social History of Muslim-Christian Relations on the Ottoman-Habsburg Border," *Austrian History Yearbook* 51 (May 2020): 25–38.

[21] The most notable primary source publication in English was by British liberal party leader, William Ewart Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876). For the memory of the Bulgarian atrocities in the development of Bulgarian national identity, see Ivan Minchov Vazov, *Under the Yoke*, trans. Marguerite Alexieva and Theodora Atanassova (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971).

their support for the oppressed Bulgarian population. The atrocities made a second edition of Evans' book more pertinent, as did the prospect of war. It was likely another reason he published a second edition. With the situation evolving (or one could say devolving), Russia and the Ottomans went to war in 1877, with Russia emerging the victor that year.[22] Lost in this shuffle of Great Power games could be the interests of the southern Slavs. This context made Evans' Balkan publications uniquely situated and gave his work immediacy, which he exploited to the best of his ability in his sometimes effusive style.

Evans was decidedly on the liberal side of British politics, which meant he supported the southern Slavs and urged action to protect their rights against the Turks. This position aligned Evans with William Gladstone, Edward Freeman, Paulina Irby, and other liberals, in contrast to the conservative politics of Evans' father, who preferred Prime Minister Disraeli's policy of upholding Ottoman interests as a counterweight to Russian influence in the Balkans.[23] At the national conference on the Eastern Question held in London on December 8, 1876, Gladstone "emerged from retirement to become 'the scourge of Turkey,'" and the former Prime Minister used evidence from Evans' *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* to illustrate the plight of the southern Christian Slavs.[24] Notable historian Edward A. Freeman, Evans' future father-in-law, also spoke at the meeting claiming that the name of England was stained in every foreign land,

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[22] Britain objected to the size of the new Bulgarian state as outlined in the Treaty of San Stefano on March 3,1878. Three months later, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Great Powers made new territorial divisions and changed administrative control of parts of the Balkans, shrinking the size of Bulgaria and establishing the new states of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro. Austria-Hungary occupied the Sandžak (Raška) region and took over management of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For a succinct description, see Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 92–95.

[23] Balázs Trencsényi et al., *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe: Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the "Long Nineteenth Century," A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe* (Oxford University Press), especially 281 on the opposition between Gladstone and Disraeli. Major earlier studies include R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question* (London: F. Cass, 1962) and Richard Millman, *Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875–1878* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[24] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 183.

presumably because its lack of involvement in preventing future violence.[25] In contrast, the conservative Prime Minister Disraeli urged maintenance of the status quo or holding Ottoman interests as a counterweight to Russian influence in the Balkans.[26] Despite his movement away from his father's politics, familial connections remained critical to the young Evans. Joseph Prestwich, a friend of the Evans' family, helped him secure a position as a journalist. Prestwich's nephew, C. P. Scott, had just become the editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, the paper which was "strongly pro-Gladstone and anti-Turk."[27]

Through Bosnia and Herzegovina helped Evans launch the next phase of his career. He left for the Balkans in early 1877 to use Dubrovnik as a home base. He lived in and traveled the region for five years, during which time he married Margaret Freeman, convinced her to move to the Balkans with him, and wrote extensively for *The Manchester Guardian* and other English papers. By the end, Evans had placed more than 200 articles and other short pieces in *The Manchester Guardian* between February 1877 and September 1881. [28] In 1878, he published a carefully curated and revised selection of these letters as his second book, *Illyrian Letters*.[29] He continued to publish on the Balkans until his expulsion by the Austrians in 1882, after he was

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[25] "The Eastern Question the Geographical Position of the States Revolting Against Turkey: Description of the Several Provinces, Their Population and Industries a History of the Slavons, Their Social Idea, Their Political and Religious Affairs the Significance of the Present Troubles," *The New York Times*, December 25, 1876, sec. Archives, https://www.nytimes.com/1876/12/25/archives/the-eastern-question-national-conference-in-london-a-large-meeting.html. The NY Times article reports that this meeting was "not national and not a conference…it contained representatives not of the country at large, but only of certain sections of self-appointed delegates who agreed in a particular view of the Eastern question."

[26] Balázs Trencsényi et al., *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe*, esp. 281: "Two positions emerged, one considering the Ottoman Empire a factor of stability and a counter-weight to Russian expansion, the other advocating an interventionist policy aimed at protecting the Christian subjects of the Porte and envisioning the creation of autonomous nation-states on the territory of the empire. This dilemma also served as an important polarizing factor in domestic politics in Western Europe. The two positions became symbolically personified in Britain by Disraeli and Gladstone."

[27] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 184.

[28] John Joseph Wilkes, "Arthur Evans in the Balkans, 1875–1881," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London* 13 (1976): 32.

[29] Arthur John Evans, *Illyrian Letters: A Revised Selection of Correspondence from the Illyrian Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, And Slavonia, Addressed to the Manchester Guardian During the Year 1877* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878).

arrested on suspicion of supporting Balkan insurgents. Although released after six weeks, he was, in the words of a local Slavic paper "expelled" from the lands. That paper was the *Slovinac*, a local journal of literature, arts, and crafts in Dubrovnik, published in the 1880s. At over 500 pages, *Slovinac* carried only this brief announcement of Evans' forced departure:

> GREAT YACHT OF ENGLAND has recently sailed into our city with another smaller one, and within a few hours several personages of both sexes have boarded and have immediately sailed towards Venice. The known Mr. Arthur Evans, who was recently released from jail together with the learned Mr. Gopčević, where they were imprisoned for political reasons, went to Venice aboard the mentioned Yacht and sailed towards England because he (Evans) was expelled from all the lands represented in the Representative house in Vienna.[30]

Evans did not return to Dubrovnik for over fifty years, although he continued to write about the Balkans throughout his life in phases. Thematically, chapter 4 illustrates how Evans participated in the "civilizational discourse" of the late nineteenth century as an ethnologist, yet also seeks to convey his idiosyncratic approach to the question of the Slavs' relationship to Europe, especially their reasons for revolt and their connections to Greco-Roman antiquity and Europe's own pagan deep history.

Chapter 5, "Evans the Archaeologist on Crete," is the epilogue because it examines the relationship between Evans' Balkan connections and his overall renown as an archaeologist, which culminated with his discovery and naming of the Bronze Age Minoan civilization on Crete. What makes Evans and his publications unique is his mix of idealization and admonishment when he writes about the southern Slavs (and sometimes draws them) as anachronisms in his modern day. His published work, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* shows how English Europeans like him exerted influence over the perceived eastern and continental periphery, how borders were conceptualized and reconceptualized because of political events,

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[30] *Slovinac: List za književnost, umjetnost i obrtnost, Izlazi u Dubrovniku svako deset dana,* g.5 1882 (Dubrovnik: Dragutin Pretner, 1882), 207.

and how Europeans narrated their own prehistory to meet their own chronological linear story of "modern progress."

Explanation of the Archives and Sources

I originally conceived of this dissertation as analysis of Evans written in biographical form, culminating with his archaeological work on the Minoans. My encounter with the archives greatly narrowed the project's scope because of the richness of the Balkan materials. I soon came to realize that Evans' engagement with the Balkans played a critical role in the formation of his ideas about European antiquity. An unpublished memorandum found in the Sir Arthur J. Evans archives summarized his beliefs (and has crystalized my own about Evans) that the Balkans represent "modern antiquities," which I discuss in the argument section below.

Evans' unpublished papers and notes are concentrated in two major archives: The University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (UCL SSEES) Library and the Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities (hereafter "the Ashmolean.") Most of the material in the Ashmolean deals with Evans' excavations on Crete and other Greek and Aegean archaeology. That collection contains Evans' artifacts and papers relating to his archaeological career including his correspondence with colleagues, employees, and scholars throughout Europe. The Pitt Rivers Museum, also in Oxford, has a small ethnographic collection, which was bequeathed to the museum after Evans' death by his half-sister and biographer, Joan Evans. But the most robust archive concerning the Balkans materials that Evans created or acquired is held by the UCL SSEES Library, which houses two collections of Evans' Balkan materials. The primary one was bequeathed to the library after Evans' death in 1941. This collection is labeled EVA 1 and contains thousands of documents of all sorts. The second collection is called EVA2 and is on loan from the Ashmolean Museum since 1942. The sum total

of archival materials is approximately is ten large letter sized boxes, each containing multiple envelopes or folders. The UCL SSEES Library provides this overview of their materials: "8 boxes, 10 volumes and 1 map, with the condition where some volumes have damaged spines or loose pages…The Library provides indexes of places and correspondents are available in hard copy only in the Library."[31] Access is not restricted but appointments are necessary as the archive is apparently popular. The UCL SSEES Library also has the archive collection from Evans' wife, Margaret Evans (1848? – 1893), which is referred to as EVM; this collection contains at least one of Margaret's journals but the transcription is actually at the Ashmolean Museum. Unfortunately, several of Margaret Evans' other journals, personal correspondence, and especially those letters to *and* from her husband have all been sold at auction to a private collector.[32]

In a research trip from January to March 2018, it took me approximately two and half weeks to systematically go through all the UCL SSEES materials. Mine was a high-speed research trip with limited time to read the materials; instead, I operated on a triage system of creating notes, scanning what looked interesting to me, flagging it as such in the notes, and then

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[31] http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/archives/eva.htm

[32] The most disappointing sale (from the researcher's perspective) was at a Christie's auction on June 2, 2010. Sale #7854 in the "Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books" category for 27,500 GBP. Lot 211 included:

- A small archive of travel journals and correspondence, the autograph journals in 37 notebooks, 160 x 100mm (two slightly larger), England, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, the Caucasus, Greece and the Balkans, 1873–1891, including small drawings, photographs and a few pressed flowers, approximately 1,950 pages, small 8vo and 4to
- A transcript of her Ragusa journal (1879)
- Two travel notebooks by her sister, Florence Freeman
- Correspondence including letters by Margaret Evans to her husband Arthur (47 letters, 1877–1885), to her parents, Edward and Alice Freeman (50, 1878–1889) and her sister Helen (30, mostly from Ragusa [Dubrovnik], 1878–1885),
- Letters by Arthur Evans to his wife Margaret (58 letters, 1877–1893), with 5 to her father and 2 others
- Letters by Edward Augustus Freeman (father of Margaret) to his daughters Margaret (42 letters, 1852–
- 1892) and Florence (143 letters and cards, 1868–1891), with a few other letters and fragments, two photographs, and other items.

For more information see https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-evans-margaret-1848-1893-wife-of-sir-arthur-5320073/?/

photographing the item. Documents were predominately in English, but the variety of languages shows Evans' linguistic abilities. The languages in archival documents include Bosnian, Croatian, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Latin, Montenegrin, Persian, Serbian, Turkish, and Urdu. In this dissertation, any transcriptions and translations of non-published documents in Bosnian, Croatian, or French sources are my own unless otherwise noted. The main point of work at the UCL SSEES for me was to examine two collections: EVA1 (the collection of material bequeathed by Evans to SSEES) included his writings, notes, sketches, correspondence, photographs, press cuttings, pamphlets and offprints, all relating to the Balkans; and EVA2 (the collection on long term loan from the Ashmolean), similarly consisting of Evans' writings, notes, sketches, correspondence, press cuttings, pamphlets and offprints relating to the Balkans. Both collections had a digital catalog not at the item level but which did, at least, provide an overview of geographic locations and date ranges for the materials in each box, folio or folder. It was difficult to determine why the materials had been separated into two collections, aside from the issue of ownership. There was also an Evans UCL Special Collections - Digital Collection of select materials. I did review Margaret Evans' travel journals and was happily pleased with her legible handwriting, unlike the cramped scrawl of her nearsighted husband. UCL SSEES has only two journals or diaries from Margaret, detailing a journey she took from April to September in 1883, when she and her husband traveled to Greece, Macedonia and Bulgaria. The first volume is entitled *Journal of Greek and Macedonian Travel* and the second *Journal of old Serbian and Bulgarian Travel*. She wrote in English, but knew other languages. I also spent approximately a week or more in the R.W. Seton-Watson archives at the UCL SSEES Library. Seton-Watson, a notable historian of southeastern Europe, was a friend and correspondent with Evans, in particular during First World War, when both men worked for the

cause of southern Slav unification efforts and tried to advance the development of a nation-state of southern Slavs at the Paris Peace Conference in late fall/winter of 1919.

The Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities collection has some Balkan materials, although the Museum's focus and main source of materials is about Evans' work both as the Ashmolean's Keeper (curator) from 1884–1908,[33] and his long-term excavations at Knossos, 1900–1931. The archive contains his professional and personal papers: there are some seven-hundred letters in ten folders totaling approximately four-thousand pages of text.[34] The Ashmolean has restricted access for researchers because of a re-cataloguing project as of early 2018. I was told by the European pre-historian curator, Alison Roberts, that I was one of only two researchers allowed to access the archive: both of us were PhD candidates and I was the only one to be working on the Balkans (not Knossos or Greece) in the Sir Arthur J. Evans archive. My intent was to read letters by Evans or at least get a sense of the man as most of the materials I examined at the UCL SSEES Library were his writings about the Balkans. Thus I examined select scholarly letters, more non-scholarly letters and personal ones, and an annotated copy of letters from Evans received by his adopted ward, James S. Candy.[35] My experience in the archive confirms the necessity of the reorganization project as materials were kept in three ring binders with plastic sheet protectors and were in disarray from frequent use by researchers. There was no official online catalogue available; I had to create my own numbering system. At the time of this

[33] Evans retired from the role in 1908, but remained on the Museum's advisory board. During his twenty-five-year keepership he transformed the Ashmolean, greatly expanding the collections. His efforts made the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology a renowned institution. Evans was succeeded by David Hogarth. For Evans' accomplishments at the Ashmolean, see J. L. Myres, "Arthur John Evans. 1851-1941," *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society* 3, no. 10 (1941): 941–68.

[34] See https://sirarthurevans.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/archive/papers/index.html for the list that hopefully will be revised in the near future once the collection is reorganized. Scholarly letters are in folders I-V, personal letters in folder VIII, unsorted letters to John and Arthur Evans in folder IX, and James Candy's transcribed and annotated correspondence in folder X. The Ashmolean also has a transcribed Margaret Evans journal (original at UCL SSEES Library)

[35] See James S. Candy, *A Tapestry of Life: An Autobiography* (Braunton, Devon: Merlin Books, 1984).

writing, in February 2021, the materials are not yet catalogued and therefore likely not accessible to researchers.[36] One hopes that the curators and researchers working to make this important collection accessible again are well supported.

The final archival research I did was at the Pitt Rivers Museum, famous for its ethnographic collections categorized according to theme. Visiting the museum is like stepping back into a strangely altered Victorian collection with glass cases where items are arranged by type, color and shape and flagged with pins. The archive(s), however, are modern, clean, well maintain and beautifully organized. The collection is small but the curator, Philip Grover, has made every effort to preserve in it special plastic casing and has items clearly labeled. Mr. Grover also curated an excellent exhibit, *Travels in Finland and Bosnia & Herzegovina: An Ethnographic Collection of Sir Arthur Evans*, 2013. The materials in this collection mostly concern Evans' 1875 trip to the Balkans, his trip to Finland and among the Sami, and then his drawings, some photographs, and his personal collection of ethnographic cards of Slavic peoples. The Pitt Rivers, perhaps because of the size of their collection, has been able to digitize the materials in collaboration with Oxford University using the platform Cabinet.[37]

The archival materials that I have used for this project are varied. First and foremost is the memorandum entitled "Modern Antiquities," which is from the 1880s and expresses how Evans intertwined modernity and antiquity. Next are letters, postcards, drawings and sketches for chapter 2 "Evans the Ethnographer," and chapter 3, "Evans the Ethnologist." These materials help us understand Evans' opinion on the southern Slavs, the western European perspective and his own positionality (being both anti-Turkish and anti-Austrian), and on the Eastern Question from the late 1870s to 1880s. Discrepancies between published works and unpublished

[36] https://www.ashmolean.org/historic-archives
[37] https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/travels-in-finland-and-bosnia-herzegovina

documents are most evident in drawings and sketches. These materials are a selection from the UCL SSEES library, the Ashmolean, and the Pitt Rivers Museum. In chapter 4, "Evans the Ethnologist in Bosnia and Herzegovina," I make use of an out-of-print lecture, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," which Evans delivered at Sion College on February 23, 1878. The lecture is in a bound monograph of historical pamphlets at the Trinity college Bodleian Library (Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG, England).[38] The bound collection of lectures contains a wide range of dates, but Evans' lecture expresses his ideas on civilization discourse. All of these materials are only the preliminary layer of what Evans produced during the time in which he lived, traveled, drew and sketched individuals, published articles, and wrote about the Balkans.[39]

Dissertation Argument

This project shows how and why Evans began to connect European modernity to antiquity, while he lived and worked in the Balkans. Evans represented his initial journey to the Balkans as an exploration of a frontier and borderland of Europe, and also a journey into the ancient past. In so doing, he expressed his sense of being English and European in three major ways. First, he asserted his own English and European cultural superiority by "othering" the Balkan peoples, making them inferior while simultaneously idealizing their primitiveness. Evans referred to himself most frequently as an "Englishman" or "English" in his books. He never defined the essence of this "English" identity, but implicit in his portrayal of the Slavs as primitive is the

[38] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, listed under "Aiken, Peter Freeland" and topics are "War, religiously, morally, and historical consid." Access date February 10th, 2018. Note: I am treating this as an archival primary source because I have not come across this publication anywhere else online or available through another library. Reading and photographing of the lecture in the historical pamphlet booklet is restricted to users of the library system; the document cannot leave the reading room.

[39] The periods of Evans' journalism will be the focus of later work, specifically folklore on witches that Evans collected, transcribed, and translated while living in Dubrovnik from 1878–1882. And Evans' support of southern Slav unification during First World War and his participation in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 will also be the subject of future work.

notion that the English are the opposite. They have common sense, decency, forbearance, and industriousness as characteristics.[40] In one of the most startling (and ugly) instances, Evans offers faint praise for Dubrovnik, as the "most barbarous European member of our Aryan family."[41] That civilizing influence of Dubrovnik, partly based on the city's long history as an independent republic and a center of southeastern Slavic literature, is the subject of the last and ninth chapter of his travelogue, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* For Evans, Europeans were Aryans and civilized, whereas the Slavs could be part of the Aryan family but only as an addition in need of civilizing, even by other sub-groups of Slavs. Chapter 4 explores these racial dimensions of Evans' thought in more detail as an ethnologist where he (the would-be social scientist) compared groups of Slavs to each other, to the Ottomans, and to the western Europeans.

His sense of superiority was not limited to Slavic peoples, however. Evans frequently stereotyped other Europeans, putting his English identity above his European one, both for comic relief and scathing commentary against Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy in his Balkan writings. For example, in his travelogue, he argued with an Austro-Hungarian police commissioner in the town of Slavonski Brod that the commissioner had no right to request their passports; Evans said he would show their passports to the commissioner as a "courtesy" to prove that they were English but felt it unnecessary. The commissioner, angered at a threat to his

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[40] Andrew Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans* (Amsterdam, NL: Rodopi, 2010), 120–121, 139. Hammond describes the characteristics of English identity in this way, but notes that these are not "transcendental categories, but articles of faith which derive their vigor and relevance from the… presence of otherness." He also notes that "English" is the more accurate term because "British" implies a hybrid and more general identity including Scotland, Wales, and even the commonwealth. See also Philip Dodd, "English and the National Culture," in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 1-61.

[41] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 416. Evans invokes the "Aryan" only three times in the text on pages 38, 296, and 416, but always when comparing the Slavs to western Europeans.

authority, had the brothers arrested anyway.[42] Evans demanded to see the mayor of the town, threatened dire consequences (a British fleet sailing up the river—highly unlikely), and the event turned into a small-town public drama. Evans mocks the commissioner, "bearded in his den" like a hibernating bear.[43] His portrait of the commissioner is meant to be humorous, exaggerated, and unflattering. At the same time, Evans made fun of himself and his decision to walk through the country, as a crazy Englishman.[44] This instance is just one example of self-mockery that Evans used to create a rhetorical effect in his writing. The frequently quoted combination of autobiographical tidbits, which Evans sprinkles throughout *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* shows his own capacity for self-deprecation. Evans, nearsighted and night-blind, had a habit for traveling with his walking stick named "Prodger," an eccentricity perhaps related to his poor vision.[45] In recounting or acknowledging his own deficiencies with humor, he made himself at times a caricature in his own story in order to relate to his readers by providing them with a way to feel superior as armchair travelers. Evans made himself a character in the story of traveling through the Balkans, presenting his own whimsical habits as little better than the irrational requests of a "slumbering bear" of an Austro-Hungarian police commissioner. *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* was meant to educate *and* entertain.

Evans wrote his second Balkan book, *Illyrian Letters* (1878), to persuade his British readers that they should support the plight of the southern Slavs, whom he considered oppressed

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[42] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, 80–82.
[43] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, 80–82.
[44] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina.* 90. Evans, when trying to explain his proposed walking tour to a local official in Brod, writes, "…we had to explain that walking was a weakness of the English people, and at least, as I think the good man began to believe that it was connected with our religion, and that we were pilgrims of some sort, he gave over trying to convert us to the Bosnian way of thinking, and told off a Zaptieh to escort us to our that day's destination, Dervent." The town is called Derventa today.
[45] Sylvia L. Horwitz, *The Find of a Lifetime: Sir Arthur Evans and the Discovery of Knossos* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 29. Horwitz conducted archival research and interviewed surviving family members and friends who knew Evans. In her introduction, Horwitz thanks Evans' young ward, Mr. James S. Candy in particular because he shared with her "his unforgettable memories of the many years he spent under Sir Arthur's roof."

by Ottoman rule. In the 1870s, Britain, France, Austro-Hungary, and Russia were all vying for influence in Balkan region under Ottoman rule, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, because of the perceived instability of the Ottoman Empire.[46] Evans reaffirmed the western European perception of the Balkans as borderlands of Europe and Asia often in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* and then again in *Illyrian Letters*, believing that Ottoman governance kept the Balkans in essentially what modern historians would call a pre-industrialized state of human development. But Evans did not use this modern term of "pre-industrialized." Evans' most common expression for this idea was "rude," a term that appears twenty-five times in his travelogue to describe the region's peoples, their art, clothing, social customs and habitations. Balkan technology or lack of industrialization is referred to as "primitive," and Evans twice compares the primitive Balkan tools and trades to those used in the northern borderlands of Europe.[47] He used the terms rude and primitive interchangeably, but both indicate the lack of development and progress. The backwards Balkans as a concept was nothing new. Balkan peoples (of all ethnicities) were locked into the past by their customs and culture. His ideas of his own superiority involved modernity, technology, and sophistication absent from the political borderlands of the Balkans because of the region's cultural primitiveness. The Balkans were a nether realm caught between darkness of Ottoman rule and the advancement of western civilization, but one which could still be won for the 'light' or western civilization.[48]

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[46] For deconstructions of the narrative of the late Ottoman Empire as the "old sick man of Europe," see Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); M. Şükrü. Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); and Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[47] In *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, Evans used the word primitive twenty-four times: on the region's "primitive" grain mills (94), anvils (119), rope making (194), and forges (228); similarly, on "primitive" Balkan grain production with "a stamp mill for beating flax (was) like a 'scotch brake,'" (50) or and iron cauldrons that "hung from primitive jacks like in Finnish cottages" (60).
[48] The metaphor of the "light of civilization" against the "darkness of oppression" was a theme Evans developed over time from his lecture, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," delivered at Sion College on February 23, 1878,

Borderlands can be geographic, temporal, or a combination of both. Evans treated the Balkans as both a geographic and temporal borderland, and he appropriated aspects of the ancient past as part of his conceptual foundation of his own European cultural heritage. This appropriation was also a way he established his identity—as an Englishman and European—through his study of material culture. His link between modernity and antiquity is best summarized by an unpublished draft memorandum, which Evans entitled "Modern Antiquities." The memorandum was written after Evans' 1875 summer trip to the Balkans. The physical qualities of the paper Evans used provide important data—given the family business of papermaking. The memorandum bears a watermark with the date of 1880 and the name of the family paper-making company, "John Dickinson"[49] The photograph (image 1 below) is from the author's personal files while researching at the University College of London School of Slavonic

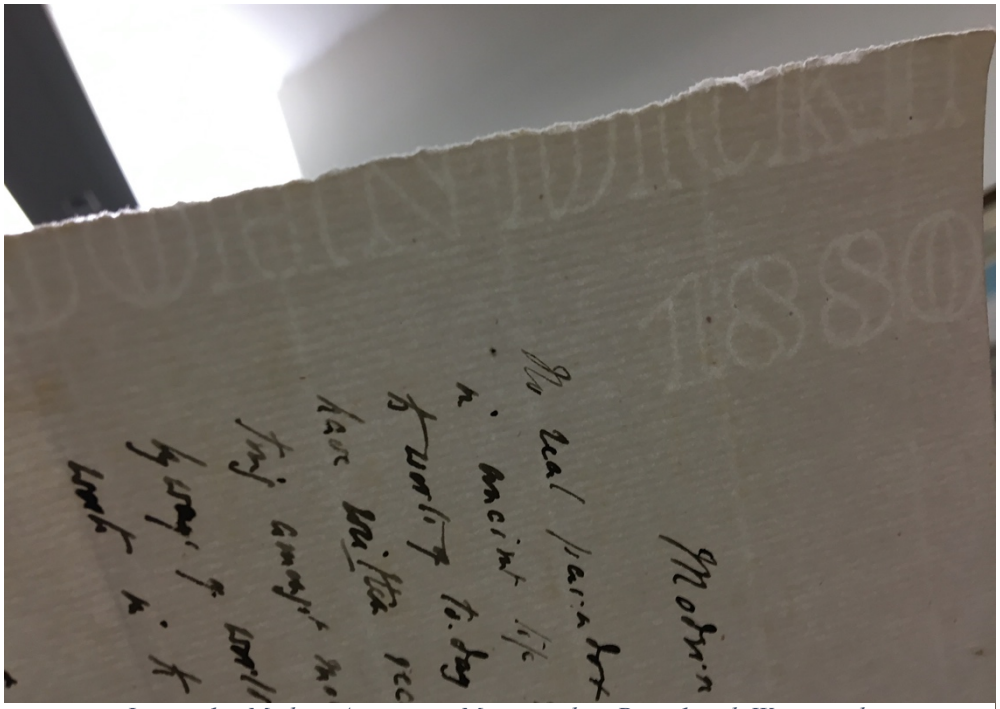

Image 1 – Modern Antiquities Memorandum Page 1 with Watermark

BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143 to his article, "New Archeological Lights," published in 1916 during the middle of the First World War—where the metaphor became a dominate theme.

[49] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 57-66 on John Dickinson, and 150 for the requirements and provisions of Dickinson's will. Arthur Evans' father, Sir John Evans, managed the family business.

and Eastern European Studies Library (UCL SSEESS) archives, which have the Sir Arthur J. Evans' Balkan materials.[50] The "Modern Antiquities" document is crucial evidence for all chapters because it serves as a conceptual link among three things: the content of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* Evans' journalism in the Balkans from 1877–1882, and then his excavations at Knossos from 1900-1931. The idea of modern antiquity expressed in the memorandum is the intellectual heart of Evans' work over a lifetime.

The memorandum comprises four pages of Evans' fast, cramped, and very-difficult-to-read handwriting. His ideas are often expressed in incomplete sentences; it may be that he used this memorandum as a draft of lecture notes because of one line from the fourth page where he writes, "tonight I appeal for the catholic study of Archaeology…" although it is unclear if his appeal is to a reader or a listener and the idea of "catholic study of Archaeology" remains unexplained by the text. By "catholic," Evans surely means "universal" or "embracing all men," a common usage in the late nineteenth century. This memorandum, found during my research in the UCL SSEES Library archives, makes clear the conceptual link Evans made between the primitive nature of the southern Slavs and their cultures, and the study of antiquity well before his excavations at Knossos in 1900. The memorandum shows how Evans combined ethnography (e.g., categorizing and objectifying the Balkan peoples as specific cultural groups) and ethnology (e.g., the study of the members and structures of cultures by looking at the deep history of a culture in order to explain why and how it functions as it does) with an examination of the material objects people used daily. His Balkan work, as an informal ethnographer and ethnologist traveling the Balkans, was an integral part of his later work as an archaeologist.

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[50] Arthur Evans, University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (UCL SSEESS) Library Archives, EVA1/1/2, folder 2. Photograph from author's personal files. Accessed January 16, 2018. See also images 2–5 for photographs of each page of the memorandum at the end of this chapter; also in Appendix A Illustrations. For the full text of the memorandum, see Appendix B Transcriptions.

Evans begins his draft as if he were in the middle of a thought with "No paradox here - Antiquity is a relative term…the stone age still exists amongst modern savages." He observes that "old things live on still in the heart of Europe and nowhere more than Illyria." Evans' use of the Roman provincial name for the region makes the connection to antiquity explicit. But he also transposes onto this classical geography a dichotomy of Europe/Asia that had been transformed by four hundred years of Ottoman conquest and rule in the Balkans. Evans traveled to the Balkans in 1875 with the expectation that a "five-minute voyage" across the Sava river "transports you into Asia."[51] But with his travels, his views changed: he came to see the positionality of the Balkans as malleable. The Balkans could be a border land, but also technically could be considered a reminder of England's own primitive past, putting the Balkans within a similar cultural continuum. The memorandum argues that the "striking contrast between modern civilization and what we call barbarism" is the "unchanged present in savage costumes" which is "daily brought to our notice by travelers." The superiority of the west rested in its capacity to recognize and describe the remnants of antiquity kept alive in costume and customs of the contemporary Bosnia and "Illyria."[52] One can see the wording of the memo echoes what Evans wrote in his published work for how he portrayed the region's antiquity as inseparable from current and future events in the Balkans:

> The broad distinction between politics and the relations of domestic life that exist among civilized nations are out there non-existent, and even the nymphs and dragons that haunt the Bosnia caves and forest may, in their way, play as real a part of the affairs of men as Insurgents or Bashi-bazouks. Nor should any one who desires to present the 'Illyrian

[51] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, 80.

[52] In the preface to *Illyrian Letters* (1878), Evans proclaimed his interest in the southern Slavic peoples because of a "previous acquaintance with those lands, some account of which I have already given to the public in my book on Bosnia, and a still earlier acquaintance with their history had led me to conceive an extraordinary interest in their condition, and I had accordingly taken up my abode at Ragusa (Dubrovnik) as a convenient centre for working at the language and antiquities of Illyria and the *Leben und Treiben* of her peoples." (vii–viii). Evans wanted "to take a rather comprehensive view of all the Illyrian Provinces, and by extending my observation from the Save [*sic*] to Central Albania to survey them from a variety of standpoints." (viv-x). For Evans, Illyria was both the ancient Roman province and the region bordering Bosnia in the late nineteenth century from the Sava.

> Question' adequately before the world fail at least to touch upon the antiquities of those historic lands, where the monuments of the Past present the weightiest protest again Present ruin, and form the true mirrors of the future.[53]

Evans also connected that material culture from the Balkans to the idea of Europe's own deep past and its Indo-European heritage. The second and third pages of the memorandum list material objects from the Balkans such as axes or ornaments on spoons and includes hurried little sketches of the objects. In a terrible handwriting and with crossed out words, Evans describes cultural goods such as clothing "still Sarmatian of Trajan's costumes,"[54] and lists objects that "take us back to an age before metal was known" such as Carnelian arrow-heads from the Ganges to Bosnia. For "traces of Greco-Roman influence" in jewelry, he lists silver pin-cases. What is also interesting—and connected to his ideas about universality of European genealogy—is that not all of these comparisons are European. India gets more than one mention in the text, as does Persia, proof that he was already expanding his definition of classicism beyond the traditional Greco-Roman combination although still limiting himself to an Indo-European bent.[55]

Evans concludes the memorandum with these explicit statements that define his ideas of *modern antiquity*: "No definition of Archaeology can be true which excludes the study of what is archaic in modern life. No antiquarian science can be complete which does not comprehend

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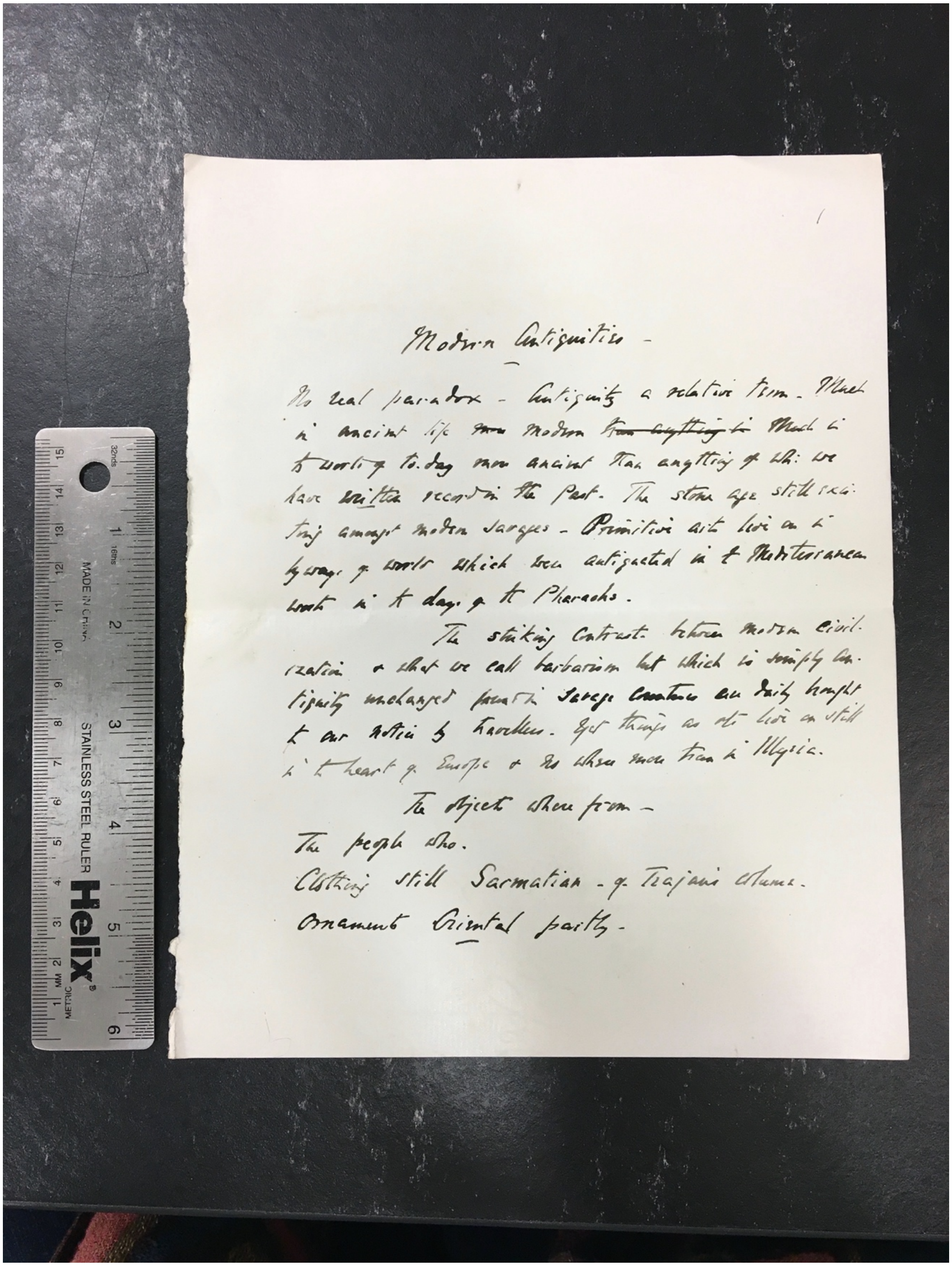
[53] Evans, *Illyrian Letters, x.*

[54] Sarmatian were tribal warriors conquered by the Romans, represented on the Emperor Trajan's column celebrating his victories in the Dacian (Romania) Wars circa 113 CE. The costume has "plate helmets with ear-flaps and their full bodies—except for hands and feet—are covered with scale armour. The same armour covers the body and head of the horses." Andrea Vaday, Eszter Istvánovits, and Valéria Kulcsár, "Sarmatian Costume in the Carpathian Basin," *Klio* 71, no. 1 (January 1, 1989): 108.

[55] The focus on Indo-European heritage as a cultural and linguistic influence on the West was fairly typical for the 1860-1880s. For a detailed and analytical treatment of how Evans' father-in-law, historian Edward Freeman, articulated Max Mueller's beliefs on the development of the Indo-European languages, and then argued against British political support of the Turks by expressing his fierce hostility toward the Ottomans with his definition of the "West as a community of culture rather than blood," see Vicky Morrisroe, "'Eastern History with Western Eyes': E.A. Freeman, Islam and Orientalism," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, no. 1 (April 1, 2011): 25–45.

within its sphere what is ancient in the modern world."[56] Evans means that the study of the past is not complete unless that study shows how the past can be represented or manifested in modern life. His notes are dominated by the idea of how primitive peoples in modernity used ancient tools and instruments, along with representations of antiquity in their clothing. These notes demonstrate that he believed that modern people who practiced ancient ways were artifacts who ought to have been studied. This conceptualization of an ancient people existing as artifacts or anthropological objects in modern times is what Maria Todorova calls "temporal superiority," because modernity has become the judge by which the past is found wanting.[57] Evans transformed that concept of temporal superiority with his definition and understanding of 'modern antiquity.' He did derive a sense of superiority from the assumption that western Europeans had the right to study eastern Europeans as objects, and he saw southern Slavs in particular as embodying ancient practices but with major caveats. Although he embraced the "modernity" of his time, he saw his era or time as missing something essential. For Evans, the Balkan region—its culture, history, peoples—all represented a living, breathing antiquity that required study to understand his own European past.

[56]Arthur Evans, University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies Library Archives, EVA1/1/2, folder 2. Accessed January 16, 2018. This quote appears near the end of the four pages of notes written in Evans' handwriting, clearly a draft entitled "Modern Antiquities," circa 1880 or later according to watermark.
[57] Maria Todorova, *Scaling the Balkans: Essays on Eastern European Entanglements* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 40-41.



Modern Antiquities –

No real paradox – Antiquity a relative term. What is ancient life than modern than anything in much in the world of to-day more ancient than anything of which we have written record in the Past. The stone age still existing amongst modern savages – Primitive arts live on in byways of worlds which were antiquated in the Mediterranean world in the days of the Pharaohs.

The striking contrast between modern civilization & what we call barbarism but which is simply continuity unchanged from the savage countries are daily brought to our notice by travellers. Yet things as old live on still in the heart of Europe & no where more than in Illyria.

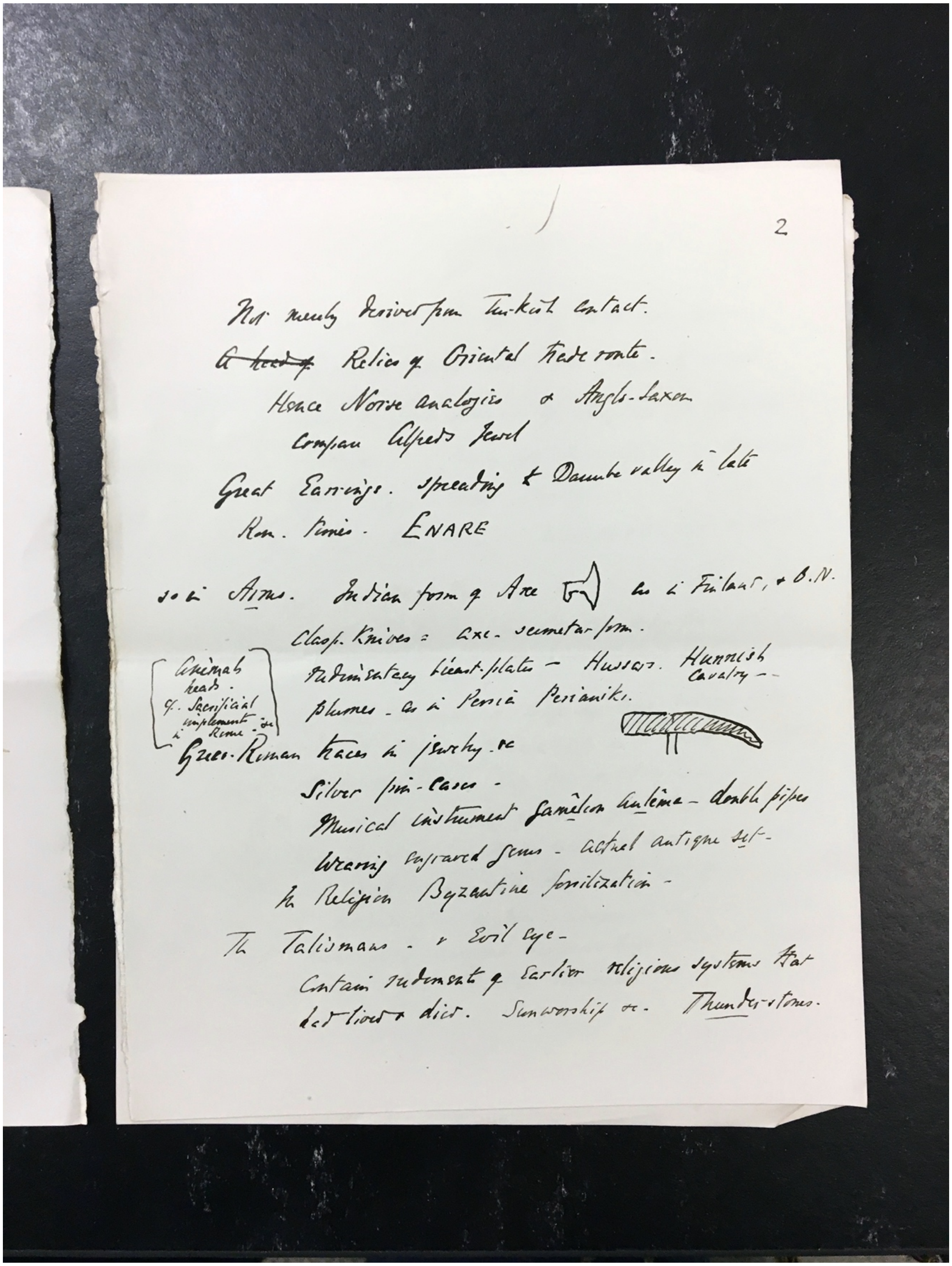
The objects where from –

The people who.

Clothing still Sarmatian – cf. Trajan's Column.

Ornaments Oriental partly –

Image 2 – Modern Antiquities Memorandum Page 1.
See Appendix A for the image and a transcription page by page.
See Appendix B for a transcription of the complete memorandum.


2

Not merely derived from Turkish contact.

~~A hoard of~~ Relics of Oriental trade route.

Hence Norse analogies & Anglo-Saxon

Compare Alfred's Jewel

Great Earrings. spreading to Danube valley in late

Rom. times. ENARE

so in Arms. Indian form of Axe as in Finland, & B.N.

Clasp. knives = axe- scimitar form.

Rudimentary breast-plates — Hussars. Hunnish Cavalry —

plumes — as in Persia Persianiki.

[Animals heads. of sacrificial implements in Rome - &c]

Graeco-Roman traces in jewelry &c

Silver pin-cases -

Musical instrument Gamelion Aulema - double pipes

Wearing engraved gems - actual antique set -

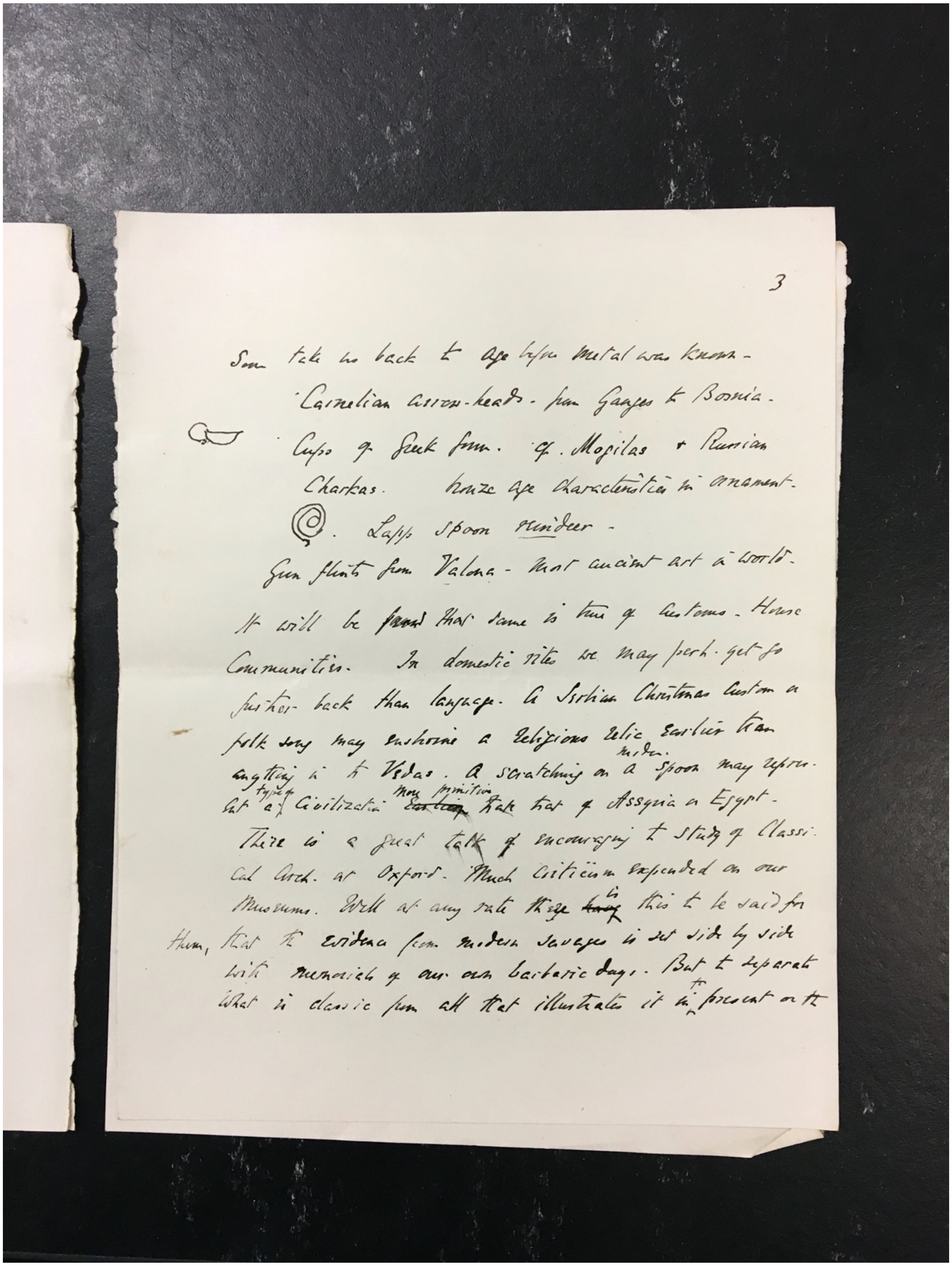
In Religion Byzantine fossilization -

The Talismans - & Evil eye -

Contain rudiments of earlier religious systems that

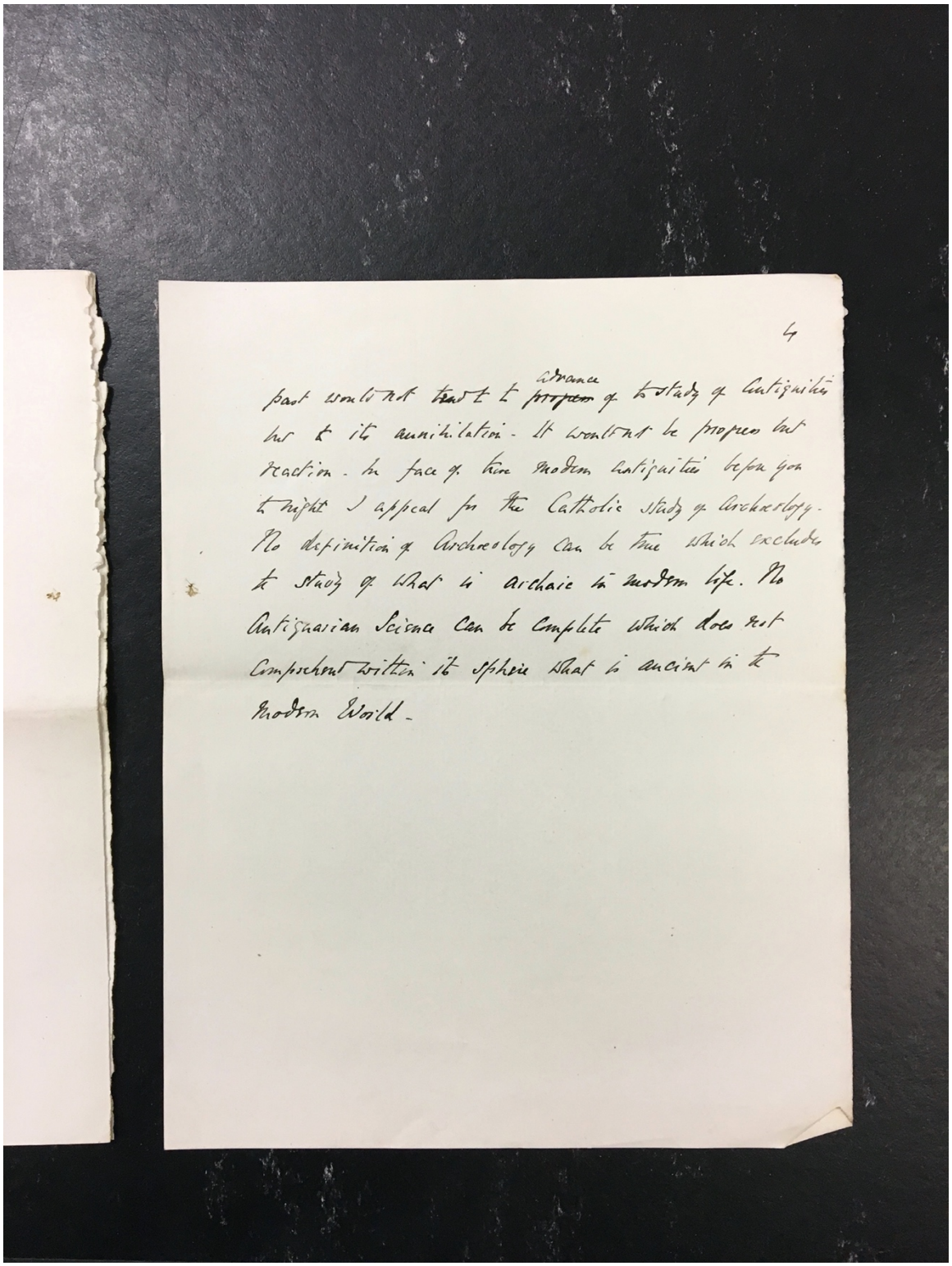
had lived & died. Sunworship &c. Thunder-stones.

Image 3 – Modern Antiquities Memorandum Page 2
See Appendix A for the image and a transcription page by page.
See Appendix B for a transcription of the complete memorandum.


3

Some take us back to age before Metal was known -
Carnelian arrow-heads - from Ganges to Bosnia -
Cups of Greek form. cf. Mogilas + Russian
Charkas. bronze age characteristics in ornament -
. Lapp spoon reindeer -
Gun flints from Valona - most ancient art in world -
It will be found that same is true of Customs - House
Communities. In domestic rites we may perh. get so
further back than language. A Serbian Christmas Custom or
folk song may enshrine a Religious relic earlier than
anything in the Vedas. A scratching on a modern spoon may repre-
sent a type of Civilization more primitive than that of Assyria or Egypt -
There is a great talk of encouraging the study of Classi-
cal Arch. at Oxford. Much criticism expended on our
Museums. Well at any rate there is this to be said for
them, that the evidence from modern savages is set side by side
with memorials of our own barbaric days. But to separate
what is classic from all that illustrates it in the present on the

Image 4 – Modern Antiquities Memorandum Page 3
See Appendix A for the image and a transcription page by page.
See Appendix B for a transcription of the complete memorandum.



4

past would not tend to the advance of the study of Antiquities
but to its annihilation. It would not be progress but
reaction. In face of these modern antiquities before you
to night I appeal for the Catholic Study of Archaeology.
No definition of Archaeology can be true which excludes
the study of what is archaic in modern life. No
Antiquarian Science can be complete which does not
comprehend within its sphere what is ancient in the
Modern World.

Image 5 – Modern Antiquities Memorandum Page 4
See Appendix A for the image and a transcription page by page.
See Appendix B for a transcription of the complete memorandum.

CHAPTER 2

Arthur Evans and the Balkans: A New Framework

> No account of Arthur Evans would be complete without reference to his life-long interest in the cause of the Southern Slavs. His greatest activity in that cause fell into two periods, separated by thirty years, though even in the interval his interest never flagged. His study of obscure Roman sites in Northern Albania and Montenegro—of which he has left elaborate manuscript notes and certain valuable archaeological essays—kept pace with a growing sympathy for Serbia and Bosnia in their resistance to Turkish misrule.[1]
>
> —R. W. Seton-Watson, historian and friend to Sir Arthur Evans

Arthur Evans' interest in the Balkans was a life-long affair, but previous biographies have instead portrayed it as a discrete episode ancillary to his accomplishments as an archaeologist. Most biographies present Evans' Balkan experience as just one step along the way to his discovery of the Minoans, which "advanced the study of European and eastern Mediterranean prehistory."[2] The three comprehensive biographies by Dame Joan Evans, Sylvia Horowitz, and J. A. MacGillivray narrate Evans' life from birth to death (1851–1941), but treat his Balkan travels of 1875–1882 as a precursor to his fame as an archaeologist, which spanned 1900 to 1931.[3] Only a few brief studies have emphasized the importance of the Balkans in evaluating his achievements.[4] This chapter deconstructs the biographical narratives about Arthur Evans and the

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[1] R. W. Seton-Watson, "Arthur Evans," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 24, no. 63 (1946): 47.
[2] "Sir Arthur Evans | British Archaeologist," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed September 9, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Arthur-Evans.
[3] Joan Evans, *Time and Chance: The Story of Arthur Evans and His Forebears* (London: Longmans, Green, 1943); Sylvia L. Horwitz, *The Find of a Lifetime: Sir Arthur Evans and the Discovery of Knossos* (New York: Viking Press, 1981); Joseph A. MacGillivray, *Minotaur: Sir Arthur Evans and the Archaeology of the Minoan Myth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000).
[4] Only four works focus on Arthur Evans and the Balkans: Georgios Giannakopoulos, "Re-Staging the 'Eastern Question': Arthur J. Evans and the Search for the Origins of European Civilization in the Balkans," *History of European Ideas* 46, no. 5 (July 3, 2020): 601–13; Branko Kirigin, "Arthur Evans in Dubrovnik and Split (1875–1882)," *Archaeopress Open Access*, 2015, 1–14; R. W. Seton-Watson, "Arthur Evans," *Slavonic and East European Review; London, Etc.* 24 (January 1, 1946): 47–55; and John Joseph Wilkes, "Arthur Evans in the Balkans, 1875-1881," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London* 13 (1976): 25–56.

Balkans to demonstrate the continuity of his interest in the Balkans and interrogate how Evans developed the concept of modern antiquities in southeastern Europe.

Most academic works about Evans focus on his reconstructions at Knossos.[5] The background of each biographer reveals their biases.[6] Joan Evans (Arthur's half-sister) narrates the story of the Dickinson and Evans lineages—an insider history that is deliciously thorough—where Arthur Evans makes his formal appearance only on page 167. Her biography serves as a primary source for this chapter because of her access to familial documents, and her use of them expands the limitations of anachronistic labels that either laud or critique the man. Sylvia Horowitz's (an author and copy editor) produced a well-researched work for a popular audience, where Evans appears as an eccentric personality, ready-made for storytelling. J. A. MacGillivray, an academic like Joan Evans, argues for relativism in archaeology by trying to complicate Evans' professional legacy. Relativism in archaeology encompasses philosophical debates about

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[5] Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), and Nanno Marinatos, *Sir Arthur Evans and Minoan Crete: Creating the Vision of Knossos* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015). Gere's aim is to understand Evans and his work in the "age of concrete—the archaeologists, architects, classicists, writers, and poets of the twentieth century A.D., who reconstructed Minoan Crete in modernist materials." (p. 5). Marinatos demonstrates the intellectual influences on Evans during the height of the reconstructions from 1917 to 1939, arguing that "the restorations at Knossos are not so much the result of his Victorian heritage as of the melancholy realization that it was nearing its end." (p. ix). Her thoughtful analysis is greatly enhanced by access to formerly unpublished letters between her archaeologist father, Spyridon Marinatos, and Evans.

[6] The complete list of biographical works (or works which include details about Evans) listed on the Ashmolean website is:

- Brown, A. 1983. *Arthur Evans and the Palace of Minos*, Oxford.
- Brown, A. 1994. *Before Knossos: Arthur Evans's travels to the Balkans and Crete*, Oxford.
- Brown, A. with Bennett, K. 2001. *Arthur Evans's Travels in Crete, 1894–1899*, Oxford.
- Evans, J. 1943. *Time and Chance*, London.
- Harden, D.B. 1983. *Sir Arthur Evans 1851–1941. A memoir*, Oxford.
- Horwitz, S.L. 1981. *Find of a Lifetime*, London.
- MacGillivray, J.A. 2000. *Minotaur*, London.
- Momigliano, N. 1999. "Duncan Mackenzie. A cautious canny Highlander and the palace of Minos at Knossos' (*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement* 72), London.
- Myres, J.L.N. 1941. 'Sir Arthur Evans 1851–1941 ', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 27, 323–357.
- Myres, J.L. n.d. Sir Arthur Evans, entry for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (updated by A. Snodgrass).
- Warren, P. 2000. 'Sir Arthur Evans and his achievement', *BICS* 44, 199–211.
- Wilkes, J.J. 1976. 'Arthur Evans in the Balkan, 1875–81', *BICS* 13, 25–56.

objectivity, material data, interpretation of that data, and the reality of historical truths.[7] Unfortunately MacGillivray's analysis often strays into armchair psychologist territory with his examination of Evans' sexuality. Additionally, he manipulates evidence of Evans' racism (overt and ugly) to make him look worse than necessary.

Next will be a discussion of the key arguments in Balkan historiography to illustrate the difficulties in combating long-standing narratives of the Balkans as a metaphorical space, which Evans himself helped create.[8] Finally, the chapter will conclude with the details of Evans' family and youthful travels in Europe, and use the aforementioned biographies as sources, to illustrate the ways in which Evans perceived his own socio-economic standing, which in turn influenced what and how he wrote about the Balkans. As a geographic region where Evans found antiquity living and breathing among its peoples, the Balkans continues to be portrayed merely as a borderland and backwater with vestiges of antiquity (e.g., ancient ethnic hatreds). In short, I want the reader to see Evans as a young man, understand his social position and his youthful aspirations, and examine his relationship to Balkan historiography before I deconstruct his travelogue *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

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[7] See Lewis R. Binford, "Data, Relativism and Archaeological Science," *Man* 22, no. 3 (1987): 391–404; Ian Hodder, "Relativising Relativism," *Archaeological Dialogues* 4, no. 2 (December 1997): 192–98; and Alison Wylie, "Archaeological Cables and Tacking: Beyond Objectivism and Relativism," in *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 161-167. In this short essay, Wylie adroitly explains the evolution of relativism and how the belief that archaeological interpretation depends on background knowledge of contemporary culture affects those philosophical debates.

[8] For works in Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian that consider how the Eurocentric picture of the world continues to place the Balkans in geographically distant and sometimes imaginary spaces, see the anthology from Dušan I. Bjelić and Obrad Savić, eds., *Balkan kao metafora: između globalizacije i fragmentacije*, Biblioteka Collectanea 3 (Beograd: Beogradski krug, 2003); and also Katarina Luketić, *Balkan: od geografije do fantazije*, Prvo izdanje. (Zagreb: Algoritam, 2013).

Biographies of Evans

Biographies reveal present-day biases. How we read and interpret those biographies reveals something of our own biases as well. Sir Arthur J. Evans' three principal biographers are his half-sister Dame Joan Evans, Sylvia Horowitz, and J. A. MacGillivray. These biographers have all created a narrative of his life in varying ways, but the result is that they all establish Evans as a character in a story shaped by their own concerns to some degree. In Evans' case, the biographies also tend to reinforce a linear notion of temporal progress, with Evans' archaeological achievement as the inevitable and triumphant result of his life story.

Biographical and historical narratives are essentially temporal arguments that include past, present and future elements. Time is implicitly understood as the organizing principal in such narratives because one has to have a beginning, middle, and end in telling a story that is real—a story that reflects how life is lived. But biographers infuse their narratives about a person with their present-day concerns; in this way, biography is not just a life story. How these biographers construct narratives about Evans articulates not only their present-day biases but their hopes for the future—in essence they are writing a history of one person through the lens of their own view.[9]

Biography as a genre can be a rhetorical construct. Pierre Bourdieu writes that to "produce a life history or to consider life as a history, that is, as a coherent narrative of a significant and directed sequence of events, is perhaps to conform to a rhetorical illusion, to the common representation of existence that a whole literary tradition has always and still continues

[9] For thoughtful examination of our secularized ideas of "history's judgment" which include the notion linear progress intersecting our expectations of the triumph of morality on issues of race and gender, see Joan Wallach Scott, *On the Judgment of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020). Scott's work is especially relevant given the events in the United States leading up to racial justice movement of summer 2020.

to reinforce."[10] In analyzing biographies of Evans and their temporal arguments, I deliberately connect Bourdieu's idea of biographical rhetoric to Walter Benjamin's theories of historicism and historical materialism. I see biography and history as flexible genres, which allow for more than a "homogenous conception of time"; and as genres that are expressed in writing, biography and history are rather filled with the "presence of now (*Jetztzeit).*[11] Benjamin's approach is central to my own because I examine one life, Evans', to extract present concerns. What is so interesting about Evans is how he inverted the idea of time and European progress by his Balkan work, a rhetorical construction that continues to be perpetuated in narratives about him and the Balkans. Europe has become "the standard against which all other histories are written, and that standard is a temporal one."[12]

The first biography of Evans, *Time and Chance: The Story of Sir Arthur Evans and His Forebearers,* written by Dame Joan Evans (1893–1977) was published in 1942. Arthur Evans was her half-brother and elder by forty-two years; she was the daughter of John Evans by his third wife. That familial connection gave Evans unique access to a lived experience with her father and exposure to learned family history. She also could draw upon letters, drawings, and memoranda, which she quotes at length in her book. Thus it is no surprise that Joan Evans is

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[10] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Biographical Illusion," in Wilhelm Hemecker and Edward Saunders, *Biography in Theory: Key Texts with Commentaries* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc., 2017), 210. First published in*: Working Papers and Proceedings of the Centre for Psychosocial Studies*. Ed. R. J. Parmentier and G. Urban. Chicago, 1987; reprinted in produced with permission of the translators and the Bourdieu estate. Originally published as Pierre Bourdieu: 'L'illusion biographique,' *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales,* 62/3 (1986), 69–72.

[11] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1968, reprint 2019), 205. I borrow from Benjamin's often quoted ideas about historicism expressed in XIII and XIV that "the concept of the historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogenous, empty time. A critique of the concept of such progression must be the basis of any criticism of the concept of progress itself." Benjamin continues with "History is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogenous, empty time but time filled by the presence of the now *Jetztzeit).*"

[12] Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 23. Hunt argues against conflating the "universal, homogeneous, and deep notion of time" as uniquely Western civilizational view of time.

frequently cited by all subsequent biographers and scholars who built upon her work because of her use of personal documents, which give readers access to her own family's discourse. Her work is thorough and academic in approach because she earned her doctorate in art history, publishing many articles and monographs.[13] Academia was a familiar pursuit to her from both parents: her mother, Maria Millington Lathbury (1856–1944) studied at classical archaeology at Oxford, a time when women were not allowed membership to the institution although they could "enjoy" the teaching and take examinations.[14]

In her preface of *Time and Chance*, Evans explains how her sources came to her. After Arthur Evans' death in July 1941, she was called upon to help with the estate because the Youlbury was "at once requisitioned by a Government Department and a lifetime of papers had to be cleared and sorted in haste."[15] This requisitioning of an estate was not uncommon, given the British war effort.[16] She acknowledged that she used a "great quantity of letters received by my father, Sir John Evans, between 1866 and 1906" that were unexpectedly found in two locked cabinets, which formed the chief material of her book.[17] Evans explains that her half-brother's diaries and family papers went to his nephew, John Dickinson Evans, who allowed her full access and supplemented materials from the family; those letters and materials in the desk of Margaret Evans, per her husband's will, were bequeathed to Margaret's niece, Agnes Holmes.[18]

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[13] Joan Evans became a scholar of medieval French and English art. See her autobiography *Prelude & Fugue, an Autobiography* (London: Museum Press, 1964), which includes a detailed list of her own publications from 1913 to 1964.
[14] J. Evans, *Prelude & Fugue,* 21.
[15] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, vii.
[16] Agatha Christie, *Agatha Christie: An Autobiography* (Reprint New York: Harper Collins, 2012, from 1977 edition), 490–492. Dame Agatha Christie, one of the most successful and best-selling novelists in English of all time, had her Greenway House in the village of Torquay taken over by the British Admiralty, who used it to house officers from the United States Navy; the Americans did take good care the home in spite of it all but installed fourteen lavatories instead of a pantry. Once the war over she had to fight "to have the Admiralty to take them away again." Her house was not the only one to be requisitioned in Torquay for US soldiers. Christie's account is delightfully amusing in that dry vein of British humor.
[17] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, vii.
[18] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, vii.

Her description in the preface of distribution of letters and journals matches my experience in the three major archives at the Ashmolean, the University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (UCL SSEES) Library, and the Pitt Rivers Museum: the Cretan and Balkan professional materials have been preserved for research, but the letters between Arthur Evans and his wife Margaret, between Margaret and her sister-in-law Harriet, and many other diaries were missing.

The tantalizing amount of information that Joan Evans so casually mentions raises two points that fascinate me about Arthur Evans' life. First is the possibility that the contents of Margaret Evans' desk remained little changed at the Evans' estate from her death in March 1893 until Arthur Evans' passing in July 1941. That is, his wife's personal papers and letters remained, relatively untouched, in her desk for forty-eight years? Was he such a collector like his father that he simply did not categorize those materials? Perhaps leaving the papers in a desk was a question of time and space: Youlbury had twenty-two rooms and was filled with antiquities that Evans had collected while he traveled to and from Crete and throughout Europe for his archaeological work. He wrote and published prolifically, and hosted friends and strangers at his home.

Second, some of those personal letters that Joan Evans saw, but then gave to the heir designee were sold at auction.[19] In my research in the archival materials at the UCL SSEES Library, Ashmolean Museum, and the Pitt Rivers Museum there were some personal letters from Arthur Evans to his mother-in-law Fanny and to his father, during his school years and early travels, but nothing between Margaret and Arthur. Those papers could have been destroyed as too personal, and it is impossible to know if his wife's papers were undisturbed in her desk.

[19] See https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-evans-margaret-1848-1893-wife-of-sir-arthur-5320073.

What is certain is that there is no indication of the papers and letters produced during the time of Arthur Evans' arrest in Dubrovnik in 1882 by the Austrians; the archives at UCL SSEES had only one travel journal of Margaret Evans, with a transcription of it at the Ashmolean. Thus, although Joan Evans curated the narrative about her brother's life as a history, her biography must be considered a primary source because she had access to family papers and personal correspondence between Arthur Evans and his family members, which are no longer in archives accessible to researchers.

Joan Evans was also familiar with collections and archaeological work, being exposed to both at a very young age to both. That dual familiarity (familial and academic) gives her the authority to evaluate Arthur Evans' work in spite of her own emotional engagement with her subject. Her monograph—although long—engrosses the reader, in no small part because it is tinged with a hint of eulogy for her half-brother and her own nostalgia for her family history. In reading her biography of her half-brother, one has a sense of the passage of time, or of a life lived, and the ways in which small decisions create narratives about history and then later become interpreted as fact. The dilemma that Joan Evans faced is one of narration. How does an author reconstruct or tell the family history through the lens of her own experience, knowing that family members can no longer speak for themselves? What does she include and what does she omit? And why? I imagine, after reading her biography many times, that Evans had a sense of obligation that determined her narrative choices in how she represented people she had loved.

One way in which she gains credibility with the reader is by directly acknowledging her own bias or frame of experience and perspective. Evans writes in the preface:

> To be born unusually late in one's generation bring more loss than gain. Inevitably one cannot hope for a father's companionship beyond the years of childhood, for this there can be no compensation. Yet, as one grows older, one finds a certain sense of kinship, that almost seems to approach understanding and knowledge, with the past in which one

> ought to have lived. As a consequence it may seem not only a privilege but also a duty to set on record what is known of that past. Thus it has seemed natural that I, youngest and last of my generation, should undertake this family history: history which should have been written by my elders and betters, had they not been too deeply occupied in living it.[20]

Thus, *Time and Chance* reads as a neutral presentation of the family history in no small part because Evans made an effort to express that nostalgia in the biography's preface. At nearly four hundred pages, this book is the most comprehensive biography because of her familial connection, the time frame in which she wrote the book (published only two years after Arthur Evans' death), and above all, her access to papers that were never or are no longer available to the public. Reading *Time and Chance* is a bit like accessing a compilation of primary sources, while at the same time being entertained by the mysteriousness of Arthur Evans' character and feeling secure that Joan Evans has faithfully tried to 'record the past.' But one cannot escape thinking of the gendered implications from Evans' preface that the men in her family lived history and she, as a woman, recorded it.

Many aspects of Sir Arthur Evans' character also emerge clearly in Sylvia Horowitz's biography: *Find of a Lifetime: Sir Arthur Evans and the Discovery of Knossos*. The book was intended for a popular audience. Horowitz, an author and copy editor, came to her research of Evans through her interest in archaeology. That interest originated from her travels and experiences living abroad, first in Rome where she founded The Overseas School of Rome school for English-speaking children, and then in Tunisia with her husband; study there inspired her work on Evans, her third book.[21] The reading is pleasant, easy, and therefore deceptive, in

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[20] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, vii.
[21] Michael J. Elliott, "Sylvia Horwitz, 83, an Author Who Founded a School in Rome." *New York Times (1923-Current File),* Jun 21, 1995. Her first two books were *Toulouse-Lautrec: His World* (Harper, 1973) and *Francisco Goya: Painter of Kings and Demons* (Harper 1974).

the sense that the reader could be tricked into thinking that Horowitz lauds Evans without critique or retells the story of his life without much research. That is not the case. Her work is valuable for the primary source research she conducted while writing the book, including interviews. From multiple readings one can tell that Horowitz clearly spent significant time in the John and Arthur Evans archives because of the breadth and scope of the detail she includes in the biography. Her interviews with those people who knew Evans well include archaeologists who worked with him, Joan Evans, and, crucially, Arthur Evans' ward, James S. Candy. This detail alone makes Horowitz's narration important and comprehensive because Joan Evans makes no mention of her half-brother adopting a young boy. Joan Evans' puzzling omission about Candy underscores the value of Horowitz's study. The interviews she conducted give her biography of Evans a sense of intimacy. The reader comes to feel that they have learned about Evans' life through stories, discovering his eccentricities that might be otherwise be lost if one focused just on documents in archives. Horowitz's book, because of those interviews, draws from the tradition of an oral history, which makes the work reliable for access to primary sources.

From Horowitz we learn that James S. Candy was a sickly boy who had a mastoid operation at six months of age that left him with "impaired hearing and a constantly discharging ear."[22] Candy was from a family of tenant farmers living on Boars Hill (where Evans built Youlbury), and his parents had five other children to raise. Evans, who had no children with Margaret, supported the newly founded Boy Scout movement by opening up the doors of his home and gardens to local troops, which is how he met the boy. Evans formally adopted him when Candy was eleven years old, but only after negotiating with Candy's parents that the boy

[22] Horowitz, *Find of a Lifetime,* 168.

would spend time with them during holidays. He lived at the Evans' estate, but did go to boarding school, returning to Youlbury during holidays until 1922. As a young man, Candy journeyed to Argentina, living there for eleven years to work on a cattle *estancia*, before returning to get married and settle in England. He later published his own autobiography, *A Tapestry of Life,* which includes details about his upbringing by Arthur Evans. [23]

Candy's memoirs are affectionate and show that Evans loved children and did well with them, but was a stickler for discipline, and known for his temper with everyone else. Candy recalled in his autobiography:

> Now I think the time has come to relate what this extraordinary man was like. When I first went to Youlbury in 1912, Sir Arthur was sixty-two, and he seemed to me the kindest man that I had ever met and I never reason to change my first impression of him. He was his best among children and it was a pure joy when he was in their company, for he came down to their level. He knew how to talk to them and had a lovely sense of humor. Kindness poured out of him; but, of course, when he told you to do something, by Jove, you had to comply. In that way he was a Victorian. He was quick to anger, but just as quick to forgive, stubborn, and considered by some of his archaeologist colleagues, to be a bit of a tyrant. Many a time at an hotel [*sic*], Sir Arthur, after giving an order for lunch or asking for a knife or fork, and the waiter kept him waiting, would 'blow his top' and would tick him off left, right and centre, with everyone watching. Many a time I wanted to sink through the floor. The first sign of his getting angry was when he started scratching the back of his head; it reminded me of my grandfather rubbing his thumb nail up and down his waistcoat buttons.[24]

The example of Evans blowing his top in a restaurant gives the autobiography credibility because Candy does not make assumptions about Evans' thoughts, but rather provides firsthand impressions of the man and his behavior (for instance, scratching the back of his head when agitated).

Candy's work is not an official biography per se, but provides essential information about the daily life of Evans' extended household. Evans had almost twenty staff at Youlbury in 1912:

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[23] See James S. Candy, *A Tapestry of Life: An Autobiography* (Braunton, Devon: Merlin Books, 1984).
[24] Candy, *Tapestry of Life,* 18.

a governess for Candy before he went to boarding school; Candy's nurse Ada—his favorite servant; Mrs. Judd, the housekeeper and cook, who was in charge of an assistant cook, a scullery maid, four downstairs maids (who had different outfits for morning and evening work), and a boy who cleaned shoes and fetched wood for central heating and attended to coal supplies; the head gardener who had four men under his supervision; two additional men who looked after the lake, woods, poultry and milk for the house; and Jim Wiblin, the head chauffeur and Bailiff for the whole estate, and his assistant, Charlie Mott, who did all the chauffeuring and maintained the electricity generator.[25] The details show the world in which Evans raised his young ward, elevating Candy from a working-class family to a household with many servants in service with rituals and a rigorous sense of schedule. The autobiography explains that dinner was at seven o'clock and "woe betide you if you were late," for a gong rang promptly at six forty-five; dinner dress was required.[26] From Candy we also learn that "all correspondence and even the three volumes of his *Palace of Knossos* were written with a white goose feather quill pen."[27] That explains some of the terrible handwriting, then. And in spite of the accolades about Evans' kindness, Candy's autobiography portrays Evans as a complex man with a temper, who exerted his class status and authority at every opportunity.

Candy also donated to the Ashmolean Museum a selection of transcribed, typed, and annotated copies of the letters he received from Arthur Evans between 1914 and 1925.[28] These letters by Evans—although from a much later period of his life—are important because they demonstrate the continuity of his Balkan interests. Candy's is a generous donation: the level of

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[25] Candy, *Tapestry of Life,* 19.
[26] Candy, *Tapestry of Life,* 17.
[27] Candy, *Tapestry of Life,* 20.
[28] Sir Arthur J. Evans archives, Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities, Folder X. These letters were introduced by Candy with an explanatory note, see Appendix C for the full transcription. Subsequent footnotes here will refer to "A. Evans archives" because the Ashmolean Museum also houses the Sir John Evans archives, Arthur's father.

detail provided about daily life in the Evans' household and the affection with which Evans wrote to his ward deepens the picture we have of the man and all his idiosyncrasies. For example, in one of the first letters, Evans writes to Candy about sending him three neckties, but Evans claims he was not very good at finding such clothing. Candy's annotation explains why:

> Evans special ordered ties for himself which he could slip over his head without knotting because he "seemed to begrudge the time it took to dress and his clothes, while always finely tailored, were designed with speed of dressing in mind. Thus he never wore shoelaces but had tabs put on his elastic sided boot so that he could pull them off with a single action.[29]

This is a far cry from the young man on tour to Europe's peripheries who collected clothing from those locales, whom we will meet in chapter 3. Evans' impatience with clothing and footwear expressed in this annotated note appears to be solely based on the practicality of having many responsibilities: it is clear that Evans did not want to waste his energy on unnecessary activities and was willing to spend his money for the convenience of specialty ties. He was a busy man by the twentieth century, a public intellectual and academic figure who maintained both a hectic schedule and complex household, as his correspondence to Candy and Candy's annotations show. Evans was knighted in 1911, made famous by his excavations on Crete and many publications, but the Great War had interrupted his archaeological work. Nevertheless, reading through the letters one is immediately struck by how much he traveled, engaged in public service, and how many academic and familial connections he cultivated.

All the while, Evans actively maintained his interests in the Balkans and his support for southern Slav causes. Another letter from Evans to Candy demonstrates that Evans' support of the southern Slavs had not changed since he was expelled from Dubrovnik in 1882 by the Austrians. Evans writes about the continued presence of unexpected company at Youlbury:

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[29] A. Evans archives, Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities, Folder X. This is the note of Candy's annotations for the letter dated October 12, 1914.

> Some of my friendly foreigners are still here (they were seized as 'enemies' and I got them out) [*Note 6*]. If you came now you would have to speak Italian,—or a language like Russian—if you preferred it! They are Slavs of Dalmatia (Austria) [*Note 7*].[30]

Candy explains that:

> The 'friendly foreigners' relates to the period when any foreigner was bound to be a spy.' All sorts of rumours were spread about and one was that these 'spies' would poison the drinking water. It was almost unbelievable that the authorities put a 4 man guard on the water works, situated at the foot of Boars Hill, that supplied water to Abingdon, population 4,000. My father took the night watch with 2 of his pals they spent their time playing cards. Jim Wiblin, Sir Arthur's bailiff, thought he had caught a spy when he found a foreigner taking a photograph of the lake at Youlbury. Sir Arthur was very amused as it turned out he was a Belgian refugee living on Boars Hill.[31]

We see the humor in a situation where authorities decide to protect a tower arranging guards, how one of Evans' own bailiff thought he had caught a spy, and Evans' amused reaction. Alas, it was only a Belgian! And as for the four-man guard of the water tower, my assumption is that Candy refers to his biological father who lived nearby because Candy usually always refers to Evans as "Sir Arthur" in all his annotations. Additionally, it would be hard to imagine Evans guarding a water tower and playing cards when hosting supposed spies. Another of Candy's notes on the same letter demonstrates how Evans did not hesitate to use his class, position, expertise and authority to advocate for the southern Slavs:

> These Slavs were refugees from Ragusa, [*now Dubrovnik*] who had been interned in Britain as enemy Austrians. Sir Arthur protested so vigorously that the port officials handed them over to his personal custody and he allowed them to stay Youlbury until he could obtain their release. In his youth Sir Arthur had become almost obsessed with the cause of Slav freedom and so annoyed their Austrian masters with his impassioned articles on the subject, as a foreign correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, that he was actually imprisoned by the Austrians in Ragusa from March 7–April 23, 1882 for being hostile to Austria's interests! He remained a life-long supporter of the Slavs. See

[30] A. Evans archives, Ashmolean Museum, Folder X, typed transcription of letter from Evans to Candy, dated November 29, 1914.
[31] A. Evans archives, Ashmolean Museum, Folder X, Candy's annotated note number 6 for the letter date November 29, 1914.

> further John Joseph Wilkes' "Arthur Evans in the Balkans 1875–1881," (a pamphlet printed by the University of London 1976).[32]

Evans had a temper and was not afraid to exert his power and authority in service of achieving what he wanted or what he felt was right, but it is clear from the letters and annotations that he was also enjoyed a bit of a show, when and where he could. For example, Evans wrote:

> Last Monday afternoon the Serbian boys came up here [*Note 4*]. It was a lovely day and I think they enjoyed themselves very much. I let them go all over the house and look at the Serbian photographs and books that I have upstairs, and some of the Scouts were told off to shepherd them all round the place, in small parties, one Scout to each. Some of them were quite big, up to 18 years, and it was funny to see the small Scout leading them and trying to make them understand things in English. They hoisted the Serbain [*sic*] flag with the Union Jack at headquarters. We had a big feed and a conjurer and two musicians who played some Slav music and all came and went in motor vans. They sang 'God Save the King' in English. I wish I could have been there to go about with them. [33]

Evans liked celebrations, parties and extending his generosity to those in need—even though he was not present to guide his visitors through Youlbury and its twenty-two rooms. The example also confirms what his biographers claim: Evans' interest in Slavs and hosting refugees continued well into the war.[34] This archival material from James Candy gives the reader a picture of Evans in a way that a biography cannot, especially when the biography is written for a specific purpose.

MacGillivray's biography *Minotaur: Sir Arthur Evans and the Archaeology of the Minoan Myth,* is just such a work; the book is an academic argument but written for the public. The biography contains key details about Evans, especially when analyzed in conjunction with

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[32] A. Evans archives, Ashmolean Museum, Folder X, Candy's annotated note number 7 for the letter date November 29, 1914.

[33] A. Evans archives, Ashmolean Museum, Folder X, Evans to Candy in letter dated June 3, 1916. Candy's note number 4 explains "Large numbers of Serbian boys had been smuggled out of Serbia to prevent the Austrians and Germans forcing them into their armies. They escaped by night over the Carpathian Mountains in the depth of winter, into Trieste and then by boat to France and England. Some of them came and camped at Youlbury for 3 weeks, much to Sir Arthur's delight. To show their appreciation the Serbian boys made delightful wooden toys for Sir Arthur and they hung in the drawing room for many years after World War One had ended."

[34] Evans' extensive efforts in support southern Slav unification during and immediately after the Great War will be the topic of future work as it is outside the scope of this dissertation.

work by Joan Evans, Sylvia Horowitz, and Jim Candy. If Joan Evans concerned herself with Evans' family and forebearers, Horowitz told Evans' life as a story for public consumption, and Candy provided a glimpse of home life of Evans, MacGillivray's critique of Evans is meant to demonstrate the archaeological relativism of discovery, excavation, and reconstruction of sites. That relativism he defines as the opposite of "absolute historical truth" and is, in part, based on a relationship artifact and creator or finder that is elaborate.[35] MacGillivray's biography does rely on archival research, evident in details. But his narrative tone is generally negative and sometimes polemical; many reviewers have treated the biography harshly.[36]

There are three principal limitations to MacGillivray's analysis of Evans and the Balkans. First, he discusses Evans' Balkans connections only briefly, examining a thirty-two-year span of his life (1851–1883) under the rubric of "Evans the Apprentice Archaeologist." He thus subordinates Evans' youthful travels to his later work in archaeology and largely ignores his five years as a journalist in the Balkans (1877–1882). MacGillivray narrates Evans' Balkans experiences as a prelude to how Evans later reconstructed Knossos. This conclusion does not hold up under analysis, creating a sense of inevitability that both Joan Evans and Sylvia Horowitz manage to avoid. The second limitation is more serious from an academic point of view: MacGillivray splices evidence to emphasize Evans' racism.[37] His critique therefore misses the nuance of Evans' opinions when it comes to race, ethnicity, and identity in the Balkans. Third, MacGillivray sensationalizes Evans' sexuality, elaborating on Evans' own fascination

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[35] MacGillivray, *Minotaur,* 9.
[36] I found only one positive academic review, by Suzanne Marchand in *Isis* 92, no. 4 (2001): 756–58. Other reviews of MacGillivray's biography range from the exceptionally harsh (see P. G. Naiditch in the *Classical Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (2001): 129–31), to the only slightly annoyed (see Peter Warren in *The English Historical Review* 116, no. 468 (2001): 912–15.) Reviews by heavyweights are more measured, such Mary Beard, "Builder of Ruins," *London Review of Books*, November 30, 2000, and Peter Green "Eighty Percent Right," *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, Calif), 2001, who are both appropriately critical of MacGillivray but include nice touches of humor.
[37] Evans' racism will be briefly examined in chapter 4.

with the myth of the minotaur, and recycles tropes and pejorative attitudes against homosexuals or people with non-heteronormative sexual and gendered identities.

MacGillivray's third argument hinges on an episode in Hyde Park, London. On the evening of January 29, 1924, at seventy-two years old, Evans was arrested with a seventeen-year-old man named George Cook. He appeared in police court on February 5, 1924. The announcement of Evans' court appearance, a day later, is brief enough to quote:

> At the Marlborough-street Police Court yesterday, ARTHUR EVANS, 73,[38] whose address was given at the Great Central Hotel, Marylebone, W., and GEORGE COOK, 17, whose address was given as the Y.M.C.A., Waterloo-road, a hawker, were charged on remand with being concerned together in committing an act in violation of public decency in Hyde Park on the night of January 29. Evans had been remanded on bail.
>
> Mr. F. Fred Palmer said he had been instructed to defend Evans since last week. Both of the defendants denied some of the incidents deposed to by the police, who did not probably know the fact, undisputed, that the elder defendant was 'night blind,' and had to be led about. However, he (Mr. Palmer) thought an offence—possibly a technical offence—might have been committed against park regulations, and in these circumstances he proposed to leave the case as it stood before the Magistrate and call no witnesses.
>
> Mr. Herbert Muskett, prosecuting for the Commissioner of Police, said that the evidence before the magistrate would enable him to take a proper view of the case. The penalty was £5.
>
> The MAGISTRATE (Mr. Francis) said the less he said about it the better. Mr. Evans would be fined £5 and pay 5s. costs. The evidence satisfied him (Mr. Francis) beyond all doubt that there was an infringement.
>
> After the Magistrate had put the boy back to be seen by Mr. Mills, the Court Missionary, Cook was bound over in £5 for 12 months to reside out of the County of London.[39]

The day before, on February 5, news was published that Evans was transferring his estate at Knossos including the Palace itself, the Villa Ariadne, and the vineyard to the British school at Athens.[40] MacGillivray concludes the timing of this February 5 announcement was meant to detract from the news of Evans' appearance in court in violation of public decency: "The real

[38] Evans, born on July 11, 1851, was seventy-two years old in February 1924.
[39] "Hyde Park Regulations," *The Times*, February 6, 1924, The Times Digital Archive.
[40] "The Site of Knossos," *The Times*, February 5, 1924, The Times Digital Archive.

reason, perhaps, for his generosity became clear to outside observers the following day."[41] Throwing in the word 'perhaps' does not really soften the statement much. MacGillivray does not specify who those outside observers were.

Logically the interpretation of events makes no sense because the transfer of ownership had been negotiated since 1922.[42] It would likely not be a transaction achieved within one day, especially given how many years it took Evans to negotiate the purchase of the land on Crete. Mary Beard has perhaps the most measured response to MacGillivray's claim.[43] The point here is not whether Evans had sex with George Cook on January 29, 1924 in Hyde Park, or paid Cook to have sex, or was simply being led around in the dark. The point is just how MacGillivray constructs these events to articulate his biases against Evans and how he uses the genre of biography to promote his own psychoanalysis of Evans. The conclusions MacGillivray draws from the arrest spin into conjecture as he presents the interior landscape of Evans' mind and motivations. MacGillivray writes:

> This is the first conclusive evidence the biographical record contains that Evans had physical relations with a young man. Perhaps it was the first time and he bungled it, or perhaps it was something he did often when in London and this was the first time he got caught. Either way, it showed that Evans, at the age of seventy-three,[44] was slipping, losing his grasp on his private life. It may well have been part of a larger issue; either he was relaxing his guard or he had lost control of it.[45]

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[41] MacGillivray, *Minotaur,* 281.
[42] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 376.
[43] Mary Beard, "Builder of Ruins," *London Review of Books*, November 30, 2000: "No doubt, there was more than a convenient coincidence of timing here; but the idea that this gift came as 'startling news' or that its main motive was to deflect attention from the court hearing is simply false. As Joan Evans (the art historian and Arthur's half-sister, more than forty years his junior) makes clear in her family memoir *Time and Chance*, his plan to make the site over had been actively in preparation since at least 1922. MacGillivray has little time for the understated irony of this elegant account of the Evans family, published in 1943 shortly after Arthur's death; he accuses it of 'lacking depth' and of reading 'as flatly as Sir William Richmond's portrait' (the flamboyant, and far from 'flat,' painting of Evans surrounded by his finds that now hangs in the Ashmolean). More often than not, however, Joan Evans's story seems a far better guide to her half-brother's life and motivation than the cheap and often unsubstantiated innuendo of MacGillivray's *Minotaur*."
[44] Evans was born on July 11, 1851, and the arrest was on January 29, 1924, so he was seventy-two years old.
[45] MacGillivray, *Minotaur,* 281–282.

Conjecture is an illusion meant to enhance a story. Therefore it can tempt a biographer, but this bit of conjecture decreases the credibility of his account. MacGillivray might have contextualized the arrest records instead theorizing about the increased legal scrutiny of homosexual relationships in urban public spaces. MacGillivray presents Evans' arrest for indecency and the subsequent sale of land of Knossos as part of an either/or scenario, which reduces Evans to a one-dimensional character, ignores his complexity, and therefore does MacGillivray no favors as a biographer.

Despite the critique, MacGillivray's account and interpretation must be mentioned because it is, in fact, one of the only studies of Evans to discuss the arrest. His conjectures and biases cannot be buried in footnotes of my work because his treatment of Evans illustrates a fundamental problem in the other biographies. Why did neither Joan Evans nor Sylvia Horowitz mention the arrest in their narratives?[46] Were their omissions confirmation of Evans' homosexuality, or at least that he had had non-heterosexual experiences? MacGillivray thinks so, at least for Joan Evans. He states without supporting evidence that "Joan Evans, aware of her half-brother's proclivity toward young men, never mentioned Candy in her biography of Evans, perhaps suspecting either that Evans behaved illegally with the boy or that others might think so."[47] However, one cannot assume what Joan Evans knew or didn't, or why she included or omitted the information. She quotes only sparingly from the letters between Evans and his wife and other family members around the time of his first arrest in Dubrovnik in 1882. I think her omission was an issue of protecting the privacy of family life—but again it is impossible to know her reasons.

[46] Horowitz does mention Candy in her preface.
[47] MacGillivray, *Minotaur,* 251–252.

Although first to publish this salacious detail of Evans' biography, MacGillivray's suppositions give his narrative an elusive quality. Evans' potential fear of exposure for an arrest for indecency is an unsubstantiated conclusion, which factually cannot serve as the reason he donated Knossos to the British School at Athens. Perhaps Evans decided to have sex in a park with a young man knowing it would be illegal, or it could have been a case of prostitution. Or maybe Evans got caught up in a sexual experience that he did not expect. Or maybe it was a celebration because Evans was thrilled with the prospect of gifting Knossos to British School at Athens so he could focus exclusively on his own academic work. Maybe the experience was invigorating (remember, it was January.) Rhetorical questions aside, we cannot know what Evans was thinking, unless he tells us in written documentation, and Evans was notoriously private with his own emotions from a young age.[48] MacGillivray's narrative of Evans' aging and decline (or the loss of his ability to maintain control over his appetites) does not hold up to the facts. In 1924, Evans was actively excavating at Knossos, had published his first volume of *The Palace of Minos*, and was working on the second volume. Evans produced a vast quantity of work in the 1920s, and still had to write volumes 2–4 of the behemoth *The Palace of Minos*. Thus this negative portrayal of the intersectionality of Evans' sexual orientation, gender identity, and aging process makes it more important to consider Evans within the context of the Balkans and deepen our understanding of the man prior to his fame. The discrepancies among the three biographies and Candy's autobiography of his time as Evans' ward beautifully demonstrate the rhetorical illusions of biography as genre. My analysis of the Evans' biographies acknowledges that such biases exist but cautions against the tendency to transpose our ideas and assumptions on to the life that is being narrated.

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[48] Joan Evans, *Time and Chance,* 94. See also Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 52.

Balkan Historiography

Biases and assumptions frequently make their way into histories about the Balkans, which can refer to a name, a geographic region, a metaphorical place, a mutable idea, and even be taken as an insult. Naming conventions of the region and its related historiographies depend on perspective. I choose to situate my project about Sir Arthur J. Evans within Balkan discourse because that is the term most frequently used in my discipline, and one which is applied to histories of the late nineteenth century.[49] The Balkans can also represent a study of space.[50] For example, political and social scientists whose research involves datasets usually employ the term "southeastern Europe" if they study the region from the middle twentieth to twenty-first centuries because the term is more neutral, less weighted with connotations. That geographic and data-driven discourse includes analysis of geographic changes and the influence of the former Soviet Union on post-communist space. Balkan historiography thus overlaps with eastern and southeastern European studies.[51]

Balkan geography also fluctuates depending on perspective. The Balkans usually include some combination of territories now delineated by the present-day countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and the states of the former Yugoslavia (present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, the Republic of North Macedonia, Slovenia, and Serbia), but this is up for quite a bit of interdisciplinary debate. At the very least, scholars and

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[49] For the succinct history of how the Balkans emerged as having political rather than geographical connotations in the late nineteenth century, see Maria Nikolaeva Todorova, "The Balkans: from Discovery to Invention," in *Scaling the Balkans: Essays on Eastern European Entanglements* (Boston: Brill, 2018), 126–127. According to Todorova, this article was first published in 1994 and the basis for her landmark work, *Imagining the Balkans* (reprint 2009).
[50] Diana Mishkova, "What Is in Balkan History? Spaces and Scales in the Tradition of Southeast-European Studies," *Southeastern Europe* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 55–86.
[51] When referring to the geographic regions of Europe, I have deliberately chosen to not capitalize the adjectives north, south, east, and west, because I want to de-emphasize the dominance of western Europe, its influence, and perceived cultural homogeneity.

researchers need to carefully designate what geographic territory they mean when they discuss the Balkans.[52] I argue, in this project, that the Balkans are also a temporal designation.

The name of the region also can serve as a noun and a verb in English. In colloquial usage, Balkanization or to Balkanize more generally is defined as the action of fragmenting or dividing into smaller units but with negative connotations. Geographically it now most often refers to the countries part of the former Yugoslavia. Implicit in the word is the idea that such division is violent, making unity impossible to achieve. The Balkans as an idea has become conflated with negative stereotypes, embodying backwardness which derives from the Balkan lack of modernity or progressive social development, where antiquated customs and mores dominate society. To add to the complexity, citizens of countries who have been recently admitted to the European Union might take offense at being described as Balkan given what it has come to represent. In short, everything depends on who writes Balkan history. Evans, an archaeologist who would ultimately reshape European views on prehistory, provides a valuable perspective for a project that examines temporal slippage between modern and ancient.

Historical scholarship on Balkanism examines perceptions of the region as a flexible geographic and metaphorical space constructed through discourse. Balkanism includes eastern Europe (or, in other words, the idea of non-western Europe) as a constructed space. Conceptually this is nothing new. Western European intellectuals began forging the idea of eastern Europe as an Enlightenment project, and therefore a construct of the West.[53] This idea builds on Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism,* where "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting

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[52] As a reminder to the reader, my definition of Balkans includes Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, the Republic of North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, and parts of Albania because these are the countries that Evans explored in the seven years when he traveled the region using Dubrovnik as his home base.

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

itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self."[54] Said argued that "orientalism is after all a system for citing works and authors" to explain the European focus of his own analysis.[55] My analysis of Balkanism as akin to Orientalism draws upon a rich vein of recent scholarship. Three scholars paved the way: Maria Todorova, Vesna Goldsworthy, and Milica Bakić-Hayden. Maria Todorova—whose comprehensive work about the Balkans is best appreciated in a newer volume of her collected writings[56]—acknowledges her intellectual debt to Edward Said, but cautions against viewing Balkanism simply as a subspecies of Orientalism.[57] Todorova's landmark study *Imagining the Balkans* (1997, reprint 2009) considers the geographic region as it has been portrayed in print since the 1800s, and therefore gives the context for "Balkanization," which came into being as a result of the Balkan wars and the First World War. That negative stereotype began to gain momentum at the turn of the twentieth century with force of emerging nationalisms.[58] She argues the perceived backwardness of the region "has additional characteristics as cruelty, boorishness, instability, and unpredictability,"[59] and in so doing deconstructs the Balkans as an artificial idea. Balkanism as a noun has grown out of writings for both scholars and for the general public, the latter of which Todorova sees as an "unfortunate hybrid—academic journalism."[60] I draw from Todorova's more recent work in this project, however, because of her ability to manipulate analytical perspective shifts when writing about the Balkans.[61] Her work serves a key conceptual point because of how she considers the Balkans through a series of conflicting geographic and temporal scales of view. By using Evans' life and

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[54] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978, reprint 2003), 3.
[55] Said, *Orientalism,* 23.
[56] Maria Todorova, *Scaling the Balkans: Essays on Eastern European Entanglements* (Boston: Brill, 2018).
[57] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8, 19, 186.
[58] Todorova, *Imaging the Balkans,* 121.
[59] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* 119.
[60] Todorova, *Imaging the Balkans,* 19.
[61] Todorova, *Scaling the Balkans*.

work to show how he simultaneously constructed the Balkans' and European antiquity, my project examines two sets of scales which I see as conflations: modernity and antiquity (temporal), and then the overlap between eastern and western Europe (geographic).

Vesna Goldsworthy's *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (1998), like Todorova's work, analyzes how Balkan identities have been constructed in western European literature, travelogues, and journalism, moving away from the binary of East/West division. Goldsworthy's work is less focused on Western discourses of the Balkan barbarism; rather she develops the idea of imaginative colonization, where instead of an exotic other, the Balkans in literature has served as western European entertainment. In this literature, the reader encounters "Balkan identity in an ambivalent oscillation between 'Europeanness' and 'Oriental' difference."[62] It is this gradation or oscillation that I find most useful because the gradation involves both literal and figurative distances between East and West, and is not simply a binary construct of either/or. The distance between the Balkans and western Europe is more than geographic; it is constructed and therefore could be considered an imagined reality that is reinforced or made malleable by literary models or tropes.[63]

Evans participated in the development of those tropes and stereotypes, but in variable ways, where his ideas of the Balkans peoples had temporal aspects that differed from western European associations with modernity. The geographic region of the Balkans—and the perceptions of it by western Europeans—was essential for the development of Evans' ideas about modern antiquity. Other western European authors who wrote travelogues also argued that

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

[63] Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania,*77–78 See especially Goldsworthy's chapter entitled, "The Balkans in Popular Fiction," discussing Bram Stoker's *Dracula* as a literary trope. Goldsworthy says that the author deliberately chose the remotest location for his story, the Transylvania's northeastern Carpathian mountains, to accentuate the distance between the supernatural "Eastern Europe" and "Western civilization."

the Balkans' peoples struggled against the Ottoman Turks to establish their own right to self-determination; a key component of their emerging identities as Slavic people was thus nationalistic and oppositional. Collectively, these accounts had a profound role in shaping western European perceptions and discourses about the Balkans,[64] which have perpetuated negative stereotypes about the Balkans in current academic journalism that sometimes even in the 1990s played a key role in major policy decisions.[65] These narratives were defined less by antiquities and more by the then present-day cruelties of the Turks.[66] The contrast fascinates because it is what makes Evans unique—his focus on antiquities in the Balkans.

Those Balkan stereotypes have also influenced individual and collective identities in a nested way. Milica Bakić-Hayden expands on her concept of "nested orientalisms" by deconstructing the uniform Orientalizing of the Balkans in the 1990s. She argues that such othering occurs in a nested fashion where "the symbolic power of Europe to represent the 'civilized,' 'enlightened' or 'progressive' in Yugoslav debates created a standard against which peripheral European countries could judge their multiple selves in competition against each other."[67] This is why citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Republic of North Macedonia, Slovenia, and Serbia might find the word Balkan insulting, but only if they have a vested interest in asserting a long-standing European identity.[68] Such a reaction is more

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[64] On this theme, see Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*; Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*.

[65] See Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993). Kaplan's work recycles tropes and perpetuates stereotypes. For the influence of Kaplan's book on President Bill Clinton, see Michael T. Kaufman, "The Dangers of Letting a President Read," *The New York Times*, May 22, 1999.

[66] Adelina Paulina Irby and Georgina Muir Mackenzie, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, 3rd ed. (London: Daldy, Isbister and Co, 1877), 21–22.

[67] Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995), 930.

[68] For analysis of the word 'Balkan' in journalistic texts, constructed self-images, and the variability in attitudes towards identity in the south Slavic regions, see Ljiljana Šarić, "Balkan Identity: Changing Self-Images of the South Slavs," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 25, no. 5–6 (2004): 389–407.

common in those countries that reject the influence of the Ottoman Empire (e.g., countries or territories that stood against the Turk and protected the rest of Europe). Bakić-Hayden's ideas are useful for my project because they provide a framework to explain how the ethnic, national, and cultural identities operate in overlapping, and sometimes contradictory, fashion in Evans' work.

Borders can be both literal and figurative—and the Balkan borders have shifted in both literal and figurative ways. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, recent academic debates have moved from considering the Balkans as a geographic entity with metaphorical spaces to now trying to determine the actual dividing line between eastern and western Europe. That distinction accounts for the stereotype of eastern European backwardness, which includes the discussion of proximity to the supranational state of the European Union. This is the intellectual territory of the social scientist who does not focus on literary texts but rather datasets generated by governments and agencies whose dominant focus is how to integrate newer nations into the fabric of Europe and its collective, malleable identity.

Evans participated in the construction of Europe by changing its narratives about its prehistory. He also mapped southeastern Europe during the First World War. But since his time, although the borders have changed, the old question remains: where does Europe begin and end? When does Europe begin and end? How does that transition occur? Larry Wolff's scholarly work[69] was greatly expanded on, by Todorova, Goldsworthy, and Bakić-Hayden.[70] Andrew Janos also critiques the notion of eastern European "backwardness" from a different angle.[71] Less concerned with intellectual history, Janos argues for a new brand of internationalism and suggests yet how small states of east-central Europe experienced change as part of a process of

[69] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*.
[70] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*; Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*; and Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalism."
[71] Andrew Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes," *East European Politics and Societies* 15, no. 2 (2001): 221–49.

transition from one international regime to another. Scholars Taras Kuzio and Vladimir Tismaneanu consider legacies to be a major component in nation-building in eastern Europe.[72] Alina Mungiu-Pippidi's work shows that eastern European states continue to struggle with those legacies of communism (putting her in dialogue with Tismaneanu and Kuzio) in real and tangible ways, even during the process and then after assimilation to the European Union.[73] Lucan Way and Steven Levitsky (2007) examine the idea of eastern European linkages to western Europe and western leverage in favor of establishing democratic governments across the post-communist divide.[74] Way and Levitsky also look at the geographic proximity of eastern European nations to the west as a dominant factor of linkage and leverage.

The historical work that is most pertinent to my project is by Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe," because he challenges prevailing views by using a "historical narrative about a statue and the man it represented to present non-ethnic parts of a new frame for understanding the nationalization of individuals in Eastern-Central Europe."[75] King's work speaks to the ability of a scholar to simultaneously complicate a stereotype and the paradigm of ethnic nationalism as a dominant world view. This approach, of using historical narrative and limiting it to an object and person, inspired me—in part—to use Evans and his published works to examine the Balkans in the late nineteenth century. King's use of an individual object and person allows him to focus on the mix of identities in east-central Europe in the late nineteenth century, a period which overlapped with Evans' Balkan writings. And

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[72] Taras Kuzio, "History, Memory and Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Colonial Space," *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 2 (2002): 241–64; Vladimir Tismaneanu, "The Moving Ruins," *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 1 (2014): 59–70.
[73] Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "The Transformative Power of Europe Revisited," *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 1 (2014): 20–32.
[74] Lucan Way and Steven Levitsky, "Linkage, Leverage, and the Post-Communist Divide," *East European Politics and Societies* 21, no. 1 (2007): 48–66.
[75] Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe," in *Staging the Past* (Purdue University Press, 2001), 114.

regardless of the methodology, intellectual frame, or that political scientists and some historians now prefer to use the term "southeastern Europe" in their scholarly discourse, all of these multi-disciplinary works still have to contend with the word Balkan and all the weight it carries.

Family and Early Travels 1851–1875

Evans' worldview was born of his social status, education at home and at university, followed by tours on the continent. In reading the stories of his youthful travels, one can also catch a glimpse of his elusive character; the biographies all illustrate his personality as quirky and humorous but reserved. Arthur Evans was born on the eighth of July in 1851. His father, John Evans, and his mother, Harriet, married in 1850 despite opposition from Harriet's father, John Dickinson, who had wanted his daughter to marry a man of wealth and position, not a cousin and employee in the family papermaking business.[76] John Evans had wanted to go to Oxford, but had started in the business in 1840 at the recommendation of his aunt, and by 1845 he was earning a fixed salary of two hundred pounds a year, with his own little house in the village of Nash Mills.[77] After the retirement of his father-in-law, John Evans came to manage five of the family's paper mills and simultaneously pursued a distinguished scientific career, becoming a self-taught expert in many emerging historical sciences of the era (geology, archaeology, paleontology, and numismatics).[78] Harriet started a library for workers at the mill and introduced the manufacture of envelopes.[79] They had four other children after Arthur: Lewis was born in 1853, Philip Norman in 1854, Alice in 1856, and Harriet in 1857. Both John and Harriet Evans were hardworking people, and

[76] Joan Evans, *The Endless Web: John Dickinson & Co., Ltd., 1804–1954* (London: Cape, 1955), 89.
[77] Joan Evans, *The Endless Web,* 63. See also J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 74. Nash Mills, now a civil parish within the city of Hemel Hempstead (population 97,500 in 2011 census) is approximately twenty-one miles northwest of London in Hertfordshire, UK.
[78] Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*, 51.
[79] Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*, 52.

interested in reading and learning which later impacted their children. But Arthur's mother Harriet died on New Year's morning in 1858 when he was just six years old.[80] His father, John Evans, remarried his cousin and longtime family friend, Frances "Fanny" Phelps, as Arthur's stepmother was called, on July 23, 1859. Fanny was from a large family, with six sisters and four brothers, and she had lived in Madeira because her grandfather settled there in 1784; she knew Portuguese very well.[81] Fanny managed to anchor the family and provide love and support to Arthur and his four siblings.[82]

The past, and specifically the European prehistoric past, was a major interest for Arthur's father. John Evans taught his son to appreciate antiquities through his own considerable collection of numismatics, Paleolithic flints, and Neolithic and Bronze Age weapons.[83] As a child, Arthur Evans already had "a little collection of miscellaneous antiquities."[84] Evans—by all accounts—maintained a good relationship with his father and stepmother during his life, although in the early years he lived in the shadow of his father's growing reputation as an antiquarian and academic. Evans attended school at Harrow, where he expressed his disdain, irreverence, and mischief toward authority early on. In his second year he published a satirical piece called *The Pen Viper,* which did not endear school authorities to him because in it Evans provided advice to a cousin: "The first thing you should do is be as noisy as you can…Then you shouldn't be squeamish about telling a few lies to masters, if you have occasion."[85] Refusing a

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[80] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 93. Joan Evans reports that Harriet died from an infection ten days after giving birth: "On December 19, 1857, Harriet bore a baby girl, and all seemed going well. But the nurse had come from an infected case, and brought the infection with her. On the 21st Harriet was seriously ill, and John sent for his Mother. For ten days Harriet lingered; even when she knew no one else she still knew John, and her face still lit for him. Then on New Year's morning, she died."
[81] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 104.
[82] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 102. Arthur wrote her many letters addressed, "My dear Mama" or "Dear Mama." See the letter quoted below in this chapter.
[83] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 95, 122, and 135.
[84] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 130.
[85] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 145.

post and eventual partnership at one of his father's paper mills,[86] Arthur attended Brasenose College and matriculated in 1870, passing his moderations—the first public exam—without distinction.

If Evans did not like a professor, his family certainly knew why. His letter to his stepmother on October 22, 1870 explains his prejudices against one of his professors who was one of the examiners, in Evans' difficult-to-read handwriting:

> My dear Mamma
>
> Thanks for your letter. I have received the wine [?][87] all right. I am beginning by now to understand the ways of the place a little + have been initiated since last Wednesday in the mystery of lectures + more useless things those that I attend you can hardly imagine. I have to go for them to two ___ [?]. One is a Mr. Watson some relation I think to the Watson at Harrow + he is a most objectionable man. He sits in a remote corner of the room as far away as possible, as if he were afraid of infection + all that he does is put on his pupils to const___[?] one after another, he never opens his mouth to explain or if he does it is with effort of Christian resignation wh[?][88]: it is painful to witness, + the general impression is that he gives one is that he has been awake all night, + can only secure a hasty nap during lecture time. Yet he is one of the examiners for degrees. The other lecturer I go to is Mr. Wordsworth whom I was under at Harrow curiously enough, since he took Mr. Vaughan's form for two quarters when he was ill. He is a very clever man + I like him very much but even he doesn't convey much to you at lecture. Just this minute I have seen my tutor a Mr. Ward who seems a pleasant kind of man + explained what I had to do for 'smalls' which take place at the end of this term. I am to do Demosthenes on the ____ (which Mr. Watson lectures on) the first six books of the Aeneid (Mr. Wordsworth), grammar, Latin in Prose, arithmetic + Euclid –
>
> The former occupant of my rooms came in the other day to inquire after some of his things but all of them had disappeared so that the scout [?] must have absorbed them. He went away rather indignantly to find the scout [?] but what was the upshot I don't know. I keep my valuables locked up in a cupboard which locks so I hope they are safe. I was however told that wine is expected by the scout [?] + that he only preys on those who have left which is somewhat reassuring. The scout had very scrupulously sent the injured individual above mentioned his <u>old</u> quill pens! I was much amused at the epigrams. I don't at present think of going home for any exeat [?] Would you ask Pa if he thinks that

[86] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 146.
[87] I have marked words or letters where I am uncertain of meaning due to illegibility of Evans' handwriting with a question mark in brackets.
[88] This abbreviation looks like "wh" and is used three times in the letter. The handwriting is clearly hurried but not microscopic, unlike Evans' travel small notebooks from 1875–1882.

> sepelios may not be connected in declination? with 'speus,' 'speleen. ca've. [?] If it is so it is curious.
>
> With love to all
>
> Your affectionate son
>
> Arthur[89]

This letter shows that Evans' humor, disdain, and general curiosity applied to everyone, both tutors and former students. It also illustrates just how versed he was in a classical education with his study of Virgil and Euclid. Instead of following a more predictable and concentrated course of study (called "Greats") on the antiquity of man and the classics, Evans chose modern history with a focus on linguistics.[90] For example, in 1874 for his exams, he ignored four out of five questions on an exam, writing a treatise on Mamelukes instead.[91] Evans was a respectable student, but, "if he distinguished himself at all at Oxford, it was for independence of mind."[92] This decision to only answer the questions that interested him shows how Evans pursued topics based on his own curiosity instead of following a more traditional academic path. Such details make for a good story, but also give us the impression of a quirky young man who refused to do things he disliked—and had the social position to get away it. His exam essays could also have been unexpectedly well written.

Antiquities and collections were an Evans family affair. Arthur, who mostly closely followed in his father's academic footsteps, began collecting even as a child but especially during his youthful travels, as we will see. John Evans was not, however, known to catalogue his own collections because he "regarded them as growing things, which should not be subjected to

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[89] Sir Arthur J. Evans archives, Ashmolean Department of Antiquities, Folder VIII, personal letters from 1871 onwards. The letter is transcribed with paragraph breaks to reflect pages breaks.
[90] MacGillivray, *Minotaur*, 38–39.
[91] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 147; Horowitz, *Find of a Lifetime*, 25. Ignoring questions on preliminary exams at least was something of a tradition.
[92] Horowitz, *Find of a Lifetime*, 25.

any too-rigid classification."[93] Presumably it was the collection that grew in size, rather than the artifacts themselves. One has the impression of a cluttered but happy home filled with things. Evans' brother Lewis attended chemistry lectures and visited the United States to see the paper mills there, but returned to Nash Mills to work at the age of twenty.[94] Lewis refused to go to Oxford with as much vigor as Arthur had refused to work in the mill, and eventually Lewis became a partner in the family business. Lewis did, however, develop his own collection of scientific instruments as an adult, which was donated to the Ashmolean Museum, earning him an honorary doctorate in 1925.[95] Private collections of natural history objects and historical artifacts were a common gentlemanly pursuit in nineteenth century England.[96] Norman "reacted to the atmosphere of antiquity" by rejecting that which pervaded the family home because of John Evans' work; his childhood and adolescent antics were "gay and vital," and he decided instead to go to California to make his fortune breeding horses."[97] Arthur's sisters, Harriet and Alice, were first educated at home by a governess (presumably because of their gender), then sent to school at Cedar Lodge, Blackheath. Alice, like Arthur, shared their father's interest in antiquities. She helped her father categorize, mounted objects for him to label, and did the bookkeeping.[98] Given his refusal to categorize his own collections, it was not surprising that he would need the help.

This childhood upbringing is what led to the development of Evans' passion for antiquities—and the fact that his sister and one of his other brothers also shared this interest

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[93] Joan Evans, *Prelude & Fugue, an Autobiography.* (London: Museum Press, 1964), 29. According to J. Evans, her father had "a list of posy ring mottoes, and an inventory of certain sections of his collection of Roman coins, and that was all."
[94] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 148.
[95] H. H. T, "Historic Scientific Instruments in the Old Ashmolean Museum, Oxford," *Nature* 115, no. 2898 (May 1, 1925): 783.
[96] Anastasia Filippoupoliti, "'What a Scene It Was, That Labyrinth of Strange Relics of Science': Attitudes toward Collecting and Circulating Scientific Instruments in Nineteenth-Century England," *Cultural History* 2, no. 1 (April 2013), 20, showing how collectors blurred the lines between private collections and public displays in museums.
[97] Evans, *Time and Chance*, 149.
[98] Evans, *Time and Chance*, 149.

shows how much a part of their lives it must have been. The contrast between Arthur's career and his sister's lack of one, despite their similar interests, illustrates the sexism of the day. Evans' other sister Harriet was a "charming girl with a delicate oval face and an exquisite neatness in all she did, lived more in the present," but even so she acquired knowledge of works of art, although biographers do not explain what era, type or artist.[99] The family traveled together during the 1870s, usually in second class carriages because John Evans was trying to pay off a debt from an uncle, and the provisions from John Dickinson's will, both of which laid a heavy burden on the family business.[100] But there were also trips related to antiquities: in 1870, John and Fanny went to continental Europe and after 1872, they took both daughters to a Prehistoric Congress at Stockholm and another at Budapest.[101] Those family travels set the stage for Evans' adventures as a young man on his school holidays in the 1870s.

While at university but on school holidays, Evans explored Europe and its peripheries. His youthful travels included journeys to France, Hallstatt, and Zagreb in Austria-Hungary (1871), then to Romania, Bulgaria and briefly Serbia (1872). His most adventurous trip took him with friends to Sweden, Finland, and among the Sami, Finno-Ugric indigenous people in northern Europe (1873). The first journey to France was with his brother Lewis, shortly after the suppression of the French Commune when fighting fizzled out on May 28, 1871, although mass executions of the revolutionaries continued for days.[102] (The Franco-Prussian War had ended with an armistice earlier in the year, although German soldiers remained on French soil until an indemnity was paid.) Joan Evans quotes one of his letters: "We travelled third class and so had a most interesting journey to Paris, for the carriage was filled with French soldiers and there was a

[99] Evans, *Time and Chance*, 150.
[100] Evans, *Time and Chance*, 150.
[101] Evans, *Time and Chance*, 150.
[102] Robert Tombs, *The Paris Commune 1871* (London: Routledge, 1999), 11.

very amiable Prussian soldier who talked to me a little. Many French soldiers when they saw him would not get in but shouted 'Voleur' and rushed away…."[103] Evans expressed his enthusiasm for economy travel and his willingness to converse with both sides in a recent conflict. He enjoyed being the contrarian, standing out in his actions. But part of that enjoyment was because he could, given his social standing and financial security of his upbringing as a reasonably wealthy Englishman. He also took pains to stand out visually. He purchased a cape with a "fine scarlet lining to grace the occasion" in France, but he had to be convinced not to wear it because it "made him look like a spy"; he was warned that by wearing the cape, he would be "*fusillé comme un chien."*[104] Clearly even in his early travels, Evans liked color, costumes, and seeing how people reacted to him while traveling. This made him a romantic traveler, and part of that romance was that he seemed to ignore or be unconcerned with personal danger.

The trip to France extended from Hallstatt to Zagreb in Croatia, which, after 1868 and the *Nagodba* (agreement or compromise), became a territory within the Kingdom of Hungary while Dalmatia remained under Austrian rule.[105] Thus, Evan was in the Balkans in 1871, the same year that Schliemann began his excavations at Hissarlik (Troy), overlooking the Dardanelles. In his first trip to the Balkans, Evans encountered a much different world in culture and people than he had in France, but Joan Evans claimed that her half-brother blended into the population because he was a small, dark, and wiry young man, more Mediterranean than English in appearance, which he accentuated because he bought a "complete Turkish outfit and donned it in triumph."[106]

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[103] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 165.
[104] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 164. Joan Evans does not provide the translation into English, which would be 'shot like a dog,' but after receiving this advice or warning about not wearing the cape, Evans "reluctantly folded it into the valise."
[105] Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans vol. 1* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 320. Austria conquered Hungary-Croatia after 1699. For a succinct description and analysis of Great Powers' involvement in the Balkans and their responses to the "Eastern Question," see Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 79–111.
[106] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 166.

One wonders if he actually thought he blended in? His was the act of playing native when traveling by his use of costume and clothing, much like Lord Bryon who also went in native dress.[107] His biographers address this habit only in passing, but costume and local dress were critical themes in Evans' own ethnographic writing and work.

In 1872, Evans traveled to Romania and Bulgaria with his other brother Norman. Evans published a brief account of his trip, using the idea of a border (the word 'marches') for both Bulgaria and Romania in his essay published in Frazer's Magazine in 1873. The marches in England included Scotland and Wales, and implied a notion of a region on the borders of civilization that was contested and had to be militarized or at least patrolled on a regular basis in order to maintain control of restless populations, and implies a distinctive relationship between the dominance of a center and a periphery.[108] Evans' ethnographic and ethnological distinctions among the Wallachs, Germans, and Magyars on that 1872 trip give a taste of his earliest travel writing, but there is a discrepancy between his letters home and his later published work. To his stepmother Fanny, Evans must have written about the town of Petroseny; as reported by Joan Evans, her half-brother found the inhabitants to consist of "Wallachians with a few Germans and Magyars," where "these Wallachians are the wildest looking people I have ever seen, with coal

[107] For an examination of how western culture has used the adoption of dress to appropriate indigenous cultures, see Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); see also Mogens Trolle Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an Antique Land* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 35–36, on Austen Henry Layard's appreciation for the costume of politician Benjamin Disraeli, a family friend: "I constantly met Benjamin Disraeli was functioned as its own political unit within the Kingdom of Hungary at my uncle's house…He excited my wonder—perhaps my admiration—by his extraordinary and foppish dress. He wore waistcoat of the most gorgeous colours and the most fantastic patterns, with much gold embroidery, velvet pantaloons, and shoes adorned with red rosettes. I thought him conceited and unkind because he would not answer the questions about his Eastern travels which I had the impertinence to put to him." Layard later became an archaeologist in Mesopotamia noted for his discoveries at Nineveh. But he, too, dressed in costume (e.g., Bakhtiari clothing) during his travels. Evans' romantic adoption of local dress was thus not unique.

[108] For a detailed analysis of how the Tudors attempted to bring the north and west of Britain under control of the capital, see Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Routledge, 2016).

black eyes and long, lank, flowing locks to match."[109] And he offered the observation that no reader could contradict with the exclamation, "Don't they smell of garlic!"[110]

These details demonstrate that he already knew how to entertain his English readers by differentiating the peoples of eastern and western Europe. Evans also categorized the peoples of the region making ethnic distinctions which were linked to languages. But in the published article in Fraser's Magazine in 1873, Evans describes the three languages of that same town as "Roumanian, German, and Hungarian," and the inhabitants as "apparently to a man Roumans," which he distinguishes in a note from the Wallacks of Wallachia proper on the basis of their language.[111] And finally, of their appearance, he echoes some of the language of his letter home by describing the men who "have moustaches occasionally, but no beard, black eyes and long lank tresses to match," whereas the women "may be readily distinguished from the men, showing more of legs and less of their hair, they wear white dresses reaching nearly down to the knee and Turkish waistcoats elaborately embroidered with flowers."[112] Here Evans explores ethnic and gendered differences among the Slavic populations in the periphery of Europe, where the women (and some men) are exotic, and at times, barbaric. These distinctions of ethnicity and gender exist between letters and publications; they become more pronounced with the combination of text and illustrations in Evans' later books about the Balkans. And while his comments may offend, Evans' writing was well placed in the tradition of late Victorian travel literature.[113]

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[109] J. Evans, *Time and* Chance, 166–167.
[110] J. Evans, *Time and* Chance, 167. Joan Evans quotes letters from her half-brother home, but these were not available in the Ashmolean Sir Arthur Evans Archives. Joan writes, "I have quoted the letters to Fanny (Arthur Evans' step-mother) as far as Hermannstadt, and then availed myself of the article as the subsequent letters appear to be lost."
[111] For the full article, see Arthur Evans, "Over the Marches of Civilised Europe," *Fraser's Magazine* 7, no. 41 (05, 1873): 578–596.
[112] Evans, "Marches of Civilised Europe," 579.
[113] See Omer Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the 20th Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Andrew Hammond, "Imagined Colonialism: Victorian Travellers in South-East Europe," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 28, no. 2 (June 1, 2006): 87–

The following year, 1873, Evans journeyed to Sweden and Finland with friends Flower and Frank Balfour. He sent back a fur coat and pants and mittens from the Sami, a costume now at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, UK. (See image 6 below and in Appendix A Illustrations.)

Image 6 – Winter reindeer clothing from the Sami people (Finland)
Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Arthur Evans 1889.
Personal photograph taken while visiting the museum.

104; Andrew Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans: Themes and Contexts* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2010); and also Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers* (London: Saqi in association with the Bosnian Institute, 2004).

Evans had donated the outfit to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1889, after he became Keeper for the Ashmolean Museum less than a mile away. His donation was obviously intended to be displayed for public viewing. The current Pitt Rivers Museum label for his donation reads:

> **Complete winter reindeer skin outfit**
> **Sami (Lapp) people, Muonio, Lapland, Finland**
> **Made before 1889**
> This outfit demonstrates the amount of clothing needed in winter. Made from several reindeer skins, it comprises hat, parka, leggings, boots, and mittens. The boots were sometimes stuffed with straw for extra insulation. The Sami were probably the first of the Eurasian-Arctic people to switch from hunting reindeer to herding them (in about AD 800). They probably learned the craft of reindeer-hair embroidery from the Nenets people (in what is now Russia).[114]

The clothing that Evan collected during his travels became costume in an ethnographic display, where the coat, pants and mittens ceased to be used, but were transformed into educational *objects*. Notably, Evans took a camera on his trip north, and the Pitt Rivers Museum archives contain not only his drawings and sketches, but also his photographs of the local peoples. (There are few if any photos of his trip in 1875 to the Balkans because his camera broke—implications of which will be explained in chapter 3.) Evans' collecting of clothing on his trip to Europe's far north illustrates how from an early stage of his career he created and constructed his identity in relation to another remote culture by appropriation. By traveling the peripheries of Europe and treating the people who lived there as "other," Evans participated in a civilizational discourse that used difference to create identities. And this habit of identity creation—his own in relation to another more foreign person or people—became part of his regular routine during long holidays.

[114] Pitt Rivers Museum, February 2018. See also Appendix A Illustrations.

In 1875, Evans applied to attend university at Gottingen for a summer term. He went to Gottingen by way of Trier (in Germany) in April, where he conducted his own first unsanctioned dig at the Roman ruins. In a letter home, quoted by Joan Evans, he wrote:

> I found a fit and proper place to dig, just outside a garden whence a housefull [*sic*] of things we had seen the day before had been exhumed. I secured three men, one of them extremely intelligent and we altogether open out about twenty square yards of ground in our day's work. We had to dig about three feet before we came to the sandy layer where the Roman interments were, but once down there the number of things we dug out was astonishing. When we came to anything by digging I cut it out of the sand with a knife, and it was most exciting work.[115]

He had directed a dig and sent objects home, as a good collector would.[116] This was the first time that Evans combined his adventurous travel with independent forays into archaeology. Like Evans, another young British adventurer turned archaeologist later, Austen Henry Layard, enjoyed challenging the conventions of the earlier Victorian age, and instead of doing a grand tour in Europe, went to Persia in 1839. Layard traveled among the Bakhtiari people (a southern Iranian tribe) before returning to Constantinople in 1842. Diplomatic and political connections led him to excavate ancient sites in northern Iraq, then under Ottoman control. Layard published two books on his excavations, which were mostly efforts to obtain ancient Assyrian material objects for the British Museum.[117] The similarities between Layard and Evans are worth noting

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[115] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 176. Joan Evans does not explain how he found the site but implicit in her narrative is that Evans did not seek permission to dig because she describes it as "highly unofficial."

[116] J. Evans. *Time and Chance,* 177. "The finds were more numerous than important: lamps, much pottery, a corroded fibula, and a number of coins…He packed them all into a vast case and sent them off to his father at 65 Old Baily."

[117] For his account intended for a general audience, see Austen Henry Layard, *A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh,* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871). For his version combining archaeology and ethnography, see Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains: With an Account of a Visit to the Chaldæan Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers, and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians*, (New York: Putnam, 1853). For a more academic and measured account of the relationship between travel adventurers and early "archaeologists" in the region, see Mogens Trolle Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an Antique Land, 1840-1860* (London: Routledge, 1996).

for their adventurous style, interest in clothing, and practice of donning the dress of local populations.

After completing his studies at Gottingen, Evans was able to return to Zagreb in the company of Lewis in July 1875. For the trip, from Joan Evans' biography we learn that: "He armed himself with a camera (which was broken on the first stage of the journey and not replaced), and with a tiny notebook, gaily painted outside with the arms of Bosnia, containing his microscopic writing a Bosnia vocabulary, a table of money, an epitomized history of Eastern Europe, a list of ethnological types, notes on religions, governments, markets and costumes."[118] The list illustrates Evans' interests and intentions: he went to the Balkans to explore his curiosity about the peripheries of Europe and wanted to have experiences outside of the confines of academia. He armed himself with a history book, took notes on types of people, markets and costumes (which will be discussed in chapter 3), and religions (which will be discussed in chapter 4).

Joan Evans confidently identifies that notebook from 1875. However, it is now difficult determine which Arthur Evans notebook is from the 1875 journey and which ones are from a later period of the Balkan phase of his life. In many of the notebooks, time has eroded the pencil marks, the handwriting is terrible, and there are few if any dates.[119] Lewis' is one of the only notebooks with dates for illustrations and a name inscribed on the inside cover.[120] Lewis Evans'

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[118] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 178.

[119] The Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, UCL SSEES Library, EVA 1/1/1 contains several notebooks from 1875–1885: a small black notebook with metal clasp in envelope 1 of 9; a small brown notebook with string tie and marbled interior in envelope 2 of 9; a black or brown with age notebook with elastic band clasp in envelope 3 of 9; a medium black notebook with high quality. The "gaily painted coat of arms" does not appear within the first collection of documents in EVA 1/1/1. Two notebooks are in EVA 1/1/5 but these are clearly from a later period.

[120] Lewis' notebook is of a similar size to Arthur's notebooks in the archives at UCL SSEES Library (measures 12.25 cm x 17.5 cm). The key different was that it was designed for artists to sketch: the paper is of higher quality, the notebook is bound with leather or something like it with gold edge on binding, and thick string or cloth for closure. The inside cover has an interior faceplate that reads "Lechestier, Barbe, & Co. Artists' Colourmen and Stationers, 60 Regent Street, London. W."

name is inscribed with an address “Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, England,” on second page inside, with penciled notes. Lewis’ script is large and flowing, unlike his brother’s microscopic handwriting. The first illustration in Lewis’ notebook is an architectural rendition of a house in Zagreb (Agram) with clean, crisp lines and is clearly labeled with the date August 6, 1875.[121]

Image 7 – Drawing of a house in Zagreb from Lewis Evans’ notebook.
Personal photograph taken researching in the UCL SSEES Library archives

[121] The Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, UCL SSEES Library, EVA 1/1/1 Envelope 6 of 9.

The architectural drawing of the Zagreb house appears at the beginning of the notebook, so it is reasonable to conclude that this was the start of their journey, and Evans mentions that both he and his brother would stop and draw scenes throughout their trip. The precision of the drawing, the handwriting labeling it, and most of those sketches that follow in this notebook are not in Arthur Evans' style. Lewis Evans could draw quite well, seeming to like architectural themes, whereas his brother appeared to choose, more often than not, archaeological themes including inscriptions, schematics of sites, tombstones, pots, artifacts, clothing of people presented in a rougher style, and maps. This, then, was Lewis' sketchbook that he carried on tour with his brother. What makes the notebook important are the pages cut out of it and the few illustrations remaining in Lewis' style because at least one of them appears in the *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* It could be that Lewis, in fact, drew some of the illustrations for his brother's travelogue.

This initial journey during the summer of 1875 launched Evans' career in journalism from 1877 to 1882, when he traveled the region writing up stories, which he sent to *The Manchester Guardian* as an anonymous correspondent.[122] During that later Balkan phase he continued to draw but was more focused on textual depictions of the southern Slavs, reporting on the shifting political issues of the region, and collecting folklore tales and artifacts. In his writing, Evans moved into more of an 'eye-witness' reporting style because he pursued stories about rebellion, insurgency, atrocities, and refugees, and then wrote articles intended to be read by the English reading public, all the while exploring the development of his ideas about the Balkans as antiquities in conjunction with the flowering of his journalistic career. If completion of Evans' travelogue gave him legitimacy and a new direction, he was also seeking a way to make a name

[122] See http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/archives/eva.htm.

for himself as a writer. Before his departure for the Balkans in 1877, Evans arranged to meet with the noted Times' Balkan correspondent W. J. Stillman, who was an American-born artist, journalist, and diplomat. Stillman had been consul in Rome (appointed in 1862); later he traveled to Herzegovina in 1875, publishing his own books.[123] Stillman alerted Evans to the imminence of another Balkan war, since both Russia and Germany wanted to create a southern Slav federation, whereas the British government sought to uphold the status quo by maintaining Ottoman interests. As a journalist writing his anonymous articles from 1877 to 1882, Evans' pursuit of recording rebellion, insurgency, atrocities, and assisting refugees clearly began in the summer of 1875. Thus the Balkans were an essential part of Evans' development of ideas about antiquities in conjunction with the ethnographic work, to which we now turn.

[123] J. A. MacGillivray, *Minotaur*, 51, citing Stillman's dispatches published in The Nation between 1886 and 1869; see also W. J. Stillman, *The Autobiography of a Journalist,* (London: Grant Richards, 1901), vol. 2, 21-45.

CHAPTER 3

Evans the Ethnographer in Croatia and Slavonia

> No definition of Archaeology can be true which excludes the study of what is archaic in modern life. No antiquarian science can be complete which does not comprehend within its sphere what is ancient in the modern world.
> —Arthur Evans circa 1880, in an unpublished memorandum

In 1875, few western Europeans went on Balkan holidays, much less on foot. The twenty-four-year old Arthur Evans was an exception. He and his brother Lewis took a two-month walking tour in southeastern Europe that summer. A year later, Evans published the book, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection, August and September 1875.*[1] His book was an adventure-filled travelogue recalling and romanticizing the danger they faced from brigands, Bosnian rebels, and arrests by both Austrian and Ottoman officials, the latter resulting in a brief imprisonment. This chapter examines the imagery, vignettes, and tone of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* to evaluate Evans' emergence as a leading English authority on the southern Slavic world. The discussion will show how Evans contributed to the articulation of the Balkans' place in Europe, a delineation that also involved his efforts to define his own sense of self and the ancient past.

Evans' tour of the Balkans covered only two months: August and September 1875. He and his brother started in Croatia and Slavonia under Austro-Hungarian control, but then traveled into and through Ottoman Bosnia, ending in Dubrovnik Dalmatia, overseen by the Austrians. Most of his journey was by train, boat and foot. On occasion he traveled by cart and caravan. In

[1] Arthur Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina on Foot during the Insurrection, in August and September 1875: with an historical review of Bosnia, and a glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the ancient republic of Ragusa* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877). For the rest of the chapter the short title *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* will be used.

brief, Evans' Balkan tour started in the city of Zagreb (then called Agram) which was then controlled by Austro-Hungarian Empire, where he and his brother spent time waiting for official Ottoman permission to travel through Bosnia. From Zagreb, they took a side trip by train to the military frontier near Bosnia. They traveled by boat down the river Sava to the town of Slavonski Brod (then called Brood), which straddled the river, whereupon they crossed the river into Bosanki Brod, and into Bosnian territory. They had to take on a local guide, and began walking through Bosnia, traveling by foot much of the time; they camped, carrying packs with them, traversing ravines and mountain ranges, visiting monasteries and cemeteries. Heading south, the major towns they visited were Travnik and Sarajevo. After spending time with the western Europeans in Sarajevo, they left the city on August 24 and traversed the mountainous Herzegovina, avoiding areas of active fighting, before crossing into Dalmatia with a caravan on August 31. Once across the border, they made their way by the river Neretva to the Adriatic Sea and then on to Dubrovnik (then called Ragusa). (See image 8 on the next page and in Appendix A Illustrations). This chapter examines the first portion of the Evans brothers' journey while Arthur and Lewis were in Croatia and Slavonia—first in Zagreb, recording the local costumes, then visiting the military frontier and towns of Karlovac and Sisak.[2] It also considers Evans' early forays into Bosnia and his gendered depiction of Balkan women, linking female beauty to youth.

[2] Evans used late nineteenth century spellings: Karlovatz and Sizsek.

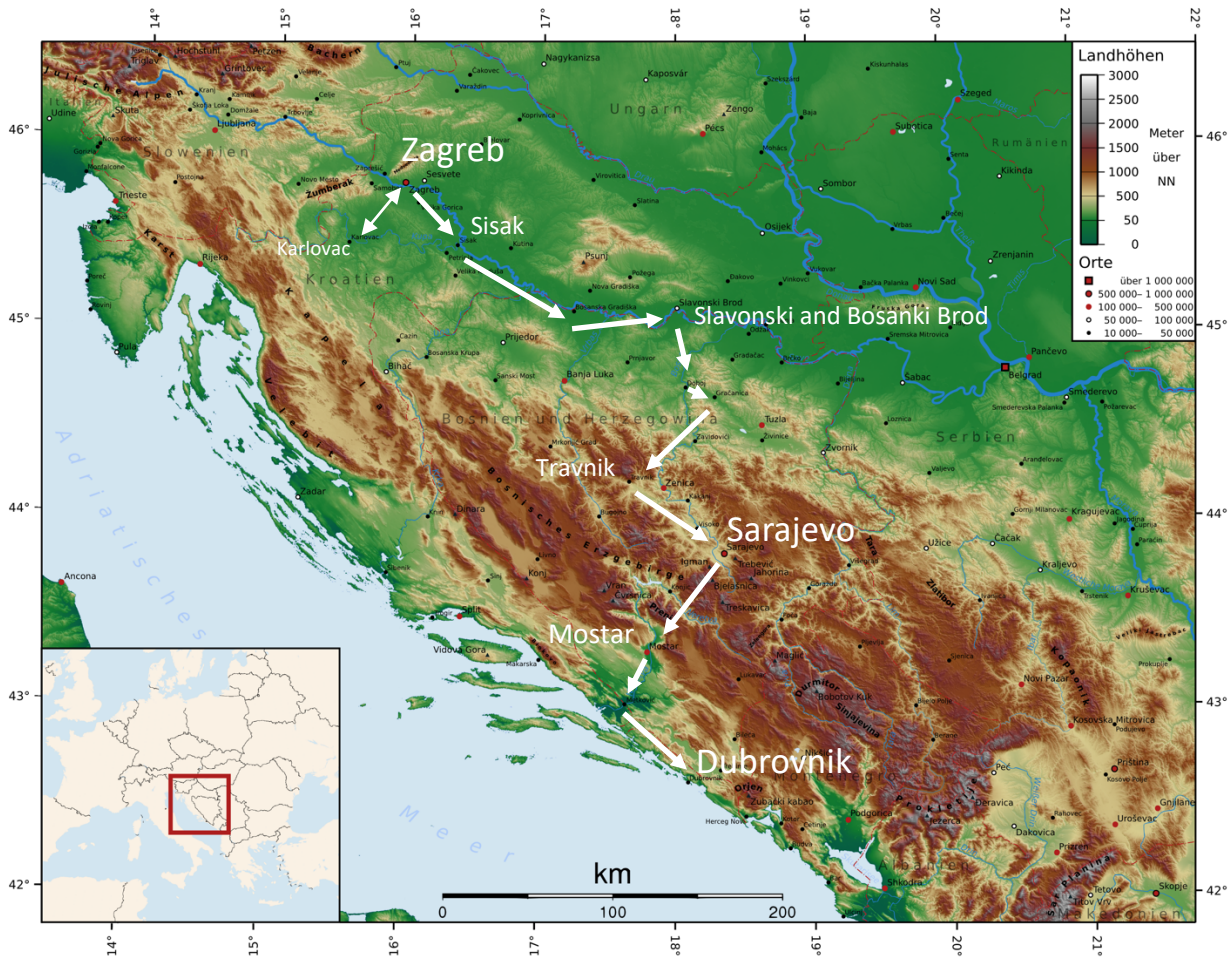

Image 8 - Topographical map of the Dinaric Alps

Open source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dinarisches_Gebirge_Topo.png.

Attribution: Felix Reimann, CC BY-SA 3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>, via Wikimedia Commons.

Cities, towns, and arrows have been inserted by the author to indicate the path and direction of Evans' journey.

Ethnographic Antiquity

Ethnographic antiquity combines the study of social and material culture of a particular people with their origins and ancient past. Evans' travelogue *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* presents the region as a place where the present is still infused with the rhythms of antiquity, and he scrutinizes individual groups of peoples, their artifacts and customs, to recover the region's deep history. In this way he practiced ethnography. In modern terms, ethnography focuses on single cultures or specific structures within one culture, whereas ethnology is a study of the members and structures of cultures and of the relationship of members to their cultures, and as a field is highly theory-driven.[3] The book includes Evans' careful observations not only about the region's peoples, but also its material culture, including coins, sites, tombstones, and architecture, and their role as links between the past and present. Publication of the book occurred at a time when the antiquarian practice of studying material culture and collecting artifacts was evolving into archaeological science.[4] That science was not specific to any one region of the world, however. And southeastern Europe as a geographic area of study was unified only for cultural studies in a broad and modern sense, not for its history from the western gaze. Balkan linguistics, folklore studies, and ethnography came well before the idea of a "Balkan historical commonality thrived."[5] The Balkans and its history did not neatly fit into the European ideas of time and space

[3] Isabelle M. Flemming, "Ethnography and Ethnology," in *21st Century Anthropology*: *A Reference Handbook Vol. 1*, edited by H. James Birx, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Reference, 2010), 153–161. Flemming defines both disciplines from the perspective of a modern anthropologist.

[4] For the division between antiquarianism and archaeology, see Margarita Díaz-Andreu García, *A World History of Nineteenth-century Archaeology Nationalism, Colonialism, and the past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), especially the introduction and Chapter 1. For the development of archaeology as a science including its philosophical foundations, see Bruce G. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). And in short form, see Paul Bahn, *The History of Archaeology: An Introduction* (Taylor and Francis, 2014).

[5] Diana Mishkova, "On the space-time constitution of Southeastern Europe," in *Beyond the Balkans: Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sabine Rutar, Studies on South East Europe v. 10 (Zürich: Lit Verlag BmgH & Co, 2014).

and global history, with all of Europe's own misunderstandings and arrogance.[6] The triad of antiquity, Middle Ages, and modernity, which had been available since the "advent of Humanism" and had came into more frequent use since the seventeenth century,[7] was conceptualized as being uniquely European. The Balkans as an object of study was on the fringes of Europe, outside of the mainstream of history and therefore best accessible through ethnographic study.

This, then, is the intellectual and social context of Evans' travelogue. *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina* was published first in 1876, with a second edition in 1877. William Longman, who was connected to the Evans family, was willing to publish at the author's own expense.[8] The first edition of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* had some four hundred pages of text, augmented with an introductory map of the region. Modern reprints of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* have shortened the book's title so one does not know that Evans spent only two months traveling in the Balkans. Most reprints omit the map perhaps because it was originally an insert.[9] The book also contained fifty-eight woodcut illustrations, based on the original sketches by Evans himself, interspersed throughout. Evans had to fight to include the illustrations he wanted, although it is not clear why, given that he paid for the publication himself, or at least was helped with a one-thousand-pound subsidy from his father, John Evans.[10] Arthur Evans' insistence on reproducing his own illustrations of Balkan scenes and peoples strengthens the

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[6] Jack Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 13–24. Goody argues against European exceptionalism and European monopolization of time, space, and historical periodization.
[7] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 12.
[8] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 182, explaining that Longman had a brother who was a partner in the Evans' family paper mill business.
[9] Arthur Evans, *Pješke kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu tokom ustanka avgusta i septembra 1875: sa istorijskim pregledom Bosne i osvrtom na Hrvate, Slavonce i staru Dubrovačku republiku*, trans. Milutin Drecun (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973). Notably the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian translation of Evans' book is one of the only reprints to retain the map from both the first and second editions. *Pješke kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu* also includes a thorough introduction and commentary on Evans' work in the notes.
[10] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 182.

claim of his biographer and half-sister, Joan Evans, that the book "had been the real purpose of his journey."[11] (See image 9 below and also in Appendix A Illustrations.)

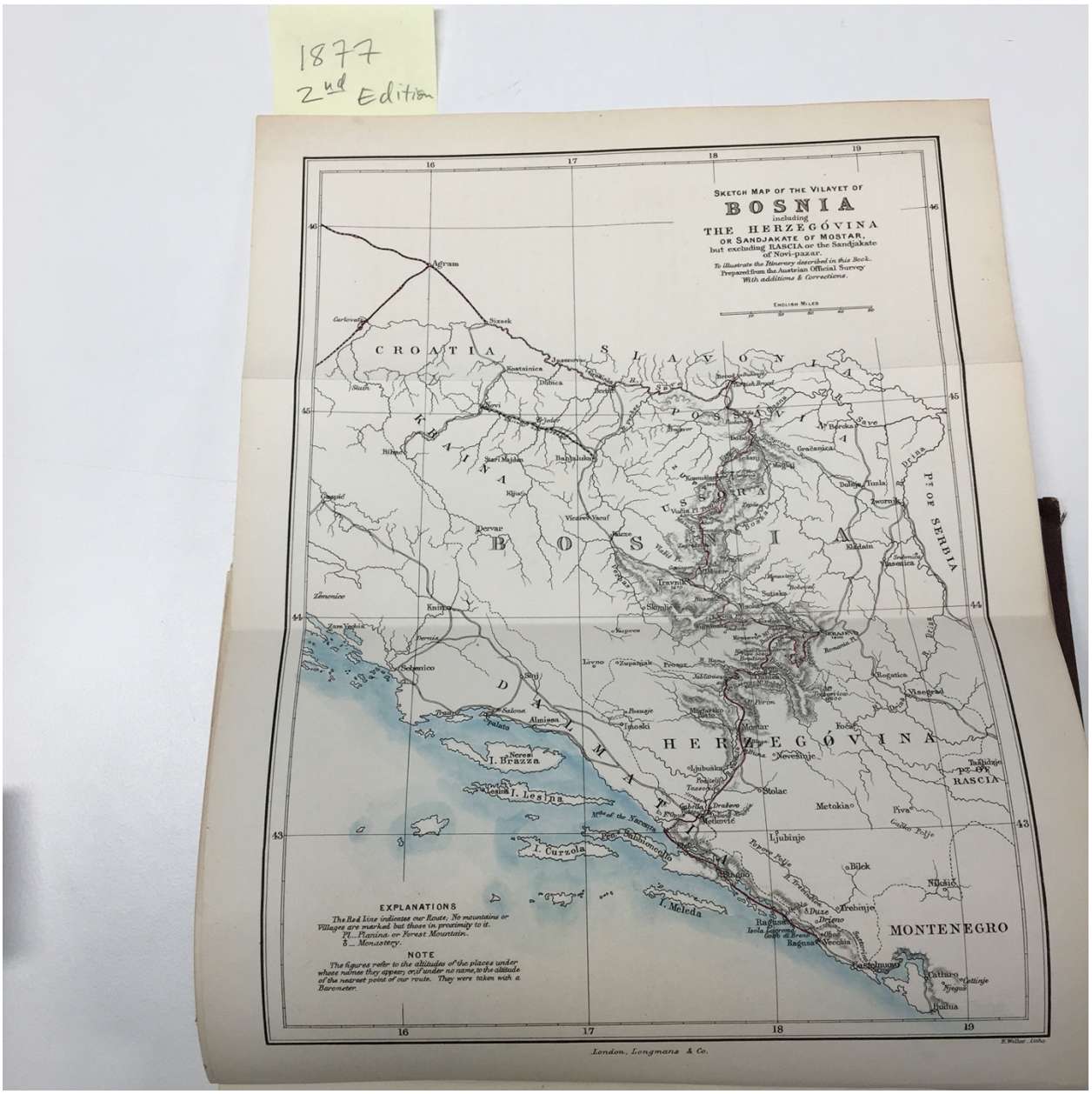

Image 9 – Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Arthur Evans' travelogue, 2nd edition published 1877. His journey from Zagreb to Dubrovnik is outlined faintly in red.

[11] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 182.

This was a walking tour through space *and* time, in which the seamless relationship between Europe and modernity served as a contrast to the antiquated and exotic Balkans. That the journey required permission from the Ottoman government was proof of its non-European nature or foreignness, and its adventure. Evans and his brother were "armed with an autograph letter from the Vali Pasha, or Governor General of Bosnia of the Turkish forces, and owing to this were able to accomplish our tour without serious molestation, though it must be confessed that we underwent some risks."[12] They carried what they needed in packs, and were also likely armed with revolvers, although references to their weapons are fleeting.[13] Local Ottoman officials often required them to travel with a *zaptieh*, a guide or policeman, in spite of their letter.[14] They started their journey, not in Bosnia, but in the city of Zagreb.[15]

Journey by Train

Through Bosnia and Herzegovina begins with the modern travel convenience of the train, and the train passage sets the author's tone for the whole work because of the distance it provided to Evans from his subjects. He traveled from Vienna towards the Slovenian town of Maribor,[16] passing houses with less prominent eaves than those in official Austrian or Hungarian territory. Evans wanted his readers to experience a transition from western European culture to an eastern

[12] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, v-vi.
[13] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 202.
[14] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*. Evans mentions and tells stories about having a guide or *zaptieh* multiple times in his book; see pages 86, 92–94, 97, 101–102, 117–118, 125, 127, 134, 143, 153, 168, 186, 188, 201–202, 205–207, 209–211, 226, 357–358. Doing so accentuated the fact that he and his brother were traveling in foreign country, and that officials determined they needed the protection of guides given the political situation. Finally, as a literary device, Evans frequently uses the actions of their *Turkish zaptiehs* to highlight the oppression of the Christian peasants or *rayahs*, although the *zaptiehs* were frequently Ottoman, not "Turkish" local officials.
[15] Zagreb (then called Agram) is the modern capital of Croatia.
[16] Evans refers to the town by its late nineteenth century Germanic name, *Marburg an der Drau* (or Marburg on the Drava).

unknown culture. Omitting any description of Vienna, Evans started instead with the scattered cottages and hamlets, which reminded him of Salzburg and Tyrol and Scandinavia. He compared these western European habitations to the Slavic ones, which were "meaner huts, less roomy, lower, paler, more rectangular," the further east and south the train went. The change in housing marks his journey into foreign and unknown territory. Those houses he labeled Slavonic have "window eyelets under the trilateral gable, and their physiognomy is recognized at once."[17] By attributing a physiognomy to an architectural structure, Evans sets the reader up to view a house as a person. In so doing, he changes the reader's expectation of who his subjects in the travelogue will be. The Slavonic houses become objects to analyze and simultaneously in his analysis, Evans gives the reader a sense of distance from the landscape by their unfamiliarity. Houses as "persons" are all the more alien because they are not typically personified.[18] By describing the train journey and scenery, Evans makes the reader expect more than just distance in mileage; he creates the expectation of entering into a new world, far apart from all that is familiar and known. Evans signals his willingness to view houses, people, dress, and nature as another world, alien, novel, with both the window and train's motion providing automatic separation between himself and the world he is passing through. It is a good beginning, actually.

Another great benefit of starting journey and travelogue by train is the expectation of motion—of never sitting still or staying in one place for long. Travel by train facilitates the sense

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[17] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 1. While Evans personifies houses only here, he frequently describes people he encounters in terms of their distinctive physical appearance: whether the military governor of Croatia with his thoroughly Roman physiognomy (p. 25), the Asiatic physiognomy of the Bulgarians (p. 31), or the occasional glimpsed Italian physiognomy in Mostar (p. 347).

[18] Later Evans will reverse this expectation by treating humans as objects—a methodology or type of analysis that is now usually only appropriate in paleoanthropology studies. For one such excellent monograph, see Marianne Sommer, *Bones and Ochre: The Curious Afterlife of the Red Lady of Paviland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 8–12 on paleoanthropology. Sommer's work articulates exactly how nineteenth century ideas of race, gender, and class played out over time with three major interpretations of those human bones found in the Paviland cave on the Gower Peninsula in South Wales in 1823. Her work is also a fine examination of what it means to consider something human as a "scientific object."

of distance, disassociation from the landscape, and affects the traveler's perception so that things are objectified but in motion.[19] Evans uses the concept of distance and motion to introduce the stage of his travelogue where the landscape and all of its contents could be viewed as objects, and where "change becomes perceptible in the scattered cottages and hamlets that fly past us,"[20] as the train "hurried along the willowed valley of the Save."[21] Speeding through the countryside encourages that distance and therefore objectification. There is security in experiencing something exotic through the safe distance of a carriage window.

This genre of travel writing requires that Evans create a journey where distance was expected by readers. One global study of European imperial travelogues describes this relationship between writer and subjects as a visual one, where, if a scene in the travelogue can be likened to a painting, then the writer is "both the viewer there to judge and appreciate it, and the verbal painter who produces it for others."[22] Evans, in his superiority, sees the Balkans as a traveler, a visual writer painting pictures with words and drawings for later consumption. But his work creates that distance because he consumed the Balkans as he produced them.

Consuming the Balkans meant that Evans could allow himself to be absorbed into the language, landscape, and cultures without fear of losing his own identity. Evans' depiction of the Balkan peoples was framed by his understanding of himself as "English" or less often "British."[23] Evans saw himself as first English, then British, then European; he acted as if his Englishness gave him a certain edge or higher social status when traveling in the Balkans

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[19] Tim Youngs, *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (New York: Anthem Press, 2006), 7–8. Youngs cites cultural historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980) chapter 4, on the point of disassociation from the landscape.
[20] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 1.
[21] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 3.
[22] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 204–205.
[23] British appears only three times in his publication on pages 74, 83, and 362: when Evans cites a source with the word in the title, refers to the British fleet, and references British coins.

compared to other Europeans. He capitalized on his own identity as superior to other Europeans—at least in writing.[24] Evans' English identity was primary to him, even though more recent scholarship of the Balkans considers it as a subset of the British imperial identity. Vesna Goldsworthy, in her work analyzing Britain's impact on the Balkans and the world's perception of the Balkans, posits that in an "imagined map of Europe…'Britishness' and 'Balkanness' stand at opposing ends of the hierarchical diagonal, which is why understanding the self-image of the British writer becomes interesting."[25] The development of British identity, "in particular 'Englishness'…is seen as different from and often symbolically superior to the European one."[26] This organization of one identity embedded within another is reminiscent of Milica Bakić-Hayden's concept of "nested identities."[27] I find both ideas useful to explain how the ethnic, national, and cultural identities operated in overlapping fashion with contradictory components in Evans' work, in himself and in the Slavic people he described and analyzed.

He was on a scientific tour of sorts, but his was also the journey of a young man on a holiday. From the very beginning of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Evans created distance between himself and the objects of his gaze (landscapes, houses, peoples, artifacts) by his use of analogy and metaphor and his analysis of physical appearances and environments. His tendency to create space between himself and his subjects—to objectify—formed stereotypes of the Balkan peoples that were often inverted. He simultaneously romanticized and disparaged them.

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[24] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, 201, where by his own account Evans was only able to buy wares from a Muslim shopkeeper in Travnik after another Serbian merchant explained that Evans was "neither Russian, nor Austrian, but an Englishman, on which the Turk relented at once."
[25] Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 9.
[26] Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, 9. For a critique on how Goldsworthy renders the Balkans passive and without agency, in spite of her elaborate study of British imperial imagination about the Balkans, see Maja Muhić "Reconstructing Empire or Striking Against it?" in *The Balkans in Travel Writing*, ed. Marija Krivokapić (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 101–102.
[27] Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995): 924.

Space allows for ambiguity because the writer can admire and loathe the subject all at once or find some ground between admiration and loathing. Evans did both, and often his comments are unexpected or startling.

This activity—the creation of stereotypes by othering a group or groups of peoples in both positive and negative ways—was exacerbated by the genre of the nineteenth century travelogue itself, and the British imagination.[28] Andrew Hammond identifies the genre of travel literature as one that is most responsible for the images and evaluations in circulation of that Balkan otherness. Hammond engages with "Image Studies" or *imagologie* developed in the 1950s and 1960s, but expands the discourse to include E. Said, M. Todorova, M. Bakić-Hayden, and J. Leerssen, among others. Like scholars before him, Hammond deconstructs stereotypes of the Balkans, but his particular analysis involves the examination of the cultural production of an imagined and other Balkans in the British imagination. Applying this conceptual framework to Evans' travelogue, one then sees that the space between author and subject inadvertently creates a stereotype. In other words, there was simply too much space, too much foreign or alien or exotic for Evans to bridge that gap between himself and the peoples he described. Nor would he have likely dreamed of doing so. Into that space, Evans described in prose and drew pictures of people that idealized the antiquity of the Balkan ethnic groups. The Balkans was a place where he would develop his theories about antiquity.

Costumes in Croatia

Almost immediately in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* the reader steps off the train and onto the streets of Zagreb, where costumes and colors dominate the book's early scenes. Upon arrival in the capital, Evans found himself "among a population less European in its dress," where he

[28] Andrew Hammond, *British Literature and the Balkans*, 7.

met up with his brother Lewis.[29] The town "strikes the stranger as other than German," which may have been Evans' nod to the Austro-Hungarian empire, which ruled over a landscape that was properly Slavic. Evans transitions to a description of that urban landscape first by focusing on the architecture and placards over the shops, which were "almost entirely Sclavonic. Brilliant, quite Oriental, are the stores where the gay Croatian costumes are hung out to tempt the passing peasant."[30] The storefronts that were "brilliant, quite Oriental" set the reader in an unfamiliar world where there is an expectation of difference, a world away from anything drab; the reader can expect to see color, vibrant scenes, and relax into that difference, where the European reader can be safely distant from the scene but still gain enjoyment.

Evans' prose supplies the color absent from illustrations in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* The "gay costumes" create a festive air complementing the black and white woodcuttings included in the publication, based on pictures that Evans drew. Peasants *would* be tempted by bright colors of their costumes, he claimed, but really upon close examination, it is Evans who is impressed with the colors of this new world. And there is a bit of class at play here for the English reader: the bright colors of their costumes could be equated with the status of people who are peasants or lower agricultural working class, antiquated in their customs and dress, who differ from the modern middle to upper classes of the English readers. Evans in writing his travelogue and presenting this colorful, alien world of the Balkans finds the Orient on

[29] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 3. See also Ann Brown, *Before Knossos: Arthur Evans' Travels in the Balkans and Crete* (Oxford: University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1993), 17; and J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 178. Arthur Evans in his travelogue refers to "we" and "us" to describe the train ride from Vienna to Zagreb, but his biographers are quite clear that he met Lewis in Zagreb.
[30] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 3–4.

his journey, but to varying degrees, often determined by proximity or nested by proximity to the Ottomans or Turks.[31]

The peasants themselves are portrayed with complexity but always with a veneer of distance so that they appear static images like the woodcut engravings illustrating the book. Woodcuts are associated more commonly with the early modern era, not Evans' present-day, and interesting implication if this was Evans' choice for illustrations.[32] Regardless, any images—photographs, sketches, woodcut engravings—reinforce the passivity of the peasants, without agency, so that they function as generalized objects. Those fixed portrayals or portraits of Balkan individuals imply that they were stuck in a moment in time, hence their primitiveness.

The deliberation in his authorial choices is apparent from the outset. Evans apologizes to the reader that the first two chapters might not be of interest, as they involve costumes and antiquities. This disclaimer, a rhetorical device, feels contrived because even in the first few pages the reader understands that costumes and antiquities are two topics of great interest to Evans, which will continue to dominate the narrative of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* Evans marveled at the costumes of the Croatian villagers (perhaps a guilty pleasure of a future museum curator and collector).

He illustrates Zagreb's local market as a spacious studio and the color of costumes as a way of connecting the reader to the physical and psychological space of a traveler. His description sets the reader up for all that will follow in the book:

> But living pictures, more artistic than the bronze statue of the Ban,[33] more graceful than the weeping Montenegrines, are around us here. The market-place is a spacious studio.

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[31] Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms," 917–31. For representations of the former Yugoslavia, see also Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, "Orientalist Variations on the Theme 'Balkans': Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics," *Slavic Review* 51, no. 1 (1992): 1–15.

[32] See Susan Dackerman, Harvard Art Museums, and Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass: Yale University Press, 2011).

[33] The "Ban" was the title of a local ruler or office holder in Croatia, originating in Medieval period and which persisted until the first half of the twentieth century, when it was officially superseded in function by that of a

> The beauty of the Croatian peasant costume is almost unique in Europe—possibly only rivaled at Belgrade. Seen from above, when the market-place is thronged, it looks almost like a bed of red and white geraniums; it is these prevailing colours which I have seen nowhere else. What is remarkable is, that this brightness should be shared in such equal proportions by men and women alike. In Serbia—even in Turkey—the men are not so gay. The head-dress of Serbian women is perhaps at times more elegant—the colors of their dress are often more varied; but what, after all, is a nosegay without a sufficiency of white flowers? In the Agram market-place, not only the colours, but the very materials, might have been chosen by an artist.[34]

Here the scene depends solely on the words on the page and does not have an accompanying illustration; living picture summarizes exactly Evans' style and purpose of his travelogue. The marketplace is a studio populated by color, costume, and people, and in that order. It is a workspace, or place to create art. Evans' metaphor of a "spacious studio" creates an explicit link between the textual descriptions and his use of visual illustrations later. Even though Evans did not draw the marketplace (at least no illustrations survive in the archives), and this particular scene is not illustrated with one of his sketches, his words reinforce the reader's expectation that she will see an image while reading, one which Evans himself has painted. Colors are red and white, and Evans' analogy of costumes as a bed of geraniums creates the reader's perspective of looking down on the market and seeing a garden of flowers, not people. By comparing one object to another either in direct relationship (the marketplace is a studio) or in a relationship of similarity (it looks almost like a bed of red and white geraniums), Evans objectifies the southern Slavs, admiring them for the fusion of activity, action and color. He makes them passive, objects to be viewed from afar. As objects, the people in the market are distant from the reader, as they would be in a painting, but they also illustrate an accessible ancient past because of their costumes and customs.

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parliamentary prime minister. For the evolution of the position, see Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War 3rd ed.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[34] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 9.

Evans uses analogy and metaphor to enhance both the actual and imagined space in the reader's mind. Evans was there, and the reader has likely not been to the market in Zagreb on a summer's day in 1875. Metaphors and analogies bridge the distance between two different objects, but these literary devices create distance because of the dissimilarities. In essence, the reader can fill in that studio space with her own imagined images and ideas of what the exotic southern Slavs look like based on Evans' imagery of a flower garden. Looking down provides distance in the physical space we inhabit and allows removal from a scene. As a result, the reader's perspective is more analytical than if engaged directly in the activity of the scene. The actual distance (looking down at the market place) and the cultural distance (being a foreigner in a country confronted with new impressions and sensations) also have an aesthetic effect: the view is not solely objective because the traveler will bring her own perspective, seeing that scene through many filters, reacting to imagery with her own ideas about the culture.

That combination of analysis and aesthetics makes Evans' work deliberate, particularly in his use of metaphors and analogies. His writing is overly infused with imagery; too flowery perhaps. But with the analogies, we see just what is at stake: Evans' choice of words is part of the cultural production that goes into a travelogue. Evans' Englishness and the Balkan foreignness contrast each other, and both are defined by their contrast. He is also careful to note that these are peasants in his description. Evans' perspective enables his Europeanized reader to be placed higher than the object of his gaze. The reader, aware of the southern Slavic culture and ethnicity collectively, views those peasants at the market abstractly as a sea of red and white flower-like objects. Evans' portrayal of this scene is part of that construction of identity. He does not use the words "dress" or "clothing" but "costume": costume implies that the reader is seeing

a play acted out and in parts, underscoring the distance between the writer and the objects of his analysis.

Oddly, the issues of class in nineteenth century Europe do not touch upon Evans' analysis of the southern Slavs in his travelogue.[35] This omission is puzzling given that Evans' family income came from paper manufacturer and the family fortune was based on the products of eight mills, which collectively employed over a thousand workers.[36] He would have been well aware of the distinctions among aristocrats, landowners, tradesmen, factory workers, and agricultural workers (peasants). One can only extrapolate that Evans was more interested in the ways in which clothing and costume represented the culture of the southern Slavs, and that he chose to see them not as workers of a certain class but part of the portraiture of the landscape, as if he was drawing a sketch. In leaving out class, Evans objectifies and romanticizes the southern Slav peoples, to make them into a collective whole inhabiting the physical space (that "spacious studio"), one that is thronged with people. Those southern Slavs on that day appear as flowers bobbing in the bright southern light, not human beings going about their daily business. People appear as flowers whose costumes represent their differences from what is European. Evans, the Englishman traveler and observer, brings us that view and presents the reader with a static image locked into a particular moment. We are not supposed to understand or see the people underneath the clothing but rather view them as part of a whole scene.

Evans revels in the brightness and beauty of Croatian peasant costumes, which are rivaled only by those at Belgrade (or Serbian ones). Costume is a preliminary sign of identity, which

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[35] For an analysis of the intersections between gender and class, see Laura Levine Frader and Sonya O. Rose, *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

[36] On the family business, details of the labor, and process of paper making, see Joan Evans, *The Endless Web; John Dickinson & Co., Ltd., 1804–1954* (London: Cape, 1955). The number of workers in the mills steadily increased: at the 1861 census there were 1,468 employees in all with categories of gender and age as 418 men, 553 women and girls, 495 boys); by 1881 because of mechanization that number was reduced to 1,434 with 581 men, 203 boys under 18, 532 women, and 118 girls under 18 (pages 123–124).

then "delineates cultures and groups within them. Each culture has its strong beliefs about the identity portrayed through dress style. The national dress or the traditional costume is a reflection of certain cultural values embedded in identity."[37] National dress reflects certain cultural values, encoded into one's identity. Dress becomes a personal expression of social placement. In the case of society in 1875 and the distinction of English versus southern Slavic identities, Evans highlights differences in costume. He makes the national dress of the Croatian marketplace part of a multifaceted regional type of clothing by comparing Croatian women's dress to that of the Serbians. The headdress of Serbian women is more elegant and the colors of their dress more varied than the market women in Zagreb, but both are of the same type. And what Evans does in producing a visual narrative is create an immediacy of the scene that we are supposed to find impressive, reinforced by Evans' use of rhetorical questions.

Continuing with the metaphor of flowers, Evans asks his reader "what, after all, is a nosegay without a sufficiency of white flowers?" The red and white colors of the market, that bed of geraniums, is composed of costumes whose parts resemble small bouquets of white flowers. White could represent purity, virginity and a kind of youthful beauty, but it is hard to read into the mind of the author without an explicit authorial statement. Evans concludes that the materials of the clothing "might have been chosen by an artist." Evans weaves together his metaphors: the studio space seen from a height looks like a bed of flowers and the costume could be painted by artists, all these components of the section work in conjunction to create an image. Serbian and Croatian women were similarly attired with only subtle differences in dress, but for Evans, both were radically non-European in color and fabrics of their costumes.

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[37] Tatjana Panova-Ignjatović, "Macedonian Women through the Prism of the British Travel Writer," in *The Balkans in Travel Writing*, ed. Marija Krivokapić (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 45–46.

His ideas about antiquity guide his depictions and ethnographic discussion about costume of individual cultures (Croatian and Serbian). Evans frames the physical dress and costume of the Slavic women in the market as ancient, and therefore modern European dress is just that – modern and unremarkable. But he compounds his analysis of dress with physical appearance.

> What indeed, is the tissue of these diaphanous chemises and undulating kerchiefs, but the mull muslin of lay-figures? The women are moreover, possessed of such a faculty for throwing themselves into picturesque attitudes that one would think they had a drop of Gipsy blood in their veins…The faces, too, are rarely vulgar; these are not the coarse hoydens of a North-German market-place—on their features, in their demeanour, one would fancy that many of them have inherited the refinements of an older civilization of Venice, descended perhaps from the old Roman cities of these parts.[38]

In Evans' analysis, the costume of the market women is combined with their postures, where the women and their "picturesque attitudes" complete the picture that this market is a stage or scene for reader consumption. Actions or physical appearance is compounded with the clothing or costume. Evans' observations give the scene momentum. He links his description to racialized or blood-born differences among groups of people. The notion that a "drop of gipsy blood" determines character is a blatant way for Evans to create both ethnic and gendered stereotype of the Croatian women of the marketplace. Although they are not dressed like the Roma (one assumes), they take on the physical stance (their attitudes) at odds with the way western and northern European women would behave or stand. Evans makes this contrast explicit where southern Slavic "faces, too are rarely vulgar," which he compares to the "coarse hoydens of the North-German market-place." "Hoyden" is a boisterous girl who behaves in a boyish manner, so the distinctions Evans makes here are that Slavic women are more feminine. In this way, he constructs a gendered identity for Slavic women who represent an idealized female. His juxtaposition of the northern German and southern Slavic women thwarts the idea that southern

[38] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 9.

Slavic women are barbaric; instead, they are more beautiful than those hoydens of the North-German markets. But both groups of women are evaluated for their appearance. With these portrayals of gendered and ethnic identities, Evans enhanced the cultural divide among the regions of Europe.

The southern Slavic women represent a living antiquity not present in western and northern European states. On the one hand, the women of the marketplace are objectified for their costume and seen as a collective whole, as actors on a stage. But on the other, for Evans, the southern Slav women are dressed in light, airy clothing with more beautiful physical faces, who may have "inherited the refinements of an older civilization of Venice, descended perhaps from the old Roman cities."[39] The "diaphanous chemises" function as a veil, and could have sexual overtones, but Evans does something unusual with the comparison. These women are examples of beauty that western European women are not because of their connection to antiquity. The Slavic primitiveness and antiquity are mingled with expressions of female sexuality and beauty, and generally these costumes represent people who are lost in their own traditional and antiquated customs of dress.

Through Bosnia and Herzegovina almost immediately begins with costumes and antiquities because it is the most obvious intersection where modern peoples appear as traditional or even ancient objects. Evans describes the regional variations of costume, in which headdresses change according to each hamlet; scarves from the village of Sveti Ivan are white and fall like a "bridal veil" across the bust and shoulders,[40] whereas for women from Zagoria who are the

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[39] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 8.

[40] Sveti Ivan ("St. John") refers to John the Baptist, whose cult was popular throughout Central and Eastern Europe. There are several locations bearing the name; the most likely candidate is Sveti Ivan Zelina, now with population of 2700, located 37 km northeast of Zagreb. Another coastal town of Kotor (now a UNESCO world heritage site) in Montenegro which has a fortress named for the saint. For an interesting contemporary use of the name, see Carolyn Chong, "Constructing Identities in a Women's Balkan Folklore Ensemble," *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 33 (2006): 32–33.

"great-granddaughters of Avars," the scarf is a rosier color;[41] but all the women of the marketplace wear overlapping aprons, two "kirtles of classic antiquity," which he determines is "unique among all of the Illyrian Slaves."[42] The final reference is to the "*strophion* of ancient nymphs and goddesses," the *strophion* being a wide band of wool or linen wrapped across the breasts and tied between the shoulder blades. This article of clothing is fastened with a bow in front as on the Thalia or Euterpe of the Vatican."[43] The bridal veil is a form of legitimate sexuality—and here the color of white reinforces the idea of the purity of a young girl who remains a virgin until marriage. Evans finds beauty in sexual innocence, purity, and youth—for the women, which is very much a gendered convention we expect. But what Evans does that is different is to express the idea that the Slavic women represent ancient customs because of their costumes: they are representatives of an older, more colorful and pure culture. In spite of or because of that antiquity, the southern Slavic beauty of the women foils the idea of northern European superiority. Antiquity in the case of the market women does not mean primitive in a pejorative way. These women may be Slavic peasants of a lower class, agricultural workers but, because of their connection to antiquity, their class status does not matter much. They are, simply, beautiful in their dress.

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[41] Evans could be referring either to Zagorje, also a town near to Zagreb, or to the cultural region (meaning "behind the hills") in northern Croatia.

[42] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 8–9. The kirtle is a kind of outer garment most frequently associated with clothing of the Middle Ages.

[43] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 9. Evans does not illustrate this image. But see "The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Picture Collection, The New York Public Library," where "The muse Thalia or Euterpe with casket and crown of ivy; the muse Erato with a lyre," New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed May 22, 2019. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e4-1a3b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

Male Clothing

Evans finds both women and men of the marketplace beautiful, in part because their costumes are colorful. Early Victorian men did not adorn themselves in colors.[44] And in those conventions, one can find gendered and sexual overtones. But Evans does not explicitly state his own cultural expectations for male clothing. As a young man in the 1870s, Evans might have taken advantage of the "climate of burgeoning urbanism," where Victorian dress for men began to be a bit more relaxed, "ranging from sober to dashing."[45] Certainly in his earlier travels, he purchased that red cape in France in 1871 and had to be convinced not to wear it, and then there was the elaborate costume from the Sami in Finland. When Evans writes about the men's costumes in the Balkans, his analogies make his male subjects into objects. Instead of comparing the Slavic men to northern European men (as he does with the women), Evans likens them to insects, but unexpectedly waxes a little lyrical in his descriptions. For example:

> To mention such very gorgeous gentlemen after the ladies really seems to require an apology. Imagine some exotic insect—how else can the subject be approached? —with forewings of dazzling gauzy white and underwings of scarlet. The white tunic expands like wings about the arms, and flutters from them in folds of gossamer; the bright scarlet vest—the Laibek—studded like some butterfly with silver stars, is lightly closed over the abdomen.[46]

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[44] Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *World Clothing and Fashion: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture, and Social Influence* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2014), 682-683. Snodgrass explains the transition from the flamboyant French driven male styles of the eighteenth century to the early Victorian period in the 1840s: "The social media and advice literature prompted the male to avoid overdressing by limiting his wardrobe to subtle, unaffected purchases. Haberdashers offered fundamental accessories—umbrellas, colored silk ties and ascots, detachable collars, stickpins, shirtfronts, and studs—to coordinate with somber overcoats, top hats, and boots. At-home wear included the elegant silk dressing gown, nightshirt, and nightcap." Evans, born in 1851 and with a conservative father, would have been aware of those clothing styles and grown up with them.

[45] Snodgrass, *World Clothing and Fashion,* 684. "Men accentuated their evening attire with piping down the tapered legs of trousers. For street and business apparel, they relied on discreet tailors to assemble manly silhouettes devoid of effeminacy and vanity. Leisure time for males allowed for the trading of stiff, starched collars for less restrictive smoking jackets or morning coats and velvet or fur-lined silk or kid slippers."

[46] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 11-12.

The language itself is quite beautiful: “with forewings of dazzling gauzy white and underwings of scarlet” but the implication is clear. The reader does not see the men in costume as equals, but as insects to be examined, admired even, for their dress. These details become a beautiful image, but one wonders if Evans, uncomfortable with his own blatant admiration of male subjects, needed to liken them to insects to give himself some distance.

Another possibility is that the exotic insect is reminiscent of Victorian tradition of collecting materials for display. Natural history collections were displayed throughout Britain in the nineteenth century, and public displays of collections helped in the transition from the antiquarian natural history to modern scientific disciplines.[47] With the insect metaphor, the exoticism of the color and also the physicality of their transition from ordinary insect to outrageously beautiful one, namely the butterfly, impress the reader. For example, the man in his costume has a tunic "spreading around his wrist with white wings" and his vest is covered as a "butterfly with silver stars." Colors dominate his description as they did with the women, but the meanings and visual imagery are quite different. This *laibeck* or “scarlet vest” rests on the chest of a man, ornamented with metallic knobs that has a pocket in which is a “rosy handkerchief.” The idea that a man can be ornamented makes the Croatian men of the marketplace exotic, insect-like but unexpectedly beautiful. Evans spends a full page detailing the male costume, describing the vest with its metallic knobs and how those knobs are arranged, explaining the way a man’s handkerchief hides in a pocket but “on high days hangs down and floats like a sash about the flanks.” His description includes outerwear and accessories: a man wears belt around

[47] For an examination of how printed books gained momentum during the 1840s and 1850s, see Maria Zytaruk, “Preserved in Print: Victorian Books with Mounted Natural History Specimens,” *Victorian Studies* 60, no. 2 (June 26, 2018): 185–200. On British public interactions with natural history collections during the Victorian Age, see Aileen Fyfe and Bernard V. Lightman (eds.), *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

his waist in such a way that it cinches the tunic so it "opens out again in a flowing petticoat which often reaches below the knees." One has the sense of blurred gender boundaries between men and women because "like a petticoat" apply to both their descriptions. And over his shoulders a man has strips of leather to secure a "woollen wallet of the brightest scarlet tufted over with tassels," to which Evans adds "every little boy is provided with a miniature *Torba* as it is called."[48] And all of this description is just the upper half of the body to demonstrate how a man's abdomen is secured!

The lower half of the costume and of a man's body merits reference to antiquities, just as the costumes of women, waist coverings were likened to "kirtles of classical antiquity." For the men of the marketplace:

> …Below the tunic expand loose trousers of the same homespun muslin, flowing as those of the Phyrgians of old or the Dacians of Trajan's Column, and sometimes terminating in a handsome fringe. The feet are either shod with *Opankas* or with Wellingtons, as the women's, but are more rarely bare.[49]

Below the tunic, loose trousers expand made of the same homespun muslin; the phrase "Phyrgians of old or the Dacians of Trajan's Column" is how Evans likens the costume of men at Zagreb's market to days long before the Slavs overran the Roman province of Illyria.[50] The "Dacians of Trajan's Column" refer to the Dacians, who occupied territory now part of Romania, who unsuccessfully fought against the Roman Emperor Trajan (r. 98-117 CE). Evans connects the southern Slavic costume to those soldiers depicted on the column, now in Rome, with its the

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[48] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,*11. *Torba* is the word for "bag."
[49] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 11.
[50] J.J. Wilkes, "Introduction" in Arthur J. Evans, *Ancient Illyria: An Archaeological Exploration* (London: Tauris, 2006), iv. See also J.J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia: History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). The Phyrgians were an ancient Indo-European people living in the Balkans, in the fifth century BCE, first mentioned by ancient Greek historian, Herodotus.

150-some friezes in which the ancient Dacians are in their primitive and ancient dress.[51] The imagery Evans employs in his travelogue also neatly illustrates how he saw the Balkans in gendered terms: the men of the market represent antiquity in their costume, but their beauty in dress is feminized. These men of Zagreb's marketplace are allowed to wear bright colors and fabric of gauzy material. Evans concludes that in Croatia, Serbia, Dalmatia and "the lands beyond the Save and Danube, it is the men's costume that makes the chief advances towards the Turkish."[52] In 1875, Balkan costume made antiquity visible to a western European like Evans and exotic by proximity to the Orient. Costume and dress are about bodies, and in this case these adorned bodies are marked by gender, sexuality, class and ethnicity.[53]

Evans presents the Slavs as unified in their connection to antiquity not only in their gendered and ethnic costumes but in their daily-use material objects: "The same South Sclavonic unity is apparent if we examine the pots and pans which these old-world peasants are selling in the market-place…These narrow lofty necks and luxuries of handles are surely not an inheritance from fifth-century savages."[54] Surely not, because they are too elegant! And the phase "old world peasants" illustrates just how Evans constructed the Balkan peoples with his textual descriptions: he categorizes the peasants not only by their class but also by a temporal label that puts them outside of modernity. They are not of the new world and therefore represent antiquity. His objectification and categorizations are broad in scope because all southern Slavs share their

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[51] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 16. Evans writes that: "The Croats, too, with their fine mantles and flowing trouser and tunic, approach nearer to the primitive type of all—to the soldiers of Decebalus—to the sculptures on the Column of Trajan—if indeed we are to believe that the old Dacians were of Sarmatian stock."
[52] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 15.
[53] Wendy Parkins, *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 5. See also Joanne Entwistle, "Fashion and the Fleshy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 3 (September 2000): 323–47. Entwistle argues that individuals/subjects are active in their engagement with the social and that dress is thus actively produced through routine practices directed towards the body." (p. 325).
[54] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 16–17.

connection to the ancient past. Evans thus distances Slavic daily objects (which he associates with the graceful luxury of antiquity) from the Germanic hordes, who sacked Rome in the beginning of the fifth century. Old world peasants may be the descendants invading Slavic tribes in late antiquity throughout the Roman province of Illyria, but the modern Slavs have tableware and marketplace pots with "lofty necks" and luxurious handles that speak to an even earlier inheritance of cultural goods, earlier than the tribal invasions of southeastern Europe. Evans also makes the connection explicit between Roman pots dug up near Bucharest, at Salona in Dalmatia, and in Sizsek in Croatia, and those used in modern Slavic marketplaces with a simple test. When he showed a Roman pot to a Balkan peasant in the marketplace, the man identified it with the Slavic name *stutza* based on its shape.[55] This cultural combination of dress and material goods is enough proof for Evans that the Slavs are in debt to the high civilization of ancient Rome, but even so they remain examples of antiquity in his present.

Languages, Portraits, and People

Evans had brought a camera with him to the Balkans in 1875, but it "came to grief" early in his tour. He then claimed that he was, in spite of "all disavowals of artistic skill," sometimes forced by southern Slavs to "attempt what portraiture I could."[56] Evans took a camera also on his 1873 trip to Sweden, Finland, and among the Sami, but the Pitt Rivers Museum preserves only a small selection of these photographs.[57] The lack of camera and his reliance on his considerable sketching skills in the Balkans may or may not have been a deliberate way in which to present the region as antiquated. Regardless of his intention, readers of *Through Bosnia and*

[55] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 18. He includes an array of illustrations of the vessels.
[56] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 190.
[57] For a sample, see the summary of a 2013 exhibit at https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/event/travels-in-finland-and-bosnia-herzegovina. Pitt Rivers Museum digitized the exhibit in April 2018, which can be found at https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/travels-in-finland-and-bosnia-herzegovina.

Herzegovina engage both with his narration and the illustrations that Evans fought to include in his publication.

As a reader, the process of being an observer is different when viewing an image versus reading words on a page. Evans' words, while colorful and vibrant, frequently create a limited picture of the Balkan peoples because often he treats one individual as a representative for the whole group. His prose and accompanying sketches of individuals work in conjunction to reinforce Evans' construction of identity for an ethnic or religious group. But his illustrations hide the complexity and nuances of his views. Evans did not see the Balkan peoples as one entity, but rather assessed them in groups, by noting their distinctions in linguistic abilities, dress, hats, shoes, facial features, habitations, and customs. In this way, his travelogue is an ethnography and an ethnology. Ethnography, one scholar argues, was conceived as a program for describing peoples and nations in Russian Asia and carried out by German speaking explorers and historians, whereas ethnology originated with historians in European academic centers dealing with a comprehensive and critical study of peoples—in principle, of all peoples and nations.[58] The distinction between the two fields, now considered under the umbrella of anthropology, was less pronounced in the late nineteenth century, but it is important to treat both ethnography and ethnology as separate disciplines because of how Evans engaged and affected the study of the Balkan peoples. Finally, he had indulged in the impulse for classifying objects according to hierarchy (an impulse born of his home life with his antiquarian father John Evans) in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, which included people or groups of people which he compared against each other, and against both the ancient and modern Europeans.

[58]Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln: UNP - Nebraska, 2015), 2.

Portraiture was an essential part of Evans' construction of different Slavic identities, but just one of the tools at his disposal to create images on the page with sketches. The other was verbal descriptions in his text. Evans devotes some eight pages, and two illustrations, to describe his visit to a Bulgarian camp, a colony he found near the Archbishop's park outside of Zagreb, which was formally part of Austro-Hungarian Empire.[59] But Evans sets his stage for the comparison of the Bulgarians to other Slavs by first explaining the use of languages in and near Zagreb because languages were (and still are) considered one of the key markers of identity.[60] Evans acknowledges that the southern Slavs have talent in speaking and learning languages by relating a story about a man whom Evans meets in the market. Evans gives the man a whole paragraph of speech, and says that the man "…grew quite eloquent on the subject," claiming he spoke Croatian, Serbian, Hungarian, French, German, Latin, and had picked up Italian in a month; the man also exclaimed, "'You English, you have your powers; you make railroads, you build bridges, but the faculty of learning languages is God's gift to us!'"[61] By giving the man such a voice on the page, Evans allows the southern Slavic peoples' talent in languages because they have produced great philologists,[62] and he concludes even the peasants are well able to adapt themselves to other modes of thought. He writes:

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[59] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 27. For an overview of the influence of Austro-Hungarian rule in the Balkans, see Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe: R.W. Seton-Watson and the Last Years of Austria-Hungary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981). For political thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina during Austro-Hungarian rule and its correlation to southeastern ethno-national identities and distinctions in class, see Elvis Fejzić, "Political Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina During Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878–1918," *East Central Europe* 39, no. 2–3 (January 1, 2012): 204–36.

[60] For the overlap between language and identity, see John Edwards, *Language, Society, and Identity*, Language Library (Oxford: Blackwell in association with A. Deutsch, 1985). For the development of the Slavic language, see Zbigniew Golab, *The Origins of the Slavs: A Linguist's View* (Slavica, 1992).

[61] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 26.

[62] One of the foremost nineteenth-century Balkan philologists was Serbian Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), who revolutionized the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian language(s) by his choice to use the spoken Štokavian dialect in his language standardization. His use of vernacular came to be known later as an orthographic philosophy termed "write as you speak." See Ronelle Alexander, "Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian: One Language or Three?," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 44–45 (2002): 1–35.

> It must be acknowledged that the Sclavonic races have produced a large number of eminent philologers, and it may even be questioned how far the German superiority to us in this respect may not be due to their Sclavonic blood. In Agram this same faculty is shared in a humbler degree by the peasants of the market-place, who show quite an Italian aptitude for understanding a foreigner, and are remarkably quick in taking in the meaning of signs. This faculty does not stand alone; this power of attitudinizing, the very dress of the peasants, are all symptoms of a common quality. It is a certain subtle adaptiveness, common to the whole Sclavonic race.[63]

The common quality of the peasants in the marketplace, that "power of attitudinizing" is linguistic but also embedded in the very dress of the peasants. Thus the versatile portraits that Evans creates of each group of southern Slavs makes us as readers notice not only their clothing, but how their clothing correlates to their ability to speak.

The Bulgarians stand apart from the other southern Slavs because they have a small colony outside the capital city. Even their dress is different. They have "heavy mantles" in contrast with the Croats' "flowing tunics…(which) invite the slight breeze."[64] Those heavy mantles make the "Bulgarians armored against the elements—you would fancy that they were fresh from some hyperborean land of frost and storms—not yet acclimatized to the sunny South."[65] One assumes they come from a colder climate, whereas the dress of the Croats is "light and airy, as if they had strayed from a land of perpetual sunshine."[66] But Evans acknowledges that the Bulgarian climate is not that much different from southeastern Europe, and so plays upon the reader's expectations that the Bulgarians are more stodgy and less delightful because we relate their costume to a colder and grimmer place. Evans understood that dress, costume, and countenance were all markers of difference among the ethnic groups that occupied particular areas of the Balkans; he links dress to climate and then extends that difference to characteristics

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[63] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 26–27.
[64] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 30.
[65] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 30.
[66] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 29.

of race. What distinguishes his discourse from many Victorian tropes about climate and race is Evans' interest in antiquity and origins.

Evans asks his reader a rhetorical question: if the two groups share a similar climate with vines and fig trees, then why the difference in attire if the Bulgarian can talk to the Croat without an interpreter? The answer it seems is "sought far away in the dim twilight of history."[67] The Croats and Serbs and other Sclavonic peoples are those who are connected to antiquity more intimately, especially when it comes to their origins. Evans again recalls a remote antiquity that appears to be shared across ethnic groups. The Bulgarians have a kinship or origins with the Huns and the Tartars but have been Slavonicized—lost in a "great Slavonic sea."[68] In other words, although the Bulgarians could be called Slavs, Evans sees their unique features as stemming from the remote past, where the Bulgarians were not pure Slavs because they still preserve some elements of their Hunnic ancestry.[69]

Evans uses categories of similarity and difference to explain the character of the Bulgarian people. They are similar to Slavs because they share a common language – or at least can understand each other or operate in zones of mutual intelligibility. Yet they are different in their origins. That interest in the origin of peoples in the Balkans in general is compounded with his search for antiquity in these Slavic peoples practicing their ancient customs in the modern day. The Bulgarians' original home, according to Evans, was from Ternova, the last stronghold of their national dynasty.[70] This hunt for origins where a whole people can be lost "in a sea of Slavs" foreshadows the later idea that Evans had that the Bronze Age Minoans on Crete are the

[67] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 30.
[68] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 30.
[69] See Florin Curta and Roman Kovalev, *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450 (Boston: Brill, 2008).
[70] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 31-32.

progenitors of the modern Europeans. This is not a direct causal relationship; rather, Evans' speaks to the nineteenth century idea of biological difference among races, which determined behaviors, and seeks to justify the richness of his own western European experience. [71]

Bulgarian Faces, Appearance, Race

Like most of his peers, Evans subscribed to and promoted the idea of racialized differences, which extend far beyond national costume. Bruce Trigger's *History of Archaeological Thought* is especially pertinent for an understanding of how ethnicity and racism were embedded in western European understandings of history, time, and archaeological science as it developed.[72] Evans' stance on race becomes clear with his descriptions of Bulgarian physiognomy: they were not European, and not quite Slavic.[73] Evans lumps the ethnic, racial, and physical identity all together when writing about these people who are not Slavonic, and it is not a flattering picture. When Evans chanced upon the Bulgarians near Zagreb, outside of the town of Maximir, he described their settlement as primitive, with two "very rude straw-thatched huts," which he mistook for haystacks.[74] Two men sat on the ground at the entrance, one tying onions and the other playing a *gusle,* a musical instrument. Evans' sketch is crude and, even in miniature, the facial features of the two Bulgarian men appear to be heavy. (See image 8, next page; and also in Appendix A Illustrations).

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[71] Bruce G. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 217, 494–95.
[72] See chapter 6, "Cultural-Historical Archaeology," in Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*.
[73] Stefan Detchev, "Who Are the Bulgarians?: 'Race,' Science and Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Bulgaria," in *We, the People : Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, by Mishkova Diana, CEUP Collection (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 237–69, shows how deeply European notions of race influenced the racial discourse of Bulgarian intellectuals.
[74] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 28.

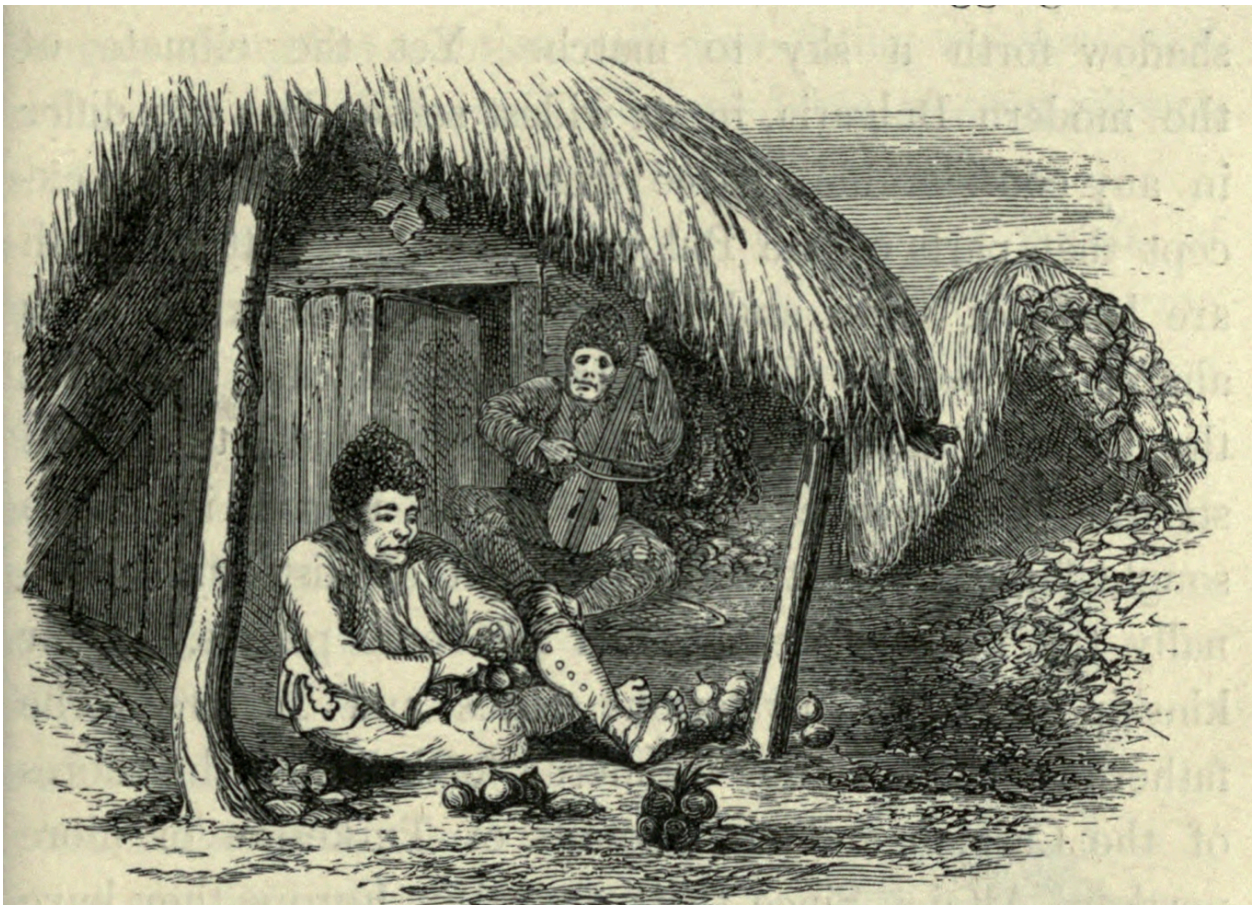

Image 10 – Bulgarian settlement published in Arthur Evans' travelogue, 2nd edition 1877.

What Evans does not illustrate is a "fine young fellow dressed in European costume," whom Evans met during his visit to the "colony." This omission is telling. Evans assumed that the man could not be Bulgarian because his dress and the fact that he spoke to Evans in German.[75] The young man told Evans that he had come among them for an education, and that the Bulgarians had been in the settlement for three years; having scraped together some savings, they intended to return to their homeland.[76] This would not be surprising given that southeastern Europe was a region of movement of populations. For example, in the middle of the nineteenth

[75] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 32.
[76] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 32.

century, there were several hundred thousand Bulgarians outside of traditional settlement areas: one hundred thousand in Bessarabia and Ukraine, fifty thousand in Istanbul, and about twenty-five thousand in the Habsburg monarchy, and in Bucharest alone, the Bulgarian community of merchants and craftsmen was more than ten thousand strong.[77] Evans contradicts the unflattering physical sketch of the Bulgarians with his positive observations of their character: he expresses his muted admiration for their thrift, sense of purpose, and especially their "agricultural industry," in contrast to the "lazier Croats."[78]

The Bulgarian thrift that Evans noted in his travelogue was not limited to settlements or colonies in the Austro-Hungarian controlled territories. Trans-Danubian settlers in Bessarabia brought their own agricultural implements and animals with them and so did not need any state aid; in 1840 they brought in better harvests than their neighbors.[79] A few pages later, Evans explains why the Croats – or at least the peasants among them—are lazy: they are "incorrigible drunkards" and at a local fair, Evans and his brother saw plenty of intoxication, even if he saw the same people as "kind and goodhearted."[80] The Bulgarians themselves—in their colony—are hardworking when contrasted with southern Slavs. Such details demonstrate how Evans manipulated his own stereotypical ideas of race and ethnicity to place the Bulgarians into the hierarchy of races who shared western European values, in spite of their rude habitation and

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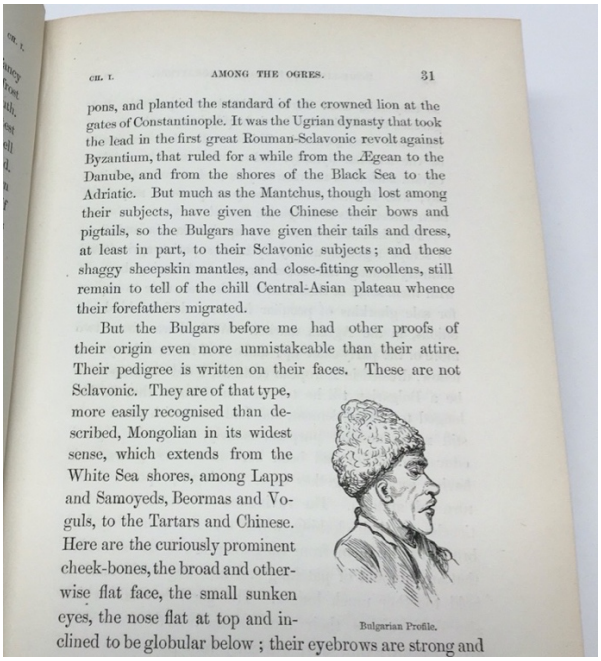
[77] Holm Sundhaussen, "Southeastern Europe," in Leo Lucassen et al., *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe: From the 17th Century to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 167–68. Sabine Rutar explains in her introductory chapter in *Beyond the Balkans,* 11–12, that Sundhaussen defined the Balkans as a region with spatial boundaries that could claim historical legitimacy, distinguished by nine elements.
[78] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 32.
[79] Detlef Brandes, "Bulgarian and Gagauzian Settlers in New Russia and Bessarabia since the 18th Century," in Leo Lucassen et al., *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe*, 272.
[80] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 38.

worse appearance. Evans uses ethnic distinctions to differentiate groups on all levels—their customs, race, language, and physical appearance.[81]

Evans claimed that the four men in the camp (he mentions no women) were all delighted to be sketched. One man "sat quietly" while Evans "took his profile."[82] Evans' written description of these Bulgarians is accompanied by an illustration of the man in profile in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* and the archival unpublished sketch, respectively. The images are remarkably similar presumably because the sketch is a model for the published illustration; but neither is flattering. The Bulgarian man appears to have not only dour clothing, but thick features. This lack of change from sketch in archives to published illustration shows that he allows men to be ugly in his illustrations, whereas he beautifies women.



CH. I. AMONG THE OGRES. 31

pons, and planted the standard of the crowned lion at the gates of Constantinople. It was the Ugrian dynasty that took the lead in the first great Rouman-Sclavonic revolt against Byzantium, that ruled for a while from the Ægean to the Danube, and from the shores of the Black Sea to the Adriatic. But much as the Mantchus, though lost among their subjects, have given the Chinese their bows and pigtails, so the Bulgars have given their tails and dress, at least in part, to their Sclavonic subjects; and these shaggy sheepskin mantles, and close-fitting woollens, still remain to tell of the chill Central-Asian plateau whence their forefathers migrated.

But the Bulgars before me had other proofs of their origin even more unmistakeable than their attire. Their pedigree is written on their faces. These are not Sclavonic. They are of that type, more easily recognised than described, Mongolian in its widest sense, which extends from the White Sea shores, among Lapps and Samoyeds, Beormas and Voguls, to the Tartars and Chinese. Here are the curiously prominent cheek-bones, the broad and otherwise flat face, the small sunken eyes, the nose flat at top and inclined to be globular below; their eyebrows are strong and

Bulgarian Profile.

Image 11 – Profile of Bulgarian man published in Arthur Evans' travelogue, 2nd edition 1877.

Image 12 – Profile of Bulgarian man, from archival notebooks, Pitt Rivers Museum

[81] These distinctions, and how Evans interacted and expressed his interest in Indo-European culture and language in the late nineteenth century, will be discussed in chapter 4.
[82] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 32.

Evans ignores his earlier statement about the shared Slavic language between Bulgarian and Croat, and now differentiates the identity of the Bulgarians entirely based on physical appearance:

> Their pedigree is written on their faces. They are not Sclavonic.[83] They are of that type more easily recognised than described, Mongolian in its widest sense, which extends from the White Sea shores, among Lapps and Samoyeds, Beormas and Voguls,[84] to the Tartars and Chinese. Here are the curiously prominent cheek-bones, the broad and otherwise flat face, the small sunken eyes, the nose flat at top and inclined to be globular below; their eyebrows are strong and relieved; their complexion is dark, their head shaven save one black tuft or tail. These are the true Ugrians, the ogres of our nursery stories…The purity of their breed, as evinced by this strangely Asiatic physiognomy, was partly explained by the locality of their home." [85]

Here purity is not a good thing because it means in-breeding and uniformity of blood which stems from a non-western European origin. The Bulgarians do not have the innocent and presumed virginal female purity that Evans explicitly links to ideas about beauty. Rather it is the opposite: Evans derides the Bulgarians for the physical structure of their faces because of their non-western European appearance, which he connects to ugliness. He emphasizes the Bulgarians' racial appearance as alien or monstrous by likening them to other "exotic" or "foreign" peoples. One could say that Evans draws a metaphorical line between civilized peoples and considers anyone who is not a western European to be barbaric. The face that he sketches is one which the nineteenth century western European reader would presumably find both foreign and ugly, with the "small sunken eyes" and the nose "flat on top and inclined to globular" at its end. With the "strange Asiatic physiognomy," Evans clearly makes this Bulgarian man into an

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[83] For Evans "Sclavonic" means the southern Slavs such as the Serbs and Croats; see *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 37-38.
[84] Beormas (also called Biarmians or Permians) were a Scandinavian tribe. Voguls were a hunting tribe living along the ridge of the Northern Urals. See Charles Loring Brace, *The Races of the Old World: A Manual of Ethnology* (New York: C. Scribner, 1863), 320.
[85] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 31–32.

object to be described, examined, and then found wanting. He objectifies them as a group based on the example of one man sitting for sketch.

This ethnographic description in a travelogue was part and parcel of the genre in the late nineteenth century; indeed, it continues to some extent to recent travel writing on the region.[86] Evans use of the word "strange" also foreshadows a more ominous aspect because he likens the man to "ogres of our nursery stories."[87] Evans judges the physical appearance of just one man negatively, but the Bulgarian man represents characteristics of the group. These racialized ethnicities laced with evidence of primitiveness are rife in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* However, Evans inverts the negative physical appearance with some positive characteristics of personality. The Bulgarians have "good-humor which also distinguishes their race beamed forth from their every feature."[88] The uneven tone of these descriptions recalls Evans' depiction of the Slavs as possessing both negative and positive attributes. Evans the Englishman felt obliged to label and describe. His compliments are backhanded, and illustrate the ambivalence he felt about his Balkan experiences. The Bulgarians are savages, but they gift him with zinnias and rosemary as he leaves their camp, and I cannot help but think that he liked them.

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[86] For analysis of travel writing about the region that extends from nineteenth century to the 1990s, see Marija Krivokapić, ed., *The Balkans in Travel Writing* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). For global contexts, see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[87] Fairy tales and particularly the tropes of ugly mean troll and clumsy, crude-featured, but kind and good-natured peasant, abound in European literatures. See Jack Zipes, *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*, second ed. (Oxford: University Press, 2015), drawing upon nineteenth century studies such as Alexander Chodzko, *Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants and Herdsmen*, trans. Emily Harding (London: George Allen, 1896). Evans collected Balkan folklore and stories while living in Dubrovnik from 1877–1882, but never published them. I will briefly analyze how Evans presents and interacts with folklore in his constructions of modern antiquities in chapter 4, but the subject will be for future work.

[88] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 32.

The Austro-Hungarian Military Frontier

On August 6, Evans and his brother took a train from Zagreb to Karlovac, a town situated on the river Kulpa, connecting it to the Savian and Danubian basins. The town was twenty-five miles to the southwest of Zagreb, towards the military frontier of Bosnia, originally created by Austria in the sixteenth century as a buffer against the encroaching Ottoman Empire. Evans noted that Karlovac was called Carlstadt by "Germans and Germanizers,"[89] acknowledging with his rhetorical jab, the historical Germanic influence on the territory. Evans used the term Slavonia and Slavonian throughout the book to indicate the eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian province, where Croatia-Slavonia from 1867 had been a Hungarian crown land. This was part of what was known as the Military Frontier against the Ottoman Turks in 1718–1873. And those people who inhabited the Austro-Hungarian province mostly spoke Slavic languages.

Evans emphasized the linguistic divisions as culturally and ethnically different identities with his description of the southern Slavs, as previously noted. He was interested in linguistics and spelling. But such distinctions contribute to his construction of identities through the lens of a British traveler: he categorized people according to their proximity to Europe and whether they were members of the Aryan race, and within that categorization attributed certain characteristics to each subgroup. Evans does not say whether the Slavonians were Aryans. His racism becomes more overt in later sections of his travelogue.[90] These ethnographic ideas (categorizing groups culturally and ethnically) dominate *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* Evans uses ethnography to examine and objectify the peoples of southeastern Europe as individual groups relating to each other and to western Europeans. One might think that Evans superimposed his ideas about

[89] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 34.
[90] For thoughtful treatment of Evans' racist comments, see Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 60–61.

languages, ethnicity, and race onto the southern Slavs, but such cultural transmission did not always flow one way, from western to eastern Europe, as the work of linguists and philologists like Vuk Stefanović Karadžić show. The philologist promoted the idea of the "universalism of the particular" in his study of local folk traditions, which became part of the European "Romantic canon."[91] That canon also included ideas of romantic nationalism, where philology and "its habit of 'literary historicism' provided all European nationalities with the historical myths and the sense of cultural continuity that were such indispensable ingredients for development nationalism."[92] Evans certainly was one of those intellectuals who participated in the production of cultural exchange between eastern and western Europe in the late nineteenth century, but he was not promoting southern Slav nationalism—at least not yet. He was a bit of a romantic, but never a romantic nationalist. Evans' sense of nationalism (if he had one) was developing in 1875 into an idea of liberal humanitarian ethos with, which prevailed in British politics represented by Gladstonian liberalism.[93] This ethos became his cognitive framework for understanding antiquity.

Karlovac was not a grand or particularly notable destination, but Evans used the town to illustrate the complexity of regional ethnicities, setting the stage for his later analysis with descriptions of the town's colorful market that drew ethnically diverse participants from the surrounding countryside. As a reader, one notices Evans' emphasis on visiting and writing about markets, a consequence perhaps of his limited access to more private venues for his ethnographic

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[91] Diana Mishkova, "Introduction: Towards a Framework for Studying the Politics of National Peculiarity in the nineteenth Century," in *We, the People,* 1–43. Mishkova argues this point to counter the dominance of the western European-centric perspective of the Balkans, where the assumption is that cultural ideas flow only one way from west to east.

[92] Joep Leerssen, "Viral Nationalism: Romantic Intellectuals on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Nations and Nationalism 17*, 2011, 262.

[93] Georgios Giannakopoulos, "A British International Humanitarianism? Humanitarian Interventions in Eastern Europe (1875–1906)," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 34, no. 2 (September 28, 2016): 299–320.

analysis. Evans rightly understood the Germanic-speaking influence of the region, because historically this territory around Karlovac was the boundary between empires, whose peoples did not fall ready into the modern categories of ethno-nationalist identity.[94] Evans devotes a significant part of his second chapter to the military frontier of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was created in the 16th century by the King of Hungary who granted land to Slavic families in communal housing. [95] These families "provided one or more soldiers to watch and ward against the Infidel," which was part of their westernization at least by influence; by the late nineteenth century, the *granica* evolved to become a token military buffer against the Ottoman Empire.[96] Previously, Evans explained, the government had checked the development of individual proprietorship by not allowing subdivision of community property and thus binding the family and "strengthening the Sclavonic family tie, always strong, by legal fetters."[97]

Those fetters came undone even before Evans encountered the Balkans. As part of their administration, the Habsburgs did not just undo existing legal categories. They also focused on promoting their cultural influence through architecture and education. Compulsory adherence to standardized engineering plans led to architectural uniformity along the border.[98] When Austro-Hungarian government restructured the military across the empire in 1873, the *granica* received its "death blow."[99] But Evans presents this administrative change as an event, when in fact it was

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[94] For discussion of Croatia and Slavonia as regional entities, see John V. A. Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), especially chapter 6 on "Slavonia" (not to be confused with Slovenia).
[95] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 40–41. Evans spelled this word for border "granitza."
[96] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 43
[97] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 46.
[98] Dragan Damjanović, "Building the Frontier of the Habsburg Empire: Viennese Authorities and the Architecture of Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier Towns, 1780–1881," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 203.
[99] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 44. Evans places the date in 1872, but Kaiser Francis Joseph issued his edict for the final disbandment of the military regiments along the border in 1873, and it was formalized only in 1881. For detailed treatment of the border, see the often-cited Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia, 1740–1881: A Study of an Imperial Institution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

a ten-year long process.[100] The frontier "ceased in part to mark the boundary line between Frank and Osmanli," and was decommissioned as an active military border with unstaffed guard houses. Thus Evans was able to frame his journey as a temporal one, into the past, because the communal lifestyle was vanishing. The border was a geographic and temporal space where Evans and his brother "were the more anxious to catch a glimpse of that antique society, so long artificially preserved from change by the military needs of the monarchy."[101] The artificial preservation that Evans refers to here was the continued existence of military families long settled along the border, living in communal fashion, maintaining their ancient agricultural and cultural customs, whose cohabitation was reinforced by governmental laws. When the Austro-Hungarian government responded to the lack of Osmanli territorial conquest, they restructured *theilungsgesetze* (or dividing laws), and the existence of those military families became tenuous because of land transfers and the breakup of families.[102]

Evans elides here any distinction between frontier and borderland, simultaneously presenting the *granica* as both. The concepts of frontier (as a region to be settled, to give an imperialistic definition) and borderlands (as a region on the edge of another more dominant power, or one which represented a clash between civilizations or cultures) became conflated, since Evans' true interest was in the temporal aspects of that journey. Recent scholarship has reconceptualized the borderlands between Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires as a

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[100] Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia,* 192. The 1881 edict read: "Since in accordance with my manifesto of August 8, 1873, all measures have been taken to place you on equal status with all the inhabitants of my lands of the Hungarian crown, and since universal military service now has been introduced and a complete civil administration has been organized in all the former Croatian-Slavonian Border territories, I now order the incorporation of these areas with my kingdoms of Croatia and Slovania and through these with the Hungarian crown." The emperor thanked the *Grenzer* for their loyalty.
[101] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 44.
[102] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 44.

discursive space, which can include temporal and social aspects.[103] Work by Maureen Healy examines the Balkan borderlands as a *tabula rasa*, a beyond that then becomes a storage container for western European and Ottoman interactions, where border crossings are complex and variable; when one considers Bosnia "as a temporal, religious, and civilization 'elsewhere,' (one) must consider where the crossers were crossing from."[104] Anne McClintock's work on gender, race, and empire postulates that in the late Victorian era, "the imperial progress across the space of empire is figured as a journey backward in time to an anachronistic moment," where the idea of anachronistic space is prehistoric, atavistic, and irrational.[105] Evans moved from one empire to another but perceived the Slavs in both as being locked in the past.[106] That directionality of gaze in travelogues and literature becomes important because the perspective determines what one finds when traveling. Evans went from west to east, expecting to find the past; crossing the military frontier to see the remnants of that antiquated lifestyle was part of the process of his discovery of antiquity.

In *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* Evans frames his journey as a temporal one, where actual boundaries overlapped with the metaphorical journey into the past. He never refers to his journey as a quest but presents his Balkan summer-long holiday as an unknown adventure into the wilds, rather than traditional or academic history. Evans did not narrate the history of the Balkans with his examination of costumes in Croatia or the customs of the military frontier. He sought the prehistoric, lost or vanishing past. This intention and perspective were quite different from works by celebrated historians of the same generation, such as William Stubbs, the

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[103] Maureen Healy, "Europe on the Sava: Austrian Encounters with 'Turks' in Bosnia," *Austrian History Yearbook* 51 (May 2020): 73–87.
[104] Healy, "Europe on the Sava," 80.
[105] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.
[106] For a counterpoint to such depictions, see, for instance, Leyla Amzi-Erdogdular, "Alternative Muslim Modernities."

Anglican bishop and Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford (1866-1884), who argued for continuity of English history and also the Germanic influence of liberty as ancestor of English representative government.[107] Evans' focus was on a past without continuous, progressive development, and specifically the visible intersection points between modern and ancient that he saw in the Balkan peoples. He examined their culture and customs from an ethnographic perspective and found echoes of Classical and European antiquity. Evans believed that he had found in the Balkans a society "so primitive that it was already antiquated when the forefathers of the English sate [*sic*] among the heaths and fens and forest of the Elbelands."[108] The Balkans' connection to England was by analogy. He saw his English heritage or prehistory in the living Slavic peoples. Evans viewed that primitive Balkan past as endangered at least along the border between the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. He presents the antique customs and houses of the families of *granica* as verging on extinction, and in so doing, he romanticizes his travels through the military frontier territory. Such a journey was "to wander beyond the twilight of history, and take a lantern as it were into the night."[109] These descriptions, all taken from a single page of Evans' dense prose, show how he prepared readers to expect encounters with antiquity as part of his travelogue.

Evans' book *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* was meant to be that lantern. As part of their foray into that twilight of the past, exemplified by the customs of the southern Slavs, the brothers walked to a village called Radovatz, a traditional homestead comprising some three hundred extended family members, led by a house-mother and house-father and with property

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[107] William Stubbs published his three volumes of *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development* (England: Clarendon Press) in 1873, 1875 and 1878. For a measured critique of Stubbs' work, see Gwilym Dodd, "William Stubbs, Parliament and the Medieval English Constitution," *Parliamentary History* 40, no. 1 (2021): 25–44.
[108] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 44.
[109] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 44.

held in common.[110] For Evans, these communal homesteads were evidence of antiquated customs and society where the "old order of things still exists" albeit in decline.[111] Much has been written about these "house families" or *zadruga*.[112] The term is a neologism, made popular by use in the nineteenth century, and as a word is a construct that harkens back to an ancient way of life.[113] Evans did not use the term *zadruga* himself, instead employing "house families," "homestead," "communal village," or my personal favorite, "communistic village government."[114] But the ways in which Evans portrayed these communal families made the connection to a lost past all the stronger.

The fact that Evans rhapsodizes about that way of life was not unique to him or restricted to the Balkans. In Russia, Slavophilism was the idealization of the agrarian Russian past, especially in communal life; Konstantin Aksakov (1817–1860) described the village commune as a moral choir, which allowed each voice to resonate more fully than it could on its own.[115] The description of the physical layout of buildings and structures of Radovatz are interspersed with Evans' ruminations on the customs of the Balkan communal lifestyle. Evans intended to paint the picture of the communal villages in order to educate (or at least entertain) his readers, so he includes both written text and sketches. Evans and his brother entered by a central yard enclosed by a wooden fence, had a common *kućica* (or a little house), pigsty, barn, hay-loft and cart shed, and a round conical-peaked haystack, where "the homestead square reminded one of

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[110] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 49–51.
[111] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 47.
[112] Philip Edward Mosely, Robert Francis Byrnes, and Leonard Schapiro, *The Zadruga: Essays By Philip E. Mosely and Essays in His Honor* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976). The anthology has an introduction by anthropologist Margaret Mead.
[113] Maria M. Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), especially chap. 7, on the "problem of the South Slav zadruga." Todorova explains that *zadruga* as a noun was first used by Vuk Karadžić in his 1818 Serbian Dictionary.
[114] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 45.
[115] Laura Engelstein, *Slavophile Empire: Imperial Russia's Illiberal Path* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 6.

old English, Norse, and Franconian farms; and we found the dwelling-houses trisected into a sleeping-room, a kitchen, and a storeroom, like the homesteads of Scandinavian backwoods."[116] This comparison harkens back to his earlier travels through Europe and its periphery of Finland, but Evans does not stop there in extending his geographic and temporal comparisons. The kitchen had a flat stone hearth "such as is universal in Illyria" and before the kitchen was "a kind of fore-hall, as in a Northern cottage"; the building with an upper story where the family slept was "of wood, and showed parts of the rich timestains [*sic*] of an Alpine chalet. Yet in places one might notice the Sclavonic tendency towards whitewash and mud plaster."[117] These "rich timestains" are evidence of deep history.

By comparing Radovatz to the English, Norse, Franconian, and Alpine buildings of central and northern Europe, Evans presumes that all ancient cultures, including the English, followed some form of communal living or village life. One also assumes that Evans, despite this twilight of history and nostalgia for a vanishing way of life, was aware of the rise of nationalism on the Indo-European geographical continuum because of how he compares the village life to other parts of early Europe and so contrasted it with his own Englishness. But he sets the Slavs apart because of their use of whitewash and their agricultural tools and practices. One such implement that required communal labor was the stamping mill for beating flax, called the *stupa*, "the most greedy looking machine we ever set eyes on—all teeth and jaw, without even the decency of a stomach."[118] Evans makes his ethnographic antiquity explicit in describing this example and providing a sketch of it.

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[116] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 49–50.
[117] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 49.
[118] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 49–50.

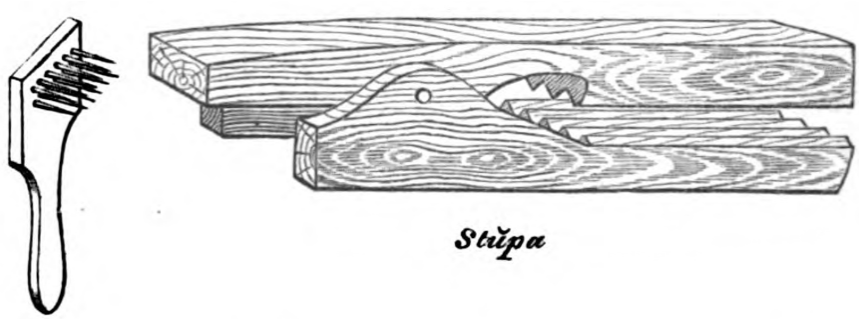

Image 13 – Drawing of a stupa, published in Arthur Evans' travelogue, 2nd edition 1877

This hungry-looking machine was something like a "very primitive form of the Scotch foot-brake, but it is at least better than the hand-mill of our forefathers, for the principle of co-operation of labour is invoked, and the flax therefore is prepared more expeditiously."[119] The tool was something that his forefathers would have used, but with the distinction that the Slavic machine is slightly better due to the collaborative labor involved in its use. For Evans, the village of Radovatz with its curious architecture, artifacts, and customs, offers compelling evidence of Balkan modern antiquities, practices that connect to a distant past, but exist in a present in danger of vanishing.

From the frontier zone, Evans and his brother took a train to a town called Sisak. He mused that perhaps it was a lucky means of transit because on foot they might have "run into a gauntlet of a band of robbers then infesting the country near Petrina."[120] The problem of bandits was so bad that forty such highway robbers (*hajduci*) were executed by hanging, evidence visible for some time where "a gibbet with its ghastly appendages was to be seen from the train on nearing Agram."[121] The point here is twofold: their journey was an adventure into territory

[119] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* 49–50.
[120] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 61.
[121] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 62. On banditry in the Balkans, see E. J. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), especially 77–90. For honor as a discursive ideal which imperial officials, subjects, warriors, irregulars, and bandits all invoked in everyday relations, see Tolga Uğur Esmer, "The Precarious

considered primitive, contested, and dangerous, simultaneously borderlands and a frontier; and Evans relished in the retelling of those dangers. From Sisak, the brothers wound their way along the Sava river by boat, crossing from Slavonski Brod on the northern bank of the Sava River into Bosanski Brod on the southern side, where they officially entered the Ottoman Empire.[122]

Croatian or Bosnian Girls

In Bosnia, the journey on foot began in earnest. Many times, Evans and his brother Lewis hiked through woods, forests, and mountains—once getting stuck in a ravine—and often encountered only livestock. They also visited hamlets, villages, towns, and small cities; Travnik, for instance, had some twelve thousand inhabitants making it roughly one quarter of the size of Sarajevo at that time.[123] Sarajevo, also in Bosnia, had a population of some sixty thousand inhabitants, but not one bookshop.[124] They reached Sarajevo after August 21 (Evans dated events of their trip haphazardly), where "it was not without some misgiving that we now found ourselves entering the streets of this metropolis of fanaticism" where, according to Evans, both the population and the fanaticism were predominantly Muslim.[125] Such a declaration is for dramatic and narrative effect, and must be understood as such. But before we arrive in the heart of Bosnia, we must pause on the theme of gender, examining two encounters Evans had with young women of the region to understand how he transformed their identities. His gendered representations in print

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Intimacy of Honor in Late Ottoman Accounts of Para-Militarism and Banditry," *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey*, no. 18 (February 3, 2014).

[122] These distinctions that create a border between countries still exist, but in a modified fashion. The division between two cities with the name of Brod is based on the geography of the Sava River. The northern city is called Slavonski Brod. Up until the war in the 1990s, the city on the southern side of the Sava River was referred to as Bosanski Brod. Now the city on the southern bank of the Sava is simply called Brod, and is part of Bosnia.

[123] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 188.

[124] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 254.

[125] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 249.

also serve as a contrast with another illustration from Russia to show his hesitancy to depict violence.

Evans idealized southern Slavic identities, in particular by beautifying his female subjects. Scrutinizing the discrepancies between his published work and the archival sources, we can see how he developed this idealization, which was a common enough construct.[126] He usually altered his drawings of women making them more beautiful in publication—at least in western terms.[127] He certainly qualified the beautify of Slavic women in his text by comparing them to western European women. By contrast, he barely altered his sketches of men from journal to publication and more concretely objectified men by likening them to objects. His idealizations set the stage for understanding how Evans made the ethnic, religious, and regional identity of a girl he encountered ambiguous—which shows some of the fluidity or overlapping categories.

Evans uses his own illustrations as non-verbal evidence to build this ethnographic and ethnological picture of Balkan women, without much reference to the revolt of 1875 or previous uprisings or revolts. Violence, however, has been considered a determining factor in at least ethno-national identity.[128] Evans' focus on Balkan women without the context of the political events and violence that summer also demonstrates that his intention was not to write a history of

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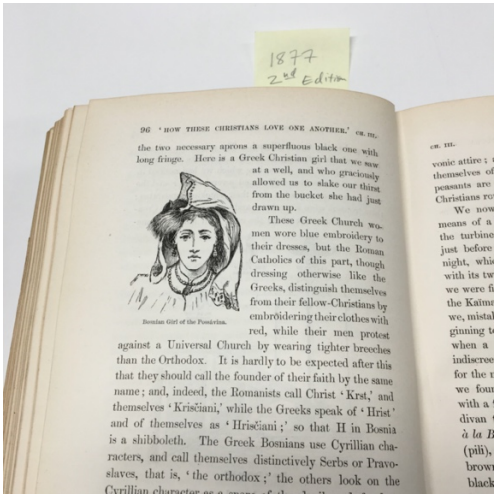
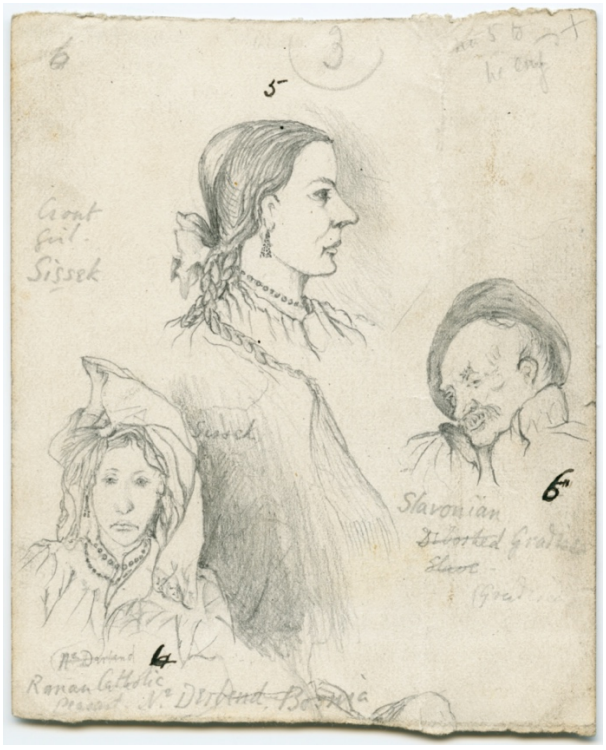
[126] For generalized constructions of gender and ethnicity, see Amila Buturović and İrvin Cemil Schick, *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007); for exoticism of women and gender in the East, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978, reprint 2003); also Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7-12 on Said's work, 13-14 on gender.
[127] For analysis of representations of women as part of imperial projects, see Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation, Gender, Racism, Ethnicity* (New York: Routledge, 1996). For work that builds on Lewis, through the lens of how female western European travel writers created idealizations in broader discourse of Balkanism, see Marina Matešić, "Gendering Balkanisms: Gender, Culture, and Class in Nineteenth - Century Women's Travelogues in the Balkans," *Aspasia: International Yearbook of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern European Women's and Gender History* 9 (2015): 19–43.
[128] Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 10. Hajdarpasic cites the Serbian revolution and national movement from 1804-1817 and the Greek revolution from 1821–1830 as two early regional examples in which violence determined identity and set the boundaries of a modern nation state.

the region but rather an ethnography deeply influenced by his experience and ideas of antiquity. Evans focused on the distinctions among the southern Slavic groups documented in their costumes, tools, and artifacts. But when it comes to gender, Evans slipped toward a more homogenized depiction of Balkan women with beauty as the dominant descriptor and concern. For example, the reader seeing the illustration labeled "Bosnian Girl of the Posavina," would be unaware that Evans transformed the girl he encountered at the well, in her appearance, and with his description, made her regional and ethnic identity a bit ambiguous.





On Left Image 14 – Bosnian Girl, published in Arthur Evans' travelogue, 2nd edition 1877
On Right Image 15 – Drawing of girl, woman, and man, from archival collection Pitt Rivers Museum

In the unpublished sketch, the girl appears in the lower left-hand corner with two other people above her. The sketch is part of the ethnographic collection of Evans' drawings and photographs now held in the Pitt Rivers Museum archives. There is some ambiguity about the labeling in the sketch. Written above the girl in faint lettering is the label, "Croat Girl, Sissek."

On the sketch below her, "Roman Catholic peasant near Derventa, Bosnia" is again written as a label in pencil, immediately below. However, in *Through Bosnia Hercegovina,* Evans calls the girl a "Greek Christian," or the Orthodox faith, which in modern terms is most often associated with Serbia. And on his published work, he clearly labels her location in the text "Bosniac Girl of the Possavina." (See image 14 above). The changes between sketch and published illustration show the fluidity of identities in the late nineteenth century. The girl in the unpublished sketch is labeled either as a Croat from Sissek (modern Sisak), or a Roman Catholic peasant from Bosnia. But in the published text she is described as an Orthodox Christian given descriptions prior to her appearance on the page and what follows after. Sisak, in modern spelling, is the start of the Posavina or where Sava basin begins, but her image in the book appears well after Evans and his brother crossed over into Bosnia, closer to Bosanski Brod. The ambiguity of her of faith and location is a bit of a surprise, given the amount of time Evans has spent in the travelogue to educate his readers on the distinctions of race, language, costume, and religion among the various southern Slav groups, as we will see in chapter 4.

Evans does take care in the published description of her—as throughout the travelogue—to differentiate among the male, female, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox peasants of the region who appear around her. Immediately before the illustration of the girl appears, he describes the Vlachs or peasants belonging the Greek Orthodox Church, and in so doing implies that that is also her faith. He also describes men and women in tandem—in relation to each other in their clothing and hairstyles, so the women are usually compared both to men of their same faith, and then to other groups. He writes:

> The men wore red and black turbans, a flowing white linen tunic like the Croats with a fringe of that coarse lace which we had noticed in Slavonia. A leathern belt wound several times round the waist served as a pocket for their smoking apparatus; their trowsers were worn loose and expansive as the Croatian, sometimes close about the calf;

> their hair was sometimes plaited together behind, and sometimes hung down in two elf locks—the crown of the head being shaven as with the Turks. As to the women, they were dressed in light tunics and aprons, much as Croats and Sclavonians, but their hair was often plaited like the men's into a single pig-tail. On their head was a white kerchief arranged in a fashion peculiar to themselves, with a flower-like tassel at one side; and they usually wore in front of the two necessary aprons a superfluous black one with long fringe. Here is a Greek Christian girl that we saw at a well, and who graciously allowed us to sake our thirst from the bucket she had just drawn up.
>
> These Greek Church women wore blue embroidery to their dresses, but the Roman Catholics of this part, though dressing otherwise like the Greeks, distinguish themselves from their fellow-Christians by embroidering their clothes with red, while their men protest against an Universal Church buy wearing tighter breeches than the Orthodox.[129]

One clearly sees the girl has a tassel, and the implication is that she is Bosnian and Orthodox in the published text, but color is—of course—absent—so it leaves the reader and viewer unsure if the girl wears dress with blue embroidery as the women of the Greek Church or was her clothing embroidered with red as the Roman Catholics? This uncertainty is compounded by comparing the published illustration to the sketch because with the latter, she is either Croat girl from Sisak or Roman Catholic from Bosnia. We cannot know for certain.

Regardless of her ethnic and religious identity, Evans' description of the girl and accompanying illustration both idealize her in appearance and in character because she was gracious enough to give him water at a well. In contrast, Evans' textual description of the Bulgarian man makes him a general representative for all Bulgarians, especially when compounded with a sketch depicting his ugliness, facial structure, and physiognomy. In this way, Evans constructs a gendered identity for Balkan women or girls, who are valued and individualized for their appearance, but their ethnicity or religion are more malleable. Both ethnicity and religion can be changed. Balkan women also have gendered identities that can be plural, overlapping, and dynamic (e.g., transition from young girl to wife and mother). Evans

[129] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 96. The distinction in male dress between Orthodox and Catholic Christians will return in chapter 4.

constructs Balkan gendered identity for women in a mostly non-political way. But his presentation of a "Bosnian girl" as a Biblical-like Christian figure has profound political overtones to a western Christian European audience fearful of Turkish influence in their backyard.

Evans changes his original impressions and sketches to fit his published narratives, which is something he does not do with male figures. This difference between images could be readily explained as an author who wanted to fix a drawing done in haste. Another more probable answer is that changes were made by an engraver. Philip Grover, the curator for this small but excellent ethnographic collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum explains this about sketch:

> It has been identified by Philip Grover that these original drawings were used as the artwork for part of an engraving by W. J. M. (initials of engraver) subsequently published in the British illustrated newspaper *The Graphic*, 9 October 1875, p. 348, captioned at the bottom of the page '4. Roman Catholic Peasant near Derbend, Bosnia. – 5. Croat Girl, Sissek. – 6. A Slavonian, Gradisca.' Two of the same engraving were also published in Arthur J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot During the Insurrection, August and September 1875* (London, 1876), p. 96, printed with the caption 'Bosniac Girl of the Possavina,' and p. 85, printed with the caption 'Head of Slavonian.'[130]

But still the discrepancy between the two images supports my main point: these two drawings literally illustrate how impressions can change according to type of audience. Evans changed or allowed a change to her look, making her more beautiful. Such a switch is precisely how he constructed identity for southern Slavic women: the girl (if she is the same person in both drawings) is a Greek Orthodox Christian, possibly a Roman Catholic in Bosnia, maybe a Croat girl near Sisak, made beautiful for an audience of British reading public who consumed travelogues for education and entertainment.

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[130] Pitt Rivers Museum digital collection in collaboration with Oxford using Cabinet. See https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/drawing-three-people#/media=2166.

In the first example, Evans equated beauty with culture and culture with antiquity. Evans idealizes another girl, whom he encountered after hiking through mountain paths in a small Christian hamlet. This chance meeting occurs on August 25, near the borders of Herzegovina, right after he and his brother left Sarajevo the day before. This, one of his most explicit passages about female beauty, is closely tied to his evocation of the beauty of the landscape. He does not have an illustration of her to back up his point, so the passage is worth quoting in full:

> Here we found some peasants—men in long white tunics, women with dress and coiffure of Serbian fashion—all of whom were very friendly, and hastened to satisfy our thirst with sour milk. One of the girls, in the bloom of her age was really beautiful. Both her hair and eyes, shaded with eyebrows low and broad, were dark, and, in the refinement of her features, the pale olive of her complexion, softly contrasting with her raven tresses and sparkling sombreness of eye, there was a charm almost Italian—had it not been eminently South-Sclavonic. She seemed as amiable as she was lovely, and evidently recognized as a belle even in her small circle; for she alone, we noticed, was possessed of earrings. Her comeliness was indeed the *beau ideal* of Serbian fancy; but I should hardly have drawn attention to it here, were not really transcendent beauty so rarely seen among these uncultured South-Sclavonic peoples, perhaps one might say, among the barbarous members of our Aryan family generally. In a highly civilized society like our own, the proportion of Peris [*sic*]—if I dare generalize—is greater; but, on the other hand, if anyone wishes to find examples of the deepest human degradation, he must search, not among the mountain homes of the oppressed rayahs of Bosnia, but rather in the alleys of one of our great cities. With us the gamut of beauty is greater. [131]

Again we have a description of elegantly adorned peasants dressed in white like the market of Zagreb. Evans details the women's dress and hair as styled in "Serbian fashion" as an interjection before commenting on the peasants' overall friendliness. The description leaves the reader unsure if Evans is using "Serbian" as a general term to categorize the inhabitants of this hamlet or if he views them as ethnic Serbs. We know only that they are Christians. The girl herself reinforces the cultural trope that beauty for women is restricted to young girls or women because she is "in the bloom of her age." Evans ties her beauty to her youth. That admiration

[131] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 295–296.

merits a verbal picture of her hair and eyes as dark, contrasted with the lightness of her olive complexion. But the image created for the reader is only in white and black. Curiously we do not know what she wears and cannot picture it—the focus is solely on part of her physical body, her face, which makes me think that Evans does not see her as a sexualized object. Rather the beauty is abstract, innocent and like a fairy tale. The girl has raven tresses, and a "sparking sombreness of eye," with a charm almost Italian, had it not been southern Slavic. Evans makes a link between physical and personal characteristics because her eyes give her charm, which he then equates with nationality or ethnicity. Readers might judge her to be an Italian because of those eyes and that charm—but she is not.

Hers is a beauty so transcendent that Evans must mention her, even though he and his brother were only passing through and stopped to "satisfy their thirst." And unlike the earlier Bosnian girl who directly gave Evans and his brother water to drink, the girl is only observed by him. We know from the opening description that the villagers collectively "hastened to satisfy our thirst with sour milk," not the girl herself. This eliminates any sexual innuendo here in slaking thirst, and even if there were such an overtone, sour milk might not be the thing. Besides it is not Evans' style of writing. Rather, he tends to compare the Balkans to western Europe and find both wanting. The girl has a beauty rarely seen among "barbarous members of our Aryan family" and so is worthy of a paragraph. Within this textual description of the girl are the gendered tropes one expects and a few that surprise. She appears almost as a character in a fairy tale—a Slavic beauty and beast character—because of those raven tresses. She merits a mention despite the stereotypical barbarism of her culture, and once again we encounter not just the girl, but the trope of primitive/civilized dichotomy that permeated travel literature of the time. But

Evans' negative characterization that such beauty is rare among the Slavs turns into a backhanded compliment that one comes to expect from him.

For Evans, a great number of beauties and the deepest human degradation are found in the West. Beauty comes in measures, and the greater proportion of beautiful women is in Paris, which simultaneously has degradation in its alleys. As a French metropolis of fashion, the city may have many more fine examples of beauty. By degradation in the city, I assume that Evans means sex and sexual relations particular to women. However, because his critique is opaque and he himself liked costumes (think the red scarlet cape and the clothing from the Sami he had shipped from Finland), there is a bit of doubt. He could also be referring to the decadence and indifference of the *flaneur,* who idles along the streets affecting the air of nonchalance.[132] The city itself, in its modern anonymity, might have appealed to Evans perhaps because he himself was a bit of a dandy, a man who had the means and time to spend walking the streets. The implication of Evans' comparison is that the primitive Balkans are pure, perhaps. His writing about this second girl leads me to conclude he did equate feminized beauty with purity because of the abstraction about her. Even with those dark charming eyes and adornment of earrings as a material sign of her loveliness—which the other girls of the hamlet did not have—the girl remains hard to visualize. She is devoid of a body, and we only read about her eyes, face, and hair. Evans provides no sketch or image for comparison, and little changes about her identity of a Christian Serbian in a village near Herzegovina. The girl—beautiful though she may be—remains abstract.

She is also innocent. Evans does not describe violence against women in his travelogue, despite the revolt occurring while he and his brother were on their walking tour. His work

[132] Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body*, 120.

reached a non-English audiences likely because of the violence in the Balkans. For evidence of that transmission of information, Milojković-Djurić writes, "In August of 1876, the highly respected journal *Otachestvennye zapiski* addressed again the Bosnian-Herzegovinian uprising. In this context, V.A. Timirzaev…stated that the conclusions reached by Evans (about the revolt) were supported by the editors of the journal *Otachestvennye apiski*."[133] *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, then, reached Russian readers in August of 1876, and not just educated, higher class individuals. Journals when accompanied with illustrations were a vehicle of both literacy and transmission of ideas to peasants and non-elites of Russia.[134] And the *lubki* (or broadsheets) in which those illustrations were published, had a vast reach in the Russian empire and the material published was driven by tastes of their consumers.[135] Such illustrations were such a way to communicate with a non-literate and global public.

Evans' descriptions of these two Bosnian girls can be compared with an engraving by a different artist, useful for analysis because that illustration addresses some of what Evans avoided. One such image was published in Russia and meant to create sympathy: "Herzegovinian Uprising During the Battle" shows a group of women on a hill, consoling each other likely from battle in November 1875, just two months after Evans left the region.[136] This image depicts three women prominently in the foreground: one holds out her hand to stop someone we cannot see, with a second one nestled against her for comfort or protection, and the third cradles a baby very much like imagery of Mary holding Jesus. There is a fourth woman in

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[133] Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans, 1830–1880: Images of the Self and Others* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), 132–133.
[134] Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russian Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature 1860-1917* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2003), 62 and 111–112 on illustrations in the weekly magazines like *Ognone.*
[135] Denis Vovchenko, "Gendering Irredentism? Self and Other in Russian Pan-Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism (1856–85)," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 2 (February 1, 2011), 257.
[136] Vovchenko, "Gendering Irredentism?" 257. The image, originally from the nineteenth century Russian family magazine, *Niva,* and published in print on November 30, 1875, was drawn by Zh. Khuttari, engraved by I. Zhas.

the background, raising one fist to the sky with her other hand over her heart, and a fifth also in shadow, kneeling in the background praying or mourning. A man in the lower left-hand corner is shooting a rifle, while another man lifts up a rock. The scene shows battle, from the perspective of women who witness the fighting but do not participate in it. The women, rather, are centered in the image, illuminated by lighter colors in the engraving.[137] The threat is not clear.

Image 16 – Etching of the Herzegovinian Uprising During the Battle, 1875, from the Russian journal "Niva" and published in print on November 30, 1875. Drawn by Zh. Khuttari, engraved by I. Zhas. See notes number 136 above and 137 below.

[137] Vovchenko, "Gendering irredentism?," 257. Vovchenko cites A.G. Dementiev, A.V. Zapadov, M.S. Cherepakhov, 1959 *Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat (1702–1894)* (Moscow: Political Literature Publishers, 1959), 530. The "Herzegovinian Uprising During the Battle" image was published in *Niva* (1870–1917), a Russian magazine for family reading, with the "most widespread 'thin' journal of pre-Revolutionary Russia," and which sold an impressive 9,000 copies a year before 1875–8, 55,000 by 1880, 115,000 by 1891 and 235,000 by 1900.

The absence of fighting but portrayal of suffering is a key ingredient in communicating a social message. Ottoman rule in the Balkans was represented as sexual domination and subordination of women by men, mobilizing gendered stereotypes in service of politic, at least from the western European and Russian perspectives.[138] Denis Vovchenko argues that the images from the Balkans in 1875, especially of feminized Balkan Christians and Slavs, reached beyond the "educated readership."[139] Russians responded to reports of Christians being brutalized by volunteering to fight with "their Christian brothers in Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Serbia."[140] But the violence and forced movements of peoples between Ottoman and Tsarist empires was a historical reality that pre-dated the revolt of 1875. Muslims were frequently displaced or resettled as part of Russian policies, resulting in forced population exchanges between Tsarist and Ottoman Empires in the nineteenth century.[141]

In this Russian image of the 1875 revolt, at least, the brutality is visible but at a distance and we see no aggressors; the engraving is more of a still-life ethnographic moment given the women's costumes. In that, both Evans and the author of the Russian image share a focus on female costume and stance. But Evans did not sketch any such images of war, revolt or destroyed villages in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*. It would not have been palatable to his readers,

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[138] İrvin Cemil Schick, "Christian Maidens, Turkish Ravishers," in Amila Buturović and İrvin Cemil Schick eds., *Women in the Ottoman Balkans*, 295.
[139] Vovchenko, "Gendering irredentism?" 258.
[140] Vovchenko, "Gendering irredentism?" 263.
[141] See Antonio Ferrara and Niccolò Pianciola, "The Dark Side of Connectedness: Forced Migrations and Mass Violence Between the Late Tsarist and Ottoman Empires (1853–1920)," *Historical Research* 92, no. 257 (August 1, 2019): 608–631. Ferrara and Pianciola argue that the Crimean War was the impetus for subsequent violent encounters between empires. They give the example of the Muslim exodus from north-western Caucasus in the 1860s, where 370,000 Circassians forcibly emigrated to the Ottoman Empire, a "typical colonization policy of an agrarian empire, aimed at securing a precarious borderland after the expulsion of a population of dubious political allegiance." (p. 615).

and his attempts to mobilize his English reading public into action to defend the Christians will come just two years later with his publications of letters to the Manchester Guardian and the monograph *Illyrian Letters* in 1877. His illustrations in the travelogue in 1875 never present women as victims, demonstrating that his ethnographic distinctions of women are ethnic and gendered but in a constructed way. This controlled depiction and absence of violence is another way in which Evans idealizes feminine beauty. Violence did not have a part in the picture that Evans was creating—at least not yet. To treat gender as a separate category from race and ethnicity is itself an artificial construction, but a turn must be made. Gender will continue to play a part in the story of how Evans depicts Slavic Muslim women. We turn to chapter 4 to examine how Evans describes and analyzes the continuation of his Balkan journey into Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an ethnologist and from a more comparative racial and religious lens.

CHAPTER 4

Evans the Ethnologist in Bosnia and Herzegovina

> THIS is an opportune publication, and we recommend it to our readers as one that will give them a good and lively idea of the countries referred to and their various peoples—of much interest at present in connection with the Servian [*sic*] rising. Mr. Evans entered Bosnia at Brood on the Save,[1] went leisurely south, with various divergences, through the country, reaching the sea near the mouth of the Narenta and coasting along to Ragusa.[2] Mr. Evans mixed freely with all classes of the people wherever he went, is well acquainted with Bosnian, and indeed with general European history, is a discriminating ethnologist, and has a good knowledge of botany. He studied the features and habits of the people closely as he sojourned among them, and gives many notes that might be found of value to those who take interest both in Aryan and Turanian ethnology. The people are evidently capable of good things if they had the chance and were free from oppression; but Mr. Evans's observation confirms all that has been said as to the impossibility of the Turk ever treating a Christian subject with justice or even humanity, unless compelled. The book contains a map and many attractive illustrations, is interestingly written, and will give English readers a fair idea of a country that is almost as little known to the generality as the heart of Africa.[3]
>
> —A book review of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina, On Foot During the Insurrection, 1875*

Arthur Evans viewed and constructed the southern Slavs in a comparative fashion, as he traveled through Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was called a "discriminating ethnologist" by an anonymous reviewer of his travelogue *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* because in Britain during the 1850s, ethnology was the "most general scientific framework for the study of linguistic, physical and cultural characteristics of dark-skinned, non-European, uncivilized peoples."[4] That label was a pronouncement on his Balkan travelogue, and reveals a particular mid-to-late nineteenth century perspective on Evans' work by likening his journey into a region as little known as Africa.

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[1] The modern spellings of town and river are Brod and Sava, respectively.
[2] Dubrovnik.
[3] "Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection, August and September, 1875," *Nature* 14, no. 350 (July 1876): 230.
[4] George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1987), 47.

Evans' work also highlights the distinctions among the emerging disciplines of anthropology, ethnography, ethnology, and archaeology, which all reflected the concurrent ideologies about the cultural superiority of Europe, and specifically white western Europeans. These disciplinary distinctions matter in the story of Evans and the Balkans. His travelogue represents the combined interdisciplinary practices of studying human cultures, well before he became a famous archaeologist who made his ancient Minoans modern, literally out of cement. Considering Evans an ethnologist when analyzing his writing about the southern Slavs will accentuate his more comparative approach as he walked through Bosnia, necessary given his impressions of Bosnian Muslims, their foreign cultural world, and his own historical expectations of that encounter.

By the 1870s, the discipline of ethnology was evolving in a multi-directional way. Ethnology began as the project of comparison of peoples and their characteristics, building theoretical models to explain those differences.[5] Ethnological societies emerged during the mid-nineteenth century, in Paris (1839), New York (1842), and London (1843).[6] Those societies encouraged debates among learned men like prehistorian John Lubbock (1834–1913), who came firmly down on the side of believing that modern Europeans were products of intensive and cultural evolution that led to biological differences—in other words, primitive peoples were incapable of civilizational advancement.[7] Lubbock, the author of *Pre-Historic Times* (1865) and *The Origins of Civilization* (1870) was a neighbor of Sir Charles Darwin and a friend to prehistorian Sir John Evans (Arthur's father).[8] Lubbock was also the president of the

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[5] Graeme MacRae, "Ethnography, Ethnology and the Ethnography of Ethnologies," *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (2006), 116.
[6] Fred W. Voget, *A History of Ethnology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 108–109.
[7] Bruce G. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 173–175 for the evolution of Lubbock's views.
[8] J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 107–108. John Evans, based on his prehistoric finds at Abbeville, when he attended the British Association he found himself addressed as "Flint Evans."

Ethnological Society of London (ESL); he resisted attempts to merge the ESL with the Anthropological Society of London (ASL) because the ASL founder was a polygenesist who believed mankind evolved from different races which "emphasized biological rather than cultural history of human-kind."[9] Thus ethnological theory and models centered on interpretations about the unity and origin of the human species, races, languages and cultures. Defined in modern social scientific terms, ethnology is the study of the members and structures of cultures and the relationship of members to their cultures, and as a field is highly theory driven; ethnography focuses on the study of single cultures or specific structures within one culture through observation and fieldwork.[10] Ethnology and its closely related cousin, ethnography, are now often categorized as anthropological subdisciplines. But these distinctions and hierarchies were not always the case. From the review of Evans' travelogue, we can see the nineteenth century perspective of Evans' journey as an ethnological exploration through the Balkans, into territory as "little known as the heart of Africa," and therefore worthy of study.

This chapter will focus on Evans' contributions to Balkan discourse as an ethnologist because of how he compared groups of Slavic peoples, specifically focusing on their religions, ethnicities, languages, and race. When writing about Bosnia and Herzegovina, Evans' overriding theme was religion and ethnicity, rather than race. He made explicit connections between Medieval Christian heresy to Protestantism in his historical review of Bosnia that was released with the second edition of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina.* And throughout both editions of the travelogue, he contrasted that Slavic antiquity to the modern political issues of the Christian

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[9] Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln: UNP Nebraska, 2015), 6–7. Vermeulen convincingly argues for that anthropology as a science originated with 18th century German-speaking scholars associated with Russian Academy of Sciences, the University of Gottingen, and the Imperial Library in Vienna, well before Franz Boas, who transformed anthropology in North American in the 1920s.

[10] Isabelle M. Flemming, "Ethnography and Ethnology," in *21st Century Anthropology*: *A Reference Handbook Vol. 1*, edited by H. James Birx, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Reference, 2010), 153–161.

peasants revolting against the Turks, an event which coincided with his long summer holiday and with the revolt of 1875. Evans' experience in Sarajevo, the panic that the revolt of 1875 caused with resident western Europeans there, will illustrate Evans' definitive opinion on religion and religious identities. His later explanation for the revolt's cause differed greatly from the British consul's view. The chapter will conclude by analyzing primary sources from the archives; specifically, Evans' lecture delivered at Sion College on February 23, 1878, "Slavs and European Civilization," which not only illustrates how Evans conceptualized the Slavs as antiquities but also how he focused on their racial purity, inverting more common European approaches to Aryan identity.[11] In these ways, the chapter will continue Evans' 1875 journey as he tromped through the wild lands of the Balkans on his way to Dubrovnik by focusing on the connections he forged between religion and ethnicity, race as part of the European family of man, ideas of ancient and modern peoples, purity of heathen beliefs and the wisdom of the ancient Balkan peoples.

Borders: Crossing into Bosnia

Evans depicted the Balkans as a mysterious and foreign territory that required some fortitude to journey through. His account of his travels through the region, however, was not just a travelogue by an adventurous young man; rather, it was a systematic analysis of foreign peoples. What makes Evans unique, as a discriminating ethnologist, was how he practiced ethnography, ethnology, and the study of antiquities while on his walking tour. The journey was not arduous—at least not at first. It involved observations, recording what he saw with sketches and drawings,

[11] The lecture is in a bound monograph of Historical Pamphlets at the Trinity college Bodleian Library (Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG, England). BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143. This primary source publication is not available online in the library system and does not appear in other catalogues.

and above all, the comparison of one group to another to highlight differences among peoples. One of the key distinctions Evans made when comparing one southern Slavic group to another was the difference of religions, which he saw as embodied as a geopolitical border by the River Sava. As Evans journeyed with his brother down the river by boat, he described this geographic feature as a "watery boundary-line between Christendom and Islam."[12] The Sava, a 990 kilometer tributary of the Danube, flows through present-day Slovenia, Croatia, along the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and through Serbia. The Sava forms a basin that now contains four capitals, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade. But for Evans in 1875, both sides of the river displayed a vibrancy in the color of peoples dress and buildings, and his distinctions—as always —were quite visual:

> On one side Croat men, white tunicked and white breeked, with blue vests, and fringes of homely lace to their trowsers [*sic*]; bare-legged women, with the shortest of apron-skirts, washing their linen in the shallows, coifed in the rosy Rubatz. Now and then a town, white houses and bulbous church-spires, and citizens in the mourning hues of Western civilization. On the other bank minarets and narrow wooden streets, gorgeous Turkish officials, brilliant maidens and mummied dames, cheerful fezzes and red Bosnian turbans; and it is to be remarked that then men on the Turkish bank owning to their wearing such comparatively shadeless head-gear, are distinctly more sunburnt than the Sclavonians of the Austrian side in their broad, black, felt-wides awakes. The one side was cold and dull, if comparatively clean; the other dirty but magnificent."[13]

This scene is reminiscent of his passage on the train to Zagreb, for he is able to watch—from the comfort of a boat and at a distance—the women with their shortest of apron-skirts, washing linens in the river. On the other side, across the river in Bosnia, the colors of clothing he sees are more brilliant and the men darker and more sunburnt in spite of their hats. This racialized attention to skin color is unsurprising, given Evans' cultural upbringing. He framed his journey into Bosnia as a series of boundaries to be transgressed, writing about the Balkan spaces through

[12] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 76
[13] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 76–77.

the lens of empire where Ottoman was foreign, although his perspective was influenced by his own curiosity and interest in Balkan history.

When they reached twin towns of Slavonski Brod and Bosanski Brod (then called Brood), both straddling the river, Evans and his brother decided to spend the night on the Austrian side because they thought opportunities for sleep were better. The next morning, with sketch books in hand, they wandered through the town struck by the numerous chimneys "suggesting in turn huts, towers, haystacks, tunnels, toadstools, and umbrellas," but this activity resulted in being mistaken for Russian spies, and led to their arrest that evening.[14] Evans writes of the situation in a humorous, but dramatic fashion, illustrating the Austrian bureaucracy by an "active and intelligent gendarme" who could not read their pass,[15] and the police commissioner who arrested anyone and everyone who displeased him for no reason.[16] The next day Evans and his brother took a boat across the river, and entered the "dirty but magnificent world" of Bosanski Brod. His phrasing underscores his participation in the conceptual framework of the "European political imaginary."[17] The differences between towns made for a neat dividing line between empires, eastern and western Europe, and between Christianity and Islam. For Evans, that imaginary contained his notion of geographic place with the idea of entry that was both spatial and temporal: crossing the river launched him into the unknown territory.

Borders can be simultaneously geographic, political, and metaphorical. In the late nineteenth century the river Sava formed a convenient border, a geographic and political line, between Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. Now that those empires are gone, the line

[14] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 78.
[15] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 79.
[16] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 84.
[17] Emily Greble, "Forum: The Habsburg-Ottoman Borderlands: New Insights for the Study of the Nineteenth Century European Legal and Social Order: Introduction," *Austrian History Yearbook* 51 (May 2020): 15–24.

between east and west continues to be debated.[18] Then, as now, figurative borders are harder to identity because they shift based on prevailing ideas of cultural and civilization difference. Those differences depend on perspective. Nineteenth-century European theorists, for example, believed in their civilization's superiority to the Ottomans, and borrowed heavily from culturally hierarchal and racialist language of the emerging European social scientists (e.g., ethnologists) to propose that a state's level of civilization be tied to its independent political existence.[19] This is why Evans' work in the Balkans—as an ethnographer, ethnologist and archaeologist—is important. He presented his travels into Bosnia and Herzegovina to the English reading public as a journey across civilizations, a way to recapture a lost European past by presenting the Slavs as exemplars of antiquity. His appeal to readers was that of civilizational differences, but one in which Europeans could learn from the Slavic ancient world customs. Thus, while his work is peppered with racist remarks, it also reworks the racialized tropes of his era by emphasizing the Slavs' connections to purer, more ancient forms of culture.

The boundaries or borders he crossed, between civilizations, were not static, but under constant negotiation.[20] Those negotiations involve individual crossings, international laws, and jurisdictional territories. What is interesting is how Evans presents the Austrian side of the Sava as place of inept management and humorous legal adventures with his arrest. This reversal shows that he could portray the Austrians as cads or buffoons, and in so doing, set his literary stage to treat the Muslim Bosnians and Ottomans with some complexity. The Ottomans in the late nineteenth century, it has been argued, would not have seen their borders as bounded by

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[18] See section in Chapter 2 on historiography for current scholarship on the dividing line between eastern and western Europe.
[19] Aimee M. Genell, "Autonomous Provinces and the Problem of 'Semi-Sovereignty' in European International Law," *Journal of Balkan & Near Eastern Studies* 18, no. 6 (December 2016), 535.
[20] Duncan S. A. Bell, "Empire and International Relations in Victorian Political Thought," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 1 (2006): 290.

geographic distinctions but as "potentially vulnerable lands even as they were understood to be central to the empire."[21] Ottoman elites remained anxious about how their Christian subjects might be influenced by European individuals or governments, who could legally manipulate one set of laws against another. Certainly, diplomatic disputes emerged when individuals tried to take advantage of differing legal systems.[22] In the case of the European gaze on the Balkans, this difference was still often constructed within an Orientalist framework, in which the Ottoman Balkans firmly belonged to the "East." For Evans, the Sava River served as a line between worlds, where "for better or worse our Rubicon is passed."[23] Any western European educated in the study of Classics would have immediately understood the reference.

Evans was an idiosyncratic traveler with an agenda to explore territories on the edges of Europe. He had journeyed to Romania and Bulgaria in 1872, so this idea of Bosnia being the real, more "eastern" destination of his travels was a way for him to construct the identity of the place as truly other, since it was predominantly Muslim. Evans enhances his presentation of this idea by claiming that the Slavs themselves see the Sava River as a natural boundary: "The Bosnians themselves speak of the other side of the Save [*sic*] as 'Europe' and they are right; for to all intents and purposes a five minutes' voyage transports you into Asia."[24] Evans thus presents his transition into Bosnia as a crossing into "Asia," accentuating and exaggerating the

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[21] Greble, "Habsburg–Ottoman Borderlands," 17–18.
[22] Alison Frank Johnson, "The Strange, Sad Case of the 'Bosnian Christian Girl': Slavery, Conversion, and Jurisdiction on the Habsburg-Ottoman Border," *Austrian History Yearbook* 51 (May 2020): 39–59. Johnson beautifully analyzes case of a Bosnian brother and sister at the center of a diplomatic dispute between Austria and the Ottoman Empire in 1852. Milan (the brother) called upon Austrian authorities to liberate his sister, Maria, who had converted to Islam after the death of their father, when he learned that she was crossing into Austrian territory on her way to Anatolia. He claimed had that she had been enslaved when she was 'forced' to convert to Islam as a young child. Austria's defense of its seizure of the girl and the Ottomans' insistence that she be returned reflected tension over sovereignty, jurisdiction, and personhood. Johnson's work illustrates the effort to harden national and confessional categories.
[23] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 88.
[24] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 89.

cultural divide marked by the river. The border was political insofar as Evans and his brother needed an "autograph letter from the Vali Pasha, or Governor-General of Bosnia and Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces" to enter Bosnia.[25] But Evans also chose to present his time in Croatia while waiting for the Pasha's permission as a delay to enhance his idea of entry into a foreign and exotic land. This willingness to flip expectations in his travelogue makes Evans' work worthy of detailed and methodological examination.

Evans on Religion in Bosnia

Religion is pivotal theme of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, connecting Evans' journey of 1875 to much older and potent forms of identity. His chapter offering a "historical review of Bosnia" pointedly links the region's distinctive religious culture to the ferment of the Protestant Reformation. The "heretical" Bogomils of the medieval Balkans, he argues, eventually converted to Islam in order to escape Catholic repression.[26] The core Bogomil belief was in dualism or in two foundational and opposing principles of good and evil, where creation was the domain where matter (evil) and the spirit (good) intersected; the better known breed of this kind of dualistic spirituality was Manichaeanism.[27]

Evans contended the Bogomils were in fact partially responsible for the rise of Protestantism because of the relationship between those medieval "Slavonic heretics" and the Hussites, who led a "religious revolt against the Catholic church" in the early fifteenth century.[28] Janos de Asboth, a Hungarian member of parliament who published a book on Bosnia in 1890,

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[25] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina,* vi.
[26] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* xl.
[27] John Anthony McGuckin, *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity* (Hoboken, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2011), 75–76. For scholarship on current interpretations and political uses of Bogomilism by the Universal White brotherhood in Bulgaria and the Balkan Bogomil Center in Croatia, see Dylan M Burns and Nemanja Radulovic, "(Neo-) Bogomil Legends: The Gnosticizing Bogomils of the Twentieth-Century Balkans," *International Journal for the Study of New Religions* 9, no. 1 (2018): 135–164.
[28] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* xl.

although he did not disagree with Evans, countered that Evans expressed his theories "for the purposes of awakening an interest in Bosnia on the part of the English." In a rebuttal, Evans explained that he "used the word 'Protestant' in its broadest sense including the forerunners of the Reformation, such as the Albigenses and Hussites," and that Bogomilism itself was a mixed product, "resulting from a fusion of Manichaean doctrines imported from Armenia with the communistic tradition of the primitive Slavonic household."[29] This debate about the Bogomils correlated to Evans' investigations of origins and impact of the "primitive Slavs," their communal living structures discussed in chapter 3, and their place within Europe. When the Ottomans invaded Bosnia, those "Bosnian Protestants preferred the dominion of…the more tolerant Turks to the ferocious tyranny of the Catholic kings, magnates and monks."[30] The logic of Evans' argument was more or less as follows: How could Bosnian and Muslim Slavs, if descendants from Medieval Protestants, be considered truly primitive (or at least without potential for civilization growth) if Europe owed them a debt that had only been repaid by persecution of Bosnian Christians by Roman Catholic Christians? In other words, Evans believed that the Slavs turned to Islam to avoid Catholic repression, and that it was the Catholics, not Muslims, who were fanatics. This narrative was, in part, based on the idea that the Bogomils converted to resist oppression. Religious oppression by both Christians and Muslims, then, was part of Evans' historical understanding of the region.

The idea that the population of Bosnia had converted to Islam to resist religious oppression endured evolving according to political circumstances. One scholar has argued that both Asboth and Evans used the Bogomils as a means of promoting their political agendas, a practice which continued into the late twentieth century when the Bogomils, for example, were

[29] For the full rebuttal, see Evans, "The Bogomils," *The Athenaeum*, no. 3244 (1889): 896–97.
[30] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* lxi.

held up as "some kind of proto- communist" during the 1980s.[31] Current scholarship refutes the idea that the medieval church of Bosnia was heretical, since the primary Christian texts from the region reveal no trace of Bogomil concepts and terminology.[32] The separation of the churches of Bosnia from Dubrovnik in 1247 gave the region's Christians jurisdictional independence on Rome, increasing the possibility for Bosnia to flourish a site of religious pluralism.[33]

Historical Context: The Ottoman Balkans

The religious pluralism of the Balkans—and in Bosnia in particular—was created by successive waves of invasion, settlement, and conversions. Evans understood this to some degree, but always through the lens of an English traveler who put himself at some distance from the people he studied. Historical context will be useful for understanding how Evans wrote about the revolt of 1875. Current scholarship on the Balkan region contends that the Ottoman conquests in the fourteenth century "offered a relief valve for the population pressures building in western Asia Minor," which afforded the Ottoman Empire advantage over the Byzantine and Venetian rivals.[34] The Ottoman territorial gains in southeastern Europe also "gave the peninsula its name" and provided the "longest period of political unity that the region has ever experienced" and was therefore the most influential.[35] Bosnia, which had been the largest and most western Ottoman province, absorbed the southeastern part of Herzegovina after it was restructured and then

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[31] Marian Wenzel, "Bosnian History and Austro-Hungarian Policy: The Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo, and the Bogomil Romance," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 12, no. 2 (1993), 140. Wenzel's argument is particularly effective given her analysis of the material artifacts.
[32] Cathie Carmichael, *A Concise History of Bosnia* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15, citing, for instance, the *Bilino Polje Abjuration* of 1203 and *Willof Gost Radin* of 1466, which both "quite explicitly operate with Orthodox Christian formulae and terminology."
[33] Robert E. Bjork, "Bogomil," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 2010, 281.
[34] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 19–20.
[35] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 162.

disbanded in 1865; the result was the official name Bosnia-Herzegovina.[36] The Ottoman Empire's geographic reach has had a profound effect on the historical development of ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and imperial expansion and contraction played a significant role in Balkan identity formation and social structure.[37]

The Ottomans expanded their geographic boundaries by a process of assimilation and utilizing local elites to rule. Settlement of Muslims occurred throughout the Balkans, and resulted in multi-confessional populations living in the same towns or villages, but especially in Bosnia. Many Bosnian nobles converted to Islam after the conquest, seeing the benefit of being a member of a faith privileged by the state. And for much its duration, the Ottoman Empire was a more tolerant place to non-Muslims than Europe was to non-Christians. Evans certainly articulated that belief even in his 1875 travelogue and his historical review of Bosnia. That tolerance allowed the Ottoman Empire to expand its geographic boundaries because conquest of the Balkans during the fourteenth century gave the Ottoman Empire unparalleled advantages: the success of the Empire was in that it was dynastic and pragmatic, instead of being a religious state.[38] And although religious differentiation ruled the imperial social organization, commonly known now as millet, initially the term was used largely between Muslims in the Empire and Christians outside of the empire; only after Sultan Mahmut II (1808–1839) did millets come to

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[36] Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia*, 6, citing Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk: postanak i upravna podjela* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1959), 115–174; and also S. Ahmed Aličić, *Uređenje bosans kog ejaleta od 1789. đo 1878. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, 1983), 17–44, 120–132.

[37] For the complexity of developing ethno-religious and national groups in the Balkans, see Nathalie Clayer and Xavier Bougarel, *Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History*, trans. Andrew Kirby (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2017) and Celia Hawkesworth, Muriel Heppell, and H. T. Norris, eds., *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans* (New York: Palgrave, in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London, 2001).

[38] Quataert, *Ottoman Empire*, 19.

mean those individual religious groups of Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Jews rather than a more general Muslim/non-Muslim distinction.[39]

Scholars now consider that it was not the be-all-end-all form of social organization. As Quataert observes, the "system of millets—confessional nations that were the basis for Ottoman administration—were once accepted as a mechanistic explanation for how the Ottoman system could sustain a multi-confessional subject population...Newer work has suggested a more fluid administrative apparatus, arguing that there was no fully institutionalized millet framework until the Tanzimat reforms of the mid-nineteenth century."[40] Michelle Campos' book, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, although geographically focused on Palestine, is also a useful analytical frame for understanding the Slavic Balkans under Ottoman governance. She illustrates the complexity of social order in the late Ottoman Empire as social structures began to change during the encounter with nationalism and in so doing demonstrates how the idea and definition of the millet changed.[41] Evans' ethnological comparisons mirror his nineteenth century understanding of the confessional groups of the empire, which, in fact, take account of the social complexity that Campos articulates. Nationalism was not yet a concept that dominated Evans' travelogue. Rather he embraced the religious, ethnic, and sometimes class distinctions.

The millets served the needs of the Ottoman state. However, there were other ethnically and linguistically divided groups in the Ottoman Empire beyond the formally recognized groups,

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[39] Quataert, *Ottoman Empire*, 175–176.
[40] Christine M. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 6.
[41] Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2011), 68: "The *millet* was an ethno-religious community, drawn from the list of governmentally recognized sects (Muslim, Rumi, Jewish, Serbian, etc.) And yet, unofficially *millet* was already well on its way from being solely a religious community to also representing the imperial community, *millet-i Osmani*. According to the Muallim Naci dictionary of 1891, *millet* was solely a religious group, whereas a nation should be referred to by either *ummet* or *kavim*."

including Albanians, Arabs, Armenians, Bulgars, Circassians, Greeks, Jews, Kurds, Serbs, and Turks. As Campos observes, "For the most part ethnic mixing was just another factor of imperial life until the nineteenth century."[42] The point here is that, although there were ethnic divisions existing prior to the nineteenth century, they did not matter as much as such divisions would in the twentieth century. Frederick Anscombe also notes that "the Ottoman state never saw an advantage to devising lasting policies based upon any principle other than religion; ethnicity was practically irrelevant to the needs of the state."[43] Evans never formally described the millet system. Rather he categorized the southern Slavs using race as a synonym for their ethnicity and sometimes religion, as he crossed from territory that was controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire into regions controlled by the Ottoman Empire. He carried with him only some of the anti-Turk tropes that were born out of a long history of Europe reacting against Ottoman geographic conquest and administrative expansion.

After the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottoman Empire experienced a contraction in territorial gains, which, in turn, created a sense of loss in the empire as European projects of colonialism and imperialism began to increase in earnest. The Ottomans experienced another contraction in their geographic boundaries during and after the Crimean War of 1853–56, which then affected the social structure of all Ottoman subjects, accentuated (or exacerbated perhaps) by series of imperial reforms. The Ottoman Empire reformed its own governing structure by granting equality to all religious groups of peoples with the 1856 edict, which made Christian subjects equal to Muslims subjects in terms of the law, to counter the influence of foreign intervention. However, those very attempts at modernization in the Ottoman Empire in response

[42] Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 9.
[43] Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 17.

to pressure from Western European nations and Russia created backlash: Muslim Slavic landowners in Bosnia feared for their status and insisted upon taxation of other social groups (from whom they had historically collected), whereas Christians were able to make an appeal to Muslim Turks from Istanbul to protest.

From the Western perspective at the time, the Ottoman Empire was forced to "introduce reforms with regard to property, justice, and religious equality that the Christian powers insisted were necessary for a modern, civilized state."[44] From the Ottoman point of view perhaps this was a way to adjust and adapt to undue influence from the nation-states of Europe wrapped up in their own imperial projects and maintaining their own longstanding concessions. Those were the capitulations, or the privileges of residence, safe passage, or conducting trade without significant tax burdens for non-Muslim foreigners, and so were a form of Ottoman governance that developed into a far-flung regime of trade and diplomacy.[45] Loss of Ottoman territory in the nineteenth century created a change in the balance of power and taxations, and was also coupled with a series of population expulsions, in which more than five million Muslims were driven from the Balkans and the Black Sea region in the century after 1821. Meanwhile, between 1.7 and two million Muslims immigrated, voluntarily or involuntarily, between 1873 and 1913 to what would later become the Republic of Turkey.[46] Finally, during the First Balkan War of 1912, Ottoman power in Europe vanished in a matter of weeks. Serbia and Greece were the main victors.[47]

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[44] Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History*, xxxvi.
[45] Umut Özsu, "Ottoman Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of International Law*, ed. Bardo Fassbender and Anne Peters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2–4.
[46] Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History*, xxxviii.
[47] Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History*, 105.

Evans was right in the thick of this political and social upheaval between 1875 and 1882. His first encounter with humanitarian work came near the end of his 1875 walking tour, when he reached Sarajevo in August and met there the British educator Paulina Irby.[48] That meeting led to long-time friendship with Irby, whom Evans saw often during his later travels as a journalist. On several occasions, Evans assisted Irby by trying to get supplies to refugees in remote locations or to help her with taking care of needs of refugees (Slavic Christians) fleeing fighting or violence in Bosnia.[49] Her work coincided with the so-called Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878, and was part of the evolution of modern British humanitarianism.[50] As recent scholarship has shown, humanitarian efforts to alleviate the sufferings of Christians in the Ottoman Empire were reinforced by the rise of domestic charity in England, which connected the Victorian culture of altruism and welfare reform with "investigative reporting from sites of international conflict, new technologies such as the telegraph, and a significant rise in consulates from the 1850s onwards."[51] Evans' career as a journalist overlapped with these developments in investigative reporting.[52] When Irby died in 1911, Evans wrote an obituary for her in which he praised her

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[48] Anderson, "Irby, Paulina," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Irby, when traveling in the Austrian Carpathians, was arrested as a spy in 1859 along with her traveling companion Georgina Muir Mackenzie, for their pan-Slavistic tendencies, an event which began her extensive travels across "Turkey in Europe." In 1865, Irby and Mackenzie established a training school for Bosnian girls in Sarajevo.

[49] The bulk of his work for Irby was after 1877, when he was a journalist, and Evans used the advantage of his male gender to go where Irby could not. For example, he wrote in one letter home: "After a day or two spent at Knin in learning Miss Irby's way of managing relief I started on a week's expedition into the Insurgent district of Bosnia, partly to report on the refugees in districts not visitable by ladies, and partly to see the present state of the Insurrection…" quoted in Joan Evans, *Time and Chance*, 184–185.

[50] For a too-brief summary of Irby's work in the Balkans, see Marko P. Atlagić, Aleksandar L. Martinović, and Dalibor M. Elezović, "Noble English Woman Adeline Paulina Irby on Kosovo and Metohija in Serbia," *Baština*, no. 51 (2020): 395–404. The article includes a list of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian historians writing about Irby, especially during the period of 1875–1878 (p. 396–397).

[51] Georgios Giannakopoulos, "A British International Humanitarianism? Humanitarian Interventions in Eastern Europe (1875–1906)." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 34, no. 2 (2016): 302.

[52] Peter Putnis, "Telegraph, History Of" (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2008). The telegraph enabled rapid diffusion of publication information, after it was introduced in the US in 1844 (p. 5049). The UK domestic telegraph system was nationalized only in 1868, becoming part of British Post Office operations (p. 5047). Evans likely used the telegraph during 1877–1882 to send his anonymous correspondent letters from the Balkans to *The Manchester Guardian*.

life's work of helping refugees, explaining how she raised funds, ran a school for young women in Sarajevo, and how she had outlived many of her friends and supporters, including William Gladstone (who wrote the introduction to her book) and Florence Nightingale, "who recognized her kindred spirit and, indeed, bequeathed a sum for the furtherance of her work."[53] With "Virgil ever by her side," Irby settled in Italy; she was honored with condolences after her death that "poured into the British Consulate at Sarajevo."[54] Irby had dedicated her life to the southern Slavs,[55] Evans mostly his youth, and his support developed after 1875.

Ethnicity and Religion in Sarajevo

Evans wrote *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* for a western European audience. He could assume their familiarity with Christianity, but less so the cultural and religious distinctions between Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Slavs. His travelogue was meant to educate his reader on this point. And as an ethnologist, his goal was not just to observe, but to compare and order groups of people by their religious affiliations and corresponding ethnicities based on his historical theories. Always interested in languages and scripts, Evans informs his readers that the Greek or Orthodox Bosnians use Cyrillian characters, and call themselves distinctively Serbs or Pravo-Sclaves, that is, "true Sclaves,"[56] whereas the Roman Catholics look at the Cyrillic script, Evans claims, as "a snare of the devil."[57] Evans' discussion of Slavic scripts shows his appreciation for the interplay between language, writing systems, and religious identity. He presents the distinctions in language as a series of petty differences among the Balkan groups,

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[53] Arthur Evans, "The Late Miss Irby," *The Contemporary Review* 100 (1911): 844–46.
[54] Evans, "The Late Miss Irby," 846.
[55] At Irby's request, her letters and papers were destroyed after her death. See Dorothy Anderson, "Irby, (Adeline) Paulina (1831–1911), Traveller and Balkan Sympathizer," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004-09-23). Two books authored by Dorothy Anderson put Irby in the context of her humanitarian efforts in the late nineteenth century, *Miss Irby and Her Friends* (1966) and *The Balkan Volunteers* (1968), but both appear to be out of print.
[56] The Pravo-Sclaves are true Slavs, or Orthodox Christians in modern terms.
[57] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 96.

but draws political conclusions based on markers of difference. It is the Catholics ("papists") as a collective group who are "non-patriotic," since they owe their allegiance to the pope rather than their own tribe or group identity.

In terms of gendered distinction between ethnic groups, Evans focuses on clothing, hair, and appearance. Again, clothing is the most obvious of markers of difference among the Slavic women. We return to his descriptions of the Bosnian girl from the Posavina (see image 14 on page 119 and in Appendix A Illustrations). Evans ensures that the reader sees the Vlachs or Greek Orthodox women as clannish who should not be confused with any other group because although the the women dress in "light tunics and aprons," like the Croats, their hair is "in a single pig-tail," and on their heads they wear a "white kerchief arranged in a fashion peculiar to themselves, with a flower-like tassels at one side."[58] Evans further clarifies the distinctions in costume between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic women, when he compares the women to their men. The women who were "Roman Catholics of this part" dressed mostly like the Greeks but for one difference: they embroidered clothes in red instead of blue, but "their men protest against an Universal Church by wearing tighter breeches than the Orthodox."[59] This protest against a universal church reinforces the difference between the two groups—the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics—and also between the genders. The ethnological distinctions between the Balkan peoples and between genders are visible in dress, which have political implications. Why else would Roman Catholic men protest a universal or Orthodox church by tightening their breeches? Evans complicates the literal and figurative picture by mixing ethnic, religious, and gendered identities.

[58] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 94–95.
[59] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 96.

Christians—regardless of type—could be a bit fanatical in expressions of their identity. Evans provides the example of Christians who sought permission to build a new Orthodox cathedral in Sarajevo three years before his summer walking tour. The construction was possible, he claims, because the presence of consular officials in the city, who gave the Serbs or Greek Christians the right to "take advantage of right of church building because of the *firmans* [permissions] from the Grand Seignor."[60] The western European becomes the defender of Christian rights in the Ottoman Empire. Evans notably criticizes Christian behavior implying that they, too, would use their religion to exert power over others. For example, the cathedral was on such a scale that it "seemed to make it a direct challenge to the Mahometan part of the population" with its "swaggering edifice…built in the usual bastard Byzantine taste of the Fanariote hierarchy"; at the cost of thirteen thousands pounds, the structure created shade over gardens and "contemptuously looked down upon the Imperial Mosque itself."[61] Evans plays with the notion of fanaticism, using his adjectives and descriptors in ironic ways by concluding that "it was hardly surprising that the ignorant Muslim fanatics should view with equanimity this last manifestation of Christian humility."[62] Christian humility, indeed! This passage gives a small taste of the sarcasm that Evans employs to describe any group who appeared to be overzealous in their religious identity. All parties—aside from western Europeans—contributed to the crisis. Prior to the official opening of the Cathedral, western European consular intervention lessened the tensions in the city, the ringleaders or agitators were expelled, the Christians were persuaded

[60] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 247.
[61] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 247. For a brief but informative analysis of how architectural history was taught and entwined with nationalisms in central and southeastern Europe, see Christopher Long, "East Central Europe: National Identity and International Perspective," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 4 (2002): 519–29. For architecture as a reflection of the region's overlapping, convoluted histories, see Fran Markowitz, "Tales of Two Buildings: National Entanglements in Sarajevo's Pasts, Presents and Futures," *Ethnologie Française* 42, no. 4 (2012): 797–809.
[62] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 248.

not to ring their new church bells, all wine shops were closed for three days before, and then on the day itself, Ottoman military protection was provided to keep order.[63]

Evans' criticism of Muslim "fanaticism" must be seen in the context of his overarching opposition to all forms of organized religion and how he characterized religious groups. The introduction to the 1877 edition of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina* alerts readers to his intention to keep the persecution of the region's Christians in perspective:

> The wrongs of the Christians in Bosnia have been intolerable, and I have shown my abhorrence of the present tyranny with sufficient emphasis in the course of this book; but I may take this opportunity of deprecating any sympathy with those who propose to deal with the Mussulman population of Bosnia in the spirit of Christian fanaticism. The whole history of Bosnia from the beginning has been one long commentary on the evils of established religions.[64]

Evans believed that all organized religions were guilty of excess; to perpetuate fanaticism of any sort was to repeat the same transgressions. Yet at the same time, Evans described people on the streets and in the markets, a "happy family of Turks, Jews, Heretics, and Infidels."[65] This happy family was an urban one developed under Ottoman influence. Evans highlights the city's "oriental" and cosmopolitan nature by comparing Sarajevo to its surrounding towns; that urban complexity and cultural connection to the Ottoman Empire created the city's diversity. We see the cosmopolitan influence in the dress of Muslim women of the Bosnian capital, who, when of a better class "are infected with Stamboul fashions" and where "you will see a Mahometan lady pass in her flowing peach-coloured silk, and a veil so transparent that she might just as well have

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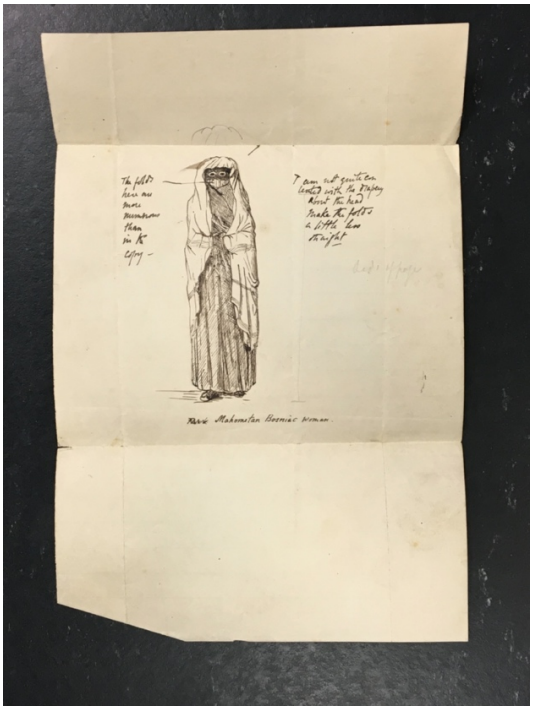
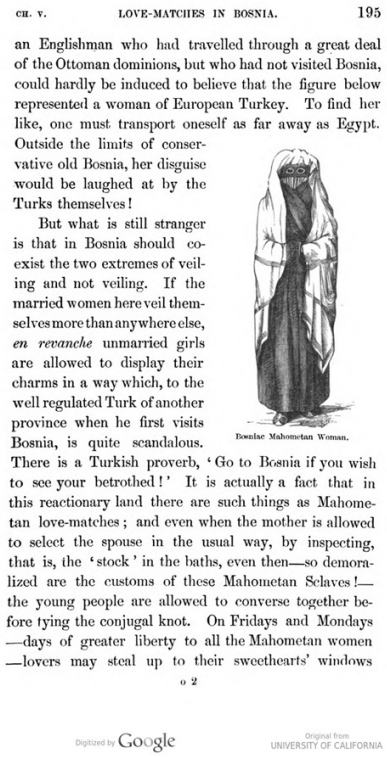
[63] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 249.
[64] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, lxii. Evans also argues strongly against British interference based on religious dogma: "Whatever terms the Great Powers may wish to impose on Bosnia and the Turks, let England at all events exert her influence against any setting up of an ecclesiastical tyranny. But let it once be supposed that Greek popes under the tutelage of Russia, or Franciscan monks under the patronage of the Apostolic Monarchy which still sets at nought, in Tyrol, the first principles of religious liberty, are to be allowed to lord it over the true believers; once encourage the hopes of Christian bigotry and the fears of Islam, and the miserable struggle will prolong itself to the bitter end."
[65] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 273.

discarded it altogether."[66] He does not provide illustrations of Muslim women in Sarajevo, with their transparent veils.

In contrast, Evans explains a more robust form of veiling of Muslim women in the town of Travnik, which he sketched and then also published in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*.





CH. V. LOVE-MATCHES IN BOSNIA. 195

an Englishman who had travelled through a great deal of the Ottoman dominions, but who had not visited Bosnia, could hardly be induced to believe that the figure below represented a woman of European Turkey. To find her like, one must transport oneself as far away as Egypt. Outside the limits of conservative old Bosnia, her disguise would be laughed at by the Turks themselves!

Bosniac Mahometan Woman.

But what is still stranger is that in Bosnia should coexist the two extremes of veiling and not veiling. If the married women here veil themselves more than anywhere else, *en revanche* unmarried girls are allowed to display their charms in a way which, to the well regulated Turk of another province when he first visits Bosnia, is quite scandalous. There is a Turkish proverb, 'Go to Bosnia if you wish to see your betrothed!' It is actually a fact that in this reactionary land there are such things as Mahometan love-matches; and even when the mother is allowed to select the spouse in the usual way, by inspecting, that is, the 'stock' in the baths, even then—so demoralized are the customs of these Mahometan Sclaves!—the young people are allowed to converse together before tying the conjugal knot. On Fridays and Mondays —days of greater liberty to all the Mahometan women —lovers may steal up to their sweethearts' windows

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On left Image 17 – Drawing of Muslim woman from UCL SSEES archives; photograph from personal files. On right Image 18 – Drawing of Muslim woman published in Arthur Evans' travelogue, 2nd edition 1877.

What is not pictured is the text is his description:

> Besides the two ordinary veils—that drapes the head and that which swathes the nose, mouth, and bosom—their forehead is often covered with an additional piece not unlike the half mask worn at masquerade balls, usually of black horse-hair, with the two eyeslits above mentioned fringed with gold. The whole form is mummied in such a way that an Englishman who had travelled through a great deal of the Ottoman dominions, but who had not visited Bosnia, could hardly be induced to believe that the figure below represented a woman of European Turkey.[67]

[66] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 273.
[67] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 195.

This veiled woman is married, but Evans observes that unmarried girls are "allowed to display their charms, in a which, to the well regulated Turk of another province when he first visits Bosnia, is quite scandalous."[68] Evans associates religion explicitly with clothing as a marker of religious identity—and a gendered one at that. In these descriptions, he perpetuates *two* western European ideas of the exotic, where the urban Muslim woman in Sarajevo is infected from the east with the lightest of colors and materials in clothing, but at the same time the married Muslim woman of Travnik is entirely concealed, but the unmarried girl has the freedom to be scandalous. It is an odd set of juxtapositions, which he notes. These are constructions of gendered identity that rely on ethnicity, religion, age, and social position but seen through the eyes of a western European man.

For Evans, the ethnologist, ethnic diversity also exacerbated the religious tensions between groups. European consular officials intervened in the summer of 1875 to calm tensions in Sarajevo, much like the cathedral crisis three years prior. Evans' claim that the community of "resident Europeans"[69] in Sarajevo provided some protection to the urban Christian Slavs demonstrated his belief in European superiority and the political clout of their respective home countries. European residents included the British consul William Holmes, the Austrian consul Count Von Bothmar, and the historian Edward Freeman.[70] The community also included resident, British expatriate, and author Paulina Irby, who had lived in Sarajevo since 1865 and who managed a school training Christian girls to become teachers since 1871.[71] Historian

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[68] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 195.
[69] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 255.
[70] Joan Evans, *Time and Chance,* 189–190. Joan Evans explains that Freeman, the Oxford historian had "taken a leading part in the organization of a relief fund in England for Bosnian refugees; Arthur Evans would briefly meet him at a meeting held by the Humphry Wards in Oxford in February 1876." Freeman and Evans corresponded for the next two years.
[71] Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adelina Paulina Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (London: Daldy, Isbister and Co, 1877; 3rd ed.). Georgina Muir Mackenzie collaborated with Adelina Irby on the

Edward A. Freeman and his two daughters, Helen and Margaret, visited the city; Margaret later became Evans' wife. This community was interconnected with friendships that would last lifetimes. During the summer of 1875, the revolt that began in neighboring Herzegovina dominated all discussion of the western Europeans in the city, and many Christians were evacuating for more western European countries. Local Ottoman official were reluctant to let some of them leave due to the perception that their presence was a bulwark against the outbreak of more serious violence.

This situation was problematic in the sense that Sarajevo had long been a city of mixed religious groups which included Muslim Slavic landlords of the Christian peasants, Greek tax collectors (Phanariotes) working on behalf of the Ottomans, and other Ottoman imperial officials. Less sizeable groups in the urban center were Orthodox and Catholic Christians and both Roma and Jewish minority groups. Evans would have access to data about the ethnic divisions only in passing during the summer of 1875; the real expertise would have come from Paulina Irby because of her longtime residence in the city. Paulina Irby—in breaking down the distribution of population according to religious groups—used "Turkish official reports from 1874," but cautioned against their reliability, contending that the number of "Mussulmans is enormously exaggerated; the proportion between Greek and Latin Christians is fairly stated."[72] In her own travelogue, Irby provided these numbers:

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first edition, but Mackenzie died in 1874 on Corfu. Irby dedicated the 1877 3rd edition to Georgina's mother, and kept Georgina Mackenzie on the title page as an author of the 3rd edition in memoriam.

[72] Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe,* 7. Estimating population numbers can be difficult business, but the point here is that Irby in the 1870s, as a notable European of the city, influenced Evans' travelogue and subsequent work as a journalist; later he would assist with her in establishing camps to refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina as the political unrest continued into the later 1870s.

Bosnian Mussulmans…….442,050
Christians of the Orthodox Eastern Church……...575,756
Roman Catholics……185,503
Jews……3,000
Gypsies……...9,537
Total……1,216,846[73]

These demographic estimates applied to Bosnia as a whole, rather than just Sarajevo. Irby also noted that "in addition to this native population should be mentioned some five thousand Austrian subjects, and some hundreds of Osmanli officials."[74] In a later passage, Irby expressed concern about the rumors of revolt in sectarian terms, emphasizing the potential for Muslim violence against Christians by overstating the city's Muslim population: "The Mahommedans of Serajevo [*sic*] are three times as numerous than the Christians, and are many of them exceedingly fanatical. They had sworn it would go hard with the Christians in the town unless the rising in Bosnia was quelled."[75] Irby's comments echo those of other Europeans who similarly expressed their fears for the region's Christian population in terms of demography.

Modern historians give a more measured perspective than Irby's for the Ottoman rule and demographics in the late nineteenth century in the Balkans because, as a whole, they do not politicize the unrest of 1875-1878 in quite the same way as she and later Evans did in their respective books.[76] Historians of Ottoman Bosnia agree that Orthodox Christians accounted for the largest number of people, followed by Muslims, Catholics, Jews, and Roma.[77] Hajdarpasic also explains that in 1911, the Habsburg administrations produced for its own imperial use of the first 'ethno-confessional' maps of Bosnia: a color-coded, expertly shaded vision of difference

[73] Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe,* 7. Irby's book was endorsed by the British politician the Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P., who wrote a preface to the 1877 edition in support of the Christian Slavs.
[74] Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe,* 7.
[75] Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces,* 31.
[76] Markus Koller and Kemal H. Karpat (eds.), *Ottoman Bosnia: A History in Peril* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).
[77] Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 8.

mapped onto neatly bounded districts. (See image 17 below and in Appendix A Illustrations for a 1918 ethnographic map by Jovan Cvijić.) The recent estimates include data from the last Austro-Hungarian census in 1910, which reported group count and percentage of total population: 434,000 or 22% were Catholic, 825,000 or 44% were Orthodox, 612,000 or 31% were Muslim, 26,000 or 3% were so-called others. As Edin Hajdarpasic explains, already in this period "the rubric 'confessional' was often read as 'national'; Orthodoxy was equated with Serbs, Catholicism with Croats, and Islam with Bosniaks or Bosnian Muslims—but nationalists themselves contested these conflations."[78]

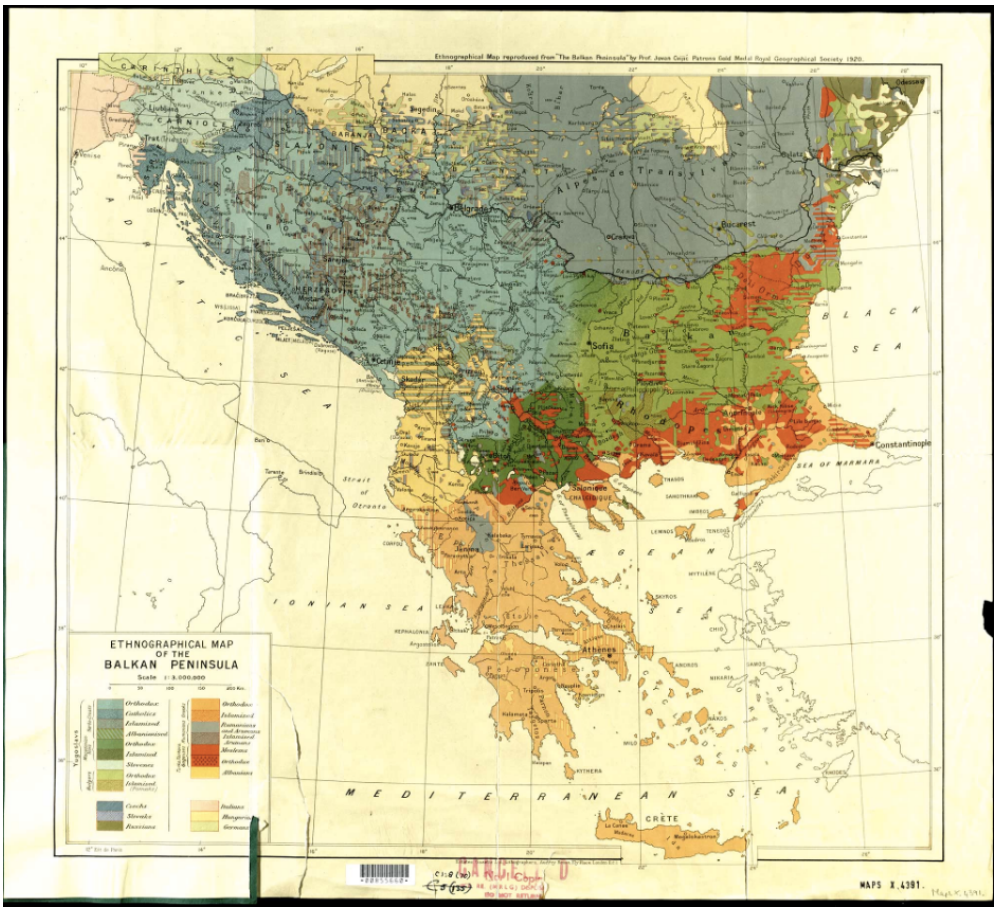

Image 19 – Ethnographic map of the Balkan peninsula by Jovan Cvijić, published in La Péninsule balkanique: Géographie humaine (1918)

[78] Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?*, 8.

The academic debate over the religious demography of the Balkans continues, because the numbers matter for understanding the region. Scholars argue that the surviving sources in estimating the relative size of the region's diverse ethnic and religious communities are unreliable, even as the censuses became more explicit on matters of faith and ethnicity because the estimates are based on Ottoman yearbooks (*sal-name),* which should have been published by the Ottoman administration of each province annually, but rarely were.[79] Socio-economic historian Donald Quataert estimates that the total population of the Ottoman Empire may have been twenty-five to thirty-two million in 1800, with roughly ten to eleven million living in the "Rumeli" regions of Greece and the Balkans—what some nineteenth-century Europeans called "Turkey-in-Europe." In the 1850s, the Rumeli region held nearly half the total Ottoman population. Even as late as 1906, after most of the region had slipped out of Ottoman control, the remaining areas still accounted for a one-quarter of the empire's total population. The loss of the Balkan provinces was thus a "terrible economic blow for the Ottoman economy and state."[80]

Evans' descriptions of the religious populations in major cities like Sarajevo need to be understood against this backdrop of the divide between urban and rural communities, and the contraction of Ottoman power in the Balkans. His early publications on the region present it from the view of a British adventurer traversing a rural and oftentimes wild countryside, punctuated by sparsely populated hamlets, villages, and small towns. Evans conveys the tensions underlying the revolt of 1875 without actually witnessing violence. Instead, he writes about the region's

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[79] Justin McCarthy, "Archival Sources Concerning Serb Rebellions in Bosnia, 1875–76," in Koller and Kemal H. Karpat (eds.), *Ottoman Bosnia.* Justin McCarthy, a demographer, warns that the data from *sal-names* should be used with caution as a source of population distribution. He found indications of errors not only in enumerating the population but also other statistics such as taxes listed in yearbooks (p. 143–144).

[80] Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire,* 112. Quataert argues that as a part of the violence, the ethnic distinctions became more important among the Ottoman Christians in the Balkans, a "process accelerated by the emergence of the separate church organizations…where each separate Church sought to create or reinforce a sense of separate ethnic, for example, Serb or Rumanian, identity: the 'Orthodox Church' went from embracing almost all Orthodox subjects to, largely, only the ethnically Greek ones" (p. 189).

Muslim customs and the wildness of the landscape. When the revolt started in early August in Herzegovina, near a village called Nevesinje, twelve miles from the Herzegovina's capital city of Mostar, it was a rural protest, but Ottoman officials felt the need to rapidly suppress any dissent, given the numbers of rural Christians and the potential to spread to cities and towns.[81] The uprising expanded just a few weeks later to Bosnia, morphing into a region revolt, so that even longtime residents like Irby sought permission to leave. As soon as she received. permission, Irby relocated her school to Prague, which was outside Ottoman control. During her departure, she made her Slavic pupils "wear 'European costume'" when crossing from Bosnia into Austro-Hungarian territory at Brod; this dress ensured that the girls were not asked for their passports.[82] According to Evans, the Pasha did not want to let Irby go because her departure would only increase the general panic and exodus among the city's residential Europeans, and she was forced to leave her personal collection of books behind.[83] The brothers did not stay long in the city either, leaving Sarajevo on August 24 to travel through mountainous Herzegovina, avoiding areas of active fighting, before crossing into Dalmatia with a caravan on August 31. Once across the border, they made their way by the river Neretva to the Adriatic Sea and then on to Dubrovnik (then called Ragusa).

The Germ of Balkan Ethno-nationalisms

The 1875 revolt was a step in the development of ethno-nationalism in the Balkans. And Evans' constructions of the southern Slavs as representatives of an ancient past must be within the

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[81] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 333.
[82] Irby, *Travels in Slavonic Provinces,* 32–34; also Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 254. Joan Evans contradicts both Irby and Evans on this point, writing that Irby relocated her school to Beograd; see J. Evans, *Time and Chance*, 179. Although Joan Evans had full access to family documents when writing her half-brother's biography, she may have focused on the preliminary stage of Irby's departure from Sarajevo. And archival documents from Evans' two-month trip in 1875 are less numerous than those from the five years he spent living in Dubrovnik, traveling the region extensively while writing articles for the *Manchester Guardian*.
[83] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegóvina*, 253–254.

context of the politics of the time and his own historical review of customs and culture. He was not interested in nationalities *per se* but rather ethnicities and their origins. Other westerners, like Paulina Irby, saw and wrote about the southern Slavs in more politicized terms: the Balkan peoples struggled against the Ottoman Turks to establish their own right to self-determination; from the European perspective, the Slavic people emerged as fiercely nationalistic and oppositional in temperament and culture because they were defined by the "cruelties" of the Turks.[84] Evans evolved in his thinking about ethno-nationalism rather quickly, however. Just two years after the publication of his travelogue, Evans expressed his outrage against the Turks, in *Illyrian Letters* (1878), and aligned himself more closely with Irby's position. After 1878 he also developed an anti-Austrian stance.

Evans' writings were in the context of how to respond to the Ottoman Empire's lack of protections for Christians. That debate was part of the "Eastern Question," which has been presented in histories as the western European nations and Russia response to Ottoman instability, their concerns about maintaining a balance of power, and the possibility of gaining more territory should the Ottoman Empire collapse. For example, the Eastern Question was one that began in the late eighteenth century and re-emerged after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, where the Great Powers "managed the challenge of change by allowing cosmetic alterations to the territorial status quo, in accordance with the principle that any degree of autonomy was acceptable, as long as the region in question remained *de jure* within the Ottoman fold."[85] But this focus on western European perception of the Balkans involves not only Slavic identities but western European ones as well. Edward Said has argued that "European culture

[84] Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, 21–22.
[85] M. Şükrü. Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 110.

gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self."[86] That underground self is part of identity construction, which needs to have another object for self-definition.[87] If orientalism "comes to exert a three-way force, on the Orient, on the Orientalist, and the Western 'consumer' of Orientalism,"[88] then the divisions among the Balkans peoples were accentuated by western Europeans like Evans because he was a consumer of the divisions between Occident and Orient. A key feature that kept the Ottoman Empire separate from the "European family of nations" was its perceived despotism, absence of representative government, and wide-spread corruption.[89] Evans believed that the southern Slavs had a deep connection to their ancient past which he saw emerging in their present political identities. And those biological or religious divisions among peoples promote the development of ethno-nationalism because it cements the relationship between an imagined community with a mythic historic past of unique ethnicity.

Evans, as an ethnologist, was participating in a political/anthropological project—though he may not have thought of it like that at the time. His complaint was against religious fanaticism of any kind, not against nationalism. His quip that the "whole history of Bosnia from beginning has been one long commentary on the evils of established religions,"[90] sums up his approach as an ethnographer, ethnologist, and traveler who categorized the Balkan peoples that summer in 1875 because he saw the region in confessional terms. The 1875 revolt, which began in Herzegovina and spread throughout Bosnia, provides an excellent example of how religious identities in the Ottoman Empire were redefined across multi-confessional groups to form newer

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[86] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[87] Said, *Orientalism*, 23.
[88] Said, *Orientalism*, 67.
[89] Georgios Giannakopoulos, "Re-Staging the 'Eastern Question': Arthur J. Evans and the Search for the Origins of European Civilization in the Balkans," *History of European Ideas* 46, no. 5 (July 3, 2020): 602.
[90] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, lxii.

multiethnic groups, where at the base layer of identity construction, the components are the family, village, *vilayet* (region), and religion. The next tier would be the influence of the state as represented by Ottoman governance and reforms, in which the empire can be seen by individual's relationship to the state, by the relationship of one individual to another, and then the individual as part of a group and how the state categorized such groups. (The real-world example would be who has to pay taxes, how much, and to whom.) Those imperial reforms changed the nature of identity within the Balkans and may have exacerbated reactions of one group to another (e.g., when Muslim nobles reacted negatively to reforms making all Ottoman subjects equal). Identity construction in this limited example then is an interplay between local versus larger concerns, where locals may or may not respect changes that are initiated by a state, compounded with overlapping pairings or binaries such as serf/peasant versus elites. One has to remember, however, that those binaries are just a short-hand way of expressing more complicated relationships.

Balkan identities before and after the 1875 revolt did not necessarily fall into tidy groups of opposing pairs. The idea of ethno-nationalistic groups or binary opposites—so familiar to the modern reader (e.g., Croat/Serb, West/East, exotic/not, female/male)—is embedded within western civilizational, cultural normative thinking. In the Balkans, the most populous part of the empire, there were the "largely forgotten powerful Muslim elites, the Bosnian *beys*, Hercegovinan *kapetans*, Albanian provincial governors…who posed the most serious internal challenge to the Istanbul government in the Napoleonic era."[91] In fact, rebellion against the Ottomans did not necessarily come from the Christian peasants or villagers, but rather the local nobles, Bosnian lords or *beys,* who did not appreciate state reforms that limited their traditional

[91] Mazower, *The Balkans*, 81.

privileges. As Michelle Campos and Frederick Anscombe show, differentiation by class and status could be as fundamental as those based on religious identity. These tensions are clearly visible in the revolt of 1875, in which landowners refused to make concessions to peasants, who then, in turn, appealed to Ottoman authorities from outside of the region, albeit without success. The Ottoman Empire kept its Islamic political identity throughout the course of its life. Populations under its control used religious criteria—not nationality—as the primary means of identity formation; nationalism would then be "essentially an artificial, post-Ottoman construction that has had from its inception fundamental weaknesses as a basis for long-term political stability."[92] Anscombe's work is valuable for understanding how the 1875 revolt was a step in the development of ethno-national Balkan identities because he argues against linking the problems of political and ethnic-conflict problems of today with the history of the late Ottoman Empire. Rather he focuses on the political choices that were made by newly independent regimes that "still influence contemporary politics and problems."[93] This perspective makes identity construction also more fluid in the sense that political choices have an influence on who self-identifies with a group and how groups form, dissolve, overlap, and/or go to war against each other. Evans understood this multiplicity of identities, even though he constructed identities in relation to an ancient past and perpetuated stereotypes about the Balkan peoples.

Looking at a small region of the world such as the Balkans, which has seen successive waves of invasion over three or more millennia, popular depictions often conclude that the present-day conflicts among the varying groups of Balkan peoples were simply lurking and waiting to explode. This would be an incorrect assumption because the idea "old hatreds between ethnic groups" shifts blame back to a model of ethnicity in which biology and the inherent

[92] Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*, 4.
[93] Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*, 6.

character of a group define the group. Frederik Barth's 1969 work on ethnicity is useful in this context to counter this argument of ancient ethnic hatreds because he treats ethnic groups as a form of social organization, where the boundary defines the group, not the "cultural stuff within it."[94] We see this clearly in the results of the 1875 revolt because cultural identities were shared; but emerging was a new concept of religious ethnicity in the region that had previously not dealt with by this level and rapid spread of violence. And the violence was prompted by individuals who did not participate in communal or state sponsored identities (e.g., highway robbers were outside of the law). Barth expands this concept in order to "unhitch the idea of boundary from the idea of categorical distinction...where making a distinction does not necessarily entail drawing a boundary."[95] He gives the example of the Basseri, a group of Persian nomads, who consider social bonds to be determining "boundary" in their identities[96] and thus this has a positive sense, rather than defining one's identity in a negative way by contrasting to another (alien) 'other.' The Basseri's boundaries are positive in the sense that they create identity based on social bonds. After Barth's 1969 article, other studies on ethnicity have followed his lead, and employed ethnicity as a non-biological concept to show that "ethnic identity is constituted, maintained, and invoked in social processes that involve diverse intentions, constructions of meaning, and conflicts."[97]

The formation of ethnic identity could be a multi-faceted one of negotiated relationships. The ethnic identities of the Balkans are fluid and depend on both internal and external historical and political circumstances. That dependency is a relationship among multiple points of view,

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[94] Frederik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1969), 15.
[95] Anthony P. Cohen, *Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 17.
[96] Cohen, *Signifying Identities*, 23–24.
[97] Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993): 223.

where "ethnic identity is the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification and outsiders' ethnic designations—that is, what *you* think your ethnicity is, versus what *they* think your ethnicity is."[98] But even the idea of a 'dialectic' is problematic because it promotes binary distinctions. The late nineteenth century saw the beginning of the idea that one could be a Bosnian and/or a Christian and/or Muslim. This idea would evolve and become codified by maps, especially during and immediately after the First World War. But mapping ethnicities was complicated business. Balkan ethnicity—like that of the dormant Balkan ethnic violence ready to explode—is a way to make the Balkans into a violent borderland, an uncontrollable and alien other with religious plurality without acknowledging the role that western Europe has played in supporting and promoting such violence.

The 1875 Revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The revolt started as a protest against taxes in June and July 1875, in Nevesinje in eastern Herzegovina twelve miles from Mostar, when local Christian village elders refused to pay obedience to authorities. Their refusal began as a boycott because of the "levy of taxes to the State, as well as the due to their *ciftlik sahibis* (those landowners)."[99] Christian Slavic Orthodox villagers had to also contend with appropriation of agricultural goods by brigands called *hajduks* in the mountains, and payments to mostly Greek Orthodox tax farmers. And after severe crop failures in 1873 and 1874, villagers were unable to pay taxes collected by their landlords, tax farmers, or Ottoman officials. Initially, an official Ottoman arbitration commission, led by the

[98] Joanne Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity" in *New Tribalisms: The Resurgence of Race and Ethnicity*, ed. Michael W. Hughey (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 240.
[99] Hannes Grandits, "Violent Social Disintegration: A Nation-building Strategy in Late Ottoman Herzegovina," in Hannes Grandits Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler (eds.), *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 112.

Herzegovinian Mustafa-pasha and highest military officer of the *sancak*, or Selim-pasha, went to Nevesinje to negotiate with the villagers; the Ottoman officials offered the elders a salary to be part of regional defense against the brigands, who were sometimes eliciting support from neighboring Montenegro.[100] The villagers seriously considered the Ottoman offer. However, refusal changed to revolt, when a small group of young Serbian nationalists (who were still in school) falsified three letters to the brigands calling for killing the Turks and prompting a brutal raid on a trading caravan. The Ottoman mediator who had been sent to Nevesinje dispatched a telegram on June 24, 1875 to the grand vizier in Sarajevo:

> Yesterday evening we again arrived in Nevesinje. Today, actually at the same moment when we were about to send someone to the insurgents to inform them of our arrival and our mission, a group of insurgents attacked a trader's caravan. The armed robbery took place on a hill that is less than half an hour from here. They have killed five Muslims and have taken away 50 loads of coffee, sugar, and rice, as well as the horses. They have brought their booty to a village called Odrišina…The revolt of these people has ken on a new aspect. It looks as if they really have the intention to trigger a rebellion. The time of negotiation seems to be over. Going to them or sending an envoy does not make sense anymore. What is your order?[101]

The order was more guards sent to the region by Sarajevo but these were often irregular soldiers who attacked villages;[102] the response of local villagers was to arm themselves with their own guards because they expected retaliation. Religious differences played into the escalation of violence. The exact cause is difficult to determine, but most authors evaluating the revolt see it as a complex event based on the combination of domestic and foreign influences.[103]

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[100] Grandits, "Violent Social Disintegration," 113–114.

[101] Grandits, "Violent Social Disintegration," 117. Grandits cites Hadžibegić "Turski documenti," p. 94, documents which included a dispatch from June 24 (July 6) 1875 to Bosnian Vizier Dervi-pasa from Hajdar-beg Čengić and Petraki-efendi Petrović. Petrović had been sent to support negotiations in Nevesinje. Another historian, Aleksa Ivić dates the outbreak of the revolt to the fifteenth of August 1875, in *Fragmenti iz istorije Bosanskog ustanka 1875. i 1876. god.* (Zagreb: Štampa dioničke tiskare, 1918), see chapter or section 2, pages 10–16. The discrepancy in dates was due to differing calendars, at least between June and July.

[102] Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia*, 105–106.

[103] Miloš Ković, "The Beginning of the 1875 Serbian Uprising in Herzegovina the British Perspective," *Balcanica* 2010, no. 41 (January 1, 2010): 55–71.

In 1875, British officials assumed that foreigners instigated the revolt to rile up the local population of Christians in Herzegovina and then in Bosnia. Mr. William Holmes, then the British consul in Bosnia, said that the revolt was initiated by "forty agitators, and these not even Herzegovinians for the most part, but Montenegrins and Dalmatians."[104] The question was debated among British officials. However, to give context to the British perspective, Serbian historian, Miloš Ković, writes that Holmes relied almost "exclusively on information supplied by Dervish Pasha, governor general of Bosnia, and by other Ottoman officials"; a pronounced Turcophile, Holmes knew about Austria-Hungary's aspirations regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina.[105] Ković's assessment comes from his study of consular reports as well as Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian sources regarding the revolt.[106]

Evans deviated from the standard consular opinion and therefore from the standard British point of view, that the uprising was caused by foreign agitators. With his historical understanding of the region, Evans believed that the reasons for revolt depended not on agitators, but on problems of terrain, climate, and harvests. These were certainly factors. What makes his analysis in the travelogue more convincing the consular reports is that Evans differentiated

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[104] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 326.

[105] Ković, "The Beginning of the 1875 Serbian Uprising in Herzegovina the British Perspective," 58. One must note that as a historian, Ković, rather surprisingly, defended now-convicted war criminal Ratko Mladić during Mladić's trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, Netherlands. Ratko Mladić was captured and convicted for in his role as a general in the Yugoslav People's Army and the Chief of Staff of the Army of Republika Srpska in Bosnia. Charges against Mladić included crimes against humanity, in connection with the Srebrenica massacre and Siege of Sarajevo. Kovic's response in review of the prosecutor's report was that all sides had committed crimes, which is still true, but the argument side stepped what Mladić was accused of. See the Institute for War and Peace Reporting's article at https://iwpr.net/global-voices/mladic-witness-focus-bosnian-serb-crimesč. See also article published at the Sense Tribunal, a specialized project of SENSE News Agency based in The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague: https://www.sense-agency.com/icty/historian-corrects-grammar.29.html?cat_id=1&news_id=16897. Ković's scholarly work, *Disraeli and the Eastern Question* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), is a measured and thorough examination of Britain's role in responding to the Eastern Question.

[106] Milorad Ekmečić, Ustanak u Bosni, 1875–1878. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1960); Branko Pavićević et al., *Rusija i bosansko-hercegovački ustanak 1875–1878*, Istorijski izvori; knj. <3> (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, 1985); and Rista T. Proroković-Nevesinjac, *Nevesinjska Buna 1874. i Pocetak Ustanka u Hercegovini 1875. Godine* (Beograd, 1905).

between the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina in his writing, describing tracts of land in Bosnia which had "marvelous fertility" where officials could not "so entirely consume the fatness of the land as not leave the *rayah* considerable gleanings."[107] Therefore Evans saw that in Bosnia "the main cause of the insurrection was the oppression of the tithe-farmers,"[108] whereas in Herzegovina, the revolt was "directed more against the Mahometan land-owners than against the sultan. It is mainly an agrarian war."[109] That part of Herzegovina was where the "bulk of agricultural land was owned by an urban landowning class" and in the Nevesinje region it was the peasants who had: *"*To the owners of the land—the *agas* and the *beys*—they had to deliver a third part of the harvest."[110]

Taxes certainly figured into the causality of the revolt. From reports in Serbo-Croatian published in 1918, the condition of the most Herzegovinian and Bosnian villagers just before the revolt broke out was certainly "desperate"; instead of the third that was required by law in tax, collectors took half.[111] Not until June 1875 did tax farmers show up in Nevesinkso Polje. Evans calls them "Publicans" and, using a consular report, described them as "one Christian and two members of the renegade Mahometan aristocracy of the Herzegovina, who here vie with the Fanariote Greeks for this shameful office."[112] They had apparently rated the harvest as more than half its worth, and when the peasants refused to comply because of the poor harvest of 1874, the tax farmers "let loose their bloodhounds" who "robbed, beat, and imprisoned" anyone they

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[107] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 332.
[108] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina*, 328.
[109] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 332.
[110] Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler, *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 287 (note 9). Grandits cites Prorokovic-Nevesinjac, *Nevesinjska buna 1874*, 38.
[111] Aleksa Ivić, *Fragmenti iz istorije Bosanskog ustanka 1875. i 1876. god.* (Zagreb: Štampa dioničke tiskare, 1918), 6. In BCS the opening sentence of the booklet is "Stanje srpske raje pred bosanski ustanak bilo je očajno." The villagers are referred to as "srpske raje" or Serb Christian peasants.
[112] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 338.

could. Village elders complained but were threatened and then fled to Montenegro. The rest of the villagers "took refuge, with their cattle, in the neighbouring mountains."[113]

Political response from British officials was lukewarm and slow-moving at first, and Evans' travelogue was an argument against inaction. Rumors of sacked villages in Herzegovina began to "reach consular ears" and the Vali of Bosnia, who had appointed a commission previously to "confer with the Christians on their grievances" and "at the same time gave the refugees in Montenegro a safe-conduct to their homes."[114] According to Evans when the refugees did return to Nevesinje, they were fired upon by Turkish troops. Turkish authorities "permitted Mussulmans of the village to murder several without moving a finger to punish the assassins!"[115] The result of the commission's investigation was falsified, Evans asserted, where the "outrages" were reduced to "antiquated grievances raked up by self-constituted grief-mongers."[116] Evans made his dislike to the consul clear with the statement that "the real information received by the Commission was very different from that which the Vali vouchsafed to our Consul."[117] Part of Evans' explanation of the plight of the Christian peasant was an attempt to counter the prevailing thought that there was external influence or agitators (e.g., the Montenegrins).

In *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* Evans saw the agrarian situation as a problem compounded by the lack of harvest and by the tithes that the peasants had to pay. He presented it as such in *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* to provide the reader with "more than enough to account for the outbreak of the insurrection without going in quest of agitators from beyond the border."[118] Evans makes it clear in his travelogue that he held Mr. Holmes in very low regard.

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[113] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 338.
[114] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 339.
[115] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 339.
[116] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 339.
[117] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 340.
[118] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 334.

But he did acknowledge that "the insurrection was aided and abetted by Sclavonic agitators beyond the border" where "there are many representatives of all the South-Sclavonic peoples from Bohemia to Montenegro fighting in the insurgent ranks, and one of their principal leaders, Ljubiratić comes from Free Serbia."[119]

Evans was not a systematic thinker on foreign affairs, but he was able to express his response to the revolt from two "temporal frames…the deep anthropological and archaeological time of ancient civilizations and the modern framework of nationalist politics.[120] That duality of gaze echoes how he expressed his ideas that the southern Slavs were modern antiquities—they were connected to their ancient customs as individual groups in an ethnological sense, yet they had the potential and right to develop into a more modern form of political existence. In his travelogue, Evans articulates his political opinion as the outrage that he and other Europeans felt against the Turks for the massacre of local Christians. But he also describes how local Christians participated in the violence. The Dervish Pasha (or Vali) visited Nevesinje, and as portrayed by Evans, could not or would not guarantee the Christians safety. After the Vali left, the "native Mussulman, headed by a Beg, who was one of the tithe-farmers, broke into the government store and armed themselves with breech-loaders; and on the first of July the civil war in the Herzegovina was begun not by the Christians, but by Mussulman fanatics who butchered all the Christians they could find in Nevesinje—a few sick *rayahs*, who, unable to support the hardship of mountain life, had returned to their homes."[121] The Christians descended from the mountains to retaliate on the perpetrators of the massacre.[122] The governmental response was to send two Turkish battalions of troops "to aid the Mahometan assassins, and attack the Christians

[119] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* 332.
[120] Giannakopoulos, "Re-Staging the 'Eastern Question," 603.
[121] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, 337.
[122] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, 341.

indiscriminately" and the rayahs from neighboring districts "who had been suffering the same outrages" answered the call to arms; both the Roman Catholics of the right bank of the Neretva and the Orthodox Greek clans of Montenegrin border joined the fight.[123]

The revolt in Herzegovina and Bosnia played a key role in the development of the "Eastern Question," and prompted a subsequent diplomatic crisis in which the Great Powers argued over how to respond to the violence. Britain in particular responded to the revolt with an interplay of competing foreign and domestic interests that initially deadlocked the cabinet, while anti-Russian "jingoism" grew in response to William Gladstone's anti-Turk position and publications in 1876.[124] The revolt also influenced the decision by the Great Powers to shift the administration or governance of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austro-Hungary in 1878. In other words, the Great Powers of Britain, France, Austro-Hungary, and to some extent Russia, felt that Ottoman governance could not control its core population centers in the Balkans. The 1875 uprisings were a step in a series or an escalation of violence and protest, against the ruling order by smaller regional groups that slowly developed collective identities to assert more political and economic control over their lives. Historian Hannes Grandits argues against a collective decision on the part of rural Herzegovinians to go to war against the existing order, but instead that decisions were made locally, by village elders. But as a result of the revolt, and with an increase of confessional hatred and an escalation of violence, the Herzegovinian population "again became strongly polarized according to confession or religious distinctions."[125]

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[123] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, 341. Evans called this river the Narenta, an alternate and Anglicized spelling.
[124] Geoffrey Hicks, "Whose Foreign Policy? Britain's 'Inner Cabinet' and the Eastern Crisis, January-March 1878," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27, no. 3 (July 2016): 400.
[125] Grandits, *Conflicting Loyalties*, 133.

The events in 1875 cannot be viewed in isolation, nor can they be used in a retrospective sense to provide explanations of the inevitability of Balkan history (e.g., that it is always violent). The reasons for the revolt matter even now because reports of British observers such as Evans have sometimes been too influential in constructing modern explanations. With the publication of *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina,* Evans established himself as an expert of the region in the eyes of the British public, his work read even by non-English-speaking publics.[126] Evans' travelogue was the start of his Balkan reflections that he would continue to develop and expand upon throughout his long and varied career.

The Slavs and European Civilization

Three years after that Balkan summer of 1875, Evans delivered a lecture at Sion College in London on February 23, 1878, which he entitled, "The Slavs and European Civilization." He was, by then, an established journalist publishing lengthy articles for *The Manchester Guardian* as an anonymous correspondent, while based in Dubrovnik from 1877 to 1882. His publisher Longmans, Green, and Co. produced a printed copy of the Sion College lecture, which is now in a bound monograph of Historical Pamphlets at the Trinity College Bodleian Library.[127] I originally found this lecture when investigating out-of-print titles to see if Evans' "Modern Antiquities" memorandum had ever been published, or if it was published but out of print. Evans' lecture pre-dated the "Modern Antiquities" memorandum (because of its watermark). The

[126] Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans, 1830–1880: Images of the Self and Others* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), 132–33.
[127] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, listed under "Aiken, Peter Freeland" and topics are "War, religiously, morally, and historical consid." Access date February 10, 2018.

others lectures and publications in the bound collection had a wide range of dates, the first being from 1850.[128]

Evans' lecture, at thirty-two pages, long seems a bit long for an audience. It appears in the middle of the collection. Delivering lectures to learned societies or an audience eager to be educated was the role of an ethnographer, ethnologist, or other social scientist; other lectures in the collection were diverse, on the laws governing madness or Egyptian finances.[129] But an anonymous review of Evans' lecture shows that some observers were skeptical of Evans' impartiality on the topic of the southern Slavs. The critique begins with a sharp assessment of Evans' travelogue:

> Mr. Evans's lecture reminds us throughout of his book on Bosnia, not merely by the selection of subjects treated of, but also by its enthusiastic tone, and poetical, occasionally florid, style. Of course, it was addressed to a sympathetic audience, and argument is consequently its weakest point. As a man to whom nothing human is alien, the writer of these few lines is ready enough to accept Mr. Evans's high estimate of the Slavs, without therefore approving of his unsympathetic remakes about the "Ogres." But at the present moment it is, perhaps, exorbitant to expect impartiality of an Englishman writing about the East of Europe. Otherwise, we would observe that the century-and-a-half arrest of Ottoman conquest in Europe, placed by Mr. Evans (p. 13) to credit of his Bulgarian and Servian [*sic*] friends, is commonly attributed to the efforts of the rival "Ogres" of Hungary and the non-Slavonic House of Hunyadi. When we first read the lecture it struck us that one of the greatest of Slavonic countries was, like the effigies of Brutus and Cassius, conspicuous by its absence. Reading it a second time, however, we find that the name of Poland does occur. But still, in a general way, it is fair to say that Mr. Evans's Slavs are the Slavs south of the Danube.[130]

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[128] For example, the preface to the first edition explains that the following essay was read: "In the lecture room of the Bristol Athenaeum before a numerous audience, some of whom have expressed a wish that it should be published. It has since been enlarged. Public attention has lately been attracted to the subject in consequence of the proceedings of metropolitan and provincial societies, and of the congress of deputies from several nations, for the promotion of peace. The author has endeavoured to treat in a popular manner topics that have often been discussed; but new occasions demand the exhibition of old truths, and time and circumstances perpetually supply fresh materials to vary the lights in which they may be represented." —Grove House, Durdham Down, Bristol, 15th January 1850."

[129] For example, one lecture was entitled, "Lunacy in its Relations to the State: A Commentary on the Evidence Taken by the Committee of the House of Commons on Lunacy Law in the Session of 1877," by Sir James Coxes, MD, FRSE, FRCPE, Commissioner in Lunacy, Scotland, published London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington Crown Buildings, 188 Fleet Street, 1878. Another lecture in the collection was entitled "The Khedive and his Calumniators: The Finances of Egypt," where no author is listed, only an illustration.

[130] See review in the "The Academy and Literature," 13, June 15, 1878.

The reviewer's primary objection is a lack of argument because the audience is sympathetic to Evans' topic, but the reviewer objects to Evans' sparing mention of "the greatest of Slavonic countries" (Poland), while acknowledging upon a second reading that Poles do make an appearance. The review demonstrates that Evans' influence—even if negatively received—was part of the public discourse in print.

Little mention is made of race in the review. But for Evans race at this point in 1878 emerges as a synonym for ethno-national identity in a hierarchal structure among the Slavs. Evans places the Poles into the Slavic family by categorizing each "race" in an ethno-national way:

> The Slavs, as you know, are a very large family of peoples, varying slightly in languages, and including among their members the Russians, Poles, Chesks of Bohemia, the Wends of Southern Austria and Northern Prussia, besides the Croats, Slavonians, Serbs, Bosnians, and Bulgarians, and other members of the family inhabiting the Balkan peninsula, of which I wish especially to speak to-night. The most powerful representatives of the race are the Russians, the most cultivated the Bohemians, the most heroic the Montenegrins.[131]

Three groups have particular characteristics, but all are part of the same family. This example perfectly demonstrates how Evans understood race in the 1870s. Race was the family of man with lesser and greater branches. Such details from the review are important to illustrate the academic debates in a public space and demonstrate just how ethnological comparison and categorization occurred with multiple media in Victorian society at the time. For the reviewer, Poland was the greatest of Slavonic countries and Evans failed to acknowledge that superiority on the civilization hierarchy of Slavic lineages. Race, ethnicity, language and identity thus

[131] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 6.

remained constant themes in the reception of Evans' work and debate over his representations of the southern Slavs.

The lecture also shows how Evans subordinated race to the ideas about the family of man. Evans entitled his lecture "The Slavs and European Civilisation," because he framed his thinking in hierarchal terms, expressing the idea of a "family of man." The oldest members would be those countries with sophisticated cultures, economies, and politics; the youngest, the least sophisticated. His customary but striking mix of idealization and distance about the Slavs in this lecture creates a combination of negative and positive stereotypes. On the one hand, he criticizes the southern Slavs (not the Poles, then) for being too primitive; on the other he praises the Slavs south of the Danube for their childlike simplicity because they are on the verge of their dawning moment.

These could be the musings of a young man about to launch a new phase of his life. At the time, Evans had only one year's worth of experience as a journalist in the Balkans, and was traveling between the Balkans and England because he was engaged to Margaret Freeman, the daughter of Oxford historian. They were married from her home at Somerleaze near Wells (approximately midway between Cardiff and Bristol on the Severn River) on September 19, 1878, several months after the lecture. Arthur and Margaret departed to live at Dubrovnik just a few weeks later, that October.[132] The Balkans was a clearly a landscape that Evans loved, and he convinced his wife to take up residence there.

For Evans, natural beauty of that landscape is linked to Balkan legends and folklore. In his 1878 lecture Evans repeats the romanticization of the Balkan landscape that appears throughout *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, especially when he describes natural scenes of

[132] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 215.

beauty. He makes the connections among legends, beauty, and nature explicit. His tone evolves from exuberant to melancholy. For example, he quotes the poem, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," by John Milton (1608–1674), who, Evans told his audience for context "could long ago sing of the exile of the elves and fairies from the prosaic world around him." The one stanza Evans chooses is telling:

> The lonely mountains o'er,
> And the resounding shore,
> A voice of weeping heard and loud lament;
> From haunted spring and dale,
> Edged with poplar pale
> The parting genius is with sighing sent.
> With flower-interwoven tresses torn
> The nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.[133]

This poem inspires Evans to express his own ideas about the southern Slavs, their place in nature, their understanding and connection to folklore which makes them ancient or outside of time, and their racial age in the civilizational family tree. Evans implies fairies exist only in twilight, articulating his hope that the southern Slavs might be on the verge of moving out of the past, out of that the temporal space of legend and myth (or that anachronistic space), and into a dawn of civilization. The Slavs—who have been lost—might be found.

Immediately following the quote from Milton's poem, Evans tries to echo Milton's verse at least in imagery:

> But those in the South Slavonic lands there is not a glade among the beech-woods where the fairies do not dance. The Vila, the beautiful Slavonic nymph, with her blue eyes and long golden hair, and splayed, swanlike feet, is no fabled being at whom children have their laugh, but a sober reality to the gravest greybeards! You may see, if you have a mind to, her supernatural footsteps printed on the rock pavement of her underground palaces—those marvellous caves with which Illyria is honeycombed, with their dripstone pendants and pillars of glittering spar and magic domes and aisles and arches not made

[133] John Milton "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," quoted by Evans in his lecture, "The Slavs and European Civilization," 29. [BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143]. For the complete poem, see https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44735/on-the-morning-of-christs-nativity.

> by hands. You may hear her voice among the sea pines, you may drink from her fountains, and pluck her chosen flowers![134]

Fairies are everywhere in nature in Slavonic lands, among the beechwoods, Evans tells his audience. This fairy has blond hair and blue eyes and splayed swan-like feet. She is Slavic but with light coloring—clearly white. The imagery is sexual in that one can drink from her fountain and pluck her flowers. And yet, she inhabits fabulous underground caverns where natural formations taken on a magical gleam and no human architecture is present. It is an entirely natural world beyond the races of man. In Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian languages, a *vila* is a localized nymph or fairy of the mountain (*gorska vila)*, lake (*jezerkinja)*, or forest (*šumska*).[135] Evans mentions the fairies nine times in his travelogue,[136] usually in association with his lyrical or florid descriptions of the environment, and the description from the travelogue that most closely matches the lecture is when he and his brother pass a "flowery dell among beech trees where the good Vilas are dancing" as they make their way to a pilgrimage site on Black Mountain or Forest Mountain in Bosnia.[137]

The imagery of beauty and purity of nature is highly symbolic given that the essential message of his lecture that the Slavs had suffered evils and western Europe owes them a debt. In this way, Evans constructs Europe into ethnological groups, which differ from each other by a variety of factors; by religion, ethnicity, and language. Next, Evans differentiates and separates Slavs from European civilization both spatially and temporally. They are lost in time and even gray bearded men believe in the nymphs or vilas. Evans tells his audience that the Slavs have had

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[134] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilization," 29.
[135] Željko Bujas, *Veliki hrvatsko-engleski rječnik = Croatian-English dictionary*, 2. izd., Biblioteka Rječnici i leksikoni (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 2001), 1573.
[136] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,* xci, 129, 138, 154, 155, 220, 223, 397, 419.
[137] Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegóvina,*129. Future projects will analyze Evans' collection of tales he accumulated from 1877–1882 to argue that he had connected religious customs to folklore and intended to write about Balkan mythologies.

arrested development because of geographic circumstance, which has set them back in time and development. But they are also hindered by historical circumstances. Much like he wrote in his travelogue about the religious identities in Sarajevo and the reasons and impact of the revolt of 1875, he reminds his audience in this lecture that the European civilization owes the Slavs a debt because they provided a buffer against the Ottoman invasions.

Evans does not shy away from gory metaphor:

> Never let us forget that the Slavs have practically formed a living wall of human flesh and blood that has surrounded and protected our Western civilization on its most exposed side; and which, though perpetually broken down, has spent the force of the foe in the effort, and has as perpetually re-formed itself.[138]

Because of that sacrifice—in flesh and blood—civilization progress and standing suffered in the Balkans. The southern Slavs did not develop as western European nations did, but rather sacrificed themselves as a collective entity. When it comes to Bosnia in particular, Evans blames the Roman Catholic church for allowing the Turks into the Balkan space, which he defines—interestingly enough—as European:

> The fate of Bosnia, however, which prolonged its resistance for a century after this date, deserves something more than a passing notice—not only as showing how the shameless policy of the Church of Rome opened an avenue to the Turk to the heart of Europe, but as bringing us to the consideration of what was undoubtedly the greatest direct service that our Slavonic kinsmen have performed for European civilization.[139]

The southern Slavs are kinsman to western Europeans, and part of the same family. He explicitly blames the Catholic Church for allowing the Turks into European territory. Evans also expresses the nineteenth century European idea of both racialized distinctions in man and the familial genealogy of man, a concept that Anne McClintock describes in her work but within the context of nationalism and genders:

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[138] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 11–12.
[139] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 19.

> Nations are frequently figured through the iconography of familial and domestic space…nations are symbolically figured as domestic genealogies…The family trope is important for nationalism in at least two ways. First it offers a 'natural' figure for sanctioning national *hierarchy* within a putative organic unity of interests. Second, it offers a 'natural' trope for figuring national time. After 1859 and the advent of social Darwinism, Britain's emergent national narrative took increasing shape around the image of the evolutionary Family of Man. The family offered an indispensable metaphoric figure by which national different could be shaped into a single historical generis narrative while, at the same time, the family as an *institution* became void of history and excluded from national power. The family became, at one and the same time, both the *organizing figure* for national history and its *antithetis.*[140]

Evans employs the "family of man" idea by likening the Slavs to children in appearance and or their behavior, and thus he subordinates the southern Slavic peoples at the same time exalting them for their rise on the civilizational ladder, enthusiasm and sincerity in reactions, and their connection to nature. He waxes lyrical about the connection the southern Slavs have to their natural environment, their admiration and belief in nymphs, which is in part why they have childlike natures. But because the Slavs are childlike and lost in time, the land itself has somehow absorbed that youth, and is younger than nations of western Europe. For an example, Evans tells his listeners that, "To pass, indeed, into those almost unknown Illyrian wilds is to find oneself in a younger world."[141] It is a curious temporal slippage: the Slavs are modern antiquities because their land, customs, and costumes represent an ancient time but a more youthful world.

In the Slavic Balkans, Evans collects and sees how myths cannot be divorced from Balkan identities. He also sees the "childlike" Slavs as not yet differentiated themselves. They are one race and purer because of that unity, just in the same way that their lands are younger and therefore more natural. The English, by contrast, Evans presents as mixed "…for we must never

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[140] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 357.
[141] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 28.

forget that we are a composite nation, and that one of us may be partly Norman, and another partly French, or another Welsh, or Hebrew, or of other nationalities. We have differences, I say of blood, and therefore a great divergence of individual character."[142] The Slavs, and the Montenegrins in particular are homogenous people without such distinctions, of one faith in religion, one aim in politics and he draws a racialized conclusion that "of blood there is an absolute identity."[143] So for Evans, each group of southern Slavs has a character in their unity, and their one religion gives them purity. The relationship of character of each group is his definition of race, which, in turn he says depends on blood. And blood is a determinant of the placement in the civilization hierarchy.

Evans's concluding remarks to this lecture illustrate how he expressed his ethnological ideas about the placement of the southern Slavs in the European family, which he links to the rising and setting of the sun:

> I am not one of those who has lost confidence in the destinies of England, or who would see the true interests of my own country sacrificed a jot for any foreign nation under the sun. But it is against reason and against the experience of those who know them, to deny that the Slavonic races are illumined at this moment by a great and genuine enthusiasm, and supported, therefore, by a force against which we have nothing of the kind to oppose. And that illumination is, beyond a doubt, the illumination of the rising sun. 'The Germans,' sings the Bohemian poet, 'have reached their day, the English their midday, the French their afternoon, the Italians their evening, the Spaniards their night, but the Slavs stand on the threshold of the morning.[144]

This lecture is an apt ending for a project that has examined the ways in which Arthur Evans constructed his own identity in relation to the southern Slavs in the Balkans in 1875 and then continued with his ethnographic and ethnological journey in print in 1878. Evans' romanticism, racism, nationalism, and admiration for the southern Slavs, which he expressed in his travelogue,

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[142] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 30.
[143] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 31.
[144] BODBL (Bodleian call number) 200 h.143, Evans, "The Slavs and European Civilisation," 32.

made them (as a race) a lost civilization. They were part of the Europe but as children who had been temporally disconnected from the mainstream of civilization. For Evans, the southern Slavs constituted his representation of modern antiquities, but they were poised to become leaders of the European family, and stand in the light of new day. Or so Evans hoped.

CHAPTER 5

Epilogue: Evans the Archaeologist on Crete

> It is only when his life is put on record, as it is here, that one realizes what an elusive character Arthur Evans had: there is so much here that one had not guessed, so much is lacking which memory recalls as most typical. The fact is that no portrait can do justice to him. Very vivid to me is his pugnacity and the impish humour which, on one occasion, secured a victory on a University Board by the simple expedient of providing a surreptitious tea just before the 4.30 p.m. meeting to all the members likely to support his proposals, and then prolonging the debate until hungry opponents slipped away one by one to their dinners and left a quorum of the well-fed to vote in favor; very vivid is the memory of the excitement with which he called his week-end visitors at Youlbury out into the garden to see seven Comma butterflies hovering over a bed of verbena; most vivid of all is unfailing and generous kindness to a younger archaeologist.[1]

Sir Arthur J. Evans was a man who had a mercurial temper, a reserved nature, and a wry sense of humor that he frequently directed at himself. Leonard Woolley, an archaeologist who followed in Evans' footsteps and became famous in his own right, captures these elusive and complex qualities of Evans' character in his review of the definitive biography by Joan Evans. Woolley's review illustrates the mischievousness and crafty ability of Evans to manipulate people for his own gain, and the review expresses how difficult it is not only to make sense of an individual's

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[1] Leonard Woolley, "Father and Son," *The Observer (1901–2003); London (UK)*, August 8, 1943. Woolley knew Arthur Evans personally, if not well, but this review of *Time and Chance* shows just how hard it was to fully capture his character in a biography. The rest of Woolley's review is no less engaging:

> A hundred out the 250 pages devoted to Arthur Evans's life deal with his early travels in the Balkans; it is the least-known part of his career, important less in itself than in the effect it had upon him. Combining politics, archaeology, and relief-work, the young correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" discovered in what field his hitherto scattered interest were to find their destined scope; it was curious that he whose inherited tastes were for the pre-historic, and who was in revolt against Oxford's obsession with the classical world of Greece, should have been the one to open up new chapters of history in a Greek island. How that happened, as a result of his search for a written script where writing was supposed to be unknown, is well brought out by Joan Evans.
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> It is well, too, to have put on record something of what he did for the Ashmolean at Oxford: he was indeed its second founder, who, in the face of opposition and indifference, built, enriched, and endowed a museum that could be "a source of pride and credit to the University." The space given in the book to Crete is but small in proportion to the part which the island played in Evans's life and reputation—it is, after all, as the excavator of the Palace of Minos that he is known to the world. For that very reason, perhaps, the author has chosen wisely; he wrought his own monument, and nothing that any of us can say will add to the stature of Evans of Knossos.

character, but also then to represent that person in print. Evans—who was so politically engaged during his Balkan years—later learned to be covertly political by offering a surreptitious tea to keep members who would vote yes on funding for the Ashmolean well-fed. These details make Evans as a person more likeable than when simply encountering his personality by reading his Balkan work. With Woolley's review, we get the sense of play in Evans that is lost in translation of his life to print. Those aspects of his character also quietly emerge when reading his own earliest writings and in familial letters and some of his writing on politics.

Post-mortem biographies (or reviews of them) can present a life in a misleadingly tidy way. A linear story of advancement towards a goal is often unintentionally embedded within chronologies that are found in those biographies of individuals and in histories. As we saw in chapter 2, the complexity of Evans and his accomplishments would be easy to flatten into a two-dimensional image, much in the same way he created sketches of the southern Slavs in his travelogue. Part of the problem comes from the difficulty in escaping the retrospective lens when narrating a life or describing the evolution of an academic discipline. For example, take one line from the biographical summary about Evans: *"*His work was one of archaeology's major achievements and greatly advanced the study of European and eastern Mediterranean prehistory."[2] In encyclopedic entries such as this, Evans' work sounds like it has been claimed by the ambiguous and abstract entity of archaeology—as if archaeology had a personality and made progress toward some final goal of its own. Archaeology often is in the service of ideology.[3] One first must be aware of what Evans accomplished in order to argue against these

[2] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Arthur-Evans.
[3] Stefanos Gimatzidis, "Claiming the Past, Conquering the Future: Archaeological Narratives in Northern Greece and the Central Balkans," in *Archaeology across Frontiers and Borderlands*: *Fragmentation and Connectivity in the North Aegean and the Central Balkans from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age* ed. Stefanos Gimatzidis, Magda Pieniążek, and Sila Mangaloğlu-Votruba (Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2018), 27–54.

abstractions. Complicating the prevalent biographical narratives of the triumph of Evans' life means that one understanding these narratives first. Thus, this epilogue provides a brief analysis of his archaeological accomplishments and influence, what led him to Crete, his publications, and then critiques to show how he applied his Balkan experiences to his later archaeological work.

Accomplishments and Influences

In 1900, Evans began excavations at a site called Knossos on Crete, and he uncovered an elaborate and complex structure which he called the Palace of Minos. Evans named this previously unknown civilization Minoan after the King Minos of classical Greek myth, the legendary king of Crete.[4] In his opening pages of his magnum opus, Evans explains his rational for the name and attacks the dominance of the ancient Athenian empire during the classical period (circa fifth century BCE) all at once. He proclaims:

> It is true that very different traditions were connected with that name. On the one side we gain a vision of a beneficent ruler, patron of the arts, founder of palaces, stablisher *[sic]* of civilized dominion. On the other is depicted a tyrant and a destroyer. The grim aspect of the great justiciary impressed upon the minds of a later generation is already reflected in the Homeric epithet ολοόφρον. It was, however, reserved for Athenian chauvinism so to exaggerate the tyrannical side of that early sea-dominion as to covert the Palace of a long series of great rulers into an ogre's den. But the fabulous accounts of the minotaur and his victims are themselves expressive of a childish wonder at the mighty creations of a civilization beyond the ken of the new comers.[5]

His emphasis is on the sophistication of the Minoans, when contrasted to representation of monsters based on ancient Athenian fears, a choice rooted in Evans' admiration for the quality of the material he was uncovering at Knossos. The intricate architecture and fragments of frescoes

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[4] Arthur J. Evans, "Knossos. Summary Report of the Excavations in 1900: I. The Palace," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 6 (1899–1900): 3–70. See also Joan Evans, *Time and Chance: The Story of Arthur Evans and His Forebears* (London: Longmans, Green, 1943), 330–34. Evans was not the first to use the term.
[5] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos, I-II* (London: Macmillan, 1921), 1.

depicting processions and youth picking crocus flowers were not Roman, not Mycenaean but something pre-dating both: the Minoans represented a sophisticated and international ancient culture connected to Egypt but not dependent upon it. In one of Evans' first publications on Knossos, Evans compares the palace's Minoan architecture, art, and artifacts to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom dynasties to argue that Knossos had a high state of culture. [6] The ways in which he portrayed the Minoans both in his material reconstructions at Knossos and in his academic publications made Evans, like Heinrich Schliemann before him, a gentleman archaeologist who brought the myths to life and shaped our understanding of that civilization with his own interpretations.[7] Entwined with Evans understanding of material culture of the ancient Minoans was the idea that they were Europe's first civilization, and like the Welsh, a lost one at that.[8]

Evans conveyed this vision of the Minoan past not only through his publications, but also in literal concrete. Almost from the beginning of his work at Knossos, Evans tried to "reconstitute" (his words) the archaeological site using a new material, ferro-concrete, to build protective coverings, since the site's excavated walls, many made out of gypsum were susceptible to water and erosion.[9] Early in 1901, Evans erected a roof over a complex he called

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[6] W. Max Müller and Arthur J. Evans, "Foreign Relations," *Archaeological Report (Egypt Exploration Fund)*, 1899-1900, 58–66. Mueller's contribution is a less-than-two page literature review of the linguistic influences of Egypt on other ancient Mediterranean languages.

[7] Eric H. Cline, *Three Stones Make a Wall: The Story of Archaeology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017). Cline provides a succinct narrative of Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik and Mycenae, which he had begun to confirm that the Trojan War as described in the epic poem *The Iliad* was not myth, but a historical reality.

[8] For how conscious Evans was of his mixed ancestry and Welsh name, which influenced his representation of the Minoans as a "lost European civilization," see James Whitley, "The Minoans – a Welsh Invention? A view from East Crete," in Yannis Hamilakis, Nicoletta Momigliano, eds., *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the "Minoans"* Creta Antica 7 (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2006), 55-67.

[9] Louise A. Hitchcock, "Minoan Architecture," in Eric H. Cline, *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean ca. 3000-1000 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Hitchcock explains that local stone predominated building Minoan architecture on Crete, but was used extensively "as seen in the lavish use of gypsum orthostates at Knossos," (189-190). The structures that Evans named "lustral basins" were unlikely used for bathing given the water-soluble nature of the gypsum revetment (194).

the "Throne Room" to save its gypsum floor.[10] As his excavations at Knossos continued from 1900 until 1931 (with an interruption from 1914–1918 for First World War), the reconstitutions or reconstructions grew more elaborate. Evans built staircases and columns based on the designs of architect Theodore Fyfe and later Christian Doll; he also hired two artists, a father and son team called the Gilliérons, to restore the frescoes from fragments.[11] Most importantly, he hired and relied upon Duncan Mackenzie, who kept meticulous records and functioned as the site's field archaeologist from 1900 to 1929, but who was often referred to as Evans' "assistant."[12] Academic work—in both Greek and English—about Knossos is extensive because scholars continue to debate the chronologies Evans proposed, the architecture of the site, Minoan religion, and international influence in the Bronze Age Aegean.[13] Those debates also necessarily involve the preservation of the site itself, now a tourist destination. What becomes apparent upon visiting the site is that Evans constructed the Minoans through the lens of his own perceptions of European modernity.[14]

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[10] Alexandra Karetsou, "Knossos after Evans: Past Interventions, Present State and Future Solutions," *British School at Athens Studies* 12 (2004): 547.

[11] Evans' reconstructions overlap with early 20th century artistic styles, Art Deco and Art Nouveau. His work generated much commentary from scholars critiquing the reconstructions as fanciful. For a thoughtful approach of the evolution of artistic style that predates Evans, see Fritz Balkolmer, "The Arts of Bronze Age Crete and the European Modern Style: Reflecting and Shaping Different Identities," in Hamilakis and Momigliano, eds., *Archaeology and European Modernity*, 219-40. For the intersection between Art Noveau and Minoan styles, see Sheng-Chieh Hsu, "Bronze Age Crete and Art Nouveau: A Diachronic Dialog" (Ph.D., United States - Pennsylvania, Temple University, 2017).

[12] Nicoletta Momigliano, *Duncan Mackenzie: A Cautious Canny Highlander & the Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement 72 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 1999), 3-4. Momigliano analyzes the complex relationship between the two men with nuanced understanding based on archival letters and notebooks.

[13] For a bilingual volume of papers which analyzes the Knossos site in multiple aspects, see *Knossos: Palace, City, State: Proceedings of the Conference in Herakleion Organised by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion, in November 2000, for the Centenary of Sir Arthur Evan's Excavations at Knossos*, British School at Athens Studies 12 (London: British School at Athens, 2004). See also Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux, eds., *Cretomania: Modern Desires for the Minoan Past* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

[14] For the implicit ways in which Evans' assumptions about the Minoans are perpetuated in current archaeological work at Knossos, see Ilse Schoep, "Building the Labyrinth: Arthur Evans and the Construction of Minoan Civilization," *American Journal of Archaeology* 122, no. 1 (2018): 5–32.

Image 20 – North Entrance Pillar Hall with reconstructed architecture and painting, at Knossos, Crete. Photograph from personal files and from visit in March 2018.

Those reconstructions were enforced by his claim that the Minoans were "that earliest of European civilizations" because of their sophisticated art, architecture, and their use of writing.[15]

Cretan Scripts

Evans' biographers frame his interest in ancient and undecipherable scripts as the dominant factor that led him to Crete, similarly as they did when depicting the Balkans as the precursor to his real life's work. Joan Evans describes her brother's search for small artifacts in the spring of 1893 among the "trays of antiquity dealers in Shoe Lane in Athens, (where) he had found some

[15] Arthur J. Evans, "New Archeological Lights on the Origin of Civilization in Europe. II," *Science* 44, no. 1135 (1916): 452.

small three- and four-sided stones perforated along the axis, engraved with symbols which he felt sure belonged to a hieroglyphic system."[16] These were seal stones, said to be from Crete. The "tiny Phoenician seals" brought to mind those that Evans had seen at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, such as the four-sided seal stone brought back by Greville Chester from Athens four years earlier.[17] Certainly in his early pre-Knossos publications, Evans explicitly linked antiquities with primitive pictography to early European art and efforts of writing.[18] He intended to publish, much like he had with his Balkans works, with a particular audience in mind, but in this case it was for academics and societies of learned (mostly) men. Those early publications on undeciphered scripts were published as part of the British Association announcements in *The London Times.*[19]

Evans' interest in Crete was not just based on scripts and seal stones. His pursuit of ancient civilizations led him to excavate, but that work was preceded by others.[20] For example, Minos Kalokairinos, often overlooked as the man who discovered the site of Knossos, conducted preliminary archaeological excavations there from 1878 to 1879, which caught international attention.[21] Kalokairinos, who lived in Heraklion (then known as Candia), "uncovered a section of the west part of the palace, including storage magazines and produced a rough sketch of the

[16] J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 311.
[17] Evans, "Primitive Pictographs," 352. See also MacGillivary, *Minotaur*, 102.
[18] Arthur J. Evans, "Primitive Pictographs and a Prae-Phoenician Script, from Crete and the Peloponnese," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 14 (1894): 270–372; also Evans, "A Mycenaean System of Writing in Crete and Peloponnese," in *Athenaeum* June 23 (1894).
[19] "The British Association." *Times*, August 13, 1894, 5. *The Times Digital Archive*, under "Department of Anthropology."
[20] See Yannis Galanakis, "Arthur Evans and the Quest for the "Origins of Mycenaean Culture," in Ioannis Galanakis et al., *Athyrmata: Critical Essays on the Archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honour of E. Susan Sherratt* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2014).
[21] Antonis Kotsonas, "Greek and Roman Knossos: The Pioneering Investigations of Minos Kalokairinos," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 111 (November 2016): 299–324.

throne room," but an edict of the Ottoman government forced him to abandon the site.[22] Another location of interest was the Psychro Cave in central Crete, which was excavated by Cretan medical doctor Joseph Hatzidakis and Federico Halbherr, an "Italian of Alpine stock," in 1885.[23] Halbherr did archaeological work on Crete on behalf of the American Archaeological Institute between 1884 and 1887, publishing regular Cretan Expedition Reports; his discoveries include the important Inscription of Gortyna, a Classical law code with roots in Bronze Age tradition.[24] Evans first arrived in 1894 to explore the island, and was aided by both Halbherr and Hatzidakis, who established the Heraklion Museum and helped Evans buy the site of Knossos.[25] Halbherr would become Evans' guide on Crete and later add to Evans' collection of pre-Phoenician writing:

> After the surprising discoveries of Mr. Arthur J. Evans in the field of pre-Phoenician writing, the desire to contribute new material to the study of this important question led me to give the most careful attention to the cut stones, seals and amulets which are often found in the possession of peasants, especially in the villages near Mycenaean settlements. I succeeded not only in getting together some new specimens to be added to Evans' series, but also in discovering a locality important for the production of the small steatite stones in Crete, and in establishing the fact—until now unnoticed—of the continuity of one branch of this industry down to the period of the archaic-Greek alphabet and even through the period of Hellenism down to the Byzantine epoch. This centre, carefully explored by me in the course of two trips, is the hill of Haghios Ilias in the midst of a rich Mycenaean territory.[26]

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[22] Georgina Musket, "The Aegean World," in Paul Bahn ed., *The History of Archaeology: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2014), 44. The international group interested in antiquities on Crete included Heinrich Schliemann, the American consul in Greece, W. J. Stillman, French Andre Joubin, and British John Myres.
[23] Reynold Alleyne Higgins, *The Archaeology of Minoan Crete* (New York: H. Z. Walck, 1973); see also J. Evans, *Time and Chance,* 309.
[24] Federico Halbherr, "Cretan Expedition III. Epigraphical Researches in Gortyna," *American Journal of Archaeology* 1, no. 3 (May–Jun., 1897): 159–238.
[25] Arthur Evans, *Arthur Evans's Travels in Crete, 1894-1899*, ed. A. C. Ann Cynthia Brown, BAR International Series 1000 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001). This volume is devoted to full transcriptions and photographs of Evans' many Cretan diaries, letters, and journals. Organized by each year, Brown's prodigious and exacting work beautifully illustrates the depth and scope of Evans' early years and archaeological explorations on Crete—and the relationships he built there.
[26] Federico Halbherr, "Report on the Expedition of the Institute to Crete," *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 11, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec., 1896): 534.

Crete already had a history that demonstrated its potential for multiple discoveries through those excavations and indirect acquisitions through local farmers. Although permission to dig and ownership of land could be a problem for excavators, Evans had the money, connections, and the wiles to get what he wanted.

Archaeological work on Crete was complicated by geography and politics. The island, extending 24.9 miles north/south and 57.6 miles east/west in the Southern Aegean, had formed part of a Venetian empire from 1204 to 1669, and "witnessed a great flowering of Greek literature," which was much influenced by Italian models; and also the birthplace of the painter, Domenikos Theotokopoulos, better known as El Greco.[27] The island had a mixed population of Greek-speaking Muslims and Christians, familiar political territory for Evans because Crete, like the Slavic Balkans, had also been under Ottoman control. Revolts in Crete happened with almost predictable regularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century: in 1841, 1858, 1866–9, 1877–8, and then in 1886–7.[28] Periodic episodes of unrest kept Evans from working routinely on the island further during the 1890s, but he returned in March of 1898, accompanied by J. L. Myres and D.G. Hogarth of the British School at Athens. His return to Cretan towns now occupied by the Great Powers was the culmination of the importance of buying the site of Knossos (Kephala). Crete had a new "High Commissioner for the Great Powers," Prince George of Greece. Evans used his connections to present the prince a letter describing his claims:

> I am here on behalf of the Hellenic Society and London Committee of the British School of Athens to endeavor to secure certain sites in Crete for British archaeological exploration. You know that for the last five years I have been constantly engaged in preliminary work with this object and have indeed partially secured possession of an ancient mound called Kephala on the site of Knossos where I wish to dig. The British School is also anxious to cooperate in Cretan excavation.[29]

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[27] Richard Clogg, *Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge UK, 1992), 17.
[28] Clogg, *Concise History of Greece*, 65.
[29] Panagiotaki, "Buying Kephala," 521.

Evans' appeal worked. Prince George of Greece signed *projet le loi,* which became the Antiquities Law of the Cretan state. Essentially the law negated the rights of individual proprietors and gave rights to the foreign schools and academies to excavate "as long they were approved by the government and the Ephor or the Archaeological Council."[30] Evans had his permission and his ownership of the land, and started his excavation five days later.

Evans' *The Palace of Minos* and Accolades

Evans' professional reputation rested not just on his archaeological discovery in 1900 and subsequent years of detailed excavations, but also his ability to produce in-depth written work that contextualized his findings of this newly discovered but ancient civilization. Evans' publications demonstrate how he constructed his own narrative about the Minoans in academic writing long after the first spade hit the ground. His period of journalism in the Balkans from 1877–1882 served him well because he also wrote notices about his academic work. His first monograph on the Minoans, was published in 1909 a full decade after the beginning of his excavations; it focused on the undeciphered linear scripts found on tablets at Knossos.[31] Evans explained that his "task could not be limited to a mere reproduction and analysis of the inscriptions. These have to be also considered in their broad anthropological aspect as a singular, in many respects an unique illustration of the evolution by successive stages of an advanced system of script out of the universal elements of primitive pictography."[32]

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[30] Panagiotaki, "Buying Kephala," 521. See also MacGillivary, *Minotaur*, 88–89. According to MacGillivary, once excavation occurred, all antiquities discovered in Crete could be required to be sent to the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, since Crete was subject to the laws of the Porte. In 1883, President of the Greek Philological Syllogos, Joseph Hatzidakis, worked to establish Crete's first museum to keep archaeological findings on Crete. He also was a supporter of Cretan unification with Greece.

[31] Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa, the Written Documents of Minoan Crete, with Special Reference to the Archives of Knossos* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909).

[32] Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, v 2. The second volume of this work was published posthumously in 1952 by archaeologist John L. Myres with permission of the Evans' estate.

Evans' *magnum opus* on the Minoans was a protracted affair, a four-volume work published between 1921 and 1935. *The Palace of Minos* is a behemoth of archaeological detail with its over two-thousand pages of text and illustrations. Three of the volumes roughly correspond to the Early, Middle, and Late Ages of the Minoans, a chronology that Evans created and organized based on the material of the palace center, but was influenced by the chronology of ancient Egypt. [33] The titles of these volumes give us an overview of how Evans developed his ideas about the Minoan conceptually in tandem with the archaeological work on and in the ground. These titles were:

- Volume I, "Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages," published in 1921 when the reconstructions were still in progress had illustrations and sketches embedded within the 721 pages of text.
- Volume II Part I, "Fresh Lights on the Origins and External Relations: The Restoration in Town and Palace after Seismic Catastrophe towards Close of Middle Minoan III, and the Beginnings of the New Era," published in 1928, had only 390 pages, and centered on Evans' interpretation of the destruction of the palace after a seismic event.
- Volume II Part 2, "Town-Houses in Knossos of the New Era and Restored West Palace Section, with its State Approach," published in 1928, explored the grand entrance of Knossos from page 391 to 844 pages of text.
- Volume III, "The Great Transitional Age in the Northern and Eastern Sections of the Palace: The Most Brilliant Records of Minoan Art and the Evidences of an Advanced

[33] Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos; a Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos, Vols I–IV* (London, Macmillan and Co, Limited, 1921–1935).

Religion," published in 1930 was a single book at 525 pages but rapidly followed the second volume given its detail.

- Volume IV Part 1, "Emergence of Outer Wester Enceinte, with New Illustrations, Artistic and Religious, of the Middle Minoan Phase: Chryselephantine 'Lady of Sports,' 'Snake Room' and Full Story of the Cult: Late Minoan Ceramic Evolution and 'Palace Style,'" published in 1935 was 378 pages; the work came after Evans formally concluded his own excavations at Knossos handing off the work to a younger generation. By then, Evans' focus had shifted from reconstruction to art and some of the particular aspects of Minoan culture that he found most noteworthy.
- Volume IV Part 2, "'Camp-stool' Fresco—Long-robed Priests and Beneficent Genii; Chryselephantine Boy-god and Ritual hair-offering; Intaglio Types, Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan II; Late Hoards of Sealings; Deposits of Inscribed Tablets and the Palace Stores; Linear Script B and its Mainland Extension; Closing Palatial Phase—'Room of Throne' and Final Catastrophe with Epilogue on the Discovery of 'Ring of Minos' and 'Temple Tomb.'" Part 2 was not quite as long as the length of the book, but still impressive as it carried the project from pages 379 to 1018. The "Ring of Minos" was brought to the Heraklion Museum in 1930, and Evans analyzed drawings of it believing it to be authentic.[34]

The Palace of Minos also included embedded sketches, photos, maps and supplementary plates of illustrations after the text in each volume, and the whole set had an ancillary index that his half-sister, Dame Joan Evans, helped him write and organize. Evans wrote numerous articles

[34] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos, IV* (London: Macmillan, 1935), 944. For measured treatment of the modern controversy of the ring's discovery and authenticity, see Nanno Marinatos, *Sir Arthur Evans and Minoan Crete: Creating the Vision of Knossos* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015). Marinatos' use of archival sources and letters that she had access to from her father, Spyridon Marinatos who corresponded with Evans, strengthen her chapter on the ring.

and gave lectures to academic societies about the Minoans, in addition to *The Palace of Minos*. Many of his shorter works coincided with his long-term appointment as the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford from 1884–1908, and his position as professor of pre-history at Oxford in 1909. His publications on the Minoans earned Evans some of the highest possible honors. In 1911, he was knighted. In 1936, he received the Copley Medal. First granted in 1731 by the Royal Society of London, the Copley Medal is the "most prestigious scientific award in the United Kingdom…for outstanding achievements in research in any branch of science," and Evans is one of the few recipients who received the award for his scientific work that was not mathematical, medical, physical, or otherwise related to natural history.[35]

Critiques and Conclusion

In spite of these many accolades, Evans was not immune from criticism, even at the height of his archaeological career. His effort to make the Minoans modern through his use of concrete in 1920s artistic and architectural elements at Knossos have remained the most controversial part of his legacy.[36] The novelist and travel writer Evelyn Waugh offered, as often, a memorably savage critique. In 1929, on a tour of the Mediterranean, Waugh made a single day stop on the island of Crete, first visiting the museum "to admire the barbarities of Minoan Culture." It was difficult, Waugh contended, to form any opinion of Minoan painting done by the Gilliérons because only a "few square inches of the vast area exposed to our consideration are earlier than the last twenty years, and it is impossible to disregard the suspicion that they have tempered their zeal for

[35] Other recipients were Darwin in 1864, Einstein in 1925, and Steven Hawking in 2006. See https://www.britannica.com/science/Copley-Medal.

[36] Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Yannis Hamilakis, *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking "Minoan" Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002); Yannis Hamilakis and Nicoletta Momigliano (eds.), *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the "Minoans,"* Creta Antica 7 (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo, 2006); and John K. Papadopoulos, "Inventing the Minoans: Archaeology, Modernity and the Quest for European Identity," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (2005): 87–149.

accurate reconstruction with a somewhat inappropriate predilection for covers of *Vogue."*[37] After the museum, Waugh took a brief tour by car out to the site of Knossos, musing later on the lack of grandeur of the reconstructions because,

> only a few rooms and galleries are complete, the rest being an open hillside scarred with excavations…I think that if our English Lord Evans even finishes a part of his vast undertaking, it will be a place of oppressive wickedness. I do not think that it can be only imagination and the recollection of bloodthirsty mythology which makes something fearful and malignant of the cramped galleries and stunted alleys…this squat little throne, set on a landing where paths of the palace intersect; it is not the seat of a law-giver nor a divan for the recreation of a soldier; here an ageing despot might crouch and have borne to him, along the walls of a whispering gallery, barely audible intimations of his own murder.[38]

Waugh's biting commentary reflects his own aesthetic, but his satirical critique is a triple punch. "Lord Evans" was how Evans was known locally, a title enhanced by his actual ownership of the site of Knossos, which he had purchased over six years from 1894 to 1900, beginning his excavations five days after the final contract was signed.[39] Evans purchased one-quarter share of the land of the site with the help of his proxies, an eminent lawyer, Antonias Hatzidakis-Nivas, and Dr. Joseph Hatzidakis, who finalized the contract in September 1894. Evans managed to buy the rest of the site only in February 1900, after a lengthy battle with the Turkish proprietors.

The passage of the Antiquities Law of the Cretan State, signed on 18 June 1899, may have helped Evans: the law stated that ancient buildings on private land belonged to the state and owners would be compensated only for land, not archaeological finds; the law also gave priority to schools and academies to excavate, which could be why the owners felt compelled to sell upon the devaluation of their land.[40] The reconstructions at Knossos extended over decades,

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[37] Evelyn Waugh, *Labels: A Mediterranean Journal* (London: Duckworth, 1930), 136–137.
[38] Evelyn Waugh, *Waugh Abroad: Collected Travel Writing*, ed. Nicholas Shakespeare (New York: Everyman's Library, 2003), 118.
[39] Panagiotaki, "Buying Kephala," 513–536.
[40] Panagiotaki, "Buying Kephala," 513–536. For excellent analysis of the Ottoman efforts to regulate antiquities through laws and establishment of Ottoman museums, see Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums,*

during which time Evans interpreted and portrayed the Minoans as peaceful, sophisticated, and advanced ancient people differing from other neighboring civilizations, especially when contrasted to the warlike Mycenaeans.[41] For Evans, the Minoans became his lost European civilization after his discovery in 1900. The narratives he constructed about them continue to be viewed, objectified, and debated.

Image 21 – The Throne Room with reconstructed architecture and painting, at Knossos, Crete. Photograph from personal files and from visit in March 2018.

Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

[41] For a critical assessment of how Evans conceptually differentiated the Minoans from neighboring near Eastern ancient civilizations like Egypt and Mesopotamia, see Schoep, "Building the Labyrinth." For the distinctions between Minoan and Mycenaean representations in literature, see David Roessel, "Happy Little Extroverts and Bloodthirsty Tyrants," in Hamilakis and Momigliano, eds, *Archaeology and European Modernity*, 197–208; and for how Minoan archaeology has become entangled with European prehistoric identity, see John Papadopoulos, "Inventing the Minoans."

Evans' archaeological work did not begin on Crete, however. He had excavated a large Bronze Age mound near Dubrovnik in July 1877, from which he collected material artifacts. The journal *Slovinac* reported that:

> Mr. Evans, about whom we have spoken in the previous number has lately travelled through Hercegovina, Montenegro, Albania and around the Dubrovnik region looking for Slavinian [*sic*] antiquities. He has gathered a great deal of this and especially dresses, arms, armour and vessels that everybody could have seen here in Dubrovnik at his place. During excavation of burial mounds he has found silver bracelets twisted like snakes that were carried around their hands probably by women. The tireless explorer will be of great use to our history and antiquity, and it is right that foreigners, at least on occasions, express how much the Slavinians had done for others.[42]

The volume of his publications and the reporting from and about him show just how much of a tireless explorer he was, routinely traveling throughout the Balkans. That his discoveries were announced in local print journals demonstrate how Evans was *always* looking for antiquities, and his activities and discoveries were of interest to the southern Slavs.[43]

Only two of his Balkan books were formalized into monographs during his lifetime, and both were self-published. Those Balkan publications attest to his blurring of disciplinary focus because he combined ethnography, ethnology, and archaeology. His intention was to study the southern Slavs and their political and material history in a systematic way. Evans' travelogue, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, has been the subject of analysis in chapters 3 and 4. The travelogue was followed by *Illyrian Letters* (1878), a compilation of his anonymous letters to *The Manchester Guardian* from 1877. In the preface, Evans said "it has been my objects to take a rather comprehensive view of all the Illyrian Provinces…I have not considered the scenery of

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[42] Branko Kirigin, "Arthur Evans in Dubrovnik and Split (1875–1882)," *Archaeopress Open Access*, 2015, 2, citing *Slovinac 5* 1877, "Sitnice" (Sundries), 55. *Slovinac* is not available on Hathi Trust Digital Library prior to 1880.
[43] *Slovinac: List za književnost, umjetnost i obrtnost, Izlazi u Dubrovniku sako deset dana, g.4 (1881)* (Dubrovnik: Dragutin Pretner, 1881), 191. The paragraph-brief announcement explained his search for the traces of the Roman way from ancient Epidaurum to Dubrovnik, the finding of a "large obelisk with an inscription to the titles Germanicus, Pontifax Maximus and Consul," the finding of a milliarium (a stone placed along ancient Roman roads to mark distances), and how Evans discerned old Slavic art on the inner walls of the ruins of a Byzantine church.

those countries, their antiquities, and even the folklore and domestic life of their peoples, beside my purpose."[44] From the preface, it is clear that Evans intended to write more than anonymous letters; rather he was gathering material for a history of the region including explicating its ancient material artifacts and modern antiquities he found in Slavic customs and culture. From research and material he collected from 1877 to 1882 while based in Dubrovnik, Evans produced four academic lectures between 1884 to 1886, which he delivered to the Society of Antiquaries of London (and which were published in its *Archaeologia*, now out of print). The lectures were published as compiled monograph, *Ancient Illyria,* in 2006. That detailed work, complete with sketched illustrations, is the most archaeological of Evans' Balkan books because it comprehensively examines the remains of ancient Epidaurum (modern Cavtat near Dubrovnik); the probable lines of Roman roads between the Sava valley and the Adriatic; and maps the topography, material remains, and history of the region around Skopje.[45] His last Balkan book, *Albanian Letters: Nationalism, Independence, and the Albanian League* (2018), also published posthumously, is more political because it is another compilation from Evans' notes, lectures presented, and journalism articles preserved in archives, but even there he considered the ancient past in modern contexts. The two were inseparable. For his work supporting the southern Slavs during the late nineteenth century as a journalist, humanitarian, and archaeologist, Evans was awarded the Tokovo officer cross by Serbian Prince Milan in 1880.[46]

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[44] Arthur J. Evans, *Illyrian Letters: A Revised Selection of Correspondence from the Illyrian Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, And Slavonia, Addressed to the Manchester Guardian During the Year 1877* (London: London : Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878), x.

[45] Arthur J. Evans, *Ancient Illyria: An Archaeological Exploration*, ed. Bejtullah Destani (London: Tauris, 2006). The book is based on four lectures that Evans delivered from 1884–1886. J. J. Wilkes explains in the introduction that "one gains the impression that these studies, occupying more than 260 pages, could have been written only after years of secluded study and patient travel, quite undisturbed from anything that might detract from scholarly research. Yet the truth is quite otherwise."

[46] A. Evans Archives UCL SSEES Library EVA 1/1/2 folder 2 of 2, accessed February 17, 2018. The letter, written in French, is on letterhead from the "Principauté de Serbie, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères," dated 13 October 1880. In translation: "I have the honor to bring to your knowledge that His Highness the Prince of Serbia, desiring to

One historian has said that Evans' greatest period of activity and work on the Balkans fell into two periods, separated by thirty years, but that his interest never flagged.[47] There actually were three Balkan phases. His love affair with the Balkans began as a walking tour of Bosnia and Herzegovina with his brother Lewis in the summer of 1875, continued during his active years of journalism from 1877 to 1882, and transformed him into a full blown activist in support of southern Slav union during the First World War, and culminated in his attendance at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Evans wrote many articles in support of southern Slavic independence, but his most active period was from 1914 to 1918.[48] During that time, he was the president of Society of Antiquaries.[49] He was also a member of the Balkan Committee and the Serbian Relief Fund; he established friendships with other proponents of southern Slav independence: Wickham Steed (then the Foreign Editor of *The Times*), Philhellene and archaeologist Ronald Burrows, and historian R. W. Seton-Watson, and through them met the exiled Jugoslav committee members, who were guests at Youlbury.[50] One letter to Halbherr from January 9, 1915 illustrates that Evans routinely opened up his home during the war years. He writes that "I have also succeeded in liberating two friendly aliens: Austrian Slavs from Dalmatia

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give you a mark of gratitude for the sympathies you have shown to our country, has conferred on you the officer's cross of His Order of Takovo. By sending you herewith the patent as well as the insignia of this distinction, I take this opportunity to offer you, Sir, the expression of my very distinguished consideration." See also *Slovinac: g.3 (1881)* (Dubrovnik: Dragutin Pretner, 1881), 46.

[47] R. W. Seton-Watson, "Arthur Evans," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 24, no. 63 (1946): 47–55.

[48] A sampling of articles that Evans authored right before or during First World War in chronological order are:

- "The Drama of the Balkans and Its Closing Scenes" 276, no. 3575 (1913): 67–79.
- "The Adriatic Slavs and the Overland Route to Constantinople," *The Geographical Journal* 47, no. 4 (1916): 241–61.
- "New Archeological Lights on the Origins of Civilization in Europe," *Science (American Association for the Advancement of Science)* 44, no. 1134 (1916): 399–409.
- "New Archeological Lights on the Origin of Civilization in Europe, II" *Science* 44, no. 1135 (1916): 448–56.
- "Italian Claims on Dalmatia," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 123, no. 3212 (May 19, 1917): 456–57.

[49] J. L. Myres, "Arthur John Evans. 1851-1941," *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society* 3, no. 10 (1941): 955.

[50] R. W. Seton-Watson, "Arthur Evans," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 24, no. 63 (1946): 49-50.

& Croatia who I have had on my hands for over two months."[51] The third phase, albeit brief, was when Evans return to the Balkans, fifty years after his exile, traveling with his sister-in-law Helen through Dalmatia visiting Dubrovnik, Split, Zadar, and traveling inland to Sarajevo and Zagreb during the summer of 1932.[52] That trip was commemorated by an album of photographs given and dedicated to Sir Arthur Evans with the inscription: "In high veneration to the editor of 'Through Bosnia & the Hercegovina on foot,' 1875, & in remembrance of the same journey by car June 1932."[53]

Image 22 – Evans in Zagreb, 1932.

[51] Nicoletta Momigliano, "Federico Halbherr and Arthur Evans," in *Studi Micenei Ed Egeo Anatolici* 43, no. 1 (2001): 310.
[52] Kirigin, "Arthur Evans in Dubrovnik and Split (1875-1882)," 10–11.
[53] A. Evans Archives UCL SSEES Library EVA 1/2/3, accessed January 22, 2018.

And the few photographs in the album show a much older, worldly Evans than the young man who walked through the Balkans during the summer of 1875.

The thread that links these phases of his life was his belief that the southern Slavs were the children of Europe, a lost civilization in their racial purity and connection to the ancient past; they represented Europe's modern antiquities which conceptually could teach and inform western Europeans about their own past because Europe's past was incomplete. That interpretation of combining ancient and modern carried over to Crete and his efforts to make the Minoans into Europe's first civilization. Critiques and laudatory labels alone do not tell the whole story of Evans' influence as a public intellectual, or as an archaeologist who changed the field and study of Bronze Age Aegean or, before all that, his work in the Balkans. His legacy remains complex. He has become an object for our own view, his life put on record, much like he viewed the southern Slavs in 1875, and now how we view the archaeological site of Knossos itself.

APPENDICES
Appendix A Illustrations

These illustrations appear in the same order as they do in the text. There are only three additional publicly available maps of the modern countries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia at the end of the Appendix not included in the text, but are intended for reader reference.

Photographs are from the author's personal files whenever possible. Other images are from published sources that are publicly available digitally, or are attributed to the source by descriptions after the image with some combination of information (Title, Description, Source, Author, Date, and/or Acquisition.)

1. Modern Antiquity Complete Handwritten Memorandum – Watermark (Chapter 1)
2. Modern Antiquity Memorandum – Page 1 (Chapter 1)
3. Modern Antiquity Memorandum – Page 2 (Chapter 1)
4. Modern Antiquity Memorandum – Page 3 (Chapter 1)
5. Modern Antiquity Memorandum – Page 4 (Chapter 1)
6. Costume from Sami people, donated by Arthur John Evans to the Pitt-Rivers Museum, 1889. (Chapter 2)
7. Drawing of a house in Zagreb from Lewis Evans' notebook – Unpublished sketch (Chapter 2)
8. Map of Dinaric Alps with arrows indicating Evans' journey in 1875 (Chapter 3)
9. Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Arthur Evans' book – Published (Chapter 3)
10. Drawing of Bulgarian Settlement – Published illustration (Chapter 3)
11. Drawing of Bulgarian man in profile – Published illustration (Chapter 3)
12. Drawing of Bulgarian man in profile – Unpublished sketch (Chapter 3)
13. Drawing of a *stupa* – Published illustration (Chapter 3)
14. Drawing of Bosnian girl – Published illustration (Chapter 3)
15. Drawing of girl, woman, and man – Unpublished sketch (Chapter 3)
16. Etching of 1875 Herzegovinian Uprising (Chapter 3)
17. Drawing of veiled Muslim woman in Bosnia – Unpublished sketch (Chapter 4)
18. Drawing of veiled Muslim woman in Bosnia – Published illustration (Chapter 4)
19. Map showing Ethnographic Balkan Peninsula by Jovan Cvijić, 1918 (Chapter 4)
20. Photo of Knossos after main entrance (Chapter 5)
21. Photo of Knossos throne room (Chapter 5)
22. Photo of Evans in 1932 (Chapter 5)
23. Additional map showing modern political and geographic country of Bosnia and Herzegovina
24. Additional map showing modern political and geographic country of Croatia
25. Additional map showing modern political and geographic country of Serbia

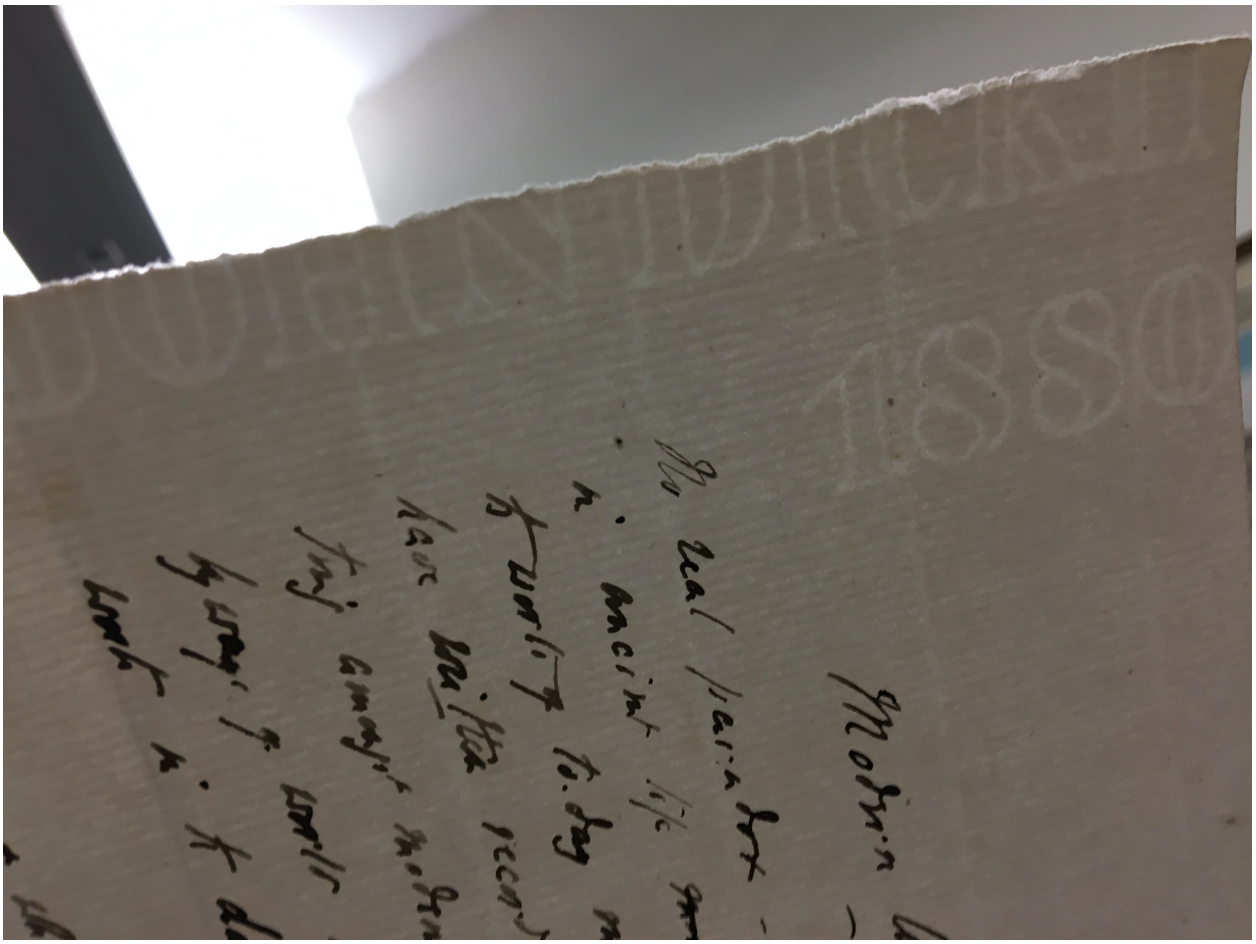


Image 1—Modern Antiquities Memorandum – page 1 with watermark

Description:	Modern antiquities memorandum.
Source:	Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (UCL SSEES) EVA1/1/2, folder 2.
Photograph:	Arna Elezovic on January 16, 2018.
Accessed:	January 16, 2018.
Acquisition:	Archival collection EVA 1 donated to UCL SSEES Library circa 1941.
Note:	*This description applies to images 2, 3, 4, and 5 below.*

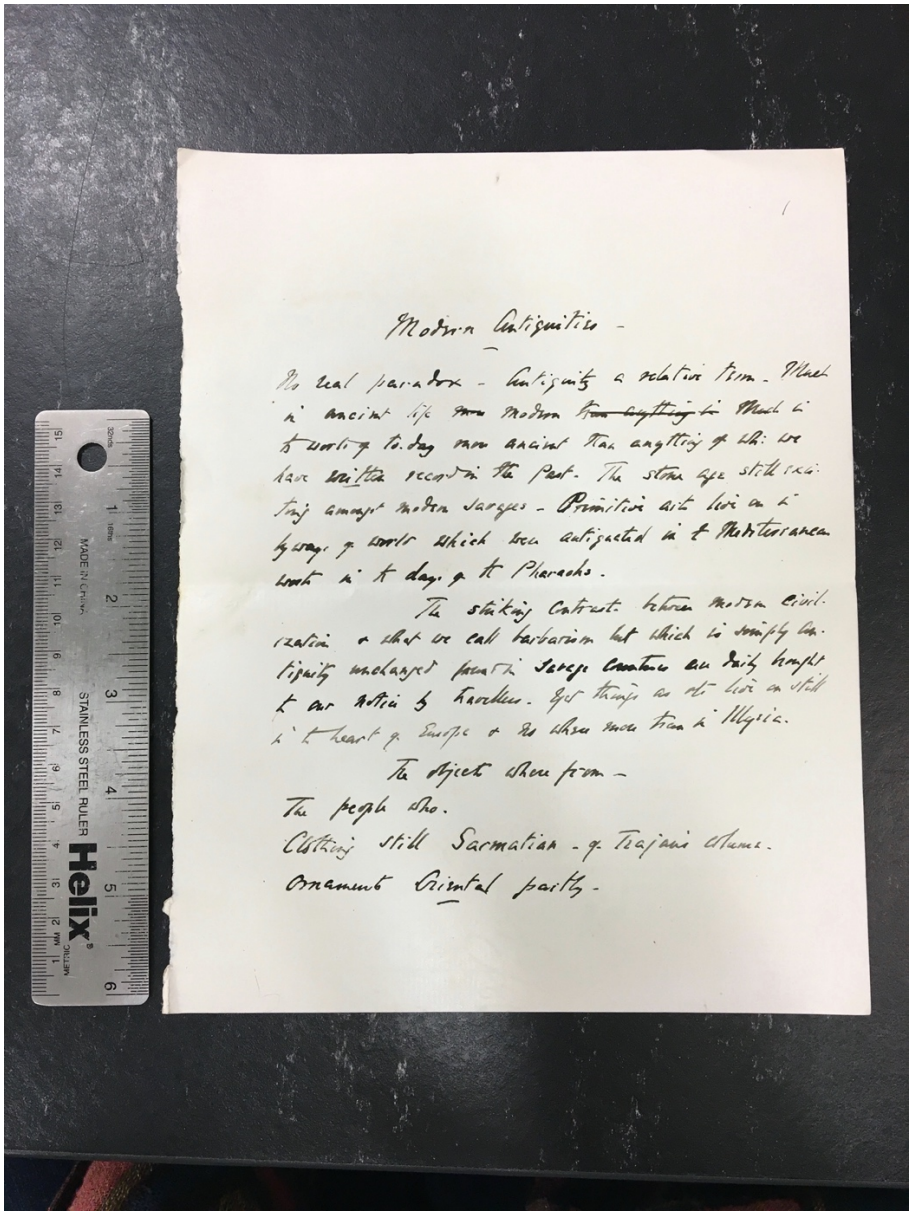
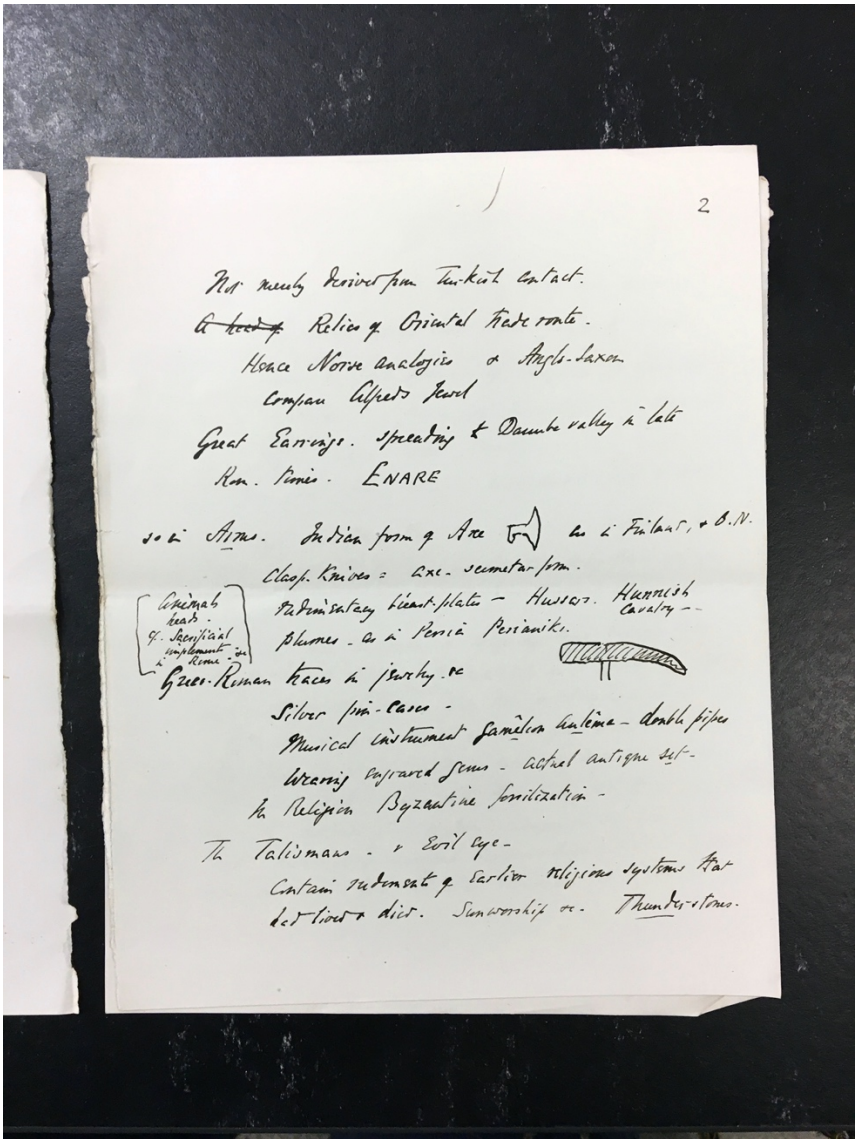


Image 2—Modern Antiquities Memorandum – page 1

No real paradox – Antiquity a relative term. Much in ancient life ~~no~~ modern ~~than anything in~~ Much in?
the world of? Today more ancient than anything of which we have written recording the past. The stone age still exists this amongst modern savages – Primitive arts live as in by ways of worlds which were antiquated in the Mediterranean works in the days of the Pharaohs.

The striking contrast between modern civilization + what we call barbarism but which is simply antiquity unchanged present/located? In savage costumes and daily brought to our notice by travelers. Yet things as old live on still in the heart of Europe + no where more than Illyria.

The objects where from –
The people who.
Clothing still Sarmatian -of- Trajan's costume?.
Ornaments Oriental partly? –



2

Not nearly derived from Turkish contact.
~~A head? Of~~ Relics of Oriental trade route.
Hence Norse analogies + Anglo-Saxon
Comparison ? Alfred's? Jewel
Great Earrings. Spreading to the Danube valley in late
Rom. Times. ENARE
So in Aines.? Indian form of Axe (with small drawing inserted) as in Finland, + D./B.? N.
clasp. Knives = axe – scimitar form.
(In brackets along the left margin): (In center of page):
[Animals mdimsateey? (word looks like place name) breast plates – Hussars Hunnish cavalry
Heads. Plumes – as in Persia Perianiki.? (with drawing to right of what looks like an axe)
cf. sacrificial
implements
in Rome – sa?

Image 3—Modern Antiquities Memorandum – page 2

Greco-Roman Traces in jewelry. rc?

Silver pin-cases –

Musical instrument ___familiar? Gamelion? Auleme? – double pipes

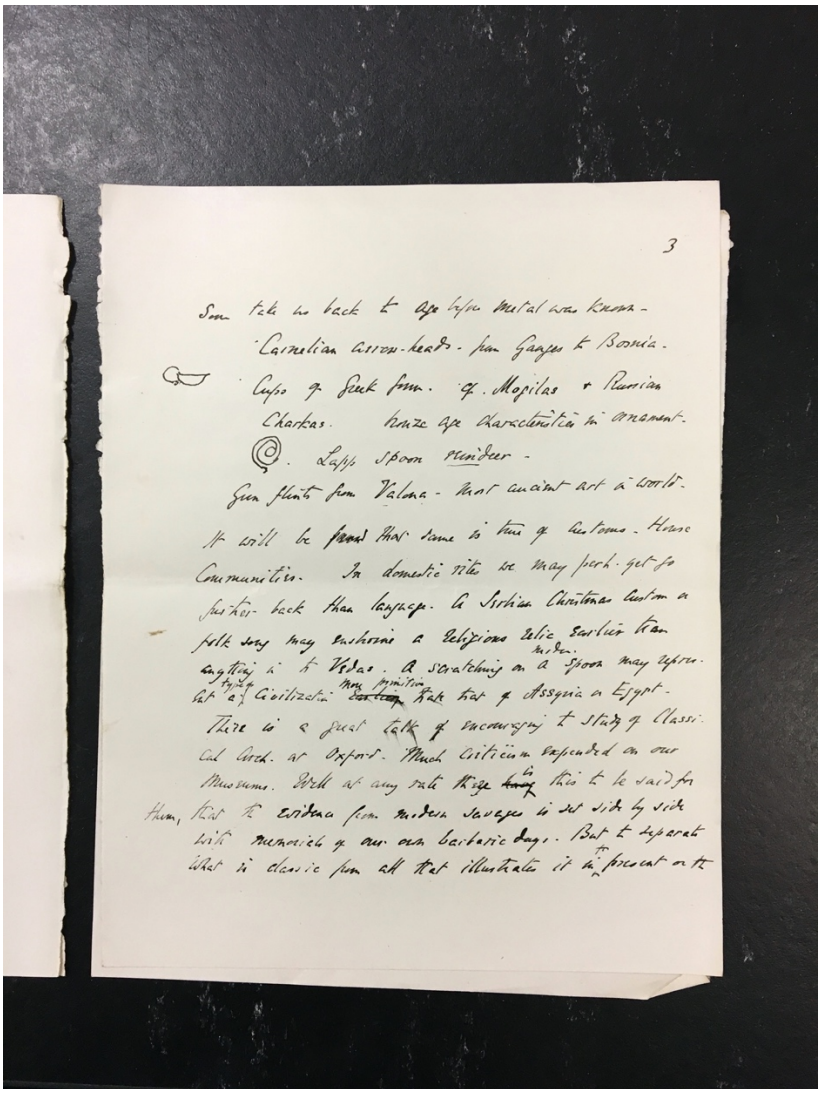
Wearing? Fajiared? Gems – actual antique set –

In Religion Byzantine formilization? –

The Talismans - + the Evil Eye –

Contain sudemsats? (*really hard to read word)* of earlier religious systems

that lived + and died. Sunworship +? (*Or "etc."?)* Thunderstorms (*or stones?)*



3

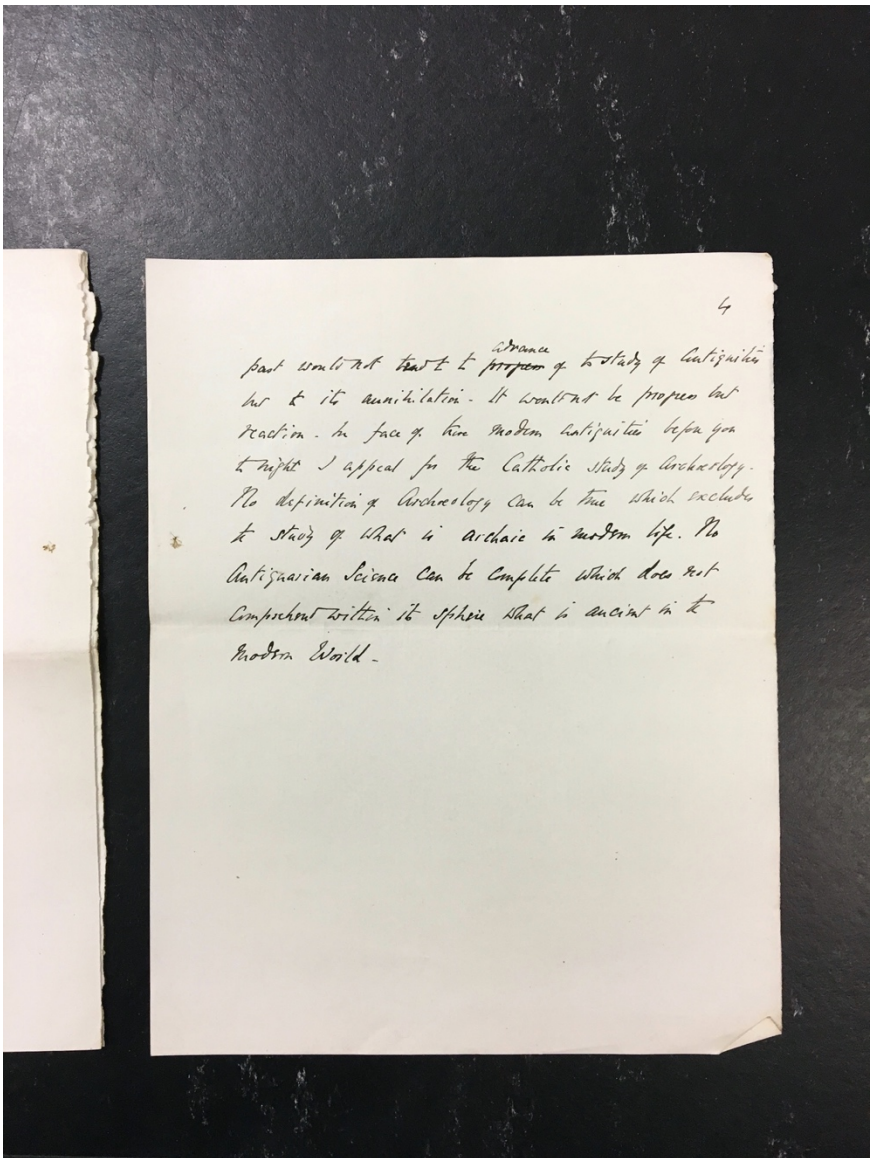
Some take us back to age before metal was known –
Carnelian arrow-heads - from Ganges + to Bosnia -
Cups of Greek form. Cf. Mogilas + Russian
Charkas. bronze age characteristics in ornament.
Lapis spoon reindeer -
Green flints from Valona - Most ancient art in world.
It will be found that same is true of customs - House Communities. In domestic rites we may perh. get so further back than language. A Serbian Christmas custom a folk song may enshrine a religious relic earlier than anything in the Vedas. A scratching on a reindeer spoon may represent. Type of a Civilization more primitive than that of Assyria or Egypt -
There is a great talk of encouraging the study of Classical Arch. at Oxford. Much criticism expended on our Museums. Will at any rate there is this to be said for them, that the evidence from modern savages is set side by side with memorials of our own barbaric days. But to separate what is classic from all that illustrates it in the present or the

Image 4—Modern Antiquities Memorandum – page 3

Some take us back to an age before metal was known –
Carnelian arrow-heads from Ganges + to Bosnia –
Cups of Greek form?. Cf. Mogilas? + Russian?
Charkas. bronze age characteristics in ornament.
Lapis spoon reindeer –
Green flints from Valona? – Most ancient art in world.

It will be found? That same is true of customs – House Communities. In domestic rites we may perh. Get so (*or go?)* further back than language. A Serbian Christmas custom a folk song may enshrine? a religious relic earlier than anything in the Vedas. A scratching on a ____ (reindeer? *Word written above)* spoon may represent/replicate? Type of a civilization more primitive than that of Assyria or Egypt.

There is great talk of encouraging the study Classical Arch. At Oxford. Much criticism expended? On our museums. Will at any rate there is this to be said for them, that the evidence from modern savages is set side by side with memorials? Of our own barbaric days. But to separate what is classic from all that illustrates it in the present or the



4

past would not tend to advance progress of the study of Antiquities but to its annihilation. It would not be progress but reaction. In face of these modern antiquities before you tonight I appeal for the Catholic study of Archaeology. No definition of Archaeology can be true which excludes the study of what is archaic in modern life. No Antiquarian Science can be complete which does not comprehend within its sphere what is ancient in the Modern World.

Image 5—Modern Antiquities Memorandum – page 4

past would not tend? To advance? Of the study of Antiquities but to its annihilation – It would not be progress but reaction – in the face of true/these? Modern antiquities before you tonight I appeal for the Catholic study of Archaeology –

No definition of Archaeology can be true which excludes the study of what is archaic in modern life. No antiquarian science can be complete which does not comprehend within its sphere what is ancient in the
Modern World.

Image 6—Winter clothing of the Sami People, before 1889

Full title:	Complete winter reindeer skin outfit Sami people, Muonio, Lapland, Finland before 1889.
Description:	"This outfit demonstrates the amount of clothing needed in winter. Made from several reindeer skins, it comprises a hat, parka, leggings, boots, and mittens. The boots were sometimes stuffed with straw for extra insulation. The Sami were probably the first of the Eurasian-Arctic people to switch from hunting reindeer to herding them (in about AD 800). They probably learned the craft of reindeer-hair embroidery from the Nenets people (in what is now Russia)."
Source:	Pitt Rivers Ethnographic Museum, United Kingdom
Photograph:	Arna Elezovic, February 23, 2018.
Acquisition:	Donated by Arthur John Evans to the Pitt Rivers Museum, 1889, 31.1-5.

Image 7—Drawing of a house in Zagreb from Lewis Evans' notebook

Description:	Pencil drawing of a house in Zagreb from Lewis Evans' sketchbook.
Date:	August 4, 1875.
Source:	Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, UCL SSEES Library, EVA 1/1/1 Envelope 6 of 9.
Acquisition:	Archival collection EVA 1 donated to UCL SSEES Library circa 1941.
Photograph:	Arna Elezovic, January 15, 2018.
Accessed:	January 15, 2018.

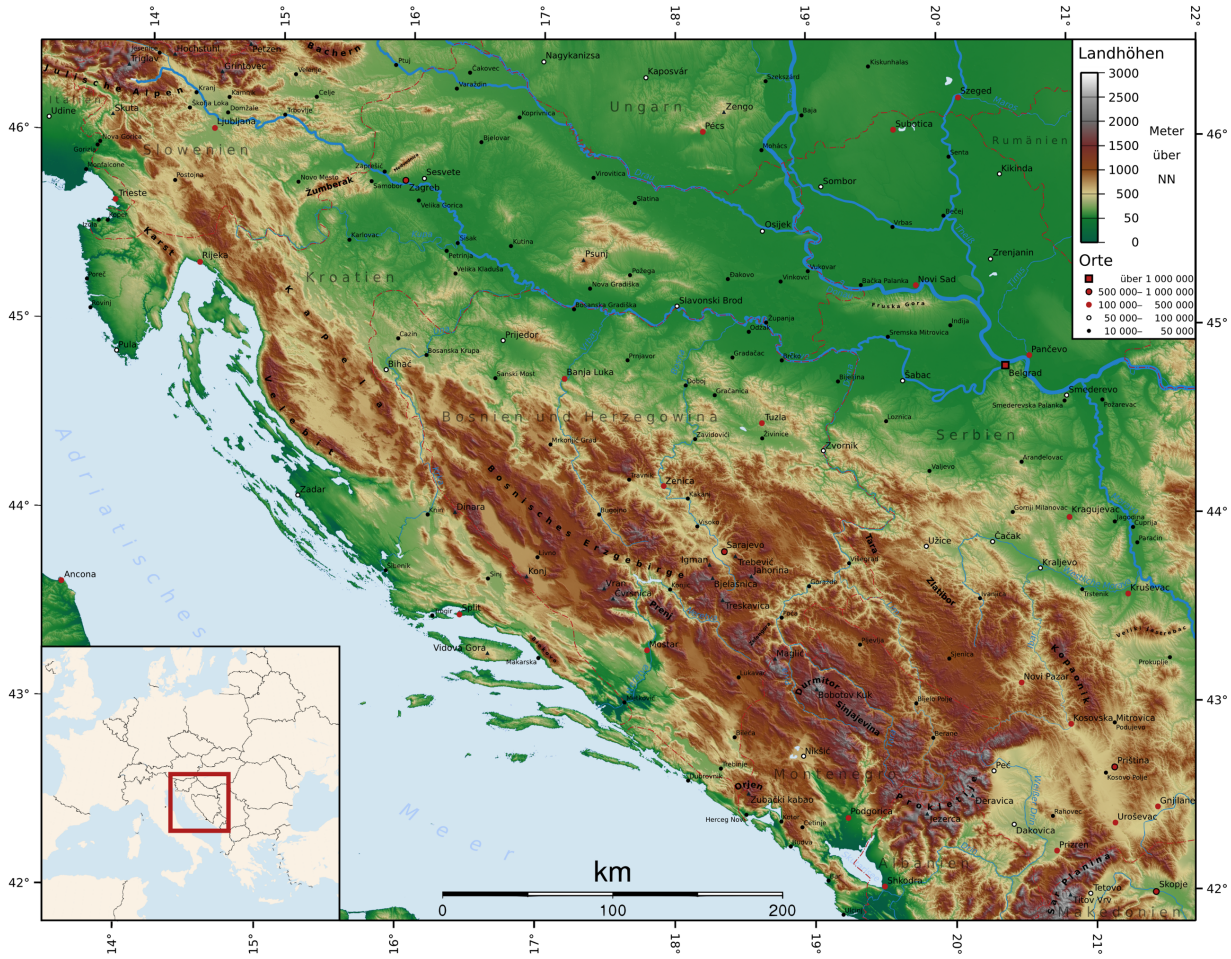


Image 8—Topographical map of the Dinaric Alps

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dinarisches_Gebirge_Topo.png.
Author: Felix Reimann, CC BY-SA 3.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>, via Wikimedia Commons. Self-made with GMT using mainly SRTM30-Data. Missing data was completed using the GLOBE dataset. Edited with Inkscape.
Date: April 19, 2007.
Accessed: June 6, 2021.

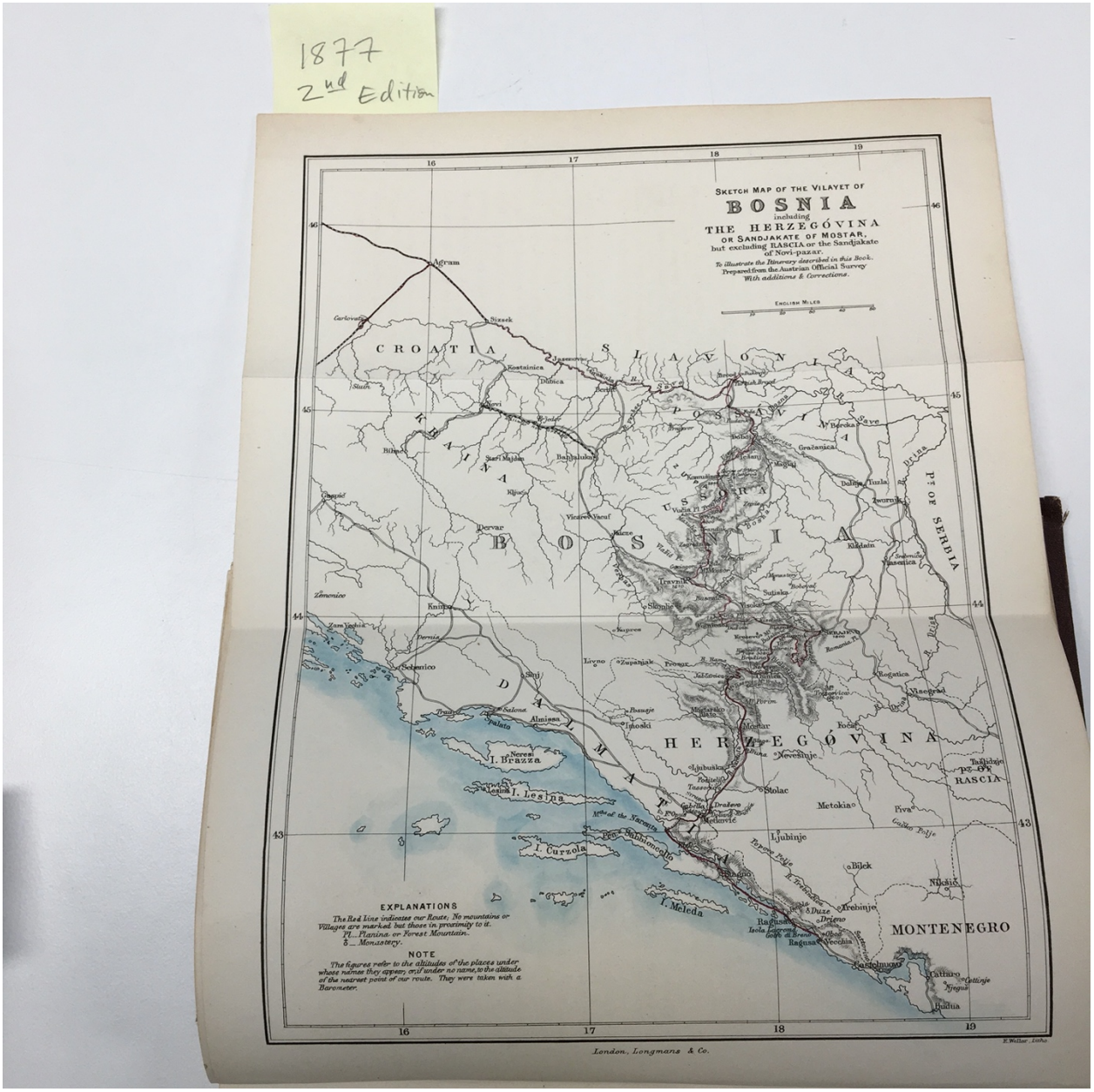


Image 9—Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Arthur Evans' travelogue

Source:	Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, Pitt Rivers Museum Collection
Author:	Arthur Evans
Publisher:	Longsman, Green, and Co.
Date:	1877
Edition:	Second editions ('revised and enlarged').
Photograph:	Arna Elezovic, February 23, 20018.
Acquisition:	Henry Balfour. Bequeathed February 1939.

Note: The Pitt Rivers Museum has digitized their Arthur Evans materials using University of Oxford's Cabinet platform; see also https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/map-bosnia-and-herzegovina-1875.

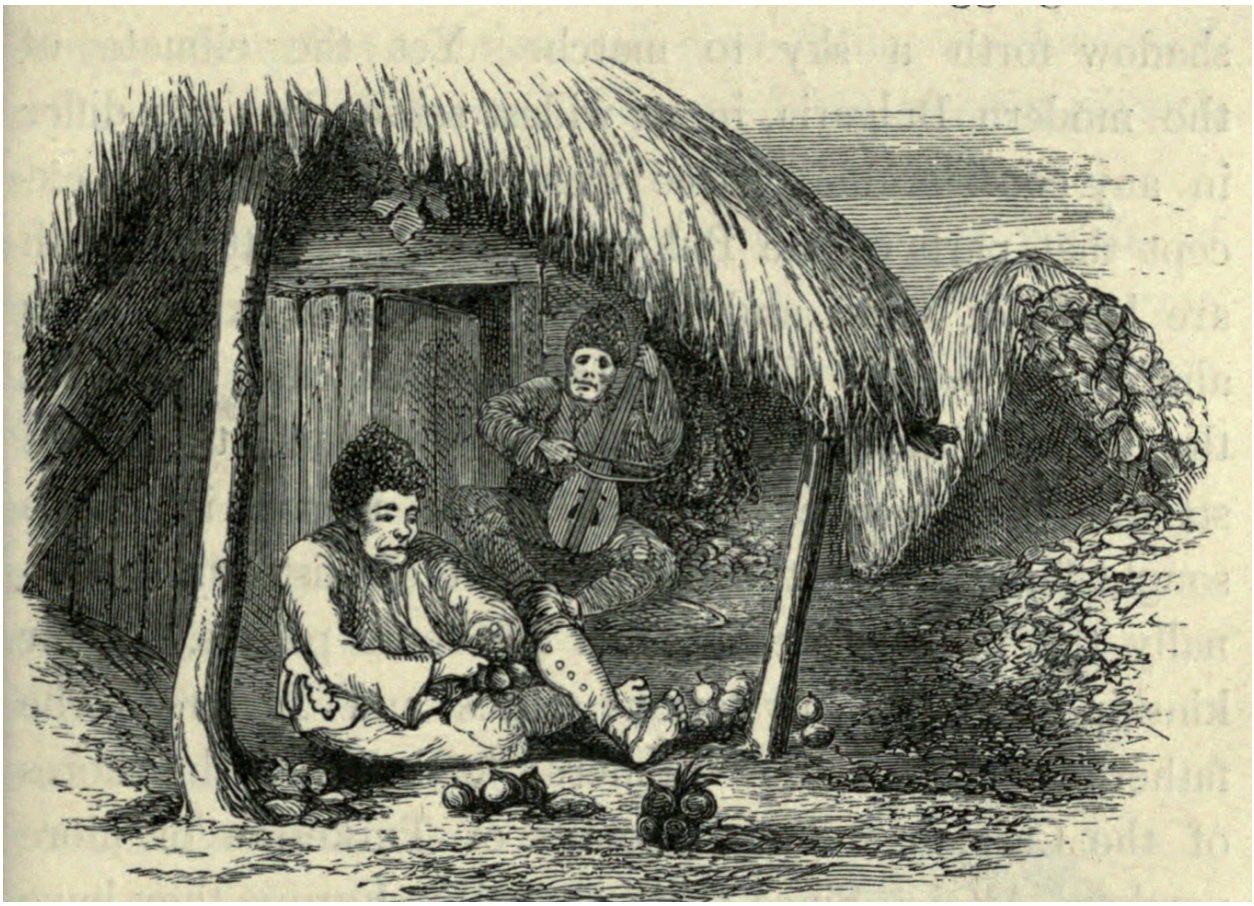


Image 10—Bulgarian settlement published in Arthur Evans' travelogue

Source:	*Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*
Author:	Arthur Evans
Date:	1877
Format:	Drawing, reprint in published book
Image:	Screen capture

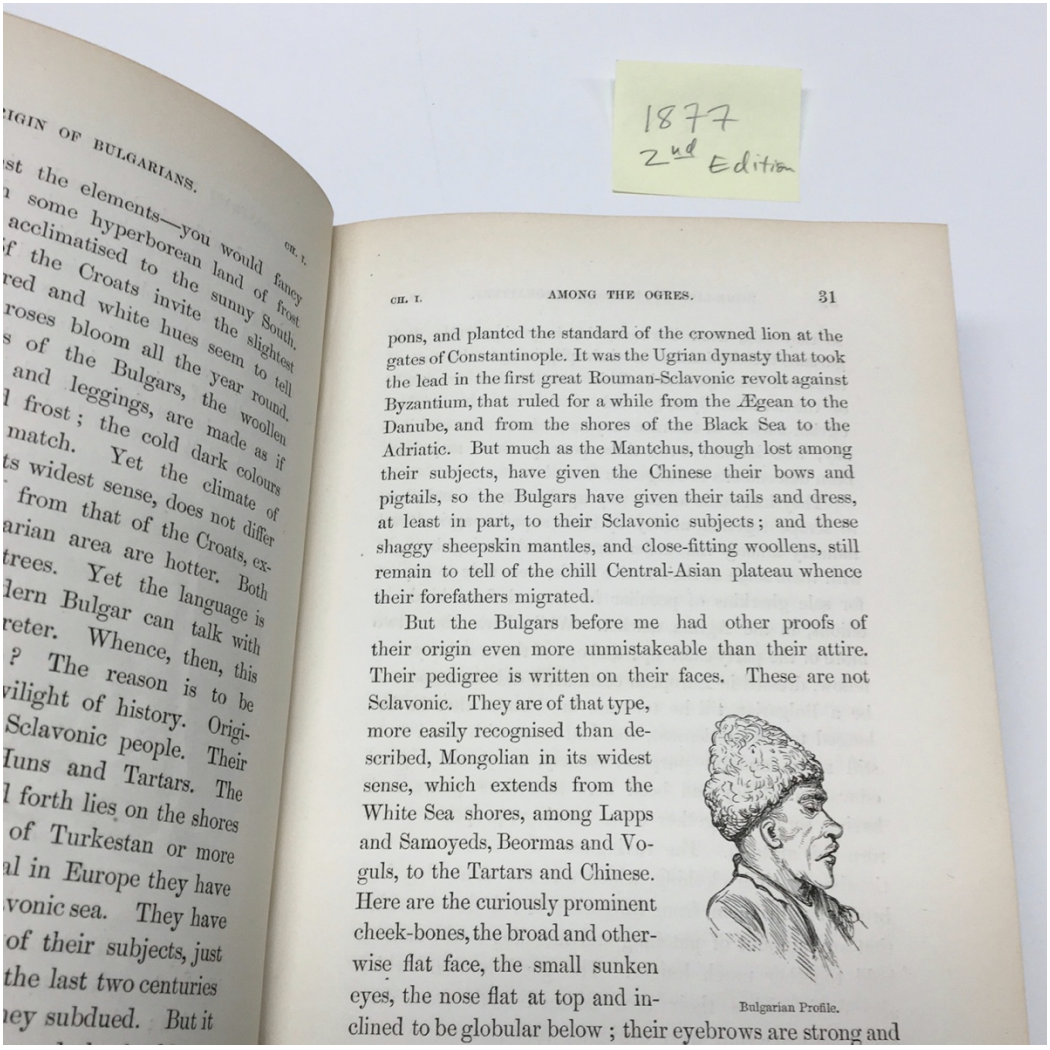


Image 11—Profile of Bulgarian man published in Arthur Evans' travelogue

Source: *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*
Author: Arthur Evans
Date: 1877
Format: Drawing, reprint in published book
Photograph: Arna Elezovic, February 23, 2018.
Acquisition: Joan Evans. Donated August 1941.

Image 12—Profile of Bulgarian man, from archival notebooks, Pitt Rivers Museum

Source:	Pitt Rivers Digitized Collection
Description:	Drawing in pencil by Arthur Evans of a man's head and shoulder, captioned 'Bulgarian profile,' identified as a portrait of a Bulgarian man sketched in Maksimir Park on the outskirts of Zagreb Croatia.
Author:	Arthur Evans
Date:	August 1875
Size:	60 x 44 mm
Acquisition:	Joan Evans. Donated August 1941.
URL:	https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/drawing-bulgarian-man.

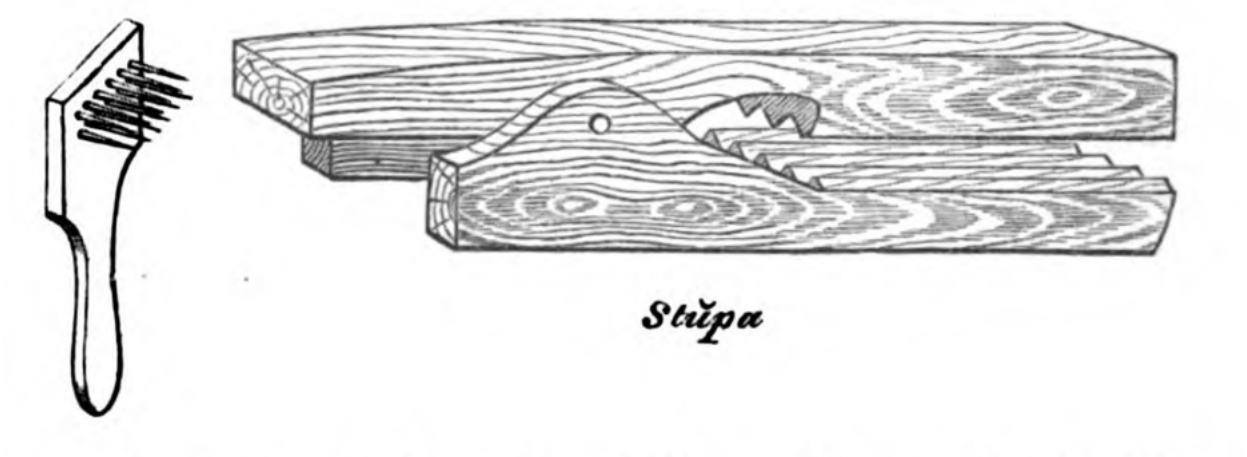


Image 13—Drawing of a stupa, published in Arthur Evans' travelogue

Source:	*Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*
Author:	Arthur Evans
Date:	1877
Format:	Drawing, reprint in published book
Image:	Screen capture

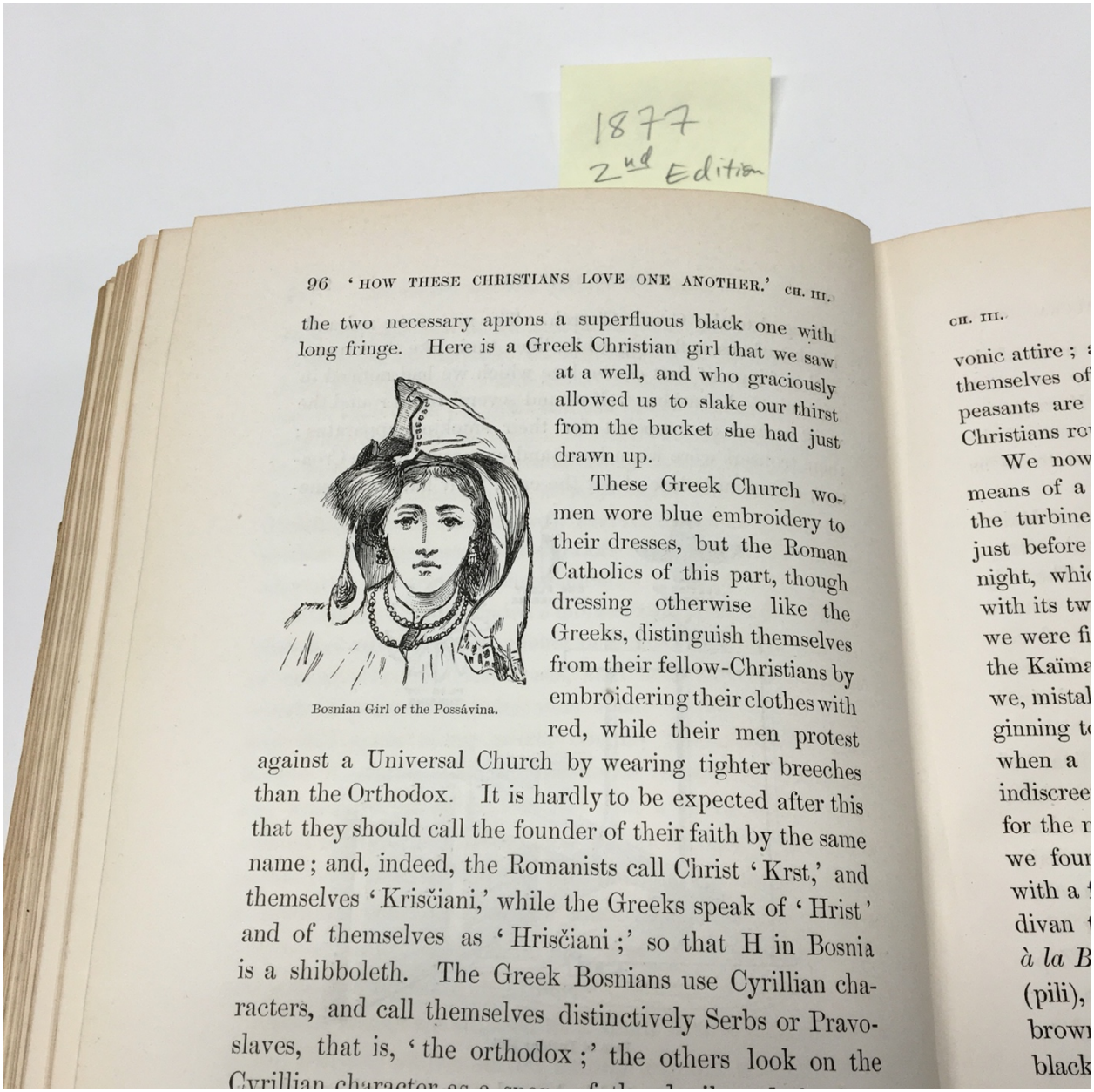


Image 14—Drawing of Bosnian Girl published in Arthur Evans' travelogue

Source:	*Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*
Author:	Arthur Evans
Date:	1877
Format:	Drawing, reprint in published book
Photograph:	Arna Elezovic, February 23, 2018.
Acquisition:	Joan Evans. Donated August 1941.

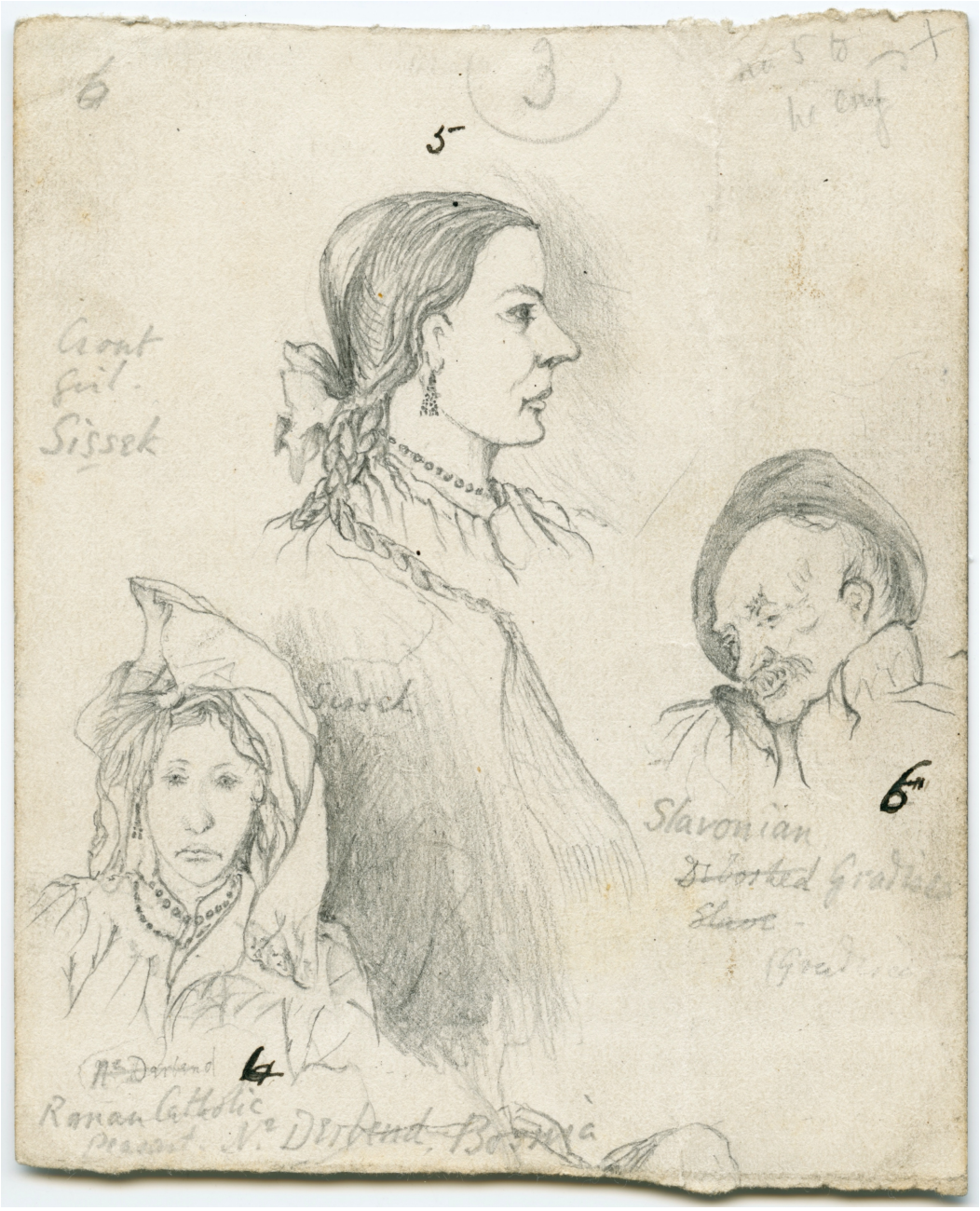


Image 15—Drawing of Bosnian girl, Croatian woman, and Slavonian man, from archival collection Pitt Rivers Museum

Source:	Pitt Rivers Digitized Collection
Description:	Drawing in pencil by Arthur Evans of the heads and shoulders of two women and a man, identified as portraits of a (Christian) Bosniak girl near Derventa, Bosnia and Herzegovina (bottom left), a Croat girl at Sisak, Croatia (centre), and a man from Slavonia seen at Gradiška (right).
Author:	Arthur Evans
Date:	August 1875
Size:	99 x 82 mm
Acquisition:	Joan Evans. Donated August 1941.
URL:	https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/drawing-three-people

Image 16—Etching of Herzegovinian Uprising During the Battle, 1875

Full title:	'Herzegovinian Uprising, During the Battle'
Source:	Illustration in an article Denis Vovchenko, "Gendering Irredentism? Self and Other in Russian Pan-Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism (1856-85)," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 2 (2011): 248–274, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2010.501111.
Author:	Drawing by Zh. Khuttari, engraving by I. Zhas
Date:	Printed illustration in "Niva," 30 November 1875, no. 48, 757. Online illustration published in Vovchenko's article 19 August 2010.

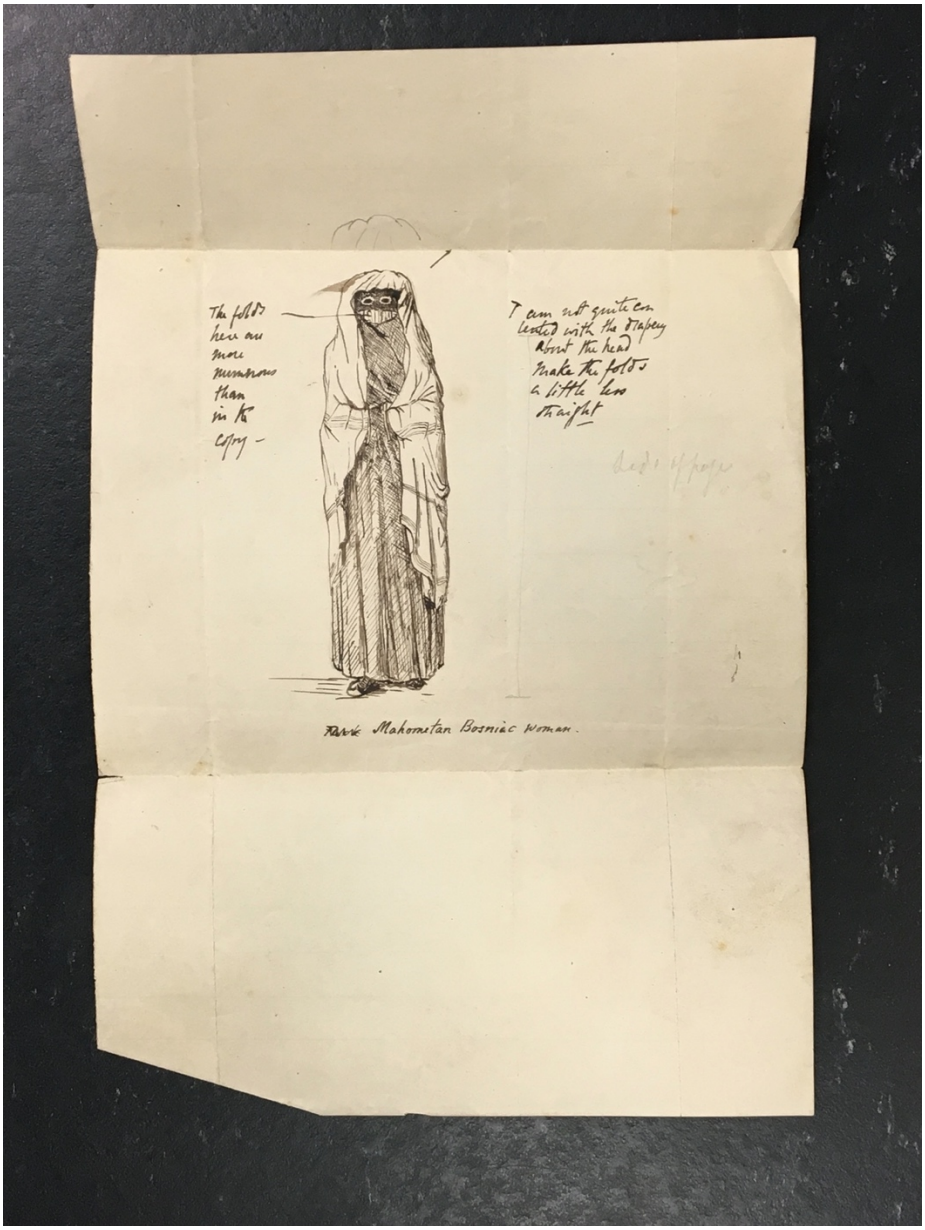


Image 17—Drawing of Muslim woman

Description: Pencil drawing of a veiled Muslim woman from Arthur Evans' sketchbook/notebooks.
Source: Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, UCL SSEES Library, EVA 1/1/1 Envelope 8 of 9.
Acquisition: Archival collection EVA 1 donated to UCL SSEES Library circa 1941.
Photograph: Arna Elezovic, January 15, 2018.
Accessed: January 15, 2018.

an Englishman who had travelled through a great deal of the Ottoman dominions, but who had not visited Bosnia, could hardly be induced to believe that the figure below represented a woman of European Turkey. To find her like, one must transport oneself as far away as Egypt. Outside the limits of conservative old Bosnia, her disguise would be laughed at by the Turks themselves!

Bosniac Mahometan Woman.

But what is still stranger is that in Bosnia should coexist the two extremes of veiling and not veiling. If the married women here veil themselves more than anywhere else, *en revanche* unmarried girls are allowed to display their charms in a way which, to the well regulated Turk of another province when he first visits Bosnia, is quite scandalous. There is a Turkish proverb, 'Go to Bosnia if you wish to see your betrothed!' It is actually a fact that in this reactionary land there are such things as Mahometan love-matches; and even when the mother is allowed to select the spouse in the usual way, by inspecting, that is, the 'stock' in the baths, even then—so demoralized are the customs of these Mahometan Sclaves!—the young people are allowed to converse together before tying the conjugal knot. On Fridays and Mondays —days of greater liberty to all the Mahometan women —lovers may steal up to their sweethearts' windows

Image 18—Drawing of Muslim woman published in Arthur Evans' travelogue

Source:	*Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*
Author:	Arthur Evans
Date:	1877
Format:	Drawing, reprint in published book
Image:	Download from digitized source

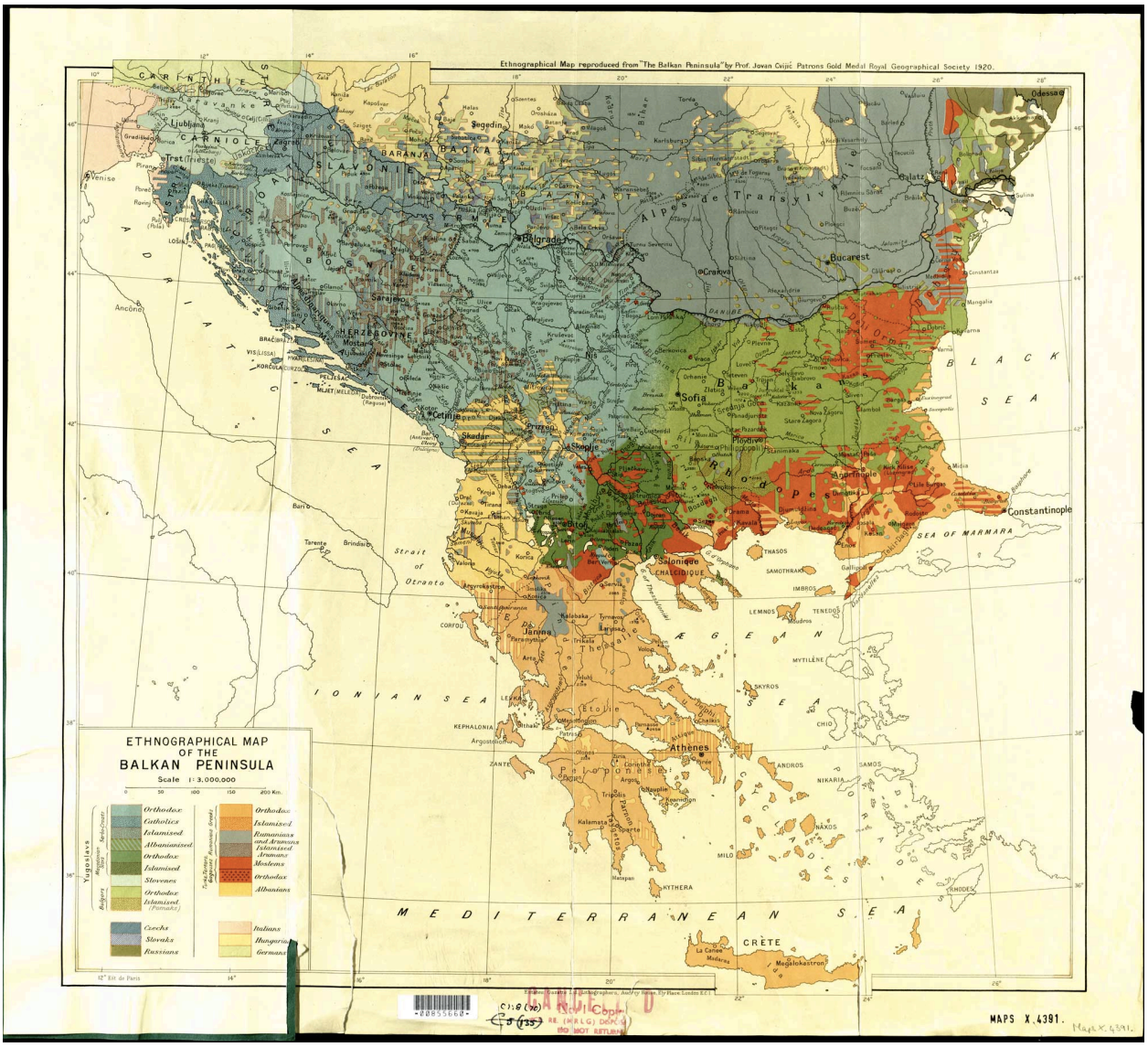


Image 19—Ethnographic Map of the Balkan Peninsula by Jovan Cvijić, 1918

Full title:	Ethnographical map reproduced from *The Balkan Peninsula* by Jovan Cvijić
Description:	This map is from the book that is a study of the physical and human geography of the Balkans by Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927), a Serbian geographer and ethnographer, published in Paris. It includes essays, drawings, maps and four large maps in colour, folded and inserted at the back of the book.
Source:	*La Péninsule balkanique. Géographie humaine (1918).*
Author:	Jovan Cvijić
Date:	1918

Image 20—The North Entrance Pillar Hall at Knossos, Crete

Description: Photograph of Knossos, Crete showing reconstructions by Sir Arthur J. Evans
Photograph: Arna Elezovic, March 3, 2018.

Image 21—The Throne Room at Knossos, Crete

Description: Photograph of Knossos, Crete showing architectural reconstructions by Sir Arthur J. Evans
Photograph: Arna Elezovic, March 3, 2018.

Image 22—Arthur Evans in Zagreb, 1932

Description:	Photograph of Arthur Evans from an album in 1932.
Source:	Sir Arthur J. Evans Archives, UCL SSEES Library, EVA 1/2/3.
Acquisition:	Archival collection EVA 2.
Photograph:	Photograph of album taken by Arna Elezovic, January 22, 2018.
Accessed:	January 22, 2018.

Image 23—Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Full title:	Bosnia and Hercegovina Physiography, map identifier "Base 802730AI (R00389) 2-02"
Source:	Central Intelligence Agency Library Publications
Author:	Central Intelligence Agency
Date:	2002
URL:	https://www.cia.gov/resources/map/bosnia-and-herzegovina/

Image 24—Map of Croatia

Full title: Croatia Physiography, map identifier "Base 802844AI (C00039) 11-01"
Source: Central Intelligence Agency Library Publications
Author: Central Intelligence Agency
Date: 2001
URL: https://www.cia.gov/resources/map/croatia/

Image 25—Map of Serbia

Full title: Serbia Physiography, map identifier "803609AI (G04297) 6-15"
Source: Central Intelligence Agency Library Publications
Author: Central Intelligence Agency
Date: 2018
URL: https://www.cia.gov/resources/map/serbia/

Appendix B Transcriptions

Modern Antiquities
Four-paged handwritten memorandum/notes:
UCL SSEES Library
EVA 1.1.2, Folder 2 of 2
Accessed January 16, 2018, 4:45 p.m.

Page 1

No real paradox Antiquity a relative term. Much
in ancient life ~~mo~~ modern ~~than anything in~~ Much in [?]
the world of[?] today more ancient than anything of which we
have written recording the past. The stone age still exists
this amongst modern savages – Primitive arts live as in
by ways of worlds which were antiquated in the Mediterranean
works in the days of the Pharaohs.
The striking contrast between modern civil.
lization + what we call barbarism but which is simply antiquity
unchanged present/located[?] in savage costumes and daily brought
to our notice by travelers. Yet things as old live on still
in the heart of Europe + no where more than Illyria.
The objects where from –
The people who.
Clothing still Sarmatian -of- Trajan's costume[?].
Ornaments Oriental partly[?] –

Page 2:

Not nearly derived from Turkish contact.
(Two words crossed out) Relics of Oriental trade route.
Hence Noise analogies + Anglo-Saxon
Compian[?] Alfred's[?] Jewel
Great Earrings. spreading to the Danube valley in late
Rom. Times. ENARE
So in Aines.[?] Indian form of Axe (with small drawing) as in Finland, + D.[?] or B.[?] N.
Clasp. Knives = axe – scimitar form.

{In brackets along the left margin:
[Animals
Heads.
cv. sacrificial

implements
in Rome – sa[?]}

mdimsateey[?] (*really no idea of that word, but looks like place name) biest[?] Pilates* – Hussars Hunnish calvary

Plumes – as in Persia Perianiki.[?] (*with drawing to right of what looks like an axe)*

Greco-Roman Traces in jewelry. rc[?]
Silver pin-cases –
Musical instrument ___familiar[?] Gamelion[?] Auleme[?] – double pipes
Wearing[?] Fajiared[?] Gems – actual antique set –
In Religion Byzantine formilization[?] –
The Talismans - + the Evil Eye –
Contain sudemsats[?] (*really hard to read word)* of earlier religious systems
that lived + and died. Sunworship +[?] (*Or "etc."[?])* Thunderstorms (*or stones[?])*

Page 3:

Some take us back to an age before metal was known –
Carnelian arrow-heads from Ganges +[?] (*Or* to[?]) Bosnia –
Cupes of Greek form[?]. Cf.[?] Mogilas + Romanian
(Small drawing to the left)
Charkas. bronze age characteristics in ornament.
(*Small drawing circular).*
Lapis spoon reindeer –
Green flints from Valona[?] – Most ancient art in world.
It will be found that same is true of customs – House
Communities. In domestic rites we may perh. get so (*or go[?])*
further back than language. A Serbian Christmas custom a
folk song may enshrine[?] a religious relic earlier than
anything in the Vedas. A scratching on a ____ (reindeer[?] *Word written above)* spoon may represent
___ type of a civilization more primitive than that of Assyria or Egypt –
There is great talk of encouraging the study Classi.
cal Arch. at Oxford. Much criticism expended[?] on our
museums. Will at any rate there is this to be said for
them, that the evidence from modern savages is set side by side
with memorials[?] of our own barbaric days. But to separate
what is classic from all that illustrates it in the present or the

Page 4:

past would not tend[?] to advance[?] of the study of Antiquities

but to its annihilation – It would not be progress but
reaction – in the face of true/these[?] modern antiquities before you
tonight I appeal for the Catholic study of Archaeology –
No definition of Archaeology can be true which excludes
the study of what is archaic in modern life. No
antiquarian science can be complete which does not
comprehend within its sphere what is ancient in the
modern world

James Candy's introduction to his annotated transcribed letters from Arthur Evans, written between the years of 1914–1928.

Sir Arthur J. Evans archives
The Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities
Folder X, donated circa 1985
Accessed on February 20, 2018

I was a small boy of about five years old when my mother told me that she was taking me to Wootton Village Hall to see a Magic Lantern Show given by Dr. Arthur Evans of Youlbury, Boars Hill. I quite expected Dr. Evans to produce from his Magic Lantern white pigeons and coloured flags and I was rather disappointed he did not. I did, however, become very excited when he produced on his white screen, some very large earthenware jars nearly six feet tall, which he had excavated. I jumped to the conclusion that here at least was the story of Ali Baba and the Forty thieves; surely the men standing round the jars, (the labour force dressed in Cretan clothing) must be forty thieves, but as the rest of the story did not materialize I soon lost interest and wanted to go home. Little did I know then that in 1913 my brother Dick and I would form the first Scout Troop in Wootton village and that this event would transform my whole life as it was then that I became involved with Sir (as he had become by then) Arthur Evans. Hearing of our difficulties in carrying out scouting without an HQ, he became very interested and gave us the use of the woods of Youlbury and provided with an HQ.

I was rather a sickly child with mastoids and in 1913 Sir Arthur, who had taken a liking to me, asked my parents if he could become my guardian; he would send me to the best ear specialists and give me a good education. After much deliberation, my parents decided that this was a wonderful chance for me and agreed to Sir Arthur's generous offer. I was then 11 years old.

I lived with him at Youlbury until 1922 when I left for the Argentine. A description of my life with this lovable man can be found in my autobiography, 'A Tapestry of Life'. Merlin Books, Taunton, 1982.

I have decided to publish his warmly written letters to me as I feel they will be of interest to many people.

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The Ashmolean Museum Department of Antiquities: Sir Arthur J. Evans Archive, Oxford

Folders I–V Scholarly letters

Folder VIII Personal letters

Folder IX Unsorted letters to John and Arthur Evans

Folder X James Candy's transcribed and annotated correspondence

BODBL
Bodleian Library, Trinity College, Broad Street, Oxford

Bound historical pamphlets out of print

PITT RIVERS
The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

Sir Arthur J. Evans Archive: small ethnographic collection of Balkan materials

Exhibit *Travels in Finland and Bosnia & Herzegovina: An Ethnographic Collection of Sir Arthur Evans*, 2013, curator Philip Grover.

Digital collection in collaboration with Oxford: https://www.cabinet.ox.ac.uk/travels-in-finland-and-bosnia-herzegovina (2019) using Cabinet.

UCL SSEES LIBRARY
University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies Library, London

Evans (Arthur J) collection:
EVA 1: Material bequeathed by Evans to SSEES and comprising his writings, notes, sketches, correspondence, photographs, press cuttings, pamphlets and offprints relating to the Balkans.

EVA2: Material on long-term loan from the Ashmolean Museum and comprising Evans's writings, notes, sketches, correspondence, press cuttings, pamphlets and offprints relating to the Balkans.

Evans (Margaret) collection:

EVM: Margaret Evans archive, University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies Library (UCL SSEES Library). Two volumes.

Seton-Watson (Professor Robert William) collection:
SEW17: R.W. Seton Watson archive, University College of London School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies Library (UCL SSEES Library). SEW17 contains individual correspondence files with a total of thirty-one boxes or folders in this category alone.

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