

Dalibor JOVANOVSKI

Verica ŠARAC

## ARCHAEOLOGY AND POLITICS: ARTHUR EVANS AND THE BALKAN AFFAIRS

UDK 821.111-992:929EВАНС, А.  
UDK 910.4:32(497)1875/1919

Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje  
Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje  
dalibor@fzf.ukim.edu.mk

M.A. student, Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje  
vsharac1999@gmail.com

**Abstract:** *The main object of our article is to present and analyze some of the activities of Arthur Evans in the Balkans within the period of half a century – from the Great Eastern crisis of 1875 up to the Paris peace conference in 1919. During this long period Evans was traveling throughout the region visiting almost all parts of the Balkans – Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Serbia, Ottoman Macedonia, Greece, Crete. He was exploring the local archaeological past, tradition of the population, analyzing the political and social situation. Evans became a famous archaeologist with his excavations and findings in Crete. He did not avoid the chance to write a lot of articles and books about the region from archaeology to politics. He engaged himself to inform and to influence the British public opinion in regard of the Balkans affairs. Evans took participation in the establishing various organization related to the Balkan matters with political, humanitarian and social aims. He was a member of the London Balkan Committee, the Macedonian Relief Fund, the Serbian Relief Fund, the Serbian Society in Great Britain. He supported the activities of the Yugoslav Committee in London. His books and articles were valuable sources for the British diplomacy.*

**Key words:** Arthur Evans, Balkan, Macedonia, Serbia, activity, politics

Brewda in his article about the British interests in the Balkans has given a very interesting explanation on the London's interference in the region and its practice to use the scholars in order to get information from the southeastern part of Europe and to promote its government interest in the area. Brewda using the autobiography of British intelligence official Aubrey Herbert, wrote about the British experts in manipulation: "All the people in Turkey, including

the Turk, were in a chronic state of shipwreck, the English were in permanent possession of the lifeboat, though often the lifeboat could not be put out to sea....Bourchier and the Buxtons were the heroes of Bulgaria, Miss Durham restored Albania to the memory of Europe, Steed, Seton – Watson and Edward Boyle were advocates of Serbia that existed in their minds, the Greeks have a multitude of archaeologists, classical scholars, and there are a few remaining romantics devoted to their renaissance”.<sup>1</sup> So, Arthur Evans has not been mentioned by Hebert, but his works in the Balkans since the 1870's up to the end of the First World War completely fit in this framework. James Evans has quite opposite opinion on the role of numerous British scholars engaged in the Balkan's problems. According to him a number of these individuals like Robert Seton Watson and Arthur Evans had become sincerely and deeply engaged with the history, culture and political development of the South Slavs.<sup>2</sup>

His friend and associate, R.W. Seton – Watson noted that no account of Evans would be complete without reference to his interest in the cause of the Southern Slavs<sup>3</sup>. His first encounter with the Slavic problems in the southeastern part of Europe overlapped with the Bosnian uprising in 1875 when he published his first articles in Manchester Guardian thus becoming its correspondent. Evans visited the rebel's headquarters making his contribution to the press campaign in Britain during the 1870's. Gladstone used Evans articles in his fierce denouncing of the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria after the April's uprising. Seton – Watson comments that Evans articles in the Manchester Guardian was a predecessor of his two books *Through Bosnia and Hercegovina on foot* (1876) and *Illyrian Letters* (1878).<sup>4</sup> His works on the Balkans had not been confined with publishing articles and books. All over the Bosnian uprising that evolved in the Great Eastern Crisis, the British public sphere turned into a stage of differences about the resolving of the Eastern question and the Balkan crisis. He took active participation in the public debates amongst politicians, journalists and intellectuals. Evans in the course of his lecture on the Slavs in European civilization expressed an opinion that the Balkans was similar to using a time machine: To pass indeed into those almost unknown Illyrian wilds is to find oneself in a younger world”.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of the decisions of Berlin Congress of July 1878, Austro – Hungarian army was starting with the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, a region which was of great interest and knowledge of Arthur Evans. Although we cannot deny his Pro -Serbian sentiments and conducts during his career it is

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Brewda, *How the British Crown created the Balkan Powderceg*, EIR, v. 22/13, March, 1995, 60.

<sup>2</sup> J. Evans, *Great Britain and the creation of Yugoslavia*, Tauris, London, 2008, was7

<sup>3</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Arthur Evans*, *The Slavonic and east European Review*, v.24/63, 1946, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> N. Çiçek, “*Bulgarian Horrors*” revisited: *The many layered manifestations of the orientalist discourse in Victorian political construction of the external intimate and internal other*, *Belleten* (Turk tarih Korumu), 81 (291), 2017, 535.

fair and worth to notice that Evans was a little bit disappointed by the functioning of the Serbian Principality. Evans, seeing what was happening in Bosnia and Hercegovina during the Ottoman attempts to crackdown the Bosnian uprising proposed to Lord Salisbury and W.H. Smith, his father's friends, possibility of Austrian occupation of these provinces as a way to eliminate Ottoman administration.<sup>6</sup> Arthur Evans expressed the belief, common amongst late Victorian travelers, that 'Austria should incorporate Bosnia in her dominions,' being 'the only Southern state at present existing that can weld into unity that perplexed array of petty principalities and rival provinces.'<sup>7</sup> Even more, Evans considers that the aim of all men who value the lasting peace in Europe, should be to induce Vienna's Government to fulfil its civilizing mission.<sup>8</sup> But very soon he would change his opinion about the Austrian presence in Bosnia and Hercegovina. In his article about the Austro - Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina Evans wrote that British circles have failed to realize the true significance of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia which was "a part of a far greater process bringing with it as one of its results the certain dissolution of the Austro - Hungarian monarchy as at present understood".<sup>9</sup> Evans, who was acquainted in detail with the situation in Bosnia and in Habsburg's monarchy as well, put a logical questions about the future of Bosnia and the Austro - Hungarian Monarchy in the near future. According to his opinion the artificial monarchy which cannot even to call itself by a single name is powerless against a nationality which has its stronghold in the hearts of people.<sup>10</sup> Two years later Evans published another article commenting the Austro - Hungarian role in the Balkans. He concluded: " If Austria advances to Salonica and incorporates the Western provinces of the Balkan Peninsula - nor must it forgotten that the possession of Salonica involves the subsequent enthrallment of the Principality of Serbia, through which the only highway between great haven and Vienna lies - then it may be predicted with certainty that within a limited number of Years the Russian Empire will extend its borders to the Adriatic as well as to the Aegean. Durazzo on the west as well Salonica on the south will be Russian ports".<sup>11</sup>

Manchester Guardian decreased its interest for publishing reports from the Balkans. Therefore, Evans had more time to do research and to write.<sup>12</sup> His intention was to write a History of Dubrovnik. Notwithstanding his intention about writing the History of Dubrovnik, Evans made a tour through the south-

---

<sup>6</sup> R.W. Seton-Watson, *Arthur Evans*, 45.

<sup>7</sup> A. Hammond, *Memoirs of conflict: British women travellers in the Balkans*, Studies in Travel Writing, 14/1, 2010, 61.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 107.

<sup>9</sup> A. Evans, *The Austrians in Bosnia*, Macmillan magazine, October, 1878, 495.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 504.

<sup>11</sup> A. J. Evans, *The Austrian counter - revolution in the Balkans*, Fortnightly review, v. XXVII, 524.

<sup>12</sup> B. Kirigin, *Arthur Evans in Dubrovnik and Split (1875-1882)*, Archaeopress Open access, 2015, 6 .

ern parts of the Balkans visiting parts of the Ottoman Empire and Serbia – Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak and the Serbian town of Niš.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note that Evans was impressed by the city in Salonica. He wrote a letter to his father in law, Freeman, where he shares his impressions from Salonica: “I do wish you had been with me at Thessalonika: to me it was quite a revelation. After Ravenna I know no town that can hold a candle to it for Roman Christian monuments...In Thessalonika there is hardly anything Greek: one feels how entirely its greatness belonged to the Roman Empire and to the opening up of the Illyrian interior. . . . As to the walls of Salonica, I felt that before I had seen them, I had never seen walls before”.<sup>14</sup> From Salonica he departed for Skopje, then Ottoman Uscüb. Arthur was interested in the archaeological past of the region. His first visit to the this Vilayet’s center was shadowed by an unexpectable episode with local Ottoman authorities. His intended to visit the city’s fortress, on purpose of the London’s Antiquarian Society where he was a member. He required special permission by the Ottoman military authority for the reason that some of the military units were stationed in the fortress. Although, previously, he was granted permission to make a visit the fortress, very soon Evans was detained by the army alongside with his local companion, official in the Ottoman telegraph office.<sup>15</sup> Evans was quickly released by the Ottomans and departed from Skopje. This event was, in some way, a harbinger on that what will occurred in Dubrovnik. The British consul in Salonika, John Blunt, in his report to the embassy in Constantinople observed that Ottoman authorities were very suspicious on the work of the British nationals contemplating that they work for the British interests in the country.<sup>16</sup>

Evans did return in Dubrovnik aiming to continue with his work. However, in 1882, the local population in Hercegovina rose against the Austro – Hungarian rule and the manner of its managing with the former Ottoman region. Arthur was arrested, under suspicion of agitation in favor of the rebels, by the Austrian authorities and put in jail in the beautiful city of Dubrovnik. There was a reason for such stern decision of the Austrian authorities. Evans was publishing articles where he criticized the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Hercegovina. No matter the fact that he was advised by his friends to stop with his practice, Evans did not change his mind. However, fortunately for him, he was released from the prison and left his beloved Dubrovnik. The Austrian success in the suppression of the Hercegovina’s rebellion and the pressure from the London government were in favor for his releasing.

Evans’s writings about the situation in Bosnia and his severe critics about the Austro – Hungarian policy in the Balkans and promoting of the Serbs

---

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> J. Evans, *Time and chance. The story of Arthur Evans and his forebears*, Longmans, London, 1943, 238.

<sup>15</sup> Д. Ѓорѓиев, *Британски документи за историјата на Македонија 1857-1886*, кн. 4, ДАРМ, Скопје, 2003 558-560.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 558.

as an influential factor in the regional future had not been unnoticed by the Serbian political authorities and scientific community. Therefore, the Serbian's prince Milan, the future king, awarded him with the decoration – Takovo cross medal.<sup>17</sup> The Serbian learned society, predecessor of the Serbian Royal Academy, now Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, in 1884, elected him as a honorary member.<sup>18</sup> Everyone could conclude that Evans was completely Pro-Serbian oriented in his work. However, some of his writings testify his occasional critical position on the Serbian activities. The Balkans, again, entered in great political crisis as a result of the unification of Bulgarian Principality with the autonomous region of Easter Rumelia. The Eastern Rumelia's crisis evolved in another war that broke out as a consequence of the Serbian invasion on Bulgaria in October 1885. The Serbian aggression had provoked great critics amongst many prominent and influential British politicians and intellectuals. Evans, despite his previous relatively positive writings and impressions on the Serbian matters, wrote an article with serious critics on the policy of King Milan, the monarch who decorated him few years ago, towards Bulgarian unification. Evans wrote that the pretext for the deceived no one. "The miserable plea that Serbian Government is only acting in self-defense will only serve to revolt the common sense of mankind".<sup>19</sup>

Two years after his first visit to Skopje, Arthur, with his wife Margaret, visited Athens before they departed for Salonica in 1883. He firstly traveled to Mt. Athos then proceeded for Skopje, while Margaret stayed in Salonica with the family of the British consul Blunt.<sup>20</sup> As a passionate archaeologist and adventurer, he was making a detailed research of Skopje's historical remnants and its surroundings as well. Evans has published his findings and researches from Skopje. He was convinced: "The materials that I have at the present collected will supply, I trust, the final solution of this problem in ancient geography and will sufficiently establish the historic connection between Skopia and the ancient Scupi"<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that he dealt with the question of probable location of Justiniana prima in Skopje.<sup>22</sup> He visited, as well, the villages of Taor and Bader, in the vicinity of Skopje, as probable birthplace of emperor Justinian. Evans had not only published a book *Illyrian letters* with his archaeological findings from the terrain. He also sent informative letters to the British foreign office with his observations from the regions he had visited. For our article it is interesting to note that he gave a very detailed information about the political, social, religious and ethnological situation in northern

---

<sup>17</sup> B. Kirigin, *Arthur Evans in Dubrovnik and Split (1875-1882)*, 7.

<sup>18</sup> S. G. Markovich, *British – Serbian cultural and political relations 1784-1918*, in: S.G. Markovich (ed.), *British – Serbian Relations the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, FNP, Belgrade, 2018, 59.

<sup>19</sup> A. Evans, *King Milan's invasion of Bulgaria*, Pall Mall Budget, v. XXXIII/895, November 19, 1885, 7.

<sup>20</sup> J. Evans, *Time and chance*, 264.

<sup>21</sup> A. Evans, *Antiquarian researches in Illyricum, III and IV*, Westminster, 1885, 84

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 134-141.

parts of Macedonian and Kosovo at the time.<sup>25</sup> These letters, in some way, could lead us to conclude that Evans had a special relation with the British foreign policy.

Seton Watson remarks that Evans was interesting in the trouble of the Near East, but he was inevitably banished from the Adriatic and Bosnia and found another sphere of activities in Crete.<sup>24</sup> According to him almost thirty years separate Evans's Balkan period. Thus, we can put a logical question – when Evans has returned to the Balkan affairs with his activities? The only answer has been related with the appearance of the Macedonian question which begin to draw attention of the European diplomacy and public opinion at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. As the situation in Ottoman Macedonia was becoming more tense the interests of the diplomacy, scholars and public opinion across Europe started to increase. Many British intellectuals, diplomats and politicians were interested in the Macedonian affairs. As a logical result of their interest in 1902 in London was formed the Balkan Committee. Its members were very influential persons in the British society - the parliamentarian and historian James Bryce, the aspiring politician Noel Buxton and his brother Charles Buxton, the historian George Peabody Gooch, the archaeologist Arthur Evans, the journalist H.N. Brailsford, and Liberal party member Herbert Gladstone.<sup>25</sup> The Balkan Committee aimed to promote discussions and form opinion “in a way which left no room for the more emotional and crude appeals to which some of Gladstone's followers were wont to resort”.<sup>26</sup>

The activities of the London's Balkan committee were increasing in 1903 as a result of the deteriorating situation in Ottoman Macedonia which led to the outbreak of the Ilinden uprising. Arthur Evans, as an active member of the Committee, participated on the great meeting that was held in St. James's Hall on September 29 to call upon the British government to take effective steps to bring to an end the massacres in Macedonia.<sup>27</sup> He also wrote an article criticizing Lord Balfour's Manifest for limiting and inaccurate knowledge for the situation which is worse than ignorance.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note here that between September 29 and November 16, 1903, the Balkan Committee organized 150 meetings across Great Britain.<sup>29</sup> Evans had not stopped to publish articles in the British newspapers in order to illustrate the formidable situation in Macedonia and the fate of its civil population. He alongside with Evelyn Ashley,

---

<sup>25</sup> М. Јагодић, *Два извештаја Артура Еванса о Сјарој Србији из 1883 године*, Мешовите грађа, књ. XXX, Београд, 2009, 77-96.

<sup>24</sup> R.W, Seton – Watson, *Arthur Evans*, 49.

<sup>25</sup> J. Brooks, *Managing Macedonia: British statecraft, intervention and “Proto – peacekeeping” in Ottoman Macedonia 1902 – 1905*, PhD Dissertation, Simon Frazer University, 2014, 312.

<sup>26</sup> D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre. Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914*, Princeton University Press, 2012, 235.

<sup>27</sup> *The Speaker*, October 3, 1903, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

<sup>29</sup> D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 236.

James Bryce, Edward Fry and C. Wigorn, wrote article about the famine in Monastir (Bitola) depicting the difficulty in the region and asking from the London's government funds and support for their activities. The also demanded interference of the Government to force the Ottoman authorities to stop with their activities against the civil population.<sup>30</sup>

Arthur Evans did not confine his activities on Macedonian affairs only on the British soil. He visited Paris to participate in the meeting organized in the Theatre Sarah Bernhardt on October 25<sup>th</sup>. During his very emotive and ardent speech he underlined that England was united in the demands for reform in Macedonia stressing that the British government asked to be supported by the public opinion.<sup>31</sup> He even proposed cutting of the ties between Macedonia and the central Ottoman government.<sup>32</sup>

The Ottoman suppression of the Ilinden uprising in Macedonia was followed by so-called Mürtzsteg reforms in order to calm down the tensive situation in the rebellious region. Arthur Evans and Noel Buxton of the Balkan Committee published an article-by-article critique of the Mürtzsteg Reform Program. Brooks remarks they saw the reforms, on the whole, as step in the right direction, and gave credit to Lansdowne.<sup>33</sup>

The London's Balkan committee, in order to help the Macedonian population, with humanitarian aid, found the Macedonian Relief Fund. Its president was the Bishop of London; the Rev. Marshall Hartley, president of the Wesleyan Conference, is one of its vice-presidents. Its other clerical members include the Bishops of Rochester and Worcester, Dr. Guinness Rogers, and the Rev. F. B. Meyer; while the politicians who support it, such as Mr. James Bryce, Mr. Yerburch, Sir Arthur Hayter, Mr. Cameron Corbett s Mr. Moon, and Mr. Hugh Law, are drawn from every quarter of the House. The names of Sir Thomas Powell Buxton, the hon. treasurer, Sir Edward Fry, and Mr. Evelyn Ashley are not less representative; and Mr. Arthur Evans, the distinguished archaeologist, has from the first taken an active part in the organization of the Fund.<sup>34</sup>

Evans was considered as a good connoisseur of the Balkan's problems in the Great Britain. His discoveries in Crete made him one of the most renown scholars of his time. So, it was quite understandable that his writings on Macedonia incited great interests in the Balkans. His article published in *The Times* on September 30, 1903 triggered negative reaction in Greece. It is interesting to note that according to Varouhakis, Evans was chosen by the Balkan Committee to express his opinion as a connoisseur of Balkan politics.<sup>35</sup> The British

---

<sup>30</sup> *The Speaker*, October 3, 1903, 14.

<sup>31</sup> J. Brooks, *Managing Macedonia*, 447.

<sup>32</sup> М. Пандевски, *Македонофилското движење во Зајадна Европа во 1903 година*, Архив на Македонија, Скопје, 1995, 130-131.

<sup>33</sup> J. Brooks, *Managing Macedonia*, 448.

<sup>34</sup> *Spectator*, November, 28, 1903, 911.

<sup>35</sup> V. Varouhakis, *L'archeologie enragee. Archaeology and national identity under the Cretan state (1898-1913)*, PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2015, 103.

archaeologist commenting the Greek aspiration in Ottoman Macedonia noticed: "It is an unpleasant duty to have to tell one's friends home truths, but the Greek claim to Macedonia, at least as regards the greater part of the interior of the country, is a dream. In some of the towns there is a fair Greek population, but even in that case, as in Monastir, for example, the statistics rest on an artificial basis. The truth is that a large number of those described as Greeks are really Roumans, ...The late M. Tricoupis to my personal knowledge, saw things much more clearly. He was well aware that, except a narrow fringe to the south and some sporadic centers of no great magnitude in the interior of the province, the Greek element had no real hold on Macedonia. His chief anxiety, for which he had solid grounds, came, indeed, from that direction, but not from the Bulgarian quarter. That cool political observer would certainly never refrained from qualifying, as did the present Greek Premier, an exceptionally industrious and peaceful population who, for fifteen centuries, have been tillers of the Macedonian soil, and only now owing to indescribable oppression have been goaded into revolt, as 'Bulgarian wolves', apparently recent intruders into a Greek fold! The brigands of Pindus and Olympus have been rarely recruited from the Bulgar element".<sup>36</sup>

His articles provoked a severe reaction in Greece. It was obviously that Greeks were disenchanted with Evans article taking into account his archaeological researches in Crete and his role in the founding of the British archaeological school in Athens. Evans's article was a topic in the most influential Greek daily newspaper *Acropolis*. The heading of the article which refers to Evans's stances on the Macedonian matters was very clear and simple – The English archaeologist repudiates the existence of the Hellenism in Macedonia.<sup>37</sup> Even more and the Greek king Georgios I did not refrain from critics to Evan's article. The king accused Evans for his unacceptable views against the historical and geographical rights of Hellenism upon Macedonia.<sup>38</sup>

Critics expressed by the Greek journalists and the King,, did not change Evans's attitude in regard to the Macedonian affairs. Even more he published a text with more negative words against the Greek interests in Ottoman Macedonia. In November 1903 Evans wrote an article where he directed his critics not against the Sultan but against Greece which was laying its claims to Ottoman Macedonia.<sup>39</sup> Commenting on Evans's texts concerning the Greek claims in Macedonia, Horwitz writes that anyone else who was excavating in Knossos would have thought twice before publicly attacks Greek politics. In order to explain her remarks, she notes that the Greek Prince Georgios was the Royal

---

<sup>36</sup> И. Илчев, *Балканския̀ї комѝїей̀ї в Лондон*, Издателство Св. Климент Охридски, София, 2003, 313-328.

<sup>37</sup> *Ακροπολις*, αρ. 7746, 26 σεπτεμβριου 1903, 2.

<sup>38</sup> V. Varouhakis, *L'archaologie eragee*, 104.

<sup>39</sup> S.I. Horwitz, *The find of a lifetime: Sir Arthur Evans and the discovery of Knossos*, Phoenix, 2001, 156.



patron of the Cretan exploration fund reminding that local authorities in Candia were heavily dependent from Greece.<sup>40</sup>

Different to the negative Greek reactions of his text about the situation in Macedonia, the Bulgarian side greeted his opinion. Stanislav Shoomkoff wrote that the activities of Bryce, Buxton, Evans and the Balkan Committee will be in loving remembrance of Macedonians.<sup>41</sup>

As an influential member of the Balkan Committee, Evans took part in the publishing a small book with the title *Macedonia*, issued during the autumn 1903. We suppose that the main object of this book was to promote the political attitude of the Committee in respect of the Macedonian affairs, to continue with acquainting and influencing the British public opinion with the desperate position of the Macedonian population, caused by the activities of the Ottoman authorities and military. Evans, as we have already seen, was active in the publishing articles in the British newspapers and signing letters demanding larger activity of the London's government. Thus, in this book there is a letter signed by Evans, Brailsford, Buxton, Harris, Macdonald and Meyer, previously published in *The Daily chronicle* on September 16, 1903. The signatories of the letter present the demands of the Macedonian revolutionary organization for appointing a Christian governor, who has never been an Ottoman official, responsible to the European Powers, irremovable without their consent, managing the local finance and controlling the military and civilian officials. They supported demands comparing with the Lebanon precedents.<sup>42</sup> Their ideas for the solving the inflammable Macedonian situation with resolving it according to the Lebanon experience is very interesting. However, some contemporary scholars do not agree with the ideas of the members of the London Balkan committee. According to Balatoni, they considered that best examples of such actions were the intervention to the Lebanon in 1860–1861, and to Crete in the late 1860s and in 1897. They argued that these precedents provided all the necessary patterns to bring relief to Macedonia. Balatoni believes that they conived at the complexity of the Macedonian lands, and neglected the various, opposing interests either of the neighboring Balkan states or that of the Great Powers in the region.<sup>43</sup>

The Balkan committee, as a part of its activities, published another book on the situation in Macedonia. Evans's article that provoked strong Greek reactions was reprinted in this brochure.<sup>44</sup> The most influential British newspaper *The*

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 157.

<sup>41</sup> S. J. Shoomkoff. *The Macedonian problem*, Philadelphia, 1904, 105.

<sup>42</sup> *Macedonia*, Balkan Committee, London 1903, 20.

<sup>43</sup> B. Balatoni, *Home rule for the Balkans? The idea of international control in Ottoman Macedonia in the writings of the Balkan committee (1903-1908)* in: *Crossroads of the Old Continent. Central and Southeastern Europe in the 19th and 20th century.* eds. K. Popek. M. Balogh, K. Szadkowski, A. Ścibior, Kraków: Petrus 2021, 92.

<sup>44</sup> *Macedonian Crisis*, Balkan committee, 1903, London, 1-16.

Times, somehow, served as a messenger for the activities of the Balkan's Committee members. In January 1904, Arthur Evans, as a member of the Committee and of the Macedonian Relief Fund as well, alongside with some members of the mentioned organizations published an appeal for financial support of the Macedonian population. They sincerely commend to the Times readers the urgent appeal for support of the activities of the committee.<sup>45</sup>

The actions of the London's Balkan committee in respect of Macedonia kept on throughout the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, in march 1908, before the Young Turks revolution, the Committee published another brochure concerning the situation in Ottoman Macedonia. One of those who were active in the publishing of the brochure was Arthur Evans. The authors presented a real depiction of the grave situation in Macedonia commenting that the reform program experienced complete failure. Therefore, they passed another resolution demanding the appointment of the Governor irremovable without the consent of the European powers. They also called upon on cooperation amongst the Powers for indispensable minimum of reform in Macedonia and thereby to put an end to the anarchy and bloodshed in Macedonia,<sup>46</sup>

Arthur Evans was active in public sphere during the Balkan wars. On November 18<sup>th</sup> 1912, Evans made a lecturing refers to the war situation in the Balkans. He expressed his personal satisfaction with the new circumstances in the region. Arthur pointed out: "What strikes one as most remarkable, in proportion as one has had acquaintance with those people, is the fact that they should have been able to act together, that Greek and Bulgarian should at the last work together and that all rivalries and animosities of centuries should have been set aside in favor of joint action".<sup>47</sup>

As a recognized authority of the Balkan problems, Evans, yet again, started to write articles about the new situation in the region, that was created by the military success of the allied Balkan armies against Ottoman military. Arthur published an article about the war in the Balkans. Evans started his article with impression that never such transformation scene on the stage enacted in history in so short time. Only in a single month the armies of the Balkan Alliance swept from the Danube to the Adriatic, the Aegean, the sea of Marmara, almost to the gates of Constantinople. Thrace, Macedonia, Old Serbia, Epirus and a large part of North Albania were in their possession. The Balkan ally armies, wrote Arthur, melted away the Ottoman military forces.<sup>48</sup> Evans was delighted with the military triumph of the joined Balkan armies over the Ottoman forces. However, he made a mistake in his assessment of the future prospect over the development of the whole situation in the Balkans. Thus, he wrote that the Balkan alliance is not a mere casual alliance for temporary ends. Despite the

<sup>45</sup> И. Илчев, *Балканският комитет в Лондон*, 333.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 34-346.

<sup>47</sup> J. Evans, *Time and chance*, 366-367.

<sup>48</sup> A. Evans, *The drama of the Balkans and its closing scenes*, *The Contemporary review*, v. CII, 1912, 761.

misunderstanding which became apparent amongst the allied states he still believed in the “wisdom of the responsible leaders may be trusted to check such local demonstrations.<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to note Evans’s deliberations about the fate of Salonica. He thought that Salonica’s destiny was in the hand of the Allies. Writing on the city’s strategical position Evans remarked:” It can hardly be the absolute property of any of the allies. Might it not become a Federal City, in a certain measure the Washington of the Balkans, the seat of e Federal Council consisting of delegates from the Allied States to settle common affairs?”.<sup>50</sup>

He along with other prominent British scholars -Gertrude Bell and Henry Trotter, held a public debate about the Balkan Peninsula. For our topic of interests is a one part of Evans exposure. Talking about the Balkan past and the regional geography he noticed, in respect the current war situation in the region, that when Constantinople was made as a capital of the Empire the Centre of importance still remained in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula. So, he referred to the position of Salonica. According to his opinion, the Macedonian city, which felt under Greek military control, seemed to be destined point for the meeting of some kind of Federal Council of the Balkan states “If, as their friends may hope, they can agree to some lasting degree of union”.<sup>51</sup> We could debate whether his proposal for creating the Federal Council of the Balkan states was an idea to prevent the further deterioration of the political situation in the region after the victorious war of the regional Christian states against the Ottoman empire or it was only the imagination of the already established connoisseur of the Balkan state of affairs. His idea for the creation of some kind of Balkan federation would not be the last.

Despite of his quite good knowledge about the Balkans history, archaeology and, in some way, ethnography, Evans felt neglected by the British foreign service. In his letter to Lord Bryce, from April 13, 1913, he resented for not being sufficiently consulted by the Foreign office.<sup>52</sup>

The Balkan wars ended in 1913, but the European peace come to an end the next year. The Sarajevo’s assassination of the Austro - Hungarian heir to throne, the Grand Duke Franz Ferdinand was a trigger for the new war in the region which turned into the first worldwide war. The new situation brought a very interesting circumstances in the Balkans from the British’s military and political interests. London was trying to persuade Bulgaria to enter into the war on the Entente’s side. Some of the members of the London Balkan committee, like Buxton brothers, were enthusiastically Pro - Bulgarian oriented. They attempted to provide the Bulgarian consent for entering in the war on the En-

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 771.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 772.

<sup>51</sup> G. Bell, A. Evans, H. Trotter, *The Balkan Peninsula: Discussion*, The geographical journal, v. 41/4, 1913, 339.

<sup>52</sup> K. Robbins, *British diplomacy and Bulgaria 1914-1915*, The Slavonic and East European review, v. 49/117, 1971, 562.

tente's side. Evans challenged the Committee's claims to expertise that "neither Buxton nor most of the other members understand the South Slav Question as a whole".<sup>53</sup> His words meant that Evans suspended his activity in the London's Balkan committee. He turned his activities with all of capacity into promotion and support of the Serbian and Yugoslav cause during the Great war. Evans was a member of the group of British intellectuals which responded to their German colleagues on their denunciation of Great Britain for the beginning of the war. The British intellectuals and scholars, among other explanations, expressed their conviction about the sincerity of the London's Government to avoid the war, noting that the unprecedented terms of the Austrian note to Serbia were a cause for beginning of the war.<sup>54</sup>

As a part of his engagement on the Balkan problems and supporting of the Serbian struggle during the First World War, Evans became a member of various organizations with political and humanitarian aims. The Serbian Relief Fund was established in London in September 1914 influenced by so-called Friend of Serbia – Arthur J. Evans and Robert William Seton Watson.<sup>55</sup> The main object of this organization was to ease humanitarian crisis as a consequence of Austro – Hungarian invasion on the country. The Patroness of the Serbian Relief Fund was the Queen Mary.<sup>56</sup> The first medical mission sent by the Serbian Relief Fund arrived, by the mid of November 1914 in Skopje commanded by Lady Leila Paget.<sup>57</sup> As the war progressed, The Serbian Relief Fund extended its activities to aid Serbian refugees. In October 1916 Seton-Watson, Steed and Evans founded a Serbian Society of Great Britain. The inaugural meeting of the Serbian Society was held on 20 October 1916, under the chairmanship of Lord Mayor Charles Wakefield, and in the presence of twenty-nine invitees, including Robert William Seton-Watson, Henry Wickham Steed, Arthur Evans, Evelyn Cromer, Edward Carson, and Jovan Jovanović, the new Serbian Minister in London.<sup>58</sup> It submitted a number of memoranda to the Government, and in August 1917 organized a lunch for Pasic, who was visiting London, at which Prime Minister Lloyd George spoke, a great propaganda achievement. Additionally, four subcommittees were formed to deal with the different aspects of work such as disseminating literature and propaganda,

---

<sup>53</sup> J. A. Perkins, *British liberalism and the Balkans c. 1875-1925*, PhD Thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2014, 147.

<sup>54</sup> *Reply to the German professors by British scholars*, The New York Times Current History, European War, New York, 1915, 189.

<sup>55</sup> S. G. Markovich, *British – Serbian political and cultural relation*, 89.

<sup>56</sup> M. Radovanović, *British medical missions in Serbia 1914-1915*, The London Philatelist Archive, v. 121/1396, 170.

<sup>57</sup> V. Cvetkovski, *The British military hospitals in Macedonia during the First world war*, Прилози на МАНУ, XXXVII/1, 2016, 86.

<sup>58</sup> P. Szeghő, *The champions of lasting peace: Pro – Yugoslav British intellectuals' crusade for a united Southern Slav State in the course of the Great war*, PhD Thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, 2014, 174.

maintaining relations with the Parliament or with other pressure groups championing the cause of a small nation.<sup>59</sup>

Markovich notes that R. W. Seton – Watson and Arthur Evans seem to have been particularly impressed with the importance of the Kosovo battle.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, Evans, on June 28, 1916, published an article dedicated to the Kosovo battle. He ended his text with very interesting thought; “The lesson brought home by it is one which all members of the South Slav race take to heart today it is summed up in the Serbian motto *Samo sloga Srbina spasava* – Union only saves the Serbs”.<sup>61</sup>

Evans developed very close contact with Yugoslav Committee in London. The committee was formed in May 1915 by Yugoslav emigrants for the specific political purpose to promote the Yugoslav cause.<sup>62</sup> As a part of his work to promote and support the Serbian and Yugoslavs interests Evans in 1916 published a Diagrammatic map of Slav territories east of the Adriatic. The primary object of his map was to lay claims over the Habsburg territories on behalf of Yugoslavs with displaying the existing principal railway communications as the vital foundations of Yugoslav economic liberation.

The famous British archaeologist strongly espoused for South Slavs unity and possible creation of the unified Yugoslav state. During the summer of 1917, Evans was satisfied by his meeting with the representatives of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Corfu that resulted in a formal declaration of their national unity and their resolve to found a unified kingdom<sup>63</sup>

As a distinguished scholar familiar with the Yugoslav and Italian misunderstandings, Evans took participation in Steed’s attempt to bring together Italian and Yugoslav intellectuals who were the citizens of Austro – Hungary. Steeds succeeded to organize two meetings between Italian and Yugoslav intellectuals in order to resolve their misunderstandings about the future borders between Italy and the new South Slavic state. Evans, known as a staunch opponent to the London treaty of April 1915, in the course of the meeting underlined that the mentioned Treaty was signed under supposition that Austro – Hungary would survive the war.<sup>64</sup> Therefore he, in the light of his studies, observed that the possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic sea had never afforded an adequate strategic guarantee to any power unless the hinterland had been secured as well.<sup>65</sup> He proposed joint Italo – Yugoslav control of the Adriatic against the possible Germanic threat in the future.

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 172.

<sup>60</sup> S. G. Markovich, *British – Serbian political and cultural relations*, 81.

<sup>61</sup> A. Evans, *On Kossovo Day*, *The Times*, June 28, 1916.

<sup>62</sup> C. Seton Watson, *Czechs, Poles and Yugoslavs in London 1914-1918*, in: *L’emigration politique en Europe aux XIXe et XXe siècles. Actes du colloque de Rome (3-5 mars 1988)* Rome: École Française en Rome, 1991 279.

<sup>63</sup> J. Evans, *Time and chances*, 371.

<sup>64</sup> H. W. Steed, *Through thirty years. 1892-1922, v. II*, Doubleday, London, 1924, 171.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 175.

As a supporter of Yugoslav unification, he was considering some types of organization of the future state. Thus, in 1918, Evans again proposed the creation of some kind of Yugoslav federation which is very interesting for Macedonians. He considered that the Union would come under the Serbian dynasty of Karadjodjević, with the center in Belgrade. Consequently, he proposed a scheme of the future arrangement of the Yugoslav state. According to his proposal, Yugoslavia would be divided on several regions with the respective capitals – 1. Pre – 1914 Serbia, 2. Macedonia, 3. Vojvodina, 4. Hercegovina and Dalmatia, 5. Bosnia, 6. Montenegro, 7. Croatia and Slavonia with Northern Dalmatia and the islands and part of Bosnia once known as a Turkish Croatia, and eastern Istria. According to his proposal each of these units would have an assembly with sitting at 1. Nish or Kragujevac because Belgrade was reserved for a Federal Parliament, 2. Skopje, 3. Karlovci (nowadays Sremski Karlovac) or Novi Sad, 4. Mostar, 5. Sarajevo, 6. Podgorica, 7. Zagreb and 8. Ljubljana.<sup>66</sup>

Evans, a famous archaeologist, well-known with his excavations in Crete, naturally had a strong Pro - Greek sentiment despite his activities about Macedonia, which were assessed as actions completely in the favor of the Bulgarians, became a member of the Anglo – Hellenic League in London. He, also, served as the League's vice-president in 1917. He was, also, a member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies as well.<sup>67</sup>

Evans was a signatory of the letter published in the Times, on December 16, 1916 for support of Venizelos and dethronement of the king Constantine. The signatories underlined: “We, whose love of Greece is founded in gratitude for all that Europe owes to Greek literature, art and history”. Venizelos for them represents the views and wishes of the vast majority of the Greek people, portraying him as a patriot and statesman.<sup>68</sup> Here we will mention the conclusion of the Serbian historian Markovich who notes that Evans and Burrows, as a members of Anglo – Hellenic League, wrote more than 20 articles praising Venizelos as a great leader In Greece.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to his active public activities related to the Balkan and Yugoslavs affairs, Evans was showing his human character. When the British authorities detained some refugees from Dubrovnik because they were considered citizens of an enemy state, Evans gave them shelter at his estate. When Serbian boys were rescued from Serbia and brought to England in order to avoid

---

<sup>66</sup> R.W. Seton – Watson, *Arthur Evans*, 54.

<sup>67</sup> G. Kouta, *The London Greek diaspora and National Politics. The Anglo – Hellenic League and the idea of Greece 1913-1919*, PhD Thesis, King's College, London, 2015, 93.

<sup>68</sup> S. G. Markovich, *Eleftherios Venizelos, British public opinion and the climax of Anglo – Hellenism (1915-1920)*, *Balkanica*, XLIX, Belgrade, 2018, 137.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

conscripted by the Germans, Evans set up tents for them on his land until more permanent housing could be found.<sup>70</sup>

At the end of our article instead of classic conclusion, we think that it is worthy to present the opinions of some scholars about the importance of the Evans's knowledge of the Balkan's affairs for the British delegation at the Paris's peace conference. According to Perkins, Evans, Seton Watson and Steed with their contacts with emigrant groups such as the Yugoslav Committee, became a key go-between for Central and eastern European and Balkan nationalist leaders and statesmen and they were a noted presence on the margins of the Paris Peace Conference.<sup>71</sup> James Evans underlines that although Steed and Evans were not employed by the Government in an official capacity, had a well connection with those who were to exert significant influence on official attitudes towards the approaching peace settlement.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> T. A. Emmert, *Sir Arthur Evans and the Balkans: A Romantic Crusade*, in: Lucien J. Frary (ed.), *Thresholds in the Orthodox Commonwealth. Essays in honor of Theofanis G. Stvarou*, Bloomington, 2017, 441.

<sup>71</sup> J. A. Perkins, *British liberalism and the Balkans c. 1875-1925*, 159.

<sup>72</sup> J. Evans, *Great Britain and the creation of Yugoslavia*, 117.