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GRAECIA CAPTA FERUM VICTOREM CEPIT?
RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND CHINA
IN THE TRAVELOGUE
***TAMO AMO PO ISTOKU* OF MILAN JOVANOVIĆ**

GENERAL INTRODUCTION¹

The main focus of the paper is the image of European-Chinese relations in the travel prose *Tamo amo po istoku* ('Here and there in the East'), written by the Serbian traveller Milan Jovanović. Jovanović worked as a doctor on a steamer belonging to the Lloyd company in the 1870's and 1880's, and travelled through the Mediterranean, the Middle East, India, and the Far East. In his prose, he made quite a few remarks about China and the Chinese. But why would a quote from Horace (*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, Epistolae*, II, 1, 156, 'Captive Greece captured her rude conqueror'²) appear in the title of a paper on travel? This question will be dealt with in the final part of the article.

The Serbian traveller visited the Far East at a very specific historical moment. The second half of the 19th century is described as the first phase of modern globalisation, and the activities of Lloyd company, for which Jovanović worked, might well be considered examples of such a phase.

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² Horace, *Complete Works*, trans. and ed. J. Marshall, London 1953, p. xx.

In this period, European colonialism was approaching its peak. Racism, orientalism and the ideology of European civilising mission were very common among Europeans³. In decades prior to Jovanović's travels, the Chinese Empire was defeated by the British in the so-called opium wars. The weakness of China resulted in a series of lopsided treaties with European powers. Due to such a situation, the essential questions for the paper are the following: is it possible to observe any colonial outlook on the world in Jovanović's works? How did the traveller from the then centre of the world, Europe, describe cultural and political relations between civilisations?

JOVANOVIĆ'S LIFE AND WORK – A BRIEF OUTLINE

At the outset, a profile of the traveller would be helpful because he is not well-known even in Serbia today. This brief introduction to Jovanović's life and work is based on papers by Goran Maksimović and Ivo Tartalja and an introduction by Andrea Gavrilović to Jovanović's book *Gore dole po Napulju* ('Up and down in Naples')⁴.

Milan Jovanović (later nicknamed 'Morski', which means 'sea' in Serbian and clearly associated with his travels) was born on 12th of April 1834 in a village called Jarkovac in Banat (a geographical and historical region in Europe, which at the time was part of the Austrian Empire). He studied in gymnasiums in Temisvar and in Pest, and in 1865 he graduated from the Medical Faculty in Vienna. Later, he got a doctorate in Leipzig (1867). In the 1860's and 1870's, he was a member of a patriotic and revolutionary society called *Omladina srpske* (Serbian Youth). He published a lot of works in the field of medicine and was a lecturer of hygiene at higher schools in Belgrade (in what was then the Kingdom of Serbia).

³ Cf. E. Said, *Orientalism*, London 1977; E. Said, *Kultura i imperializam*, trans. M. Wyrwas-Wiśniewska, Kraków 2011; A. Loomba, *Kolonializm – postkolonializm*, trans. N. Błoch, Poznań 2011.

⁴ G. Maksimović, "Putopisna proza Milana Jovanovića Morskog," *Zbornik matice srpske za književnost i jezik* LVI, no. 3 (2008): 623–638; I. Tartalja, "Jedan zaboravljen majstor srpske proze iz perioda ranog realizma," *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane. Zbornik radova* 13/2 (1984), p. 129–136; M. Jovanović, *Gore dole po Napulju. Putničke crte* (Beograd, Zagreb, 1898).

He left Belgrade for Novi Sad (at that time the most important Serbian cultural centre in the territory of Austro-Hungary) in 1871. He was a schoolmaster at a local gymnasium, but also worked as a doctor and used to be very active in the field of culture and politics. Jovanović acted as a member of *Matica Srpska* (Serbian Motherland, cultural and scientific society) and his drama *Demon* was staged for the opening of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad in 1872.

In 1875, he moved from Novi Sad to Herceg Novi (at that time the Principality of Montenegro), where he worked both as a teacher and doctor. In 1876, Jovanović accepted an offer from the steamship company Lloyd in Trieste to become the ship's doctor. This gave him an opportunity to undertake the aforementioned travels. For a few months, his work was interrupted by the Serbian-Ottoman war (1878), and spent the Winter of 1877/78 in Naples (that stay in Italy inspired his book *Gore dole po Napulju*⁵).

He returned to Serbia in 1882 and continued to work as a doctor, and from 1888 he took up the position of Professor of hygiene at the War Academy in Belgrade. Jovanović also took part in the Serbian-Bulgarian war of 1885-1886 (he left behind memoirs of this war in manuscript form). In the 1880's and 1890's, his literary activity was flourishing. His travel books *S mora i sa suva* ('From the sea and from the land'), *Gore dole po Napulju* and *Tamo amo po istoku* were published by Srpska književna zadruga ('The Serbian Literary Cooperative'), one of the oldest and most important Serbian publishing houses. In 1892, he became a member of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences. He died in 1896 in Belgrade.

During his life, Jovanović published quite a number of literary works. His dramas, critical studies and travel writings were very popular. However, the unfavourable opinion from the most important Serbian literary critics at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, Ljubomir Nedić and Jovan Skerlić, condemned him into oblivion. His works were not reissued for more than a hundred years and only sporadic remarks about Jovanović are found in publications on the history of Serbian literature. Nevertheless, even today his travel writings could be found very interesting. In his travelogues, especially in *Tamo amo po istoku*, *Gore dole po Napulju* and

⁵ On Jovanović's travelogue about Italy see: O. Stuparević, "Srpski putopis o Italiji," in *Uporedna israživanja 1*, ed. N. Stipčević (Beograd, 1976), p. 103–181.

S mora i sa suva, waste travel experience, unique for 19th-century Serbs⁶, is combined with an outstanding writing capacity. The travelogue *Tamo amo po istoku* is interesting especially for the intercultural relations described in the book, a topic that will be examined in the main part of the paper.

CHINA AND EUROPE IN *TAMA AMO PO ISTOKU*

The first remark about China in Jovanović's book is an observation on international trade in a description of Aden, the key port on the sea route from Asia to Europe:

“China and Japan, two primary trading countries, have found in Aden a good place to familiarize Europe with their industrial production, which, at first, was bought here as a rarity, but now it is greatly imported and threatens to flood many European craftworks. It is not strange that many of their products, especially fabrics of any kind, because of a small price and cheap transport, nowadays compete on European market with local products”⁷.

These quoted words describe the situation in the second half of the 19th century, even though this kind of discourse is very popular even today. One of the effects of globalisation is intensified competition at the global market; thus, cheaper producers from foreign countries are perceived as a menace to local producers.

Jovanović's next meeting with Chinese culture, this time no longer Chinese products but Chinese (human) representatives, took place on

⁶ About other Serbian travellers to China, see anthologies: R. Pušić, ed., *Kapija od žada. Putopisi Srba o Kini: 1725-1935* (Beograd, 1998); R. Pušić, ed., *Podnebesko carstvo. Srbi o Kini 1725-1940 (putopisi i članci)* (Beograd, 2006).

⁷ While quoting Jovanović's book *Tamo amo po istoku*, I use the edition: M. Jovanović, *Tamo amo Po istoku. Sveska prva* (Beograd, 1894), 75. All translations into English are my own, unless otherwise indicated. Translations were made to ensure the paper is coherent for non-Serbian speaking readers. I have sought to provide exact translations; however, they cannot be acknowledged as proper literary translations. The original says: 'Kina i Japan, dve po prevashodstvu trgovačke zemlje, našle su u Adenu zgodno mesto da upoznaju Evropu sa svojom industrijskom tvorevinom, koja je iz prva ovde kupovana kao specijalitet, a koje se sada u veliko importira i preti da poplavi mnoge evropske rukotvorine. Nije se čuditi što mnoge obrađevina njihove a poglavito tkanje svake vrste, zarad malene cene i jeftinog podvoza, danas konkurišu na evropskoj pijaci sa domaćim proizvodima'.

Penang island during a voyage through Malaya. Jovanović described Chinese customs and way of life with fascination. He was excited by such details as the clean shoes of the Chinese women and the importance of hygiene, kept even during tiring sea travels⁸. The Serbian author also described the custom of foot binding. In those fragments, Jovanović's scientific and professional background was clearly seen. In what is quite typical for travel writings, the writer made a lot of comparisons between China and Europe. For example, he compared eating habits:

Among this crowd of Chinese I started to think that the reason for many of our physical and moral problems lies maybe in our too generous and spicy food. (...) I do not know if Confucius did advise his nation to be moderate, as our wise men did; however, if yes, it can be said with certainty that the Chinese listened to him better than we did ours. Among the Chinese, there is no strong beverage, so there is no drunkenness, so there is no excess. During ten days when those people were on the ship, it was impossible to hear among them any unfriendly word. They looked as if one family, living together in peace⁹.

In the quoted fragment, a comparison and contrast are used as a means to create a representation of the Chinese people for Serbian (or European) readers. What seems important is that a comparison also means a judgement. Even in this short fragment, the tendency to present the Chinese as a positive alternative to Europeans seems obvious.

In the next parts of his travelogue, describing Singapore, South China Sea and Hong Kong, Jovanović paid a lot of attention to the Chinese people, their history and culture. His views on China were very positive. Even when he mentioned poverty and overpopulation, suggesting that those factors were responsible for frequent thefts, he also introduced topics of Chinese practicality, severe but fair regulations, and a strong

⁸ M. Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska druga* (Beograd, 1895), p. 102–105.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 105. 'Među ovom gomilom Hineza počeo sam da razmišljam da li uzrok mnogim nevoljama našim fizičkim i moralnim ne leži možda u obilnoj i razdražljivoj hrani našoj (...). Ne znam da li je Konfucije, kao naši mudraci što su, svetovao [sic!] svoj narod da bude umeren, ali ako je, slobodno mogu reći da su ga Hinezi bolje poslušali no mi što smo naše učitelje umerenosti. U Hineza nema ljutog pića, dakle nema ni pijanstva, pa dekla ni ekscesa: za deset dan, koliko su ovi ljudi bili na brodu, nije se među njima mogla čuti osorljiva reč; izgledaše mi kao da to beše jedna porodica, koja živi u slozi'.

feeling of justice within Chinese society¹⁰. His writings were full of admiration for the Chinese national character, their everyday life, and the greatness of their culture. For example, Jovanović noted the quality of Chinese crafts, saying that quality was at a very high level, on a par with Europeans:

(...) The Chinese are unusually skilful at crafts. It does not matter if they work with soft silk or stiff see reeds or bamboo – their [level of] weaving and knitting could not be matched by European workers. Only a Chinese is able to make socks in such a way that a seam does not hurt a foot. Only he can make a chair from a thin cane, which will sustain even the heaviest man¹¹.

The Serbian traveller emphasized *longue durée* of the Far East civilisation, coupled with the sense of diligence and discipline of their creators. The symbol of Chinese achievements was their great literature, in which the notion of multi-generational continuity is clearly evident.

While working, a Chinese does not ask how much time will this take: he works, and what he does not finish today, he will continue tomorrow, and it is like that through many years, and if he meets death during it – someone else will take it up. This continuity is evident in every kind of work, and especially in economic and literary works, and so because of that, among the Chinese those works are [grounded] on a broad basis. Books after books are accumulated, like a canal after a canal, and there is a plan in this continuity, which is carried out by whole generations. The Great Wall of China and Chinese literature are of equal proportions¹².

Chinese industriousness, perseverance, frugality and good manners were extolled by Jovanović in the description of a shopping district in Pe-

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 190–191.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 179. '(...) Hinezi [su] neobično vešti u rukotvorini. Bilo da obrađuje meku svilu ili krutu morsku trsku ili bambus – njihovo tkanje i pletivo nigda ne može dostići evropski radnik. Samo je Hinez u stanju sašiti čarapu, a da šav ne žulji nogu; samo on može oplesti od tankog pruća stolicu koje će da drži najtežeg čoveka (...)’.

¹² Ibidem. ‘U radu svom Hinez ne pita koliko će ga ovaj stati vremena: on radi, pa što ne svrši danas nastaviće sutra, pa tako kroza čitave godine, i ako ga u tome zateče smrt – nastaviće ko drugi. Taj kontinuitet opaža se u svakoj vrsti rada a poglavitu u ekonomnoj i književnoj, te su s toga u njih ovi radovi na širokoj osnovici. Knjiga se ređa na knjigu, kao kanal na kanal, i u tome kontinuitetu ima plana koji izvršuju čitave generacije. Hineski zid i hineska književnost jednake su proporcije’.

nang (today Malaysia). He described an interesting case: English colonial masters had brought a group of Chinese to cultivate the rich islands next to Penang. In the end, the invited workers have become a major trading power in the colony. The Serbian traveller compared Far East traders to Europeans and had a lot of respect for the former.

In the tropics the English are not the same as on their island. They do not go to work before 10 am – the Chinese are in their shops at dawn; an Englishman rests over dinner – a Chinese works; after dinner there is no trade for an Englishman – a Chinese trades in the middle of the night; On Sunday an Englishman does not leave his house – for a Chinese there is no Sunday or holidays; An Englishman wants to use a good part of his earnings for a living – for a Chinese a handful of rice and a small amount of greens are enough. And when all is taken into account, without which an Englishman cannot live, and what is completely unnecessary for a Chinese, it is clearly evident that a Chinese reaps a profit and he can easily compete with his [colonial] master until he forces him to give way¹³.

The line of thought in the words quoted above is based on the contrast between the Chinese and European values and way of life. This reasoning is very common in Jovanović's writings; for example, the author often compared the lifestyle of the ancient Romans to modern Europeans in his book about travelling to Naples. According to travel writing theoreticians, this method is very typical for travel writings in general. Albert Maier states: '(...) travel writing always organizes differences ('familiar' vs. 'unfamiliar') and highlights either the agreement or the divergence between the familiar and the alien, as the case may be ('domestication', vs. 'alienation' or 'exotification')'¹⁴. The most important means of de-

¹³ Ibidem, p. 94. 'U tropskim predelima Englezi nisu oni isti što su na svome ostrvu; oni pre 10 časova ne idu na rad – Hinezi su sa zorom u svojim dućanima; Englez se za ručkom odmara – Hinez radi; po obedu za Engleza „nema trgovanja” – Hinez trguje usred noći; nedeljom Englez ne izlazi iz svoje kuće – U Hineza nema nedelje ni praznika; Englezu se hoće dobar deo zarade za život – Hinezu je dosta pregrš pirinča i malo zelja. I kad se sračuna sve to i još pogdešto drugo, bez čega Englez ne može da živi, a što Hinezu ni malo nije od potrebe, tada je čisto na čisto Hinez u donitku, i može da lako konkuriše sa svojim gazdom, dok ga ne prinudi da mu ustupi mesto'.

¹⁴ A. Maier, "Travel Writing," in *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*, ed. M. Beller and J. Leerssen (Amsterdam, New York, 2007), p. 446.

scription is analogy, exaggeration and contrast. Various researchers into travel writings emphasize that images of foreign countries express the ideas and beliefs of their creators¹⁵. As stated by Mark Bassin in his analysis of visions of Siberia in the Russian culture, ‘The identity assigned to these geographical externalities corresponded to the ideological categories of their progenitors, in other words, the constellation of beliefs and fears, predilections, prejudices, and needs of European society itself.’¹⁶. This is also the case with Jovanović. His vision of the Far East civilisation expressed what values and ideas are in high esteem in his own.

Jovanović’s book *Tamo amo po istoku* may seem in some parts as laudation of the Chinese culture; however, the Serbian author always wrote as a foreigner, he did not identify with the Far East society. Therefore, his writings may be perceived as an example of exoticism. According to Joep Leerssen, despite its positive attitude towards foreign cultures, exoticism is merely ‘ethnocentrism’s friendly face. The other culture is appreciated exclusively in terms of its strangeness; it is reduced to the aspects wherein it differs from the domestic standard’¹⁷. This was also the case for Jovanović. His European identity was strong so that he looked on China from the point of view of Europe. However, taking into account the period of his travels – the second half of the 19th century and the epoch of colonialism, racism and chauvinism, the Serbian writer’s ability to appreciate another culture’s achievements should be highly regarded (especially in light of the fact that in the 19th century, China was significantly weaker than Europe in military and technological terms). Jovanović was not proud of being a member of a civilisation of colonizers. On the contrary, a very sharp criticism of colonialism and European expansion was evident in his work. For example, the Serbian author described in very negative terms the colonisation of Africa:

¹⁵ M. Todorova, *Balkany wyobrażone*, trans. P. Szymor and M. Budzińska (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2008); B. Jezernik, *Dzika Europa. Balkany w oczach zachodnich podróżników*, trans. P. Oczko (Kraków, 2007); W. Bracewell and A. Drace-Francis, *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative History of East European Travel Writing on Europe, 1550–2000* (London, 2008).

¹⁶ M. Bassin, “Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (June 1991): p. 764.

¹⁷ J. Leerssen, “Exoticism,” in *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*, ed. M. Beller and J. Leerssen (Amsterdam - New York, 2007), p. 325.

The so-called European civilization looks like another form of aboriginal African barbarism. Native sultans do not sell slaves to America, but now they and their subjects are slaves of European farmers and it has become easier for them only because of the fact that now they are slaves in their own homeland.

It is interesting to observe the determination with which those European strangers rob each other of *foreign* countries and peoples (...)¹⁸

It seems obvious that Jovanović did not believe in European civilising mission and the ideology of the White Man's Burden. The Serbian writer had seen the real effects of those ideas with his own eyes. From this perspective, he wrote about the European presence in China. For instance, the opium wars are seen as an example of European greed, concealed by the rhetoric of the so-called civilizing mission. He described the English profits from the opium trade and concluded thus:¹⁹

For such profits it had been worth for England to wage two wars against China, until England forced China to authorize the import of the poison, which destroys the health and morality of the Chinese nation. Because of that activity, the so-called European civilizing mission in Asia displays its real significance...²⁰.

The topic of opium allowed Jovanović to introduce one more comparison between the Chinese and Europeans. As could be expected, as a doctor, Jovanović condemned smoking opium as harmful; however, drinking, presented as a European vice, was much worse for him. Describing how drunken British sailors had behaved in Singapore, he admitted to be-

¹⁸ M. Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska druga*, 113. 'Tako zvana evropska civilizacija izgleda kao da je drugi oblik iskonskoga varvarstva afričkoga: urođeni sultani ne prodaju više robove u Ameriku, ali sad i oni i njihovi podanici robuju evropskim farmerima, i njima je samo u toliko olakšano što robuju u svojoj rođenoj kući. – Zanimljivo je posmatrati revnost kojom ovi evropski došljaci otimlju jedan od drugoga tuđe zemlje i stanovnika (...)'.

¹⁹ On opium trade and British colonialism see: Carl A Trocki, *Opium, Empire, and the Global Political Economy: a Study of the Asian Opium Trade, 1750-1950* (London; New York, 1999).

²⁰ Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska druga*, p. 135. 'Za takav prihod vredio je bilo Engleskoj voditi dva rata s Hinom dok je nije nagnala da dopusti u svoju zemlju uvoz otrova, kojim se ruši zdravlje i moral njezina naroda – a tim činom dobija tako zvana civilizatorska misija evropska u Aziji svoje pravo osvetljenje...'

ing ashamed, as a European, of their behaviour²¹. It led the Serbian traveller to one general conclusion about the relation between Europe and Asia:

Opium trade and similar phenomena of European insolence in Asia have created a strange notion of European civilization among Eastern nations. This is the reason behind the contempt for the European civilization and hatred for those who use it to cover their crimes²².

According to Jovanović, European presence in Asia is dominated by greed, violence and injustice, and because of that, the peoples of Asia have started to despise Europeans and perceived them as cruel barbarians. What is more, intercultural contacts are viewed by the Serbian author in terms of potential conflict. However, for him conflict is not a natural state of relations between peoples and nations (*contra* Hobbes' philosophy, for instance). Jovanović is a liberal and a humanist who believes in noble ideas of human dignity and brotherhood. However, his work seems to consider European civilisation as dominated by greed and violence, thereby creating the threat of conflict.

His outlook on the world, as manifested in *Tama amo po istoku*, was dominated by the dichotomy between the East and the West. The word 'East' was present even in the title of the book and was used as a universal notion to describe the various phenomena connected with many different Asian nations and to create a representation of otherness²³. In the second part of the book, this notion was connected mostly with the Chinese. Although Jovanović identified himself with the European civilisation, in the contrast Europe – East, he attributed positive values to the latter. As was demonstrated above, the Serbian traveller was full of reverence for the Chinese and even viewed them as victims of an aggressive European civilisation.

Jovanović had observed European power and colonial greed, plus the fact that non-European nations had been included in the world system

²¹ Ibidem, p. 137.

²² Ibidem, p. 138. 'Način trgovanja s opijumom i slične pojave razuzdanosti Evropljana u Aziji stvorile su među istočnim narodima čudnovati pojam o evropskoj civilizaciji, a iz ovoga je poniklo prezrenje prema toj civilizaciji a mržnja prema onima, koji njome zastiru zverska nedela svoja'.

²³ Cf. Said, *Orientalism*; E. Kuźma, *Mit Orientu i kultury Zachodu w literaturze XIX i XX wieku* (Szczecin, 1980); T. Sekiguchi, "Azja nie istnieje," *Teksty Drugie* no. 4 (2008): p. 48–75.

dominated by the Old World. His book was not only a travelogue, but also an attempt to analyse the future of intercultural relations. On the last pages of the book, Jovanović formulated one important 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, as the Japanese, and start to fight us with the weapon we gave them?²⁴

Trying to answer this question, Jovanović used examples from the past. According to him, contacts with the East (as mentioned above, this notion is understood very broadly by him) always had a great and positive influence on Europe. Christianity, which was perceived by Jovanović as the religion of humanistic and egalitarian values, came to Europe ‘from the East’. It is also very interesting to note how positively he assessed the crusades as contact with the East, which allowed for dispersing ‘the darkness of the middle ages’²⁵.

Referring to the lesson of history led Jovanović to the metaphor of China as the new Greece, which was epitomised in the title of the paper. In the history of ancient Mediterranean cultures, the Serbian author found an example of a situation very similar to his vision of relations between Europe and China in the 19th century. The military supremacy of an aggressive power allowed it to conquer an older and more developed culture: Rome subjugated Greece. However, as Horace wrote: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* – ‘Captive Greece captured her rude conqueror’. In this, Jovanović made an analogy between ancient events and contemporary situations

²⁴ Jovanović, *Tamo amo po istoku. Sveska druga*, p. 194. ‘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?’

²⁵ Ibidem.

and predicted that the European culture would change (for the better) under the Chinese influence.

(...) What will this 'spirit' and these 'customs' from the Far East do with our institutions in the future? Rome had conquered Greece, but the Attican 'spirit' ruled in Rome – and some things tend to be repeated in history. It is a reverse of the image of aggressive Europe in the East!²⁶

In general, Jovanović's view on the future of intercultural relations was an optimistic one. Contacts between civilisations were an opportunity for Europe to adopt Chinese values. Once again, it should be pointed out that Jovanović's way of thinking would have been very interesting in the context of 19th century ideologies of racism and colonialism. The author of *Tamo amo po istoku* wrote his book in the peak of colonialism, an educated European who identified himself with the values of Western civilisation. On the other hand, the Serbian traveller represented a small nation, which had been under Turkish rule for a few centuries and had been fighting for its independence in the 19th century. Jovanović's lack of chauvinism and colonial arrogance towards subjugated nations could be attributed to the fact that he could truly understand the situation of the Chinese and other Asian nations differently from their English or French colonizers, partly because he, too, belonged to a nation which was a victim of the powers that be at the time.

SUMMARY

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit?

The Relations between Europe and China

in the travelogue Tamo amo po istoku of Milan Jovanović.

The main focus of the paper is the image of European-Chinese relations in the travel prose *Tamo amo po istoku* ('Here and there in the

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 195. '(...) ali šta će taj 'duh' i ti 'običaji' s krajnjeg Istoka učiniti s našim ustanovama još za koji vek? Rim je pokorio Jeladu, ali je u Rimu vladao atički 'duh' – a u istoriji se što-šta i ponavlja... Eto kakvo naličje ima slika 'agresivne' Evrope na Istoku!'

East'), written by the Serbian traveller Milan Jovanović. Jovanović worked as a doctor on a steamer belonging to the Lloyd company in the 1870's and 1880's, and travelled across the Mediterranean, the Middle East, India, and the Far East. In his prose, he made quite a few remarks about China and the Chinese. According to Jovanović, European presence in Asia is dominated by greed, violence and injustice, and because of that, Asian people have started to despise Europeans and perceive them as cruel barbarians. Chinese industriousness, perseverance, frugality and good manners are emphasized in the travelogue. In general, Jovanović's view on the future of the intercultural relations was an optimistic one. Contacts between civilisations were a good opportunity for Europe to adopt Chinese values. It should be pointed out that Jovanović's way of thinking would have been very interesting in the context of the 19th century ideologies of racism and colonialism.

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Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit? The Relations between Europe and China in the travelogue *Tamo amo po istoku* of Milan Jovanović.

游记《Tamo amo po istoku》所述的欧洲和中国

本文主要研究散文游记《Tamo amo po istoku》所述的欧洲关系。这本书由是塞尔维亚旅行家Jovanović写成。1870—1880年间，该书作者在劳埃德仪器公司下属的一艘蒸汽轮船上担任医生，足迹遍布地中海、中东、印度和远东。书中评论了中国以及中国人。作者认为，在亚洲的欧洲人，大部分贪婪成性、暴戾蛮横、不讲道义，亚洲人开始鄙视欧洲人，认为他们粗野霸道。总的来说，Jovanović对跨文化关系的发展态度乐观。文明之间的交流有助于欧洲吸收中国价值观。应该说，Jovanović的思考方式在19世纪民主主义和殖民主义背景下显得尤有意味。