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*Centre-Periphery Relation and the Formation of Collective
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From the Peripheries to the Centre via Asia: The Notion of European Identity in Polish and Serbian Travel Writings About Asia (1850s–1920s)

Abstract

The paper focuses on various dimensions of European identity in Polish and Serbian travel writings about Asia in the period from the 1850s to the 1920s, examining several case studies that show how travellers often identified themselves as Europeans, but sometimes discussed various aspects of European identity and had many issues with this self-description. The analysis is based on a large corpus of Polish and Serbian travelogues, but works by Gustaw Olechowski, Karol Lanckoroński, Pavel Petrović, Jerzy Bandrowski, Milan Jovanović, Eugeniusz Romer, Jadwiga Marcinowska and Jelena Dimitrijević are scrutinised in detail. The following issues are discussed: assuming European identity, European identity and planetary consciousness, overcoming Orientalism, the periphery complex, reversed Orientalism and Occidentalism, patriotism, and identification with Asians.

Keywords: European identity, imaginative geographies, Orientalism, peripheries, Polish travellers, postcolonialism, Serbian travellers, travel writing.

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Introduction: Identity and Travel Writing

As Frederik Barth (1969) argues in his classic study, ethnic identities are not essential qualities formed by isolated groups but products of interactions, therefore interethnic boundaries are crucial for understanding identity discourses and practices. Consequently, constructing self-identification is especially intensive when a subject meets alterity outside his or her familiar environment. Using this insight as a starting point, I will investigate identity discourses in travel writing, understood as a textual trace of a chronotope of encounter (Gvozden, 2011). It is a complex set of problems, and in this article I will only focus on one thread: **various actualisations of European identity in Polish and Serbian travel writings about Asia**. Obviously, Europe is a very ambiguous term:

Europe is always seen from a specific place and constructed differently at each moment of its existence. Even its name changes over time. For a long time it used to call itself “Christianity”; it renamed itself “civilisation” at the height of its colonial expansion; it became the “West” at the end of the nineteenth century, and kept the “West” and “Europe” throughout the twentieth century. (Milutinović, 2011, p. 18)¹

Due to this semantic confusion, many self-identifications co-existed in travel accounts. For example, Paweł Sapieha (1860–1934), commenting on the importance of the examination system in China, remarked: “We, sons of the white race, we, Galicians, call this society barbarian”² (Sapieha, 1899, p. 136). In this sentence, Sapieha simultaneously employs a racial and a local component of identity, while in the background he has a mix of other identities: national (Polish), state (Austria-Hungary), class (aristocrat), macroregional (European, Western), religious (Roman Catholic), and civilisational (modern). This intricate constellation of self-identifications is contrasted with an equally complex alterity, in this case Chinese: yellow, Asian, non-Christian, and “barbarian”. From this perspective, encounters described in travelogues are particularly valuable material for identity studies, as noted by Derek Gregory:

multiple sites, instabilities and ambiguities assume a particular importance in the case of European travel writing in the nineteenth century, where constellations

¹ Of course, the term “Asia” has an ambiguous nature too. For a constructivist approach to labels linked with Asia, see Sekiguchi (2008); for a general critique of metageography, see Lewis and Wigen (1997).

² “społeczeństwo to – które my, białe rasy synowi, my Galicyanie, barbarzyńskim nazywamy.”

of class, culture and gender could be even more tense than they were at home, where the friction of distance between one site and another had an insistently physical dimension and where identities were often labile and subtly renegotiated in the course of the passage. (Gregory, 1995, p. 30)

In Polish and Serbian travelogues, “constellations of class, culture and gender” are even more interesting due to the particular position of their authors. In “Western eyes”, the Balkans were seen as the “wild East”, an imaginary reservoir of strangeness and otherness (Goldsworthy, 1998), or the area “in-between” (Todorova, 2009); Eastern Europe was characterised as the embodiment of backwardness (Wolff, 1994). In long periods of their history, Poles and Serbs were on the margins of the leading European economic and cultural trends along with not being an independent state; they were conceptualised as peripheral (Lazarević Radak, 2014, pp. 195–203; Sowa, 2011, pp. 109–206). Unsurprisingly, Poles and Serbs often employed the auto-image of strangers from “other Europe” (Bracewell & Drace-Francis, 2008) and saw themselves as “an oriental, non-European outsider” (Milutinović, 2011, p. 15). Therefore, East Central Europeans had a peculiar position “in-between”: “The in-betweenness of the region has been inherently contradictory: on the one hand, founded on the strong identification with Europe, and, on the other, driven by the anxiety of incomplete belonging and not ranking high enough to merit the status of Europeanness” (Kołodziejczyk & Huigen, 2023, p. 2). This “in-betweenness” makes Polish and Serbian identity discourses a compelling research subject. Moreover, although Polish and Serbian perspectives share an East-Central European context, they are diverse, with Poles representing *Slavia Latina* and Serbs belonging to *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Consequently, comparing two different Slavic groups creates an opportunity to examine identity discourses more profoundly.

The focus of my attention will be travelogues about Asia. Due to technological and political changes in the 19th century, the number of Poles and Serbs travelling to that part of the world increased significantly. There they encountered a dynamic socio-political reality: old Asian civilisations were interacting, often violently, with Europeans; traditional societies were modernising; imperial formations made use of transnational resources to create new outposts; rampant economic development caused huge migrations, transforming the ethnic landscapes. For example, colonial Singapore, which started out in 1819 as an East India Company factory on a territory acquired from the Malay Sultan of Jahor, was a British colony populated mostly by Chinese immigrants, with a significant Tamil

population as well. The Singaporean colonial elite and army comprised not just British (a diverse group itself, including English, Scots, but also Irish), but other Europeans as well; in the military and police forces, groups such as Sikhs and Gurkhas served. Singapore and other parts of Asia could be described as “nodal points” where various cultures converged and merged (Hutcheon, 2002), or “contact zones” where various groups competed for supremacy (Pratt, 2008). Visiting such places, Polish and Serbian travellers were interacting with various groups of people, which made the question of self-identification one of the key issues.

I analyse sources concerning journeys in the second half of the 19th century and in the first three decades of the 20th century, although some of them were published later.³ It was in the 19th century that crucial identity processes took place among Poles and Serbs; however, their travel activity in Asia only intensified in the second half of the century. Following Jürgen Osterhammel (2009/2014), it can be assumed that it was not until the 1920s that the processes and ideas characterising the 19th century as a historical period were replaced by new phenomena, so considering the 1920s will allow us to see the impact of World War I, the formation of new Polish and Yugoslavian states, and the collapse of old empires.

Travel writing can be understood as a non-fictional narrative about the author-narrator’s real travel (Moroz, 2020, pp. 11–33; Thompson, 2011, p. 26). There is no single model of writing about journeys; the most typical one is a literary travelogue, in which an author constructs a coherent narrative about his or her travels using stylistic and literary conventions, but terms such as “travelogue” and “travel account” encompass other kinds of written testimonies (newspaper correspondence, memoirs, biographies, letters, notes) as long as they describe personal experience and refer to actual travel.

My analysis is based on a large corpus of Polish and Serbian travelogues, but due to this article’s spatial constraints, I will only use selected examples (see Ewertowski, 2020, 2022, for more information about the corpus). The selection was based on the following criteria: firstly, they offer interesting perspectives on identity discourse; secondly, they were written by travellers of diverse genders, classes and occupations. I will examine several case studies that show various identity discourses: sometimes, travellers casually identified themselves as Europeans, whereas at other times, they discussed

³ On the importance of distance in time for travel narratives, see Đurić (2018, p. 89); Forajter (2022, p. 35).

various aspects of European identity and had many issues with this self-description.

“I Am the Only European”: Assuming a European Identity

Polish and Serbian authors of travelogues about Asia, not infrequently without any quibbles, identify themselves with other Europeans. For example, the Serbian military doctor Vladimir Stanojević (1886–1978), who travelled from Russia to Greece via Siberia and along the Asian coast during World War I as a member of the Serbian First Volunteer Division, commented that a temple in Sri Lanka did not impress him because the mystical power of the Buddhist religion affects only

apathetic and susceptible peoples, who have been boiled for centuries in the cauldron of this hot and unbearable tropical climate. For us Europeans, that does not work, because we live in a climate that awakens strength, will and resistance and sharpens the human spirit.⁴ (Stanojević, 1934, p. 179)

Then he relates a conversation with “his English colleague” about education and civil service in tropical areas. In this excerpt, identity discourse is linked with religion, theory of climatic influence on the national character and the image of “deadly tropics”, but from our perspective the most important fact is that Stanojević uses the label “us Europeans”.

A quick glance at a map suggests that there should be nothing extraordinary about the fact that Poles and Serbs assumed a European identity and saw themselves as belonging to the same club as the English, French, or Germans; however, as noted in the introduction, in Polish and Serbian writings about Western Europe this self-identification is not that easily made.

It was different in Asia. In some situations, European identity was expressed by the simple use of ethnonyms in the first person. For example, a traveller surrounded by foreigners once remarked: “On the ship all the passengers are from Asia Minor, going back home. The majority are Arabs, Persians and Turks. Except for the ship’s crew, I am the only European”⁵ (Rajčević,

⁴ “apatične i neotporne narode, koji se vekovima kuvaju u kazanu ove vrele i neizdržljive tropske klime. Za nas Evropljane, to sve ne pasuje, jer mi živimo u klimi, koja budi snage, volju i otpor i izoštrava čovečiji duh.”

⁵ “Na brodu su sve sami putnici iz male Azije, koji se vraćaju svojim kućama. Najviše ima Arabljana, Persijanaca i Turaka. Osim posade broda, ja sam jedini Evropejac.”

1930, p. 254). A traveller visiting Java wrote: “As a European, brought up deep in the hinterland, I looked at this country as at a series of wonderful pictures”⁶ (Siedlecki, 1913, p. VII). Writing systems were contrasted: “Their [Japanese] letters go neither from left to right as ours in Europe do, nor from right to left as they do among Arabs, Turks and others, but from the top down”⁷ (Rajčević, 1930, p. 66). Chinese eating habits were characterised as “strange, to us Europeans, completely extraordinary”⁸ (Jovanović, 1895, p. 104). The Japanese sake “did not fit our European taste”⁹ (Diklić, 1932, p. 72). The Chinese musical taste was also contrasted with that of Europeans: “our European music is by its nature strange and incomprehensible to them”¹⁰ (Subotić, 1921, p. 68). Obviously, a simple use of adjectives or nouns cannot be treated as a sign of elaborate deliberations on the position of Poles and Serbs in Europe. Nonetheless, such casual remarks are telling as examples of identity discourse. They show that discrepancies between Poles, Serbs, Germans, Belgians, Italians, and French became much less significant than a contrast between Europeans and Asians when travellers encountered peoples living in a dissimilar climate and surrounded by an unfamiliar environment with different writing systems, cuisine and music.

“We, Europeans, Went Hand in Hand”: European Identity and Planetary Consciousness

There are also examples of travellers whose writings demonstrate nuances and various aspects of European identity. An example of a different approach can be called a “planetary consciousness” perspective. According to Mary Louise Pratt (2008, pp. 15–36), in the European Enlightenment a new way of perceiving the world was born: individual locations were seen as a part of a global system. Pratt uses this term in the context of science and colonialism, here I adapt it to travellers’ reflection on Europe and other cultures. Gustaw Olechowski (1874–1959), who went to China via Siberia in 1903–1904, devoted part of his travel book to comparisons between

⁶ “Jako Europejczyk, do tego jeszcze wychowany w głębi lądu, patrzyłem na ten kraj, jak na szereg czarownych obrazów.”

⁷ “Slova kod njih ne idu kao kod nas u Evropi s leva na desno, ili kao kod Arapa, Turaka i dr. s desna na levo, nego odozgo gore.”

⁸ “čudnovata, nama Evropljanima sasvim neobična.”

⁹ “nije godilo našem evropskom ukusu.”

¹⁰ “da im je naša evropska muzika, po svoj prirodi, tuđa i nepojmljiva.”

China and Europe. He discussed various affairs in contemporary China while constantly bearing in mind his own European identity. For example, he contrasted European mutualism and Chinese isolationism: “When we, Europeans, went hand in hand, together, through the centuries, using one another’s cultural achievements, China was always alone”¹¹ (Olechowski, 1909, p. 72).

This disparity was reinforced by a dichotomy: Chinese pacifism and stability versus European warlike nature, dynamism, and volatility.

While the history of the peoples of Europe is mainly made up of incidents of war between one nation and another, or of trade relations during peace, the history of China has, for 40 centuries, been a mere digestion of its own juices, a mere search for its own self. This may have surrounded them with a “Chinese wall”, but it has given them an inner strength that is an affront to Europe – that Europe where states and whole nations disappear after they rise, where today’s falsehood becomes tomorrow’s truth, where yesterday’s folly is today’s wisdom, where gods are changed more often than shirts.¹² (Olechowski, 1909, p. 73)

Finally, Olechowski used arguments taken from geographical determinism and racism to ground European and Chinese identities in an alleged fact of nature:

After all, the mental qualities of the Chinese race, its philosophy, its religion, its ethnic traditions are so infinitely different from ours, the Aryan race!

Napoleon I could have been born and acted with equal results in France as in Italy, Spain or Poland, but not in England, which is very different from the Continent, and in any case not in China.

Whoever thinks otherwise disregards the laws of nature.¹³ (Olechowski, 1909, pp. 74–75)

¹¹ “Gdy my, Europejczycy, szliśmy wszyscy ręka w rękę, razem, przez wieki, korzystając wzajemnie z usług i zdobyczy kultury – Chiny zawsze były same.”

¹² “Gdy historię ludów Europy tworzą głównie wypadki starć wojennych jednego narodu z drugim, lub stosunków handlowych podczas pokoju – w historii Chin widzimy przez 40 wieków samo tylko trawienie własnych soków, samo tylko poszukiwanie własnego ‘ja.’ Otoczyło ich to wprawdzie ‘chińskim murem,’ lecz dało za to taką wewnętrzną siłę, która urąga Europie – tej Europie, gdzie państwa i narody całe znikają i powstają, gdzie dzisiejszy fałsz staje się jutro prawdą, gdzie wczorajsze głupstwo jest dziś mądrością, gdzie bogów się zmienia częściej, niż koszułe.”

¹³ “Wszak właściwości psychiczne rasy chińskiej, filozofia jej, religia, tradycje etniczne są tak nieskończenie różne od naszych, aryjskich! Napoleon I mógł być urodzić się i działać z jednakowym rezultatem tak we Francji, jak we Włoszech, Hiszpanii, lub Polsce, ale już nie w Anglii, która się bardzo różni od kontynentu, a w każdym razie nie w Chinach./ Kto myśli inaczej, ten lekceważy prawa przyrodnicze.”

Of course, Olechowski's identity discourse exhibits the stereotypes of his time, most importantly the image of a conservative, unchanging China and the concept of European dynamism (Blue, 1999, pp. 70–78) as well as thoughts derived from contemporary racial theories, although, contrary to many 19th-century authors, he viewed China positively and avoided European chauvinism. European identity is therefore seen from a global perspective and based on oppositions, but he did not use a sharp dichotomy between civilisation and barbarism, for in his view both sides had their value.

Another example of planetary consciousness is a reflection from Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) about his visit to the grave of the Japanese military leader, Taira no Kiyomori (1118–1181).

The view of the sea and mountains is marvellous, and the whole is a real hero's tomb. But for a Western man, who is this Kiyomori, whose name he has only encountered in his travel textbook, about whose life he then might read a few dates in some history book? When we stand in front of the grave of Agamemnon in Mycenae, in front of the tomb of Theodoric in Ravenna, in front of the tombs of kings near Jerusalem, our mind participates in what we see; ever since we were able to think, these names have been linked with characters for whom we feel liking or aversion in our spirit. To some extent the same is true of Egyptian, Assyrian and Mohammedan rulers and heroes. Directly or indirectly, they accelerated or halted the current of events which, as a historical consequence, formed the world we live in.¹⁴ (Lanckoroński, 1893, p. 245)

Visiting the Japanese monument, Lanckoroński, a Polish aristocrat from Austro-Hungary and a person of imposing intellectual horizons, appreciated it intellectually and aesthetically, but East Asian heritage did not touch him deeply because he did not feel any personal connection with it. He perceived Japan from the perspective of Western traditions; however, he rejected the Eurocentric assertions of historians like Leopold Ranke (1795–1886)

¹⁴ “Widok na morze i góry cudowny, a całość to prawdziwy grób bohatera. Ale czemuż jest dla człowieka z zachodu Kiyomori, którego imię spotkał dopiero w swoim podróżywym podręczniku, o którego życiu następnie przeczyta kilka dat w jakiejś książce historycznej? Kiedy staniemy przed grobem Agamemnona w Mykenach, przed grobem Teodoryka w Rawennie, przed grobami królów pod Jerozolimą, umysł nasz bierze udział w tem, co oglądamy; odkąd bowiem myśleć umiemy, imiona te łączą się dla nas z postaciami, dla których w duchu czujemy sympatyę lub antypatyę. Do pewnego stopnia ma się rzecz tak samo jeszcze wobec egipskich, assyryjskich, mahometańskich władców i bohaterów. Pośrednio czy bezpośrednio przyspieszyli oni lub powstrzymali prąd wypadków, które w historycznej konsekwencji złożyły się na sytuację świata, w jakiej żyjemy.”

and Ernst Renan (1823–1892) that the histories of Asian nations did not have anything in common with universal history.

Objectively speaking, the history of China, Japan and, for example, of the ancient American civilised peoples . . . has the same importance as any other; only subjectively is it of less value to us, since the fate of these offshoots of humanity has had little or no influence on us. If, however, we are talking about the history of the world, i.e. the history of the whole of mankind, then the history of the East Asians should be included here just as much as that of the Chaldeans, Celts, Germans or Poles.¹⁵ (Lanckoroński, 1893, p. 247)

Olechowski constructed a set of oppositions between China and Europe to pin down the characteristics of both regions, whereas Lanckoroński's planetary consciousness manifests itself through the contemplation of the meaning of global history. From his perspective, being a European meant recognising a certain legacy. Lanckoroński referred to ancient Greece, Rome and Israel as his roots, while also admitting the influence of the ancient Near East and the Islamic world, but placing East Asia outside his subjective world.

Here, it should also be mentioned that Lanckoroński was born in Vienna, where he resided his whole life, he published his books not only in Polish but also in German, and despite expressions of Polish patriotism, e.g. supporting Polish artists, he belonged to the highest echelons of the Austro-Hungarian aristocracy. This sets him apart from the majority of other travellers. In his interpretation of Rastko Petrović's (1898–1949) African travelogue, Zoran Milutinović remarked that the Serbian traveller had to stick to European cultural norms in order to keep his status, while a Swiss nobleman he met could afford to ignore them and “go native” without losing his Europeanness (Milutinović, 2011, pp. 193–200). Similarly, it was claimed that “in the context of the Polish partitions the colonies became a vital space in which Poles attempted to prove to other European nations their place in Western civilisation” (Ureña Valerio, 2019, Chapter 4).¹⁶ In the case of Lanckoroński, he did not feel that he had to prove anything

¹⁵ “Przedmiotowo rzecz biorąc, historia Chin, Japonii i n.p. starożytnych amerykańskich cywilizowanych ludów, o ilebyśmy o tych ostatnich w przyszłości więcej dowiedzieć się mieli, ma to samo znaczenie, jak każda inna; tylko podmiotowo dla nas mniej ma wartości, bo losy tych odłamów ludzkości nie wywierały na nas żadnego wpływu albo tylko bardzo mały. Jeśli jednak mówimy o dziejach świata, t. j. o dziejach całego rodzaju ludzkiego, to winna się w nich mieścić tak samo historia wschodnich Azyatów, jak Chaldejczyków, Celtów, Niemców albo Polaków.”

¹⁶ I use an e-book version, where the page numbers are not given.

to other Europeans. He exemplified the cosmopolitan, hybrid identity of Polish aristocrats in Austria-Hungary.

“All This . . . Makes Us Forget About Europe and the Theatrical Stage”: Overcoming Orientalism

An encounter with Asian realities could also recontextualise European self-identification. For instance, one scene from Roman Ujejski (1856–1935) reveals how Oriental alterity affected his European concepts. On the way back from his expedition to Australia, Ujejski stayed in India for a few weeks. Describing a visit to palaces in Jaipur and subsequent walks through the streets, he wrote about Orientalist phantasies and Indian reality, which led him to existential questions.

It is indeed a strange feeling – a person living in Europe in no way can come to terms with the idea that what he sees here, what he is moving in, that all this is natural, real, and that it cannot be otherwise. Inevitably, one is reminded of *LAfricaine*, *La reine de saba* or the ballet *Indiana*. Unavoidably, the imagination connects these images with the theatrical stage.¹⁷ (Ujejski, 1894, p. 31)

Describing his visit to the palace, at first Ujejski used a thinking pattern typical for 19th-century Orientalism. His own perceptions were inextricably linked with theatrical representations of “the East”, like in the metaphor used by Edward Said:

the Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. On this stage will appear figures whose role it is to represent the larger whole from which they emanate. The Orient then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe . . . in the depths of this Oriental stage stands a prodigious cultural repertoire whose individual items evoke a fabulously rich world.” (Said, 1979, p. 63)

The palace of the maharaja evokes an archive of Orientalist stereotypes, and “the East” seems not natural, not real to a person from Europe, which suggests reinforcement of European identity. But everything changed when Ujejski described the street life.

¹⁷ “Dziwne doprawdy jest to uczucie – jak człowiek żyjący w Europie, na żaden sposób nie może pogodzić się z myślą, że to, co widzi tutaj, w czym się obraca – że wszystko jest naturalne, prawdziwe, i że inaczej być nie może. Koniecznie przypomina się ‘Afrykanka’, ‘Królowa Saba’ lub balet ‘Indyana’ – koniecznie wyobraźnia łączy te obrazy z teatralną sceną.”

But when, having left the fairy-tale princely court, one begins to pass further through the city, when the scene consists of vast squares, wide streets teeming with Indians draped in real, non-costume clothes – when not just one elephant appears from behind the scenes, but every now and then one encounters several of them, with riders and picturesque towers on their backs – when everywhere life is buzzing . . . then all this must make a strong impression, it makes us forget about Europe and the theatrical stage – and takes us into an enchanted real world, in which we are living and moving – thrown [there] by the strange vicissitudes of life. Then both the bad and the good fortunes of our past, covered by the greyish cloud of time, seem to us as an old dream, until one day they will revive and be a sad and painful awakening again; will it be until the end of this life's pilgrimage?¹⁸ (Ujejski, 1894, pp. 31–32)

Although his writing convention stays within Orientalist exoticism and his wording (“enchantment”, “picturesque”) is significant, he nonetheless conveys a direct experience of actuality. The “Oriental stage” is replaced by the real life of the streets of Jaipur. Replacing indirect representations with concrete experience is a process similar to what Gregory noted in the context of Gustav Flaubert (1821–1880): “his Egypt was not an abstract cartography but rather a physical space constituted as sensation and plenitude” (Gregory, 1995, p. 47). Western constructions of the East are undermined through sensual experience, and consequently the European subject is transformed. The last sentence of the quoted excerpt locates Ujejski's identity discourse within the realm of personal, existential, even philosophical issues outside the East-West, Europe-Asia dichotomies. Of course, in general, the tendency of Ujejski's travelogue complies with the dominant stereotypes of the 19th century; for example, he constantly refers to himself as “a white man”, but nevertheless the quoted passage demonstrates how direct contact with Oriental otherness puts his European identity within the context of universal questions about death and the meaning of life. At first, he referred to the stable European concept of what is real and natural, but a confrontation with a different reality led

¹⁸ “Lecz gdy opuściwszy bajeczny dwór książęcy przejeżdżać się zacznie dalsze miasto – gdy sceną są place olbrzymie, szerokie ulice rojące się tłumem udrapowanych i bezkostyumowych Hindusów – gdy nie jeden słoń ukaże się zza kulis, ale co chwila spotyka się ich po kilka, z jeźdźcami na karku, z malowniczymi wieżami na grzbiecie – gdy wszędzie wre życie [...]; wtedy to wszystko musi silne wrażenie sprawić, każe zapomnieć o Europie i o teatralnej scenie – a przynosi nas w zaczarowany świat prawdziwy, w którym jesteśmy, żyjemy i obracamy się – rzuceni dziwnymi kolejami życia. Wtedy – i złe i dobre dole przeszłości naszej, przykryte sinawym obłokiem czasu, wydają się nam snem dawnym, aż kiedyś odżyją i będą znów smutnem i bolesnem przebudzeniem; czy już do końca tej życia pielgrzymki?”

him to look for answers to questions such as “who am I and what am I doing here?” in philosophical terms.

“They Heard that Serbs Were Savages”: The Periphery Complex, Aspiring Europeans and the Use of the Other

As shown above, when confronted with Asian realities, Polish and Serbian travellers felt affinity with other Europeans. Nevertheless, some of them also expressed doubts due to their nation’s peripheral status in Europe. The Serbian painter Pavel Petrović (1818–1887) from Banat in Vojvodina, whose extraordinary biography encompassed 40 years of roaming in Asia, the Americas, Australia and Hawaii, wrote the following in a letter from Hong Kong:

When I look at the enlightened nations, such as the English, French, Germans and Russians from the noble classes, my heart weeps. When I tell Englishmen that I am a Serb, they measure me from head to toe, telling me how they heard that Serbs were savages.¹⁹ (Petrović, 1850, p. 527)

Petrović saw a contrast between the aspirations of his nation and the way it was perceived by the “enlightened nations”. Assuming the status of a “cultural European” is no doubt difficult when other “cultural Europeans” see you as “a savage”. Petrović’s letters do have, however, another interesting, personal dimension. Apparently, the painter left Banat because he was disappointed with the local conditions and his career. In the quoted letter from Hong Kong and earlier letters from India, he emphasised that Serbs should be proud of his successes. By highlighting the peripheral status of Serbs, Petrović was also promoting himself among his compatriots as someone who managed to break down barriers. An interesting dialectics can be noticed here. Observing Asian realities leads to an actualisation of peripheral self-identification, even though it is not the difference between Poles, Serbs and Asians that triggers this identity discourse, as the contrast between Western and Eastern Europe is still the most important. Additionally, regrets about the peripheral position of one’s own community are a springboard for self-promotion.

Polish writer Jerzy Bandrowski (1883–1940) can serve as another example of the problems that an aspiring European had with his status.

¹⁹ “Kad pogledam na prosvেćene narode, kao što su Englezi, Francuzi, Nemci i Rusi iz blagorodnih slojeva, onda mi srce plaće. Kad Englezima kažem da sam Srbin, a oni me mere od glave do pete govoreći mi kako su oni čuli da su Srbi divljaci.”

While serving as a vice-chairman of the Polish War Committee in Russia after the October Revolution, he was dispatched to Europe and voyaged by ship from Vladivostok along Asia's coast and the Suez Canal. Travelling just after the declaration of independence in 1918 and writing about this journey in the first years of an independent Poland, Bandrowski was sensitive towards the issue of Poland's place in Europe, which is reflected in his concerns about his own place on the ship. He observed passengers from various nations with interest; for example, he noticed the perseverance and audacity of the English, and concluded: "We have no smaller abilities than the English, but there is no such culture of will, there is not and never was any education in this direction"²⁰ (Bandrowski, 1923, p. 142). In this way, Bandrowski expressed the status of Poles as aspiring Europeans. He was writing with hope that in the foreseeable future in an independent state, his compatriots would acquire willpower equal to their potential. There was, however, someone who was disturbing his position on the ship: a female Russian passenger.

I felt strangely in this company. I was on a par with the English in terms of culture – yet fate had condemned me to live next door to "the greatest nation", which could not keep its own things clean and, without me, could not even ask the servant for potatoes.²¹ (Bandrowski, 1923, p. 143)

Therefore, although Bandrowski perceived himself and, by extension, his nation as culturally equal to Western Europeans, he was located, both literally and metaphorically, dangerously close to the primitive Russian. His reaction was a vitriolic critique:

This Russian woman was a living figure of the whole of Russia, its personification. Practically illiterate, being able to read only her own book, but looking at everything with contempt and disdain, disgusted by everything that was not Russian, she oppressed her surroundings with her ignorance and with this ignorance forced others to serve her.²² (Bandrowski, 1923, p. 144)

²⁰ "Zdolności mamy niemiejsze od Anglików, tylko niema tej kultury woli, niema i nie było wychowania w tym kierunku."

²¹ "Dziwnie się czułem w tem towarzystwie. Kulturą najzupełniej dorównywałem Anglikom – tymczasem los skazał mnie na sąsiedowanie z 'samą wielką nacją,' która swych własnych rzeczy w czystości utrzymać nie mogła i beze mnie nie umiała nawet ziemniaków służącego zażądać."

²² "Ta moja Rosjanka była żywą figurą całej Rosji, jej uosobieniem. Właściwie analfabetka, umiejąca czytać tylko na własnej książce, ale patrząca na wszystko z pogardą i lekceważeniem, brzydząca się zresztą wszystkim, co nie rosyjskie, uciskała otoczenie swą ignorancją i tą ignorancją zmuszała ludzi do służenia sobie."



Bandrowski's reaction can be described as "nesting Orientalism" (Bakić-Hayden, 1995), reproducing the dichotomy between a cultured West and a barbaric East in terms of the local context. Condemnation of the Russian passenger as an embodiment of Russia's "eastern" vices introduced the figure of "the Russian Other" (Neumann, 1998, pp. 65–112), reinforcing Poland's status on the Western side of this dichotomy (cf. Zarycki, 2004, pp. 602–607).

"I Was Ashamed in Front of These Chinese that I Was a European": Reversed Orientalism and Europeanism

Although Bandrowski felt that he was equal to Englishmen, still his European identity was endangered. In the case of the Serbian traveller Milan Jovanović (1834–1896), who was a ship's doctor on Austrian Lloyd steamers in the years 1878–1882, an encounter with Englishmen in Singapore had a very different impact:

In front of a pub frequented by English sailors I saw such scenes for which the name "barbarism" would be too mild an assessment . . . And the English police turns a blind eye to such excesses; maybe because it sees in it a special kind of sport, and maybe because involvement could mean dealing with English knives... I have to admit that for a moment I was ashamed in front of these Chinese that I was a European. (Jovanović, 1895, p. 137)²³

Jovanović, a Serb from the Habsburg monarchy who was educated in Vienna and Leipzig and was a prolific writer immersed in the classical tradition and humanist values, did not bring his own European identity into question. What was questioned were aspects of Europeanness considered truly valuable, and how the inhabitants of Europe approached their heritage. His travelogue contains descriptions of India as the motherland of cultures and an idealised vision of the Chinese, as well as sharp criticism of colonialism. He reversed the conventional Orientalist dichotomy, categorising Europe as violent and barbarian and Asia as cultured and civilised, but he did not deprive European culture of all its merits and formulated his thoughts using

²³ "gledao sam pred jednom pivnicom, gde svrću engleski mrnari, takve prizore, a koje bi naziv 'varvarstvo' bila suviše blaga ocena. [...] I na takve ekscese engleska policija ne osvrće glave; možda zato što ona u tome vidi jednu osobenu vrstu sport-a, a možda i što bi mogla, ako se umeša, imati posla sa engleskim – noževima... Moram priznati, da sam se za časak postideo pred ovim Hinezima što sam Evropljanin."

categories and stereotypes typical for the 19th century, like race or Indian passivity (Radulović, 2018, p. 64).

Jovanović's identity discourse invokes shame. Shame is a sign of failure and requires a witness, but not just any witness: the subject must be interested in the other (Ahmed, 2014, p. 105). The failure was the Englishmen's "barbarian" behaviour, of which they did not feel ashamed in front of the Chinese, whereas Jovanović did because he respected East Asians. It is also very telling that the Serbian writer was not ashamed of his own action, but of the actions of his fellow Europeans. "Shame is never a truly individual phenomenon. It always involves a dialogue of representations between self and the other" and encompasses "the awareness of lacking – perhaps the sense of being stripped of – cultural capital" (Wilce, 2009, pp. 121, 126). Jovanović's sentiment was grounded in his collective identity. By feeling ashamed on account of the Englishmen's actions, he confirmed that they all belonged to one community, while a lack of cultural capital shown by some of its members was affecting the whole group. However, he did not reject the value of European heritage: "If we feel shame, we feel shame because we have failed to approximate 'an idea' that had been given to us" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 106). Jovanović felt ashamed because his fellow Europeans did not meet the high standards he had inherited through his classical education.

Nemanja Radulović (2018, p. 65) concludes that Jovanović represented the perspective of someone who belonged to European culture but came from a "small", "other" Europe, and as such could distance himself from European colonisers in Asia. This idea encapsulates Jovanović's position quite well, although the writer himself did not mention a "smaller Europe". There was, however, a Polish traveller who took a stance similar to Jovanović (though not identical, as we will see) and explicitly referred to "small nations". In 1911 the famous Polish geographer Eugeniusz Romer (1871–1954) visited Japan and later wrote a long article analysing the geographical conditions of the island nation, its society, and the geopolitical situation. Romer's work was heterogeneous: on the one hand it was a geographical treatise quoting statistics, while on the other it described the author's travel experience. Moreover, it had a polemic dimension: it used scientific data and personal impressions to fiercely advance a geopolitical argument and even acquired a prophetic tinge. As with Jovanović and Olechowski, Romer contrasted Europeans with Asians. In his article he constantly praised Japanese achievements and criticised Europeans for avarice, self-conceit and morbid individualism. However, this was not an example

of self-criticism, because at the end of his article Romer revealed that he was not speaking from a general European perspective, but as a representative of small European nations. He predicted a great conflict for control over the Pacific that would deeply transform the geopolitical situation in Europe:

The small nations that have failed to play a significant role in the international European economic race, especially the nations that did not have a possessive spirit typical for European culture, that have their foundation in Europe and therefore were her first victims, the nations that in the retreats of their violated homelands are imagining new ideas and dreams for the future, these nations will revive in a weakened Europe.

And so the dawn comes to the small and oppressed for a second time – *ex Oriente lux!* (Romer, 1964, pp. 293–294)²⁴

Romer's identity discourse amalgamates various trends. First of all, it can be treated as an example of the inclination already described as "seeing Japan, imagining Poland" (Crowley, 2008). Japan's quick transformation into a powerful modern state and its victory over one of the partitioning powers, Russia, in 1905, made it an attractive model and a potential ally or even protector. Interestingly, the phrase "*ex Oriente lux*" was also the title of the series of articles about Japan written by the leading ideologist of the Polish nationalist movement, Roman Dmowski, who went to East Asia during the war and admired Japanese spirit, seeing it as an inspiration for Poles (Dmowski 1904). Secondly, Romer's deliberations also express paradoxes linked with Polish and generally East-Central European national discourse. Representatives of those nations saw themselves as part of Europe, but they experienced political subjugation and were located at the periphery, so they felt oppressed and less developed on the one hand, and morally better on the other. This made them receptive to political fantasies linked with various messianic and utopistic concepts. Thirdly, Romer's discourse can also be put in a global context and treated as "reverted Orientalism", as in the case of Jovanović, or even Occidentalism (or "Europeanism", since Romer uses the term Europe, not the West).²⁵ He constructed the homogenised figure

²⁴ "Narody małe, które w międzynarodowym europejskim wyścigu ekonomicznym nie zdołały odegrać znamiennejszej roli, a zwłaszcza narody, które nie miały europejskiej kulturze właściwego ducha zaborczego, które mają swe posady w Europie, jej więc najpierw uległy, narody, które w zaciszu swej pogwałconej ojcowizny roją nowe idee i marzenia przyszłości, te narody w osłabionej Europie odżyją./ Tak więc małym i uciśnionym świta już po raz wtóry – *ex Oriente lux!*"

²⁵ On Occidentalism, see Buruma and Margalit (2004); Chen (1992).

of the European Other, attributing to it essentialist negative qualities. While the Orientalist discourse analysed by Edward Said is aimed at dominating the Other, in the case of Romer's "Europeanism" the intention is rather to reinvigorate Poles and "small nations" in general.

Finally, Romer's discourse can be seen as an expression of self-doubt arising from within the European tradition at the beginning of the 20th century. Michael Adas claims that in the 19th century the notion of technological development as a measure of human worth was prevalent, and one of its outpours was the idea of a European civilising mission; however, at the beginning of the 20th century such ideas were questioned from various perspectives. One of them was "the spectre of Asia industrialised", because Japan's rapid transformation challenged European domination and shattered the idea of Western uniqueness (Adas, 2018, pp. 357–365). Romer's discourse complied with this trend, as his statistical data and geopolitical projection both suggested that Japan would outperform Europe in their own game of trade expansion and industrialisation, yet to him this meant not a "spectre" but hope. Interestingly, Romer is different from Jovanović here. The Serbian traveller, equally critical towards European expansionism, was more spiritually oriented, *ergo* unimpressed by the Japanese transformation into a Western-style power. Travelling and writing 30 years before Romer, he posed the following question:

Will our close contacts with Eastern nations, especially with China, have an influence and if so, what influence? Will the diligence and peacefulness of these nations subdue our warlike race and direct us to the road of real humanity and sublime patience which sees in every human being, no matter from which part of the world he is, a fellow human? Or will those nations in contact with us assimilate our wild, expansionist nature, like the Japanese, and start to fight us with the weapon we gave them? (Jovanović, 1895, p. 194)²⁶

While Romer idealised the Japanese national character, Jovanović considered the Japanese susceptible to Europeanisation, which he saw as the acquisition of a violent and expansionist identity, although the concept of "real humanity" he envisioned was also derived from Christian

²⁶ "Hoće li i kakve će uticaja imati današnji tesan dodir naš s istočnim narodima a poglavito sa Hinom; hoće li radnost i miroljubivost tih naroda ukrotiti našu ratobornu rasu i skrenuti je na puteve iskrena čovekoljublja i uzvišene trpljivosti koja u svakome čoveku, bio on iz kojega mu drago kraja sveta, gleda obličje svoje – sačoveka svoga; – ili će ti narodi u dodiru s nama prisvojiti s vremenom, kao Japanci, divlju, osvajačku ćud našu i početi da nas tamane oružjem što smo im sami utisli u ruke?"



and democratic European traditions. For the Serbian writer, the role of “idealised others” was played by the Chinese. His general projection for the future was positive, and drew an analogy between the Roman conquest of Greece, which resulted in a cultural transformation of the conqueror itself. Similarly, in the European-Asian relationship, the aggressive military power – Europe – was to be transformed by an older and more advanced culture: China.

“[My] Eyes, in all the Harm and Suffering They’ve Encountered, Saw a Resemblance to the Fate of the Distant Homeland”: Patriotism and Identification with Asians

Another example of issues with the European identity involves situations where a traveller expressed his or her own national identity (often in contrast to Western Europeans) on the one hand, while also seeing an attachment between his or her nation and colonised Asians on the other. Anthony Pagden described “the principle of attachment” in the context of early European writings about the Americas: “what is familiar . . . is employed to ‘attach’ one unfamiliar action to another familiar one” (Pagden, 1993, p. 21). In the two examples analysed below, Jadwiga Marcinowska (1872–1943) formed an attachment between Poles and colonised Asians based on the shared experience of political subjugation, while Jelena Dimitrijević (1862–1945) not only saw political analogies, but also wrote from an international feminist perspective.

Marcinowska was a Polish modernist poet, novelist and teacher who studied literature and philosophy in Kraków, Warsaw and Paris, and was imbued with Western cultural traditions. She travelled to Egypt, India and Southeast Asia between 1911 and 1913, and described more than once how her Polishness attracted the attention of locals. For example, meeting the Bombay Parsee community, she answered questions about language and history, emphasising that the Polish language was not a dialect between French and German but “an intrinsic speech, robust in its majesty, rich, strong, and beautiful”²⁷ (Marcinowska, 1925, p. 59). This devotion to qualities of the Polish language is of special importance, for just like other impoverished and stateless nations, Poles in the 19th century paid great attention to their intangible heritage, especially

²⁷ “samoistna mowa i trwała we własnym majestacie, bogata, silna i piękna”

to language and literature. It is also an example of a phenomenon characterised by Dariusz Skórczewski (2013, pp. 396–400) as “peripheries write back”, a subversion of dominant discourses through an affirmation of diversity inside Europe. Marcinowska also introduced martyrological topics typical of 19th-century Polish culture. For instance, in her earlier book about travels in the Eastern Mediterranean published in 1911, she observed a well-organised church community in Jordan and contrasted its conditions with the situation in her homeland:

You can be surprised here, “at the end of the world”, at “a remote missionary outpost”, in “a wild, godforsaken corner”. You can be surprised, you, an enlightened visitor from the centre of civilised Europe, from a country where schools are being closed down, where teaching is punished, where places of worship are being taken away from pious people”. (Marcinowska, 1911, p. 255)²⁸

Again we see a reversion of the Orientalist rhetoric, although in Marcinowska’s case this device has a political undertone. “The centre of civilised Europe” turns out to be worse than “a wild, godforsaken corner” because it is experiencing political and cultural subjugation. Therefore, in Marcinowska’s case we see the full expression of what has been termed the Polish paradoxical postcolonial mentality (Janion, 2006, p. 12): political subjugation is a source of both suffering and pride, while a feeling of inferiority is compensated with an alleged superior moral position. For Marcinowska, this is the point of attachment between Poles and Asians. In the foreword to a book about her travels in 1911, published in 1925 (i.e. after a new independent Polish state was formed in 1918), she claimed that when travelling across tropical lands, she constantly saw parallels between the fate of Poland and the colonised peoples: “[my] eyes, in all the harm and suffering they encountered, saw a resemblance to the fate of the distant Homeland”²⁹ (Marcinowska, 1925, pp. 2–3).

Marcinowska is therefore an example of a phenomenon that Anna Kołos (2020) has called “ethnic self-identifications as floating images”. Travellers created imaginary connections between their own community and “exotic” others, in this way forming a two-fold discursive image: in the case of both

²⁸ “Masz się czemu dziwować tutaj: ‘na krańcu świata,’ na ‘posterunku misyjnym dalekim,’ ‘w dzikim, zapadłym kącie’ itd. Masz się czemu dziwować, oświecony przybysz ze środka cywilizowanej Europy, z kraju, gdzie zamykają szkoły, gdzie karzą za nauczanie, gdzie ludziom zbożnym odbierają domy modlitwy.”

²⁹ “oczy we wszystkich napotkanych krzywdach i cierpieniach upatrywały podobieństwo do losu oddalonej Ojczyzny”.

groups some identity features were enhanced while others were suppressed to establish the analogy.

Jelena Dimitrijević, who spoke fluent Turkish and spent 20 years in the southern city of Niš, which at the time had just been acquired by Serbia from the Ottoman Empire, was juxtaposed with Greek and Turkish authors as a feminist writer from “the post-Ottoman zone” (Bošković, 2018, p. 161), but she can also be compared with Marcinowska, since both shared a devotion to European culture mixed with patriotism and affinity to the Oriental Others. The Serbian traveller made a trip around the world in 1926–1927, when she was an experienced person in her sixties, a well-known writer and feminist. Dimitrijević’s identity discourse represents an amalgamation of various self-identifications, as exemplified by the note entitled “Moja ispovest” (“My confession”):

I am an Orthodox woman, the most Orthodox anyone can be; and in Egypt I felt myself a Muslim woman, in India once a Brahmin woman and once a Pariah woman; in China a Buddhist woman; in Japan Shinto; on some islands of the Pacific Ocean a pagan woman; in America, a Christian woman but of the Protestant faith. And yet, I always stayed Orthodox, the most Orthodox anyone can be. (quoted after Bošković, 2018, p. 165)³⁰

This is an expression of a hybrid identity, the most expressive among all the authors analysed in this article. Hybridity is founded on what may be called “a feminist internationalism”. Consistently using female forms, Dimitrijević indicated that analogies between female experience are more important than confessional and national divisions. This issue is seen by critics as one of the crucial topics in her writings (Koch, 2007; Peković, 2018; Slapšak, 2018). Still, the most important component is her Serbian identity grounded in the Orthodox heritage.

She wrote that the Balkans “are as much East as they are West”³¹ (Dimitrijević, 1940, p. 44), and her own identity discourse was situated “in between”. She expressed Orientophile sentiments: “You are not only love for me, you are also a Religion. You are great, you are holy. Oh, how I love you, my East”³² (Dimitrijević, 1940, p. 55). Her love for “the East”

³⁰ “Pravoslavna sam, najpravoslavija koja postoji; a u Egiptu sam se osećala muslomanka, u Indiji sad Bramanka a sad Paria; u Kini Budiskinja; u Japanu Šinto; na nekim ostrvima Tihoga Okeana paganka; u Americi Hrišćanka ali protestanske vere. A ipak, uvek, ostajala sam pravoslavna, najpravoslavija koja postoji.”

³¹ “isto tako malo Istok, kao što je malo Zapad.”

³² “O mój Istoče! Kako te poznajem i koliko te volim!”

is a curious mix of images taken from the Orientalist archive and her own profound personal experience that included long-term friendships with Turkish women. Nonetheless, she represented Europeanised, cosmopolitan tendencies in Serbian culture. Besides Turkish, she also spoke English, French, German, Russian and Greek. Curiously, her Orientalist poems were written in French, so she expressed her fondness for “the East” using Western European language and conventions (Đurić, 2018). Simultaneously, in her travelogue from the journey around the world, she often expressed patriotic sentiments. For example, in Bombay she was invited to give a speech to Indian feminists. The way in which Dimitrijević described this event is similar to scenes from Marcinowska’s travelogue:

With what attention they listened to me, how much they applauded when I, in short, of course, flipped through the glorious history of the Serbian people, from the beginning, under the Turks, to our times. They applauded me, they bowed to me, that is, to the Serbian nation, and to the common people, to those who had raised dusty cannons against the Turks. And it was as if I read in everyone’s eyes: “What about us? And we?” And a conversation about Gandhi began – a quiet conversation, discreet. (Dimitrijević, 2020, p. 86)³³

Besides Serbian patriotism, another important aspect of this scene is the analogy between the Serbian struggle for independence and the situation in India. The connection between Dimitrijević and her interlocutors was based not only on the feminist programme, but also on political and patriotic sentiments.

Conclusions

Given the diversity of the identity discourses analysed here, how can they be summarised? In general, examples from the corpus confirm an assertion made by Tadeusz Budrewicz (2018) that Poles (and, we may add, Serbs) travelling in Europe observed reality from their national perspective, while during journeys outside Europe they identified more with other Europeans, also using labels such as white people, Christians, and colonisers. Yet the analysed material also shows that this statement can and should

³³ “S kakvom su me pažnjom slušale, koliko su pljeskale kad sam, ukratko, naravno, prelistala slavnu istoriju srpskog naroda, od početka, pod Turcima, do naših dana. Pljeskale su mi, klanjale su mi se, to jest srpskom narodu, i ljudima iz naroda, onima što su digli protiv Turaka prašnjavim topovima. I kao da sam svakoj iz očiju pročitala: ‘A mi? A mi?’ I počeo se razgovor o Gandiju – tih razgovor, diskretan.”

be nuanced. One way to untangle the complexity of Polish and Serbian identity discourses will be to apply to them Waclaw Forajter's (2014, pp. 220–226) typology of factors influencing the diversity of approaches towards alterity in 19th-century Polish culture. **Pre-existing collective images**, like the Orientalist archive and the stereotype of a stagnant China, play a crucial role in Ujejski's and Olechowski's way of describing the contrast between Europe and Asia. **Political circumstances** are the most visible in travelogues written after World War I. Poland's independence and the impact of Serbia's tragic losses and ultimate triumph are visible in various ways in Marcinowska's, Bandrowski's and Dimitrijević's travelogues. In Romer's case, the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905 inspires his argumentation about future hope for small nations. The authors' **dependence on influential European theories** like racism, social Darwinism and geographical determinism forms an integral part of Romer's and Olechowski's identity discourses, while Lanckoroński interestingly defies prominent historians of his time. An aristocratic **class background** is a pillar in Lanckoroński's identity, while feminist **social views** are of crucial importance for Dimitrijević's discourse. Therefore, European identity was not something given, but was constructed within discourses and dependent on various factors.

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Z peryferii do centrum przez Azję. Pojęcie tożsamości europejskiej w polskiej i serbskiej literaturze podróżniczej o Azji (lata 1850–1920)

W niniejszym artykule analizuję różne wymiary europejskiej tożsamości w polskich i serbskich relacjach z podróży do Azji w okresie od lat pięćdziesiątych XIX wieku do lat dwudziestych XX wieku. Na podstawie kilku studiów przypadku pokazuję, jak podróżnicy często określali siebie jako Europejczyków, lecz nierzadko problematyzowali różne aspekty europejskiej tożsamości i mieli problemy z taką autodefinicją. Moja analiza opiera się na dużym korpusie polskich i serbskich relacji podróżniczych, ale szczegółowo omawiam teksty autorstwa Gustawa Olechowskiego, Karola Lanckorońskiego, Pavla Petrovicia, Jerzego Bandrowskiego, Milana Jovanovicia, Eugeniusza Romera, Jadwigi Marcinowskiej, Jeleny Dimitrijević. Omawiane są następujące problemy: przyjmowanie europejskiej tożsamości, europejska tożsamość i świadomość planetarna, przekraczanie orientalizmu, kompleks peryferyjny, odwrócony orientalizm i okcydentalizm, patriotyzm i utożsamianie się z Azjatami.

Słowa kluczowe: geografie wyobrażone, orientalizm, peryferie, podróżopisarstwo, polscy podróżnicy, postkolonializm, serbscy podróżnicy, tożsamość europejska.

Note

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