

**Jasmina I. TOMAŠEVIĆ\***

National Library of Serbia  
Belgrade

**Nemanja M. KALEZIĆ**

National Library of Serbia  
Belgrade

### **THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE: SERBIA AND GREECE AS MIRRORED IN THE PRESS DURING THE LAST DECADES OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

*Abstract:* With the wars of national liberation and achievement of autonomy, Serbia and Greece gained a better image in the West and were pointed out as important political factors in the Balkans. As the fall of the Ottoman Empire was becoming obvious, these two factors considered that it was the right moment for the liberation of a larger number of territories and the achievement of wider autonomy. Thus, their relations were shaped around an idea of a Balkan alliance, which would be a counterweight to the weakened Ottoman Empire. Although the Treaty of the Alliance (1867) envisaged Serbian-Greek military cooperation, the alliance was primarily reflected in diplomatic support. This did not prevent either Serbia or Greece from closely following events in the allied country. The press, which shaped public opinion, followed all important events and war efforts of the ally in its attempt to expand to the detriment of Turkey. Therefore, the public in Greece could have been informed about the “heroic struggles of fraternal Serbia” conducted in the First and Second Serbian-Turkish War, while the public in Serbia about the uprisings in Crete and the annexation of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece. In addition to providing information, journalists were also often expressing their views on the course and purpose of this struggle. The aim of this paper is, with the use of comparative analysis of the Serbian and Greek press, to present a public opinion of another party about the efforts for expansion and liberation from Ottoman rule.

*Keywords:* Serbia, Greece, Ottoman Empire, wars of national liberation, Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876–1878, Herzegovina uprising, Greek-Turkish conflicts, press, public opinion

*Анстракт:* Србија и Грчка су ослободилачким ратовима и постизањем аутономије стекле једну бољу слику на Западу и истакле се као значајни политички чиниоци на Балкану. Како се на хоризонту назирало крах Османског царства, ова два чиниоца су сматрала да је прави тренутак за ослобођење већер

---

\* [jasmina.tom@gmail.com](mailto:jasmina.tom@gmail.com)

броја територија и за постизање шире аутономије. Из тог разлога су се и њихови односи формирали око идеје о балканском савезништву, које би представљало противтежу ослабљеном Османском царству. Иако је Уговором о савезу из 1867. предвиђена српско-грчка војна сарадња, савезништво се првенствено огледало у дипломатској подршци. Ово пак није спречило ни Србију ни Грчку да будно прате дешавања у савезничкој земљи. Штампана која је уобличавала јавно мњење је пратила све битне догађаје и ратне напоре савезника у његовом покушају да се прошири на рачун Турске. Тако се јавност у Грчкој могла информисати о „херојским борбама братске Србије“ вођеним у Првом и Другом српско-турском рату, а у Србији о устанцима на Криту и припајању Тесалије и Епира. Поред самог извештавања, новинари су неретко износили и свој став о току и циљу те борбе. Идеја овог рада је да се компаративном анализом штампе на српском и грчком језику прикаже став јавног мњења друге стране о напорима за проширење и ослобођење од Османског царства.

**Кључне речи:** Србија, Грчка, Османско царство, ослободилачки ратови, Српско-турски ратови 1876–1878, Невесињска пушка, грчко-турски конфликти, штампа, јавно мњење

## Introduction

Serbia and Greece did not establish diplomatic relations until 1868. Their rapprochement was certainly influenced by geographical proximity, the same religion, but above all, by similar historical circumstances during the long Ottoman rule in the Balkans. At first, the solidarity and cooperation of the two countries were reflected in the participation of volunteers in the uprisings against the Ottomans, both during the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) and the Greek War of Independence (1821–1830).<sup>1</sup> The Uprising of 1804, which

---

<sup>1</sup> For Serbian-Greek cooperation during the wars of national liberation see Michael Lascaris, *Ελληνες και Σέρβοι κατά τους απελευθερωτικούς των αγώνες 1804–1830* [Greeks and Serbians during Wars of Liberation, 1804–1830], Athens 1936, 13–88; Spyros Loukatos, *Σχέσεις Ελλήνων μετά Σέρβων και Μαυροβουνίων κατά την Ελληνικήν Επανάστασιν, 1823–1826* [Greek Relations with Serbians and Montenegrins during the Greek War of Independence, 1823–1826], Thessaloniki 1970, 27–162; [Anon.], *Συνεργασία Ελλήνων και Σέρβων κατά τους απελευθερωτικούς αγώνες, 1804–1830: 1ο Ελληνοσερβικό Συμπόσιο* [Greek-Serbian Cooperation during the Liberation Struggles, 1804–1830: 1<sup>st</sup> Greek-Serbian Symposium], Thessaloniki 1979, 9–260; Ioannis Papadrianos, *Η ελληνική παλιγγενεσία του 1821 και η βαλκανική της διάσταση* [The Greek Rebirth of 1821 and its Balkan Dimensions], Komotini 1996, 23–47; I. Papadrianos, “Μαυροβούνιοι εθελοντές στον εθνικοαπελευθερωτικό αγώνα των Ελλήνων στα 1821” [Montenegrin Volunteers in the Greek National Liberation Struggles of 1821], *Βαλκανικά Σύμμεικτα* [Balkan Studies] 11 (2000) 160–178; Barbara Jelavich, “The Balkan Nations and the Greek War of Independence”, in: *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821–1830): Continuity and Change*, ed. Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, Thessaloniki

was *de facto* considered the first war of national liberation against the Ottoman Empire, allowed the Serbians to gain a reputation in the Balkans and a better image in the West, where for many Westerners, this country was almost or completely unknown. Although the Uprising did not lead to the complete liberation of the Serbian territory, it did have a great resonance in the Balkan areas that were still under Ottoman rule. Finally, with the wars of national liberation and gaining of autonomy, Serbia and Greece were pointed out as important political factors in the Balkans.

The current Eastern Question took on new proportions during the Greek War of Independence and opened an era of direct interference of the Great Powers and dismemberment of the Turkish territory. As the fall of the Ottoman Empire was getting obvious, the two countries considered that it was the right moment for the liberation of a larger number of territories and the achievement of wider autonomy. Thus, until the Treaty of Berlin and even until the Balkan Wars, their relations were shaped around an idea of a Balkan alliance, which would be a counterweight to the weakened Ottoman Empire. This period was inspired by the romantic and utopian spirit of the epoch that was marked by the national programs of the two countries, as well as the Balkan vision of Rigas Velesinlis, better known as Rigas Feraios.<sup>2</sup> Besides the “Načertanije”, which became the core of Serbian foreign policy until the First World War, during the same period, the then Prime Minister of Greece Ioannis Kolettis, conceived

---

1976, 157–169; B. Jelavich, *History of the Balkans. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1983, 171–234; Димитрије Ђорђевић, *Националне револуције балканских народа 1804–1914*, Београд 1995, 23–25, 34–35; Лазар Томановић, *Бокељи у рату за ослобођење грчко*, Задар 1873, 5–43; Душан Кашић, „Грчки устанак и Срби: поводом прославе 150-годишњице устанка грчког народа”, *Теолошки погледи: двомесечни верско научни часопис* IV/2 (1971) 143–154; Небојша Озимић, „Мелентијева буна: допринос нишког свештенства Грчком устанку 1821. године”, *Црквене студије: годишњак Центра за црквене студије* III/3 (2006) 389–394.

<sup>2</sup> Rigas Feraios passed to new generations the idea of a Balkan federation, based on the principles of the French Revolution, in which Greek culture would have a place of honor. He defined Orthodoxy as the main religion of the federation, emphasizing people who belonged to the Orthodox millet in the Ottoman Empire. Inspired by Riga’s revolutionary ideas, Greeks paid particular attention to Orthodox Serbia, which remained under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople until 1879. Moreover, Riga’s vision of Balkan reconciliation and liberation from Turkish slavery was alive for many years in the memory of the Balkan people, and especially in Serbia, where the Greek revolutionary and poet was killed: Mark Mazower, *Та Балканиа* [The Balkans], Athens 2003, 27–28; Jasmina Tomašević, „Σερβο-ελληνικές σχέσεις από τους απελευθερωτικούς αγώνες μέχρι τον Α΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο: πολιτικά και κοινωνικά δεδομένα” [Serbian-Greek relations from the liberation struggles to the First World War: political and social data], *Βαλκανικά Σύμμεικτα* [Balkan Studies] 20 (2021) 119–120.

the national program “Great Idea” (Greek: Megali Idea), by which the Greek state was guided until the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922.<sup>3</sup>

This phase is also a period of first contact and rapprochement between the two countries. Diplomatic and consular missions were established to formalize the bilateral relations between Belgrade and Athens,<sup>4</sup> and as the basic idea of Serbian-Greek cooperation was joint action against Turkey, in 1867 the Treaty of the Alliance was signed providing for military cooperation in the event of a conflict with that country and partition of its Balkan territory. In that case, Greece would annex Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, and the Aegean islands, while Serbia would expand to Bosnia, Kosovo and Metohija, northern Albania, and Montenegro unless Cetinje declared its independence.<sup>5</sup> It is also unclear what kind of agreement the two countries have reached on Macedonia, taking into account that Garašanin’s national program had different views of the border than the Greek side. However, this issue would remain undefined over the next few decades. During the reign of Prince Mihailo Obrenović (1860–1868), Serbia still focused its eyes on Bosnia and Herzegovina, through which it desired to secure access to the Adriatic Sea.

A valuable historical source for the study of this tumultuous period for both countries that were trying to achieve their independence is the press, which shaped public opinion, following all important events and war efforts of the ally in its attempt to expand to the detriment of Turkey. The Greek press was paying a lot of attention to events such as the Čukur fountain incident of 1862, the Herzegovina uprising of 1875, and the Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876–1878. On the other hand, Serbian journalism which took a few more decades to

---

<sup>3</sup> According to the “Great Idea”, the Greek state should encompass all areas of the Ottoman Empire that were mostly inhabited by the Greek population, as well as territories that „traditionally” belonged to the Greeks in ancient times (northern Epirus, Asia Minor). While both programs formed the core of the foreign policy of these two Balkan countries, “Načertanije” – unlike the “Great Idea” – was carried out in secret (Vienna did not find out about its existence until 1883, while the Serbian public learned of it in 1888): Giorgos Margaritis ... [et al.], *Ελληνική ιστορία, τόμος Γ΄: νεότερη και σύγχρονη ελληνική ιστορία* [Greek History, vol. 3, Modern and Contemporary Greek History], Patras 1999, 203.

<sup>4</sup> From 1868 to 1903, Greece had a *chargé d'affaires* in Belgrade, as well as a consul general (1856–1880), while Serbia did not have a permanent *chargé d'affaires* in Athens, but only during certain periods (1876, 1882–1885, 1886–1889, 1891–1903): Лукијанос Хасиотис, *Српско-грчки односи 1913–1918. Савезничке предности и политичка ривалства*, прев. Јасмина Томашевић, Нови Сад 2017, 26; Славенко Терзић, *Србија и Грчка (1868–1903): борба за Балкан*, Београд 1992, 59.

<sup>5</sup> S. T. Lascaris, *Διπλωματική ιστορία της Ελλάδος, 1821–1914* [Diplomatic History of Greece, 1821–1914], Athens 1947, 117; Michael Lascaris, *Το Ανατολικόν Ζήτημα, 1800–1923, τόμ. Α΄: 1800–1878* [The Eastern Question, 1800–1923, vol. 1, 1800–1878], Thessaloniki 1948, 225.

develop was informing readers about events of the later period, such as the Greek-Turkish conflict over the territories in Thessaly and Epirus, as well as the Cretan Revolt of 1897–1898.

### **Serbia in the Greek press**

In the case of Greece, the first newspaper began to be published in 1825 in the liberated Nafplio, the then capital of the newly created Greek state and it was the official bulletin of the Greek government.<sup>6</sup> Five years later, the first political newspaper in the true sense of the word – *Apollo* – began to circulate, concentrating specifically on national matters and foreign policy, while being very hostile to Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first leader of the independent country. The number of newspapers in the country gradually increased; by 1870 the existence of 68 in liberated Greece was recorded, as well as 16 Greek-language papers abroad and in territories that were still under Ottoman rule.<sup>7</sup> These newspapers were mostly printed once a week or twice a month, while there was not even one daily paper.

The news was conveyed in short form (most often via telegraph), which met the needs of a largely illiterate population, while during this period articles in which journalists were expressing their own opinion were not a daily occurrence. In some satirical magazines, the opinion was expressed through other forms such as caricatures, illustrations, satirical poems, etc. Thus, the events in Serbia during that summer of 1862 were mostly conveyed by news in short form. In addition to the telegraph which represented the fastest way to get the news to the other side, complete articles from Greek-language press that was published abroad were transcribed. The content of these newspapers was more often enriched by articles written by journalists themselves or at least with a slightly wider form of news coverage. A description of the events in the Serbian capital was most often reached through the Greek-language papers *Clio* and *Imera* from Trieste and Vienna, two cities that had large Greek communities. Usually, it took mostly ten days for the news from these two foreign newspapers to appear in the local Greek press.

---

<sup>6</sup> Alexandra Sfoini, “Η γλώσσα των εφημεριδών” [The Language of Newspapers], in: *Ο ελληνικός τύπος, 1784 ως σήμερα. Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις* [The Greek Press, 1784 until Today. Historic and Theoretical Approaches], ed. Loukia Droulia, Athens 2005, 102.

<sup>7</sup> Κ. Τ. Παπαλεξανδρου, “Τύπος και τυπογραφία” [Press and Typography], in: *Μεγάλη ελληνική εγκυκλοπαίδεια* [Great Greek Encyclopedia], vol. 10, ed. Pavlos Drandakis, Athens 1934, 1036.

The news of the murder of a young man at the Čukur fountain and the incidents that followed in the Serbian capital a while later were reported by almost all Greek newspapers. The moves of the Serbian side, both the government and Prince Mihailo, the bombing of Belgrade, and the efforts of European diplomacy to prevent the war were closely followed. The Greek press particularly showed great interest in the Serbians' tendency to free themselves from the Turkish regime. The desire for national liberation was portrayed as rightful and as something to which the Serbian side claimed all rights, as opposed to, for instance, the Viennese press, which remained deaf to the liberating aspirations of the Serbian people and where Serbia was characterized as an "eternal" initiator of the problem. Thus, newspapers printed in the territory of liberated Greece did not miss the opportunity to support their Balkan ally in the struggle against the "centuries-old enemy". In a desire to express this support as vividly as possible, journalists often resorted to exaggerations and generalizations.

One Athenian newspaper reported that "the whole Serbia rose to its feet for national liberation and all the Slavs under the Turkish yoke" and stated that the Serbian thing "had just begun".<sup>8</sup> The same paper described Serbians as



Ὁ Τουρκικός ἥρωισμός.

Turkish "heroism". The woman figure represents Europe that is silently watching the slaughtering of children (newspaper Fos, 26 September 1876)

<sup>8</sup> *Αυγή* [Avgi], No. 1059, 11 June 1862, 1; No. 1060, 13 June 1862, 2.



“experienced fighters, courageous, strong, righteous and great patriots”.<sup>9</sup> Enthusiastic writings from other Greek newspapers were similar: “Serbs are passionate patriots”,<sup>10</sup> “the moment of Serbian liberation has come”,<sup>11</sup> “the revolutionary desires of the Serbian people are rightful”,<sup>12</sup> etc. As might be expected, the Turks in Serbia and the Ottoman Empire, in general, were depicted in a bad light. The newspaper *Athena* underlined Turks’ hostile behavior towards the Serbians while using a more moderate tone in describing the posture of the local Muslim population.<sup>13</sup> A much smaller dose of moderation was shown by the Athenian newspaper *Avgi*, which compared the Turks to the “Tatars”, that is, the barbarians, “who killed the Serbian gendarme”. The same paper emphasized the “cowardice” of the Turks, who were hiding in the fortress and “holding the gates of Kalemegdan closed in fear of invading Serbians”.<sup>14</sup> Describing the withdrawal of the Turkish army into the fortress, another paper stated that it could be conquered from the lower part of the Kalemegdan, “just as Karađorđe did” several decades earlier.<sup>15</sup>

This mention of Karađorđe in the Greek newspaper was not a solitary case, and the names of prominent Serbian figures were often referred to, especially those who had the same aim as the Greeks, which was nothing but liberation from Turkish subjugation. In addition to the war efforts, the leader of the First Serbian Uprising also had close connections with members of Filiki Heteria, the secret organization that was preparing the ground for the liberation of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Greek press of the period – and especially during the 1860s – was covering topics from the First and Second Serbian Uprising, publishing articles with a description of struggles and portrayals of significant figures such as Karađorđe and Miloš Obrenović. At the same time, studies were published on the Serbian uprising army and its armaments,<sup>16</sup> as well as on other historical topics and geography of Serbia, with positive representations of a country that, according to Athenian newspapers, “was a sister of Greece, a sister who is one and only of the same religion and experiencing the same evil”.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, No. 1067, 21 June 1862, 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Aθήνα* [Athena], No. 3073, 28 July 1862, 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ενωσις* [Enosis], No. 416, 25 June 1862, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Φως* [Fos], No. 412, 4 July 1862, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Athena*, No. 3073, 28 July 1862, 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Avgi*, No. 1060, 13 June 1862, 2; No. 1072, 31 June 1862, 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Athena*, No. 3063, 24 June 1862, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Probably the most significant publication about the Serbian Uprisings published in Greece was the translation of Leopold von Ranke’s *The History of Serbia, and the Serbian Revolution* (Greek edition in 1862).

<sup>17</sup> Basil K. Gounaris, *Τα Βαλκάνια των Ελλήνων: Από το Διαφωτισμό έως τον Α΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο* [Balkans of the Hellenes: from Enlightenment to World War I], Athens 2007, 321–323.

The Greek press also closely followed events during the later period, such as the Herzegovina uprising of 1875 and the Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876–1878. This later period is even more interesting for research because in addition to the number of papers, the number of articles written by journalists themselves increased. Since 1873, journalism in Greece experienced a real boom, not lagging behind journalism in Western countries.<sup>18</sup> With the advance of the printing press, the number of pages of newspapers increased, as well as their circulation, and newspapers became automatically accessible to the lowest sections of society. Another feature of this period was the number of daily papers that increased rapidly due to lower printing costs in more modern printing offices. Then, some of the largest and most important Greek-language daily papers began to appear and are still published today: *Acropolis*, *Embros*, *Ethnos*, *Estia*, and others. Both during the uprising in Bosnia and the Serbian-Turkish wars, in the Greek articles, one could most often encounter the following characterizations: “Herzegovinians are combative and brave”,<sup>19</sup> “The Serbian army that resists twice as many enemies is admirable”,<sup>20</sup> “History will celebrate the acts of the Serbs, while Christians from the East look upon them as liberators”,<sup>21</sup> etc. Such descriptions of “fraternal” Serbia in the Greek press, which was going – according to the writings of some Athenian newspapers – to “the holy war to revenge Kosovo”<sup>22</sup> are certainly not surprising.

However, there were a smaller number of newspapers that did not have such a positive image of their Balkan ally. The newspaper *Fos* strongly criticized the Serbian side for its passivity during the uprising in Bosnia. In such articles, Serbians were often described as cowards, while a similar writing tone was retained during the later period when Serbia “finally” – according to the *Fos* journalists – declared war on Turkey. At that time, the Serbian war preparations and military defeats were commented unfavorably, but occasionally articles could be spotted suggesting words of encouragement to the Serbian army. One of them began with the words: “Hold on, brave children of Serbia!”, while in the following text an appeal was highlighted, which, by some other papers, represented a “holy” mission of the Serbians: “Release the Christians in the East!”<sup>23</sup> And while the *Fos*

---

<sup>18</sup> The same year when the first daily newspaper began to circulate in Greece: Klimis Mastoridis, “Τυπογραφικοί πειραματισμοί στην ελληνική εφημερίδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα” [Typographic Experiments in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Greek Newspapers], in: *The Greek Press, 1784 until Today*, 189.

<sup>19</sup> *Fos*, No. 1165, 2 August 1875, 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Αιών* [Aion], No. 3258, 19 August 1876, 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Αλήθεια* [Alithia], No. 3038, 3 January 1878, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Άγγελος* [Angelos], No. 53, 3 July 1876, 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Fos*, No. 1220, 5 September 1876, 3.



was able to change its tone towards the Serbians at certain times, we could not say the same for the Serbian royal couple that was criticized by this Athenian newspaper. The *Fos* was a newspaper that was not generally in favor of the monarchy, criticizing not only the Serbian ruler but also Greek King George I. Thus, the wedding of the Serbian royal couple during the uprising in Bosnia, as well as Milan's antiwar speeches in the Parliament were criticized. Queen Natalija was also repeatedly lambasted by the aforementioned newspaper. Ironic descriptions were given of her expensive wedding dress, the painting of her portrait during the war preparations, and the "nervous upset of the Queen since all foreigners had left Belgrade" at the time of bloody struggles with Turks in the south of the country.<sup>24</sup> Even the satirical newspaper *Aristophanes* – one of a few newspapers which openly supported Greece's entry into the war on Russia's side during the Russian-Turkish War, but also during the later period – similarly represented the Serbian royal family in its caricatures. In these caricatures, King Milan was portrayed as a timid man hiding under the table



King Milan is hiding under the table in fear of the Turks  
(newspaper *Aristophanes*, 8 September 1876).

---

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 1172, 28 September 1875, 3; No. 1173, 5 October 1875, 3; No. 1175, 19 October 1875, 3; No. 1201, 25 April 1876, 3–4; No. 1216, 8 August 1876, 2.



Ἡ Ἡγεμονίς τῆς Σερβίας Ναταλία.

Φύλαξε, Παναγία μου, αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατιώτας,  
Τοὺς νέους μας ἑθελοντὰς, τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἰππότεας,  
Καὶ κάμε τους νὰ σφάζουνε τοὺς Τούρκους σὲ μιὰ μέρα,  
Χωρὶς κανεὶς νὰ σκοτωθῆ ἀπὸ σπαθὶ ἢ σφαίρα.

Queen Natalie “flirting” with the officers  
(newspaper Aristophanes, 4 September 1876).

table in fear of the Turks, while Queen Natalija was presented as a beautiful lady flirting with the officers.<sup>25</sup>

The image of Serbia was certainly not presented in the best light also in the Greek-language press that was coming out in areas still under Ottoman rule. One characterization of this press was that they paid much more attention to events in the Balkans, while articles were much more extensive than in the Athenian newspapers, which usually conveyed the news in a shorter form. These newspapers were certainly subject to political censorship, indicated by an Athenian newspaper during the uprising in Bosnia, which criticized the press in the Ottoman Empire for reporting news exclusively about Turkish successes and with a lot of exaggerations. The author of the article remarked that although it was not possible to clearly express a view and “glorify” the rebels, they at least did not have to be called “bandits”, and that their uprising was no different

<sup>25</sup> In a similar tone as the newspaper *Fos*, it is shown that the Queen had a greater interest in the social life of the capital than in the war. Below one of her caricatures, a satirical poem was written: “Holy Mother, protect these soldiers, young volunteers and noble knights, make them slaughter the Turks in one day, without any of them getting killed with a sword or a bullet”, *Αριστοφάνης* [Aristophanes], No. 192, 30 June 1876, 4; No. 211, 4 September 1876, 4; No. 212, 8 September 1876, 1.

from the Greek one of 1821.<sup>26</sup> Even the *Fos* that was not always positively oriented towards the Serbians, pointed out the fact of exaggerated, but also false news that was coming from the Turkish side, e.g. about the supposed fall of Belgrade, the defeat of the Serbian army, and Milan's dethronization.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, the efforts of journalists in such newspapers to convey the right message using other methods were also noted. Such attempts were noticed in the case of the newspaper *Hermes* from Thessaloniki, which was still in the Ottoman Empire. The *Hermes* paid attention to the events in the Balkans, primarily in the permanent columns of "Slavic news" from 1875, and of "Evaluations of the Greek Press on the Serbian-Turkish War" from 1876 until the end of the conflict. In the mentioned sections, the Greek public opinion in Thessaloniki could get acquainted with articles from the European press. By making a choice of articles, journalists were able to convey a hidden message and indirectly support the Balkan countries in their struggle for



Τουρκικά ψεύδη προσκυμένα.

Turkish fake news about the supposed fall of Belgrade, the defeat of the Serbian army, and Milan's dethronization (newspaper *Fos*, 8 August 1876).

<sup>26</sup> *Aion*, No. 3164, 4 September 1875, 1–2.

<sup>27</sup> *Fos*, No. 1216, 8 August 1876, 4.

national liberation. In addition to the press from the liberated Greek territory, articles were translated from the newspapers in Serbian, Russian, and, to a lesser extent, French. In these articles, one can find descriptions of the Montenegrin heroism and uprisings in Bosnia, the struggle of small nations against the Turkish regime, and even the ferocity of the Turks.<sup>28</sup> The selection of articles during the Constantinople Conference was also not a coincidence. In this newspaper, in addition to reporting on the Conference itself, articles concerning the position of the Greek population in Turkey could be spotted. For these attempts, the newspaper was on several occasions punished and banned for months by the Ottoman authorities that were obviously doing from time-to-time sloppy censorship work.<sup>29</sup>

### Greece in the Serbian press

In the Serbian case, it is important to always bear in mind that the Principality of Serbia was not an independent but only an autonomous state until the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. Therefore, the development of publicist writing and publishing of the first daily newspapers took more time than in Greece, which gained its independence by the London Protocol in 1830. Although the first newspaper<sup>30</sup> was coming out since 1834 in Kragujevac, the then capital of the state, the press in Serbia started developing more rapidly after the adoption of the first law on the press in 1870. The further development of publicist writing was influenced by the formation of “modern” political parties in the country after the Treaty of Berlin. In 1881 daily newspapers began to appear as bulletins of the parties; the People’s Radical Party was publishing *Samouprava* with frequent interruptions until the Second World War, the Progressive Party *Videlo* until 1908, and the Liberals *Srpska*

---

<sup>28</sup> The characteristic example is a translated article from the newspaper *Glas Crnogorca*, the official bulletin of the Principality of Montenegro, which was well-known for its distinctly national Serbian views: *Ερμής* [Hermes], No. 116, 16 July 1876, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Aleka Karadimou-Gerolymou, “Ο *Ερμής* του Σ. Γκαρπολά” [The Hermes of S. Gkarbola], *Καθημερινή* [Kathimerini], supplement “Ιστορία του Τύπου της Θεσσαλονίκης” [History of the Press in Thessaloniki], No. 2–32, 26 February 1995, 10–11; Kostas Tomanas, *Χρονικό της Θεσσαλονίκης (1875–1920)* [Chronicle of Thessaloniki (1875–1920)], Thessaloniki 1995, 14.

<sup>30</sup> The first newspaper in the Principality of Serbia was the *Novine srbske*. Its editor, Dimitrije Davidović, relied on the best European newspapers of that time as models. Davidović was not satisfied with publishing just official news and reports as the government asked him to do, but he also tried to give his own opinions about events. That is why he was eventually removed from journalism: Радош Љушић, *Димитрије Давидовић (1789–1838): оријентални новинар, европски политичар*, Београд 2013, 113–114.

*nezavisnost* until 1903. All parties used the press as a means of political propaganda and the editorial offices were the main centers of party life.<sup>31</sup>

The later beginnings of the daily Serbian press in regard to the Greek resulted in informing readers about the Greek-Turkish conflict of the later period, mainly during the 1880s and the 1890s. In order to gain a better image of the Greek side, it is important to take into account also the Serbian-language papers that were published outside the borders of the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, numerous newspapers were published in the Serbian language, primarily *Zastava* from Novi Sad and *Srbobran* from Zagreb. During the first year of its existence (1866), the *Zastava* was published in Budapest under the leadership of Svetozar Miletić, while since 1887 it was profiled as a bulletin of the radical current. In contrast to this newspaper that continued to be published after the First World War (until 1929), the same could not be said for *Srbobran*, which was the most influential Serbian newspaper in Croatia under the editorship of Pavle Jovanović. During the same period, in the Principality of Montenegro, the official bulletin of the state *Glas Crnogorca* began to circulate. During the First World War (since 1917), the newspaper was published in Paris and Rome as the official bulletin of the Montenegrin government in exile.<sup>32</sup>

With the exacerbation of the Greek-Turkish conflict over the territories in Thessaly and Epirus, the Serbian-language press began to show interest in this issue. While the radical newspaper *Samouprava* was mainly conveying news that was arriving in Belgrade via telegraph or foreign press without critical consideration of the whole situation, the progressive *Videlo* was paying more attention to the diplomatic efforts of the Great Powers to resolve the conflict amicably. In its “Political Review” column, articles from Austro-Hungarian and French newspapers were daily published. In January 1881, the editorial board of *Videlo* concluded that the Kingdom of Greece had finally realized that it would not gain territory thanks to the Great Powers, but only through cooperation with countries that “shared a similar fate”.<sup>33</sup> Great attention was paid to the visit of Colonel Tihomilj Nikolić to Athens, who on that occasion awarded the Order of the Cross of Takovo to King George I and gained insight into the condition of the Greek army. In the section “Foreign press about us”, the same newspaper conveyed the writings of the Greek press about the visit, which was emphasizing the fact that “there is no doubt that the Serbians are the

---

<sup>31</sup> Михаило Бјелица, *Историја новинарства*, Београд 1995, 90–91.

<sup>32</sup> Јермија Д. Митровић, *Грађа за историју и библиографију српске периодике до 1920. године*, Београд 1984, 21, 26, 40, 84, 94, 98; Милица Кисић, Бранка Булатовић, *Српска штампа: 1768–1995*, Београд 1996, 68, 87, 89–90, 96.

<sup>33</sup> *Видело*, No. 8, 14 January 1881, 2.



only South Slavic people with whom we can be in an agreement... They have laid no claim to the Greek lands, they have never participated in anti-Hellenic intrigues that the others were encouraging in some provinces of the Turkish Empire”.<sup>34</sup>

It should be noted that during the Greek-Turkish conflict between January and June 1881, a major political crisis arose in the political life of Serbia caused by the railway convention and the Bontu affair, and therefore the daily press did not pay much attention to the foreign news. The *Samouprava* took the lead providing not even a single piece of information about the Greek-Turkish conflict during March and April. Only on April 21 it was shortly announced that the Greek emissaries would organize benediction in the honor of King's George name day.<sup>35</sup> The *Zastava* from Novi Sad paid attention to this issue, but only through the writings of the Viennese press, adding the obligatory words that it was about “the Orthodox brothers who deserve to be found in our prayers”.<sup>36</sup> Telegraph news from April 26 also left some space for the announcement that the President of the Greek National League lost his university position due to an inflammatory speech he had given earlier that month.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, none of the newspapers used in this research conveyed the same news.

The *Glas Crnogorca* is the Serbian-language newspaper that paid the most attention to this conflict. In this paper, published once a week during this period, in January and February 1881, almost half of the content was dedicated to this issue. There was a characteristic title “Greece on the Eve of War”, where the Greeks were constantly advised to lean on the Russian emperor and to start a war “for the freedom of their enslaved brothers”.<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that the Principality of Montenegro was at the time in a diplomatic quarrel with the Ottoman Empire over the line of demarcation established in 1878 at the Treaty of Berlin. Therefore, the articles presented a comparison with the Greek situation, but also emphasized that “they (the Greeks) paid their liberation neither in blood nor in money”.<sup>39</sup> After the assassination of Russian Emperor Alexander II, the editorial board turned attention to that crisis, but the news referring to the Greek-Turkish conflict was conveyed with more moderate comments.

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, No. 14, 23 January 1881, 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Самоуправа*, No. 47, 21 April 1881, 4.

<sup>36</sup> *Застава*, No. 55, 10 April 1881, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, No. 63, 26 April 1881, 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Глас Црногорца*, No. 2, 10 January 1881, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, No. 4, 24 January 1881, 1.



The next major crisis in Greek-Turkish relations had its roots in the conflicts between Christians and Muslims on the island of Crete during the years 1897–1898. Since the beginning of the Cretan crisis that preceded the Greek-Turkish War, the press in Serbia had been paying a lot of attention to the situation in Old Serbia (Kosovo and Metohija, Sandžak) and Macedonia. Some newspapers, such as the *Uskok*, under the editorship of Pavle Kara-Radovanović, were also launched to arouse more public interest in the position of the Serbian people in the Ottoman Empire. Unlike 1881, the number of daily newspapers in the Kingdom of Serbia increased, but they were still the bulletins of political parties dedicated to close interest groups. Only Pera Todorović's *Male Novine* was trying to provide information about the war with a higher level of professionalism and even had their correspondents from Athens and Constantinople.<sup>40</sup> Additionally, in its literary supplement called *Zabavnik*, the novel "Fall of Constantinople" was published in installments. This mention of Constantinople was not a solitary case; during the same period one could spot the name of this historical city as well as Kosovo in the press, but also in literature.<sup>41</sup>

To a great extent, the public opinion was not well-disposed to the Greeks because of the stance of the Patriarchate of Constantinople towards the appointment of Serbian bishops in Prizren and Skopje, as well as anti-Slovenian propaganda in Macedonia. It is inevitably mentioned that the "Greek question" was rightful, but it was also emphasized that Greece did not take part in the wars of 1876–1878.<sup>42</sup> Many articles had been copied from the Western press that were referring to the number of Greek and Ottoman armed forces, which gave a great advantage to the Ottoman Empire with the opinion that Greeks only had a chance with guerrilla warfare in the mountains of Epirus and Crete. A lot of space was left for the description of naval warfare, far more than the land troops. The modernization of the Greek fleet was emphasized, and

---

<sup>40</sup> J. Д. Митровић, *Грађа за историју и библиографију*, 51; М. Кисић, Б. Булатовић, *Српска штампа*, 103.

<sup>41</sup> Both countries were providing mutual support for the liberation of the "fatherland". The dream of returning to Constantinople represented for the Greek people the same significant element in the development of national identity as the Kosovo myth for the Serbs. Characteristic examples were the commemoration of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Athens in 1889, while three years later, a Serbian politician and supporter of good Serbian-Greek relations, Čedomilj Mijatović, published a book about the capture of Byzantium's capital. In this work, he emphasized the historical right and continuity of the Greeks in this city, while in the preface he expressed the opinion that "Constantinople may soon again change hands": Čedomilj Mijatović, *Constantine, the Last Emperor of the Greeks, or, the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (A. D. 1453). After the Last Historical Researches*, London 1892, XII.

<sup>42</sup> *Дневни лист*, No. 47, 27 February 1897, 1.

it was suggested that a landing operation at Thessaloniki was the only way to end the war victoriously.

The newspaper *Srpska zastava* was mostly conveying news from the Parisian paper *Nord*, which had similar ideological beliefs. During the war itself, reports about the events were more infrequent and shorter than in other newspapers (not only due to not so frequent publishing but also due to the very nature of the paper), nevertheless, many metaphors from ancient Greek mythology were used. At the party conference of the Liberals on April 17, the friendship of the Serbians with the Turks was pointed out: “with whom they were suppressing jointly even in Asia the invasions of the wild Tatars under the leadership of Timur”.<sup>43</sup> As the situation on the front benefitted the Turks, the *Srpska zastava* began to use metaphors such as: “If Themistocles, Miltiades or Epaminondas himself rose up at this moment, they would have done nothing more successfully”.<sup>44</sup> Characteristic is the title of the article: “May God help them”.<sup>45</sup> The same newspaper conveyed news about the Montenegrin soldiers, who took part in the international gendarmerie in Crete, reporting their bravery in protecting Christians in the suburbs of Halepa (present-day Chania).<sup>46</sup>

The *Dnevni list* (a newspaper close to the People’s Radical Party and thus to the government)<sup>47</sup> was emphasizing Serbian requests such as the restoration of the Serbian church in Turkey – the Serbian exarchate or the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć, the question of recognition of the Serbian nation, the appointment of a Serbian bishop in Skopje, the undisturbed opening of Serbian schools, and even the establishment of a Serbian gendarmerie for defense against Arnauts. The Serbian loyalty to Turkey since 1878 was pointed out as an argument. In case Turkey would not support the Serbian requests, an opinion was expressed that Serbia would protect its interests by itself or “in alliance with Montenegro and Bulgaria”. The word *war* was successfully avoided in the articles, while the journalists were using terms such as the “abandonment of peaceful politics toward Turkey”.<sup>48</sup> Criticism was also addressed to the Great Powers because of their policy towards the Balkans: “Peace and the serenity of the Balkan states depend on their wisdom, and therefore peace and the serenity of their own”.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> *Srpska zastava*, No. 44, 17 April 1897, 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 51, 3 May 1897, 1.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 46, 22 April 1897, 1.

<sup>46</sup> „Црногорци на Криту“, *Дневни лист*, No. 36, 13 February 1897, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Ј. Д. Митровић, *Грађа за историју и библиографију*, 33; М. Кисић, Б. Булатовић, *Српска штампа*, 102.

<sup>48</sup> „Србија и Турска“, *Дневни лист*, No. 43[!], 11 February 1897, 1.

<sup>49</sup> „Грчко уједињење“, *Дневни лист*, No. 27, 2 February 1897, 1.

In the issue of February 20, a letter from Thessaloniki was published, detailing the celebration of St. Sava in the Serbian school in that city and the successes of the local Serbian community. Bulgarian propaganda in the area was presented in the most negative light, stating that the ongoing Greek-Turkish conflict “could solve these problems of the Serbian community”.<sup>50</sup> After the outbreak of hostilities, i.e. the crossing of the Greek irregular forces into Thessaly, the Western press reported daily, but without special authors’ reviews. This was indicative during the interview with the Greek Crown Prince for a Russian newspaper, when it was emphasized that the future of Greece lay in Macedonia, while the word *Macedonia* was every time italicized.<sup>51</sup>

After the *Srpska zastava* published an article by Jovan Ristić, stating it would be wise to send a mission of great authority to Constantinople, a large number of newspapers recognized the personality of King Milan in these words. From that point on, writings of the newspapers close to the government and the Radical Party were pointing out this view and the Greek-Turkish war became a topic of secondary importance. It should be noted that *Dnevni List* and other newspapers close to the Radical Party stopped informing their readers about the Cretan crisis before the municipal elections in March 1897, which was not the case with other newspapers.

## Conclusion

The image of Serbians and Serbia in the period from the first liberation struggles until the Treaty of Berlin in the Greek press was largely positive. The uprising of 1804 did not lead to the complete liberation of the Serbian territory, but it had a great resonance in the Balkans, which was still under Ottoman rule. The Serbian people came in a privileged position over the other Balkan countries, and at the same time, the uprising participants were characterized as good and strong warriors, which in fact represented a well-established impression of Serbians in Greek public opinion. However, to a lesser extent, some newspapers did not express such a positive opinion about the Serbian side, of which were mostly those published in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, as well as those which did not favor a monarchy or openly supported joint action with the Serbians against the Ottomans, which was in contrast with King Milan’s pacifist efforts.

---

<sup>50</sup> „Писмо из Солуна“, *Дневни лист*, No. 42, 20 February 1897, 3.

<sup>51</sup> „Разговор са грчким престолонаследником“, *Дневни лист*, No. 74, 1 April 1897, 2.

The situation changed to a certain extent in 1878, when Belgrade, which took on the role of a representative not only of the Serbian people but of all the South Slavs in the Balkans, was defeated diplomatically by the decision of the Berlin Congress about the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A focus was placed on the Macedonian territories “left behind” by Turkey and Serbia began to look at Greece, its ally in the fight against the Sultan, with another eye and with a greater dose of antagonism. But even then, despite all the unrest in Serbian-Greek relations, the idea of an alliance that culminated in the Balkan Wars survived.

On the other hand, the Serbian press that was reporting on the Greek-Turkish conflict over Thessaly and Epirus and the war of 1897 was burdened with the image of non-participation of the Kingdom of Greece in the wars of 1876–1878. Newspaper articles generally supported the Greeks in their struggle for liberation, but did not fail to emphasize the inactivity of the Greek Kingdom during the previous period. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople became crucial to the demarcation of the Serbian and Bulgarian churches and political newspapers in the Serbian language had an even more critical attitude towards the Greek side in the war of 1897. The *Glas Crnogorca* from Cetinje represented the exception following the official policy of the Principality of Montenegro, which always advocated the weakening of the Ottoman Empire. It is important to emphasize that both conflicts coincided chronologically with the elections in the Kingdom of Serbia, which further contributed to the weaker interest of the press in the events in the south of the Balkan Peninsula.

## ЛИСТА РЕФЕРЕНЦИ – LIST OF REFERENCES

### Новине – Newspapers

- Άγγελος [Angelos], 1876.  
Αθήνα [Athena], 1862.  
Αιών [Aion], 1875–1876.  
Αλήθεια [Alithia], 1878.  
Αριστοφάνης [Aristophanes], 1876.  
Αυγή [Avgi], 1862.  
Дневни лист [Dnevni list], 1897.  
Ένωσις [Enosis], 1862.  
Ερμής [Hermes], 1876.  
Φως [Fos], 1862, 1875–1876.  
Глас Црногорца [Glas Crnogorca], 1881.  
Самοуправа [Samouprava], 1881.  
Српска застава [Srpska zastava], 1897.  
Βιδελο [Videlo], 1881.  
Застава [Zastava], 1881.

### Λитεράτυρα – Secondary Sources

Gounaris, Basil K., *Τα Βαλκάνια των Ελλήνων: Από το Διαφωτισμό έως τον Α΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο* [Balkans of the Hellenes: from Enlightenment to World War I], Athens 2007.

Karadimou-Gerolymprou, Aleka, “Ο Ερμής του Σ. Γκαρπολά” [The Hermes of S. Gkarbola], *Καθημερινή* [Kathimerini], supplement “Ιστορία του Τύπου της Θεσσαλονίκης” [History of the Press in Thessaloniki], No. 2–32, 26 February 1995, 10–12.

Lascaris, Michael, *Το Ανατολικόν Ζήτημα, 1800–1923, τόμ. Α΄: 1800–1878* [The Eastern Question, 1800–1923, vol. 1: 1800–1878], Thessaloniki 1948.

Lascaris, S. T., *Διπλωματική ιστορία της Ελλάδος, 1821–1914* [Diplomatic History of Greece, 1821–1914], Athens 1947.

Margaritis, Giorgos ... [et al.], *Ελληνική ιστορία, τόμος Γ΄: νεότερη και σύγχρονη ελληνική ιστορία* [Greek History, vol. 3: Modern and Contemporary Greek History], Patras 1999.

Mastoridis, Klimis, “Τυπογραφικοί πειραματισμοί στην ελληνική εφημερίδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα” [Typographic Experiments in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Greek Newspapers], in: *Ο ελληνικός τύπος, 1784 ως σήμερα. Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις* [The Greek Press, 1784 until Today. Historic and Theoretical Approaches], ed. Loukia Droulia, Athens 2005, 185–190.

Mazower, Mark, *Τα Βαλκάνια* [The Balkans], trans. Kostas Kouremenos, Athens 2003.

Mijatović, Čedomilj, *Constantine, the Last Emperor of the Greeks, or, the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (A. D. 1453). After the Last Historical Researches*, London 1892.

Papalexandrou, K. T., “Τύπος και τυπογραφία” [Press and Typography], in: *Μεγάλη ελληνική εγκυκλοπαίδεια* [Great Greek Encyclopedia], vol. 10, ed. Pavlos Drandakis, Athens 1934, 1032–1044.

Sfoini, Alexandra, “Η γλώσσα των εφημεριδών” [The Language of Newspapers], in: *Ο ελληνικός τύπος, 1784 ως σήμερα. Ιστορικές και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις* [The Greek Press, 1784 until Today. Historic and Theoretical Approaches], ed. Loukia Droulia, Athens 2005, 100–103.

Tomanas, Kostas, *Χρονικό της Θεσσαλονίκης (1875–1920)* [Chronicle of Thessaloniki (1875–1920)], Thessaloniki 1995.

Tomašević, Jasmina, “Σερβο-ελληνικές σχέσεις από τους απελευθερωτικούς αγώνες μέχρι τον Α΄ Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο: πολιτικά και κοινωνικά δεδομένα” [Serbian-Greek relations from the liberation struggles to the First World War: political and social data], *Βαλκανικά Σύμμεικτα* [Balkan Studies], 20 (2021), 115–137.

Бјелица, Михаило, *Историја новинарства*, Београд 1995. [Bjelica, Mihailo, *Istorija novinarstva*, Beograd 1995]

Кисић, Милица, Булатовић, Бранка, *Српска штампа: 1768–1995*, Београд 1996. [Kisić, Milica, Bulatović, Branka, *Srpska štampa: 1768–1995*, Beograd 1996]

Хасиотис, Лукијанос, *Српско-грчки односи 1913–1918. Савезничке предности и политичка ривалства*, прев. Јасмина Томашевић, Нови Сад 2017. [Hasiotis, Lukijanós, *Srpsko-grčki odnosi 1913–1918. Savezničke prednosti i politička rivalstva*, prev. Jasmina Tomašević, Novi Sad 2017]

Љушић, Радош, *Димитрије Давидовић (1789–1838): оријентални новинар, европски политичар*, Београд 2013. [Ljušić, Radoš, *Dimitrije Davidović (1789–1838): orijentalni novinar, evropski političar*, Beograd 2013]

Митровић, Јеремија Д., *Грађа за историју и библиографију српске периодике до 1920. године*, Београд 1984. [Mitrović, Jeremija D., *Građa za istoriju i bibliografiju srpske periodike do 1920. godine*, Beograd 1984]

Терзић, Славенко, *Србија и Грчка (1868–1903): борба за Балкан*, Београд 1992. [Terzić, Slavenko, *Srbija i Grčka (1868–1903): borba za Balkan*, Beograd 1992]



**Јасмина И. ТОМАШЕВИЋ, Немања М. КАЛЕЗИЋ**

## **БОРБА ЗА НЕЗАВИСНОСТ: СРБИЈА И ГРЧКА У ОГЛЕДАЛУ ШТАМПЕ У ПОСЛЕДЊИМ ДЕЦЕНИЈАМА XIX ВЕКА**

### **Резиме**

Србија и Грчка су се ослободилачким ратовима и постизањем аутономије истакле као значајни политички чиниоци на Балкану. Све осетнијим слабењем Османског царства јавила се могућност за ослобођењем већег броја територија, па су се и српско-грчки односи формирали око идеје о балканском савезништву. Обе земље су будно мотриле напоре друге стране у покушају да се прошири на рачун Турске. О тим догађајима је штампа редовно извештавала своје читаоце, доприносићи формирању једне опште слике о „братском“ народу у српском и у грчком друштву. Вести су се преносиле углавном у краћој форми, док је током каснијег периода који се обрађује у овом раду примећено да су дописници понекад у њима износили и своје личне ставове. Слика Србије је у листовима на грчком језику била у највећој мери позитивна. Описиване су њене „херојске“ борбе против Турака, док су Срби окарактерисани као „снажни“ и „храбри“ ратници. Сасвим очекивано, исто се не би могло рећи и за приказ Османског царства и локалних муслимана који су „варвари“ и „кукавице“. Поједина одступања од уопштено добре слике представљају листови (углавном антимонархистички настројени) који су отворено критиковали одсуство српске реакције током устанка у Херцеговини, као и Миланове пацифистичке говоре у Скупштини. Ни штампа под политичком цензуром из области које су се још увек налазиле под турском влашћу није могла да има према Србима другачији тон. Ипак, и у таквим новинама, какав је био и *Хермес* из Солуна, уочени су покушаји уредништва да пренесе праву поруку одабиром чланака из стране штампе, у којима Турци нису приказивани у најбољем светлу. С друге стране, Грчка је представљена као земља, са којом је – како је карактеристично забележио један српски лист – „дељена иста судбина“. У том духу је прављена компарација грчке праведне борбе за Цариград, као и српске за Косово, два историјска места која представљају битан елемент у развоју националне свести оба народа. Грчко-турске конфликте су будно пратили листови који су уједно били и гласила првих политичких странака. Припајање Тесалије и Епира је углавном повољно коментарисано, док се „грчка ствар“ истицала праведном, у чему је посебно предњачио лист *Глас Црногорца* са Цетиња. Као и у обрнутом случају, ни у српској штампи није изостао утисак да Грчка није узела учешћа у Српско-турским ратовима. Ипак, и поред обостраних замерања у појединим тренуцима због уздржаности друге стране, као и антагонизма који се јавио услед надметања за турско наслеђе у Европи, идеја о савезништву – која је кулминирала у Балканским ратовима – је преживела.

*Оригиналан научни рад*

Примљен: 31.03.2022.

Коначно прихваћен за објављивање: 06.09.2022.