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THE CONTRIBUTION OF FIRST TEACHERS OF FRENCH AT PETROVIĆ'S COURT TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY AND THE AFFIRMATION OF MONTENEGRO IN EUROPE

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ABSTRACT

The paper explores the role and contribution of the first foreign teachers of French in Montenegro, to their students/rulers – last three sovereigns of the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty, to Montenegrin society as a whole and to the affirmation of Montenegro in Europe. The paper chronologically relates to the period of rule of Petar II Petrović- Njegoš, Danilo I and Nikola I, to whom the aforementioned Romance language instructors did not transfer merely a knowledge of language, but also much other substance formed from different views and perspectives on the world, thus contributing to the emancipation of Montenegrin society. Through their efforts to modernise Montenegro and strengthen its sovereignty, as well as their publications and political engagement during events critical to Montenegrin history, they contributed to its reputation and popularisation throughout Europe. The research is based on facts found by studying archive and library materials, and on analysis of periodical publications, travel writings, and documents of a memoir/autobiographical character, which significantly contributes to the originality of the article, where the conclusions of the new analysis are presented and represent a significant contribution to the findings published so far.

Key words: Montenegro, 19th century, Montenegrin rulers, teachers of French, travel writing, autoethnography, branding

IL CONTRIBUTO DEI PRIMI INSEGNANTI DI FRANCESE ALLA CORTE DEI PETROVIĆ ALLA TRASFORMAZIONE DELLA SOCIETÀ E L'AFFERMAZIONE DEL MONTENEGRO IN EUROPA

SINTESI

L'articolo indaga il ruolo e il contributo dei primi insegnanti di lingua francese straniera nel Montenegro ai loro studenti-sovrani - gli ultimi tre sovrani della dinastia Petrović-Njegoš alla società montenegrina nel suo insieme e all'affermazione del Montenegro in Europa. L'opera è cronologicamente legata al periodo di governo degli ultimi

tre sovrani della dinastia Petrović Njegoš, a cui questi romanzieri non trasferiscono esclusivamente conoscenze linguistiche, ma anche altri numerosi contenuti plasmati da atteggiamenti e visioni del mondo differenti, contribuendo alla emancipazione della società montenegrina. Attraverso il loro impegno per la modernizzazione e la sovranità del Montenegro, attraverso le loro pubblicazioni e l'impegno politico in eventi chiave della storia montenegrina, hanno contribuito alla sua reputazione e divulgazione in Europa. La ricerca si basa su fatti ottenuti attraverso lo studio di materiali archivistici e librari, periodici e memorie di carattere autobiografico. L'originalità è rappresentata dall'analisi di alcune pubblicazioni periodiche e documenti di carattere commemorativo o carattere autobiografico, non ancora analizzato. Le conclusioni della nuova analisi sono presentate per la prima volta in questo articolo e rappresentano un importante aggiornamento dei risultati finora pubblicati.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, XIX secolo, sovrani montenegrini, insegnanti di lingua francese, scrittura di viaggio, autoetnografia, branding

INTRODUCTION

This article¹ focuses on autoethnographic texts, analysed from the perspective that reveals the social and diplomatic contribution of the first foreign teachers of French at Petrović's court in Montenegro in the second half of the 19th century. Referring to publications of which two are signed by French language teachers Henri Delarue and Charles Emile Piguet in which their thorough knowledge of Montenegrin reality is demonstrated, the article emphasizes the specific circumstances under which these foreign intellectuals came to Montenegro, and presents the characteristic environment in which they built their relations with Montenegrin rulers and members of their families. The permeation and intertwining of these relations based on mutual trust took place primarily through the French language and almost always resulted in joint action, with the aim of strengthening and affirming Montenegro in the international arena.

As an independent state, Montenegro was recognized in 1878 at the Berlin Congress. However, at the end of the First World War, when Montenegro was

1 The article was partly written within the framework of a scientific research project cooperation between Slovenia and Montenegro entitled Cultural Tourism as a Tool for Sustainable Development of Rural Areas no. "BI-ME / 21-22-020" funded by Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

annexed to Serbia within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the great powers, led by France, were not in favor of preserving its independence. After the restoration of Montenegrin independence in 2006, this fact had a negative impact on the interest in studying the French language in Montenegro, especially in those parts of Montenegro where, like the former capital of Cetinje, the spirit of radical sovereignty was expressed (Jovanović, 2017, 114). In this context, the intention of the authors is to draw readers' attention to the first Francophone teachers in Montenegro and to their efforts in the processes of deciding on Montenegro's borders.

Firstly, a short description of Montenegro in the 1830s is needed. At that time, the Old Montenegro without any towns, had a population of 100,000 (Milaković, 1835, 48), and it was confined to a karst territory of no more than 3,000km². Grémaux (1984, 673) described it as "curious segmentary tribal society of peasant-pastoralists". Due to its position, it was under the crucial influence of three big empires: Turkey, Austria and Russia (Savić-Rebac, 1957/2020). With still undefined borders, the principles of European and national law were not applied to Montenegro in international relationships. Montenegro's capital Cetinje, situated at the foot of the Mount Lovćen, consisted of around a dozen of scattered thatched houses. There was also a fortified monastery, in which Prince-Bishop Petar II Petrović, a poet and philosopher (1830–1851), resided.

To such an *exotic* environment (Knežević & Minić, 2019, 147), remote from major European cultural centres, the Prince-Bishop brought from Trieste Antide Jaume, a teacher of French, justifying his wish to learn the language by the increasing number of visits of foreigners and the need to communicate outside of his country (Milović, 1964, 56). With the help of his instructor who also became his loyal friend and ideological advisor, Njegoš managed to acquire a good command of diplomatic language (Nenadović, 1998, 307), which facilitated for him numerous convocations and influence on elite literary as well as political circles in Austria, Russia and Italy. With Jaume's assistance, Njegoš started to read great works of world literature translated into French (Kilibarda & Knežević, 2017, 26) and discuss Voltaire's works, translate Lamartine's verses (Stojanović, 1928, 56), and learn how to play billiards and chess (Jovanović, 2016, 36–38).

His heir, Prince Danilo I (1851–1860), also needed to learn French to draw the attention of Europeans to the thankless position of his country and the need for its international recognition. That is why in 1856, on the recommendation of Hyacinthe Hecquart, a French consul in Shkodër, and after being talked into it by his educated and energetic wife Darinka Kvekić, originally from Trieste, Njegoš invited to Montenegro a French secondary school professor, Henri Delarue, who taught him French until 1859 while working also as his secretary. Delarue took part in the Battle of Grahovac in May 1858, which brought Montenegro *de facto* sovereignty.

Contrary to his predecessors, the Montenegrin Prince/King² Nikola I (1860–1918) had the privilege not just to learn French in Paris, where he obtained his education, but also to govern a state that gained official international recognition. The population of Cetinje rose to some 1,500 and the smallest European capital was gradually beginning to look like a small town (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1; Andrijašević, 2013, 197). The Montenegrin sovereign was not only a francophone, but also a Francophile, a connoisseur and admirer of French Romantic era literature who also tried his hand at translating it.³ To his newly built court he brought a Swiss teacher for his sons, Charles Emile Piguet, who stayed in Cetinje during the last two decades of the 19th century. As a true devotee to Montenegro, he made it beholden by representing its interests in Switzerland, working for the affirmation of its sovereignty.

French-Montenegrin foreign-political relations in the mentioned period occupied the attention of some researchers, among which the historians Dimitrije Vujović, Andrija Lainović, and the philologist Krunoslav Spasić stand out (Cf.: Spasić, 1988; Vujović, 1971; Lainović, 1956). One of the most important experts in Njegoš's life and oeuvre Jevto Milović dedicated a large part of his research work to collecting materials about Peter II Petrović Njegoš and his period of life in the Zadar archives. Milović's works describing the arrival and stay of Njegoš's French teacher Antide Jaume in Montenegro were a valuable source for writing this paper, since this is a period for which an insignificant number of travelogues were available. One of the authors of this paper studied and systematically presented, in a bilingual monograph entitled *French Language and Culture in Montenegro (1830–1914)*, the study and knowledge of French in the former Montenegro, where attention is drawn to the pronounced presence of French *art de vivre* in Petrović's court (Jovanović, 2016).

Relying on the historical facts presented in the mentioned publication, the primary sources for this research were autoethnographic texts (memoirs, diaries, travel writing texts) written by foreigners and French educators travelling around Montenegro almost two centuries ago. Among the sources analysed for this paper are until now unanalyzed memoirs of two of the three Francophone pedagogues: a memoir by the French teacher and court secretary Henri Delarue published in Paris in 1862 and a Swiss court preceptor Charles Emile Piguet dating from 1905. This paper additionally illustrates the work of the first French teachers in Montenegro by numerous observations of their contemporaries, including the Swiss writer and painter William Ritter and his almost unknown work of exceptional literary value written in French in 1895, as well as the autobiographical work of the famous Serbian writer Simo Matavulj, who, in addition to ethnographic facts, is rich in specific humour. There are also numerous observations by those authors whose works are primarily of documentary

2 Prince Nikola was proclaimed king in 1910.

3 In addition to translating lyrical poems occasionally, Prince/King Nikola I also adapted from French the prose tale *Les aventures du dernier Abencérage* by the French Romantic author René de Chateaubriand in 1888.

value, such as the writings of French archaeologist F. Lenormant, Italian botanist B. Biazioletto, French physician A. Boulogne and German travel writers H. Stieglitz, J.G. Kohl and G. Rasch.

In these texts the relationship of their experiences and stories to culture and cultural practices are highlighted (Holman Jones et al., 2016). Some of the writers decided to include into their publications a critique of the circumstances they encountered. In addition to representing valuable knowledge of the past, they are also valuable ethnological, historical and anthropological sources (Kavrečič, 2011) that express various views (Alú & Hill, 2018). According to Holman Jones et al. (2016, 38), they act “as a mirror or reflection of life and living in ways that are useful for contemplation”. All the analyzed texts have in common that they are “about the experience of travel and visits to ‘other’ places” (Robinson, 2004, 303). Through qualitative analysis of these autoethnographic texts, information on beliefs, commonly practiced behaviors, cultural values, social trends (Holman Jones et al., 2016), and political circumstances are provided. Based on that the contribution of the first foreign teachers of French at Petrović’s court to social and diplomatic development of Montenegro in the second half of the 19th century is evaluated.

The research approach in this paper is qualitative as it is based on a deeper understanding and analysis of documents from the past. Having in mind the historical background of the work, we used the historical method to illustrate the Montenegrin reality of the 19th century, more precisely the period related to the rule of the last three sovereigns from the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty. The original documentation in the paper is presented by the descriptive method, while the observation and comparison of autoethnographic records try to look at the phenomena and issues analyzed in the paper.

ANTIDE JAUME, NJEGOŠ’S TEACHER OF FRENCH

Despite gaining his education sporadically and unsystematically, and despite the fact that he grew up in scarcity in an area without any primary schools, the Montenegrin poet and prince-bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851) was able to speak and write in several languages (Banašević, 1929, 193). Since the neighboring areas were under the governance of the Republic of Venice until 1797, and Austria during his lifetime, the Prince-Bishop learned Italian and German. However, he had the best command of Russian, probably because of its similarities to his native tongue. Nevertheless, of all languages of which he had a good command, Njegoš spent most of his time and money on learning French (Jovanović, 2016, 30).

The biggest credit for Njegoš’s good command of French is undoubtedly due to the unusual French teacher Antide Jaume, whom Njegoš met in Trieste in July 1837 after returning from Saint Petersburg. Njegoš came into contact with him following the recommendation from the French Consul in Trieste, Colonel André Nicolas Levasseur, who took the position from the French novelist Stendhal. Jaume, who

was originally from Tarascon in southern France, had been living in Trieste for three years, making a living by giving private French lessons. He was married to Francesca Bortolotti, a Triestina of Slovenian origin. Jaume also gave French lessons to Njegoš, who was satisfied with Jaume's teaching, and invited him to travel to Cetinje for a period of two years for a high fee of one gold coin per day (Milović, 1964, 54).

During the period in question, it was not easy to get papers and enter Montenegro. Due to the suspicion of the Austrians that he was a revolutionary and a political agent (Milović, 1964, 53), Jaume, accompanied by Francesca, experienced difficulties in obtaining permits and visas for his stay in Montenegro, and decided to enter it illegally. In December 1837, Jaume and Francesca obtained passports from the French Consulate in Trieste that allowed them to go to Shkodër via Kotor. Jaume had told the Trieste police that he was going to Kotor to visit his wife's family, and after that to Shkodër to deliver confidential letters from Paris to the French consul (Kolendić, 1948, 242).

Jaume and his wife Francesca came to Kotor by ship from Trieste on 2 January 1838. Because of Francesca's health problems and the cold climate in Cetinje, Jaume managed to arrange temporary accommodation for his wife in Kotor, in Austrian territory, where they stayed in the distinguished house of the Austrian Court President Karl Zirk, giving private lessons to his children in return for their accommodation and food (Milović, 1964, 52).

When Jaume came from Kotor to Cetinje following a narrow, steep and meandering path on 22 January 1838, he was 35 years old (Milović, 1964, 52). In the Cetinje plain, surrounded by the karst slopes of the Lovćen mountains, he found a settlement consisting of a monastery on a hill and a few stone houses. In this frugal environment providing no comfort, Jaume managed in just a couple of weeks to make friends with the Montenegrin ruler, who started to count on his teacher by confiding to him and asking him for advice (Spasić, 1988, 45).

In his reports, the Austrian Chief Magistrate of Kotor Ivačić claimed that Njegoš began to immediately introduce reforms to his court, under Jaume's influence. Despite opposition from the Montenegrin chieftains, Njegoš moved from the monastery, which had been the residence of Montenegrin prince-bishops for centuries, to a newly built residence called *Biljarda* (Milović, 1951, 4). The building, which was built in less than a year, was finished during Jaume's stay in Cetinje. The new court, or rather the new house as it was called in the beginning, was built with financial support from Russia in accordance with the plans provided by the Russian emissary Jakov Nikolajevič Ozeretskovsky. In addition to the three rooms used by Njegoš from autumn 1838 for his residence and for receiving guests, this elongated one-storeyed building painted in white also housed the first school, offices of the Montenegrin Senate established by Njegoš, and a printing house. The name of this building, which reminded some travel writers of a hangar (Lenorman, 2002, 41; Lekić, 1982, 69), and others of a military post (Štiglic, 2004, 113) or fortress (Raš, 2001, 41) comes from the deep impression made on people's imagination by the importing and setting up of the first billiard table, which was not easy to carry on

the steep and impracticable path from Kotor. Njegoš ordered the table in Vienna in 1839, so as to place it in the central room of his residence, probably after his teacher of French, Antide Jaume, taught him how to play this game (Milović, 1964, 67).

In the 19th century, billiards⁴ was a very popular game in France, where many billiard clubs existed. The origin of the game is linked to the French King Louis XI who due to his back pain and inability to play cricket on grass, which was very popular at the time, commissioned an artist carpenter working with ebony, Henri de Vigne, in 1469 to make the first billiard table, which he then used to decorate his Bastille palace. The French form of billiards without pockets practiced by Njegoš is called Carambole⁵ after a red ball that is used for the game in addition to cues and two other balls.

When describing the situation found at the residence in 1840, the German writer Heinrich Stieglitz talks about billiards as the only form of entertainment for Njegoš's tribal members in the gloomy atmosphere in Cetinje at the time:

While I was walking down a narrow corridor, I met everywhere armed men, and through an open door of a larger chamber I saw several senators with short fur coats thrown over their shoulders playing billiards. The eyes of the ones standing around and observing the game were moving left and right faster than the balls on the table, and with their energetic gestures they were following and commenting on the quick moves of both of the players, making it look like a real war was going on (Štiglic, 2004, 85).

That year, the English travel writer and Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson visited the Prince-Bishop at his court. In his texts, he referred in particular to the hall where the billiard table stood:

Exits from all chambers lead to a single long corridor with the Prince-Bishop's rooms situated at its end. The most impressive of them is the billiard hall that also serves as a hall for holding audiences, dining hall and a reception room. The walls of the billiard hall are decorated with rifles and other weaponry. The Prince-Bishop adores both playing billiards and observing others playing it. Some of his guardsmen or his adjutant often entertain him with their skills (Raš, 2001, 47).

Even rare memories of the Prince-Bishop in the memoirs of Prince/King Nikola I, who ruled Montenegro from 1860, are related to billiards. As Njegoš forbade children to watch the game, little Nikola, whose 'greatest joy was to enter the billiard saloon', hid under the billiard table on one occasion fearing he would get caught (Bogdanović, 2013, 220).

4 From French *bille*: a ball made of hard material, from the 16th century the ball used for billiards.

5 The word *Carambole* comes from Portuguese and refers to an exotic fruit of a round shape and purple colour.

Apart from these testimonies, we can also add that the billiard hall was decorated with a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte (Kol, 2005, 90) whose reforms and code were admired by the Prince-Bishop. Moreover, in his personal notebook *Bilježnica* (Jovanović, 2015) there are 25 pages of verses of French Romantic poets written down by Njegoš, including the following verses of Victor Hugo dedicated to Napoleon:

*Toujours Napoléon, éblouissant et sombre,
Sur le seuil du siècle est debout (Les Orientales)*⁶

*Napoleon, ce Dieu dont tu seras le prêtre. (Les Feuilles d'automne)*⁷

*D'être Napoléon, l'empereur radieux (Les Feuilles d'automne)*⁸

In addition to billiards, a game previously unknown to the Montenegrins, it is also believed that Jaume taught the Prince-Bishop to play chess (Milović, 1964, 67). Nevertheless, in the testimonies of foreign travellers no reference was found to any of them seeing him sitting at a chess board.

Furthermore, it seems that the Prince-Bishop started to wear civilian clothes after being talked into it by his teacher of French. 'Despite being a religious leader, he rarely wore bishop's apparel...' wrote Guillaume Depping in 1853 in his comments in the French magazine *Illustration* (Spasić, 1988, 217). Another text under the pen of the German writer Johan Georg Kohl, who met Njegoš in Cetinje in 1851, contains the following description of the Prince-Bishop:

He wore an Italian broad-brimmed straw hat, tight black silk uniform, light black silk cassock thrown over his back, and had a nice long stick in his hand. He did not look to me like a prince-bishop or ruler of heroic mountain people, but more like a Venetian patrician or (because of his shallow straw hat) rich Spanish plantation owner from South America (Kol, 2005, 123).



Fig. 1: Njegoš and the billiard table at Biljarda (Drawing by Mr Henry Layard, an English travel writer who visited Billiards in 1839. It is in a private collection in Paris).

6 Always Napoleon, both dazzling and sombre, Is standing at the threshold of this century (Les Orientales).

7 Napoleon, that God whose priest you will be (Autumn Leaves).

8 To be Napoleon, the dazzling emperor (Autumn Leaves) (Jovanović, 2015, 40, 44).

After a smaller house was built at the end of May 1838 near the Cetinje Monastery for the Jaumes (Bjazolet, 2004, 77), Antide's wife moved from Kotor to live in Montenegro. Based on a report from the Austrian police, which kept Njegoš's official correspondence under surveillance, it is clear that Antide and Francesca were well-informed of Njegoš's affairs and official correspondence. The Austrians pointed out that Jaume praised Montenegro in his correspondence, that he was loyal to revolutionary ideas, and hostile to the Austrian authorities (Milović, 1964, 57). Considered a spy, Jaume was mentioned in the Austrian newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 26 September 1838, where his strong influence on the ruler of Montenegro was brought up in a negative context (Milović, 1964, 60). It should be noted that Jaume's stay in Montenegro took place during the period of intensive work of a committee for the boundary demarcation between Austria and Montenegro, to which Njegoš often expressed objections. With the Protocol on the Border Line, established without the mediation of the Ottoman authorities, signed in July 1841 Austria as the first European country recognised Montenegro's sovereignty (Rastoder et al., 2006, 226).

In March 1839, the first disputes arose between Njegoš and Jaume, who asked for a pay rise, which Njegoš refused. Jaume left Montenegro in July of that year together with his wife and took an Austrian steamship from Kotor to Zadar after going through considerable back and forth to obtain an Austrian return visa. With Njegoš's recommendation to the Russian court (Milović, 1964, 54) Antide and Francesca went via Trieste and Vienna to Russia, where Jaume continued to teach French in Kiev after passing a professor's exam (Milović, 1964, 65–66).

THE FRENCHMAN HENRI DELARUE AT PRINCE DANILO I'S COURT

After Njegoš passed away in 1851, Prince Danilo I took over the Montenegrin throne. He ruled to August 1860, when he was mortally wounded by an assassin in Kotor. Contrary to his predecessors in terms of foreign affairs, the sovereign of Montenegro turned to France, which had strengthened its position in Europe by defeating Russia, the biggest ally and protector of Montenegro up until then, in the Crimean War. An important role in the pro-French orientation of Montenegro during the period was also played by the Prince's wife Darinka (Cf.: Vujović, 1968). Due to her excellent command of the French language and European manners, the newly appointed French consul in Shkodër Hyacinthe Hecquart, who was also accredited for Montenegro, was especially fond of the Princess (Lainović, 1956, 200). As an experienced diplomat, Hecquart became well acquainted with Montenegro during his mission, popularising it in Europe in his scholarly articles published in prestigious French scholarly journals.⁹

Following the example of his predecessor, the Montenegrin ruler decided to start learning French, which is why he looked for someone to teach him at the end of 1855.

9 Les Wassoevitch, tribu habitant la Haute Albanie, *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies* (1857), Mémoire sur le Monténégro, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1856.

Upon the recommendation of the French consul in Shkodër, Henri Delarue, came to Montenegro where he became the Prince's business secretary and a great and loyal friend of Princess Darinka (Davril, 2003, 7–8).

Henri Delarue was a professor from the renowned French Collège de Juilly, a royal academy situated in the vicinity of Paris and established in 1638, which, at the time, promoted very avant-garde teaching methods that prioritised understanding the learning content rather than mere memorising in their work with students. As the son of a physician, he first studied at the École Polytechnique with an ambition to serve in the navy, and later worked as an accountant at the Longitudes Bureau at the Paris Observatory (Davril, 2003, 7). The French diplomat, writer and Slavist Adolphe d'Avril (signed under the pseudonym Cyrille), who knew Delarue well, stated that he was endowed with a strong physical constitution, which certainly made him suitable for travelling to the harsh Balkans (Davril, 2003, 5).

Henri Delarue came to Cetinje via Shkodër in 1856 and he stayed in Montenegro for three years. In order to prove to Europe that it should recognise the sovereignty of Montenegro, he initiated, acting as Prince's secretary, a visit to Paris in 1857, during which he accompanied the Prince and Princess. The French Emperor Napoleon III received the Montenegrin ruler several times in a special audience and promised full support in the protection of Montenegrin interests (Lainović, 2007a, 258; Lainović, 1932, 12).

In 1862, Delarue's book titled *Le Monténégro (histoire, descriptions, mœurs, usageI.)*, which is a significant source of Montenegro's history, was printed in Paris. That same year this testimony of Delarue's stay in Montenegro was published also in the French journal *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algerie et des Colonies*. The book was translated and published in Montenegro in 2003 under the title *Crna Gora – istorija, opis, naravi, običaji, zakonodavstvo, političko uređenje, zvanična dokumenta i spisi*.¹⁰

In the first part of his book, Delarue informs the reader of the specific position of Montenegro in the Balkans in relation to its neighbours in the light of fighting the Turkish enemy for five centuries. Considering that the Serbs who went over to the Turkish side (most of which live in Bosnia, according to him) were responsible for such a long existence of Turkish authority in the region, Delarue admires the courage of the small Montenegrin people to defend their religion and freedom, and calls them the moral leaders of the Serbian people. Despite the poverty, soil infertility and lack of roads, Delarue admires the work and diligence of the Montenegrins, their dignity, sociability, and especially their love for their country. He gives special credit to the last Montenegrin rulers from the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty, who were aware that the interest of the people was above tribal interests, and that the introduction of reforms gradually changing the customs was a necessity strengthening patriotism. According to Delarue, the establishment of the borderline between Montenegro and Austria in 1841 was the best proof of the persistence of the Montenegrin people in their fight for independence.

10 The book was translated by Marina Vukičević and published by CID – Podgorica (original title: Henri Delarue, *Le Monténégro*. Ed. B. Duprat. Paris, 1862).

In the second chapter of his book, Delarue gives a physical description of Montenegro, information on its climate, the physical appearance of its inhabitants and their daily lives. When observed from Lovćen, Montenegro reminds him of a rough rock sea made of a limestone skeleton being washed out by strong autumn and winter rain showers. Due to the porosity of the land, water from heavy rainfalls is not retained, making hilly Montenegro infertile and ravaged by constant famine. In his notes, Delarue is fascinated by numerous contrasts when it comes to Montenegro's landscape, but also its climate, which is harsh in the north, and mild on the outskirts of Lake Shkodër. Like other foreigners who have visited Montenegro, Delarue notices the physical appearance of its people, who he says are tall, strong and agile, yet forced to emigrate and flee from poverty despite their inborn survival characteristics.

The last two chapters of the book are dedicated to the history of Montenegro; the first one deals with the period from the middle of the 19th century and the death of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, while the second chapter covers the period of rule of Prince Danilo I and the pivotal Battle of Grahovac. Delarue points out that in the past, Russia and Austria were involved in the events taking place in Montenegro, but now France is starting to interfere after its success in the Crimean War and the appointment of the French consul in Shkodër, whose diplomatic intervention in the territorial demarcation with Turkey Delarue considers crucial to a positive outcome of the Montenegrin question. Referring to the historical facts confirming that rulers in Montenegro always inherited their throne by virtue of law and that Montenegro was never a Turkish enclave, Delarue in particular emphasizes the French involvement in the defense of Montenegro's interests.

The book also includes a map of Montenegro made by Delarue himself, and many other official documents: legal instruments on the boundary demarcation between Montenegro and Austria and Turkey, Minutes of the Paris Congress held in 1855, the Code of Montenegro, Notes on the health of the population. In his publication, Delarue provides details of the course of the Battle of Grahovac in which he took part, claiming also that he was partly responsible for its outcome. The supplement to the book contains also an article on this event published by the French newspaper *Moniteur* in May 1858. The famous battle against the Turks plotted the course of Montenegro's history, as the Great Powers de facto recognised its sovereignty in 1859 by marking its borders.

The invasion of Montenegrin territory that took place in May 1858 near the town of Grahovac, not far from the border with Herzegovina, was followed by a battle between the Turkish army of approximately 10,000 soldiers led by General Hussein Pasha and the Montenegrin army, which was almost half the size of the Turkish force, led by Prince Danilo's brother, Grand Duke Mirko Petrović. In order to avoid bloodshed after the fierce fighting that started on 11 May 1858, the Prince's secretary Henri Delarue asked Hussein Pasha to allow him to go on a four-hour walk to Klobuk, a Turkish fortress where the headquarters of the Turkish army and European consuls were located, to discuss a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The Turkish general decided to provide Delarue with an armed escort for his protection and asked him in return to notify the

Montenegrin commander in writing not to attack the Turkish camp while Delarue was away (Lenorman, 2002, 365). Delarue notified Duke Mirko Petrović, who was commander-in-chief, of his departure in French, but since Duke Petrović did not speak French, he sent the letter to Cetinje for translation. Having already taken key positions on the ground, the Montenegrins grasped the opportunity and completely surrounded their enemy during the night. They seized large amounts of weaponry and inflicted heavy losses on the Turkish troops. During an all-out firefight, the Montenegrin troops recognised the Prince's secretary Delarue and saved him by giving him a horse (Lenorman, 2002, 366). Montenegro's final victory was won on 13 May 1858.

The letter from Danilo I sent on 22 May 1858 to the French consul in Shkodër containing the information on the outcome of the Battle of Grahovac (Lenorman, 2002, 364–367) and many other articles published in the foreign press at the time emphasise the role of the French secretary Delarue in the outcome of the decisive battle for the independence of Montenegro (Jovanović, 2016, 103–104). In his preface to Delarue's book, A. d'Avril points out that Delarue impressed the Montenegrins by passing through rifle fire by repelling bullets with his hands, and Montenegrins produced a folk song about him in which they call him a grey falcon:

*Duke Mirko
calls his grey falcon,
by the name of Henri De la Rue,
the secretary of the noble prince:
who came from the city of Paris*

*'Delarue, my grey falcon!
Please go to the Turkish camp
And say hello to both Emperor's pashas
To come and surrender to me'
(Lainović, 2007b, 147)*

Henri Delarue left Cetinje after the boundary demarcation between Montenegro and Turkey took place in 1859. A good friend of his, the French consul in Shkodër, participated in delineating the borders in dispute. Delarue passed away in France at the age of 40 just before going on a visit to Montenegro on an invitation from Prince/King Nikola I (Delari, 2003, 10).

CHARLES EMILE PIGUET, A SWISS PRECEPTOR AT THE COURT OF PRINCE/KING NIKOLA I

From 1860, Montenegro was under the rule of Prince Danilo I's nephew Prince/King Nikola I who gained his education in Trieste and Paris. Nikola I ruled Montenegro for more than 50 years. He introduced many reforms and promoted the



Fig. 2: Map of Montenegro according to Henri Delarue, 1862, Paris (Anri Delari, Crna Gora, CID, Podgorica, 2003).

development of the smallest Balkan country, which gained international recognition and access to the high seas and doubled its territory in 1878. The village of Cetinje, which had a little over 60 houses in 1867 according to the French physician Boulogne (Bulunj, 2002, 29), was experiencing a building expansion and became a miniature capital to which the European countries started to send their diplomatic representatives. The Montenegrin court and intellectual elite was communicating in French, maintaining French manners and introducing French etiquette (Jovanović, 2016, 195–209). There are testimonies of certain foreigners staying in Cetinje during that period regarding the ‘Gallomania’ (obsession with everything that is French) at the Petrović court that was completely at odds with the daily lives of the common people. In his autobiographical work *Bilješke jednog pisca*, Simo Matavulj, a Serbian writer born in Šibenik, gives the following description of the situation in Cetinje he witnessed in the 1880s:

As I saw there huts that can be found only in desolate mountains, in addition to buildings they call courts, primordial people with very few needs, and even less

thoughts, in addition to the people with Parisian manners, or more precisely, acting in a style befitting a person of Parisian manners, countryside habits and way of life, in addition to recently introduced European customs; a feudal spirit of the 19th century (Matavulj, 1975, 75).

The Prince/King of Montenegro had eight daughters and three sons. He sent his daughters to school in Saint Petersburg at the Smolny Institute, the first higher education institution for girls, where French was studied intensively. For his sons Danilo (1871–1939), Mirko (1879–1918) and Petar (1889–1932), he had found a Swiss francophone preceptor, Charles Emile Piguet, who stayed in Montenegro for more than twenty years.

In order to understand the decision of the Prince/King Nicholas I to bring the mentioned Swiss to Cetinje, it is necessary to emphasize that Piguet studied medicine, and that the Montenegrin court lacked doctors at that time. Namely, starting from 1858 until the 1880s, France sent military doctors to the Montenegrin court, who also performed a secretarial function and reported on the situation at the Montenegrin court to France (Bulunj, 2002, 97–113). Prince/King Nicholas I, however, was not satisfied with the last of them Jean Baptiste Feuvrier, because he took an overly critical attitude towards his rule, so he was denied the secretarial function (Jovanović, 2016, 213). In the diary of the Swiss doctor Frédéric Ferrière, who came to Montenegro in early 1876 as a member of the mission of the International Committee of the Red Cross from Geneva, some information characterized as confidential can be found. Namely, not at all satisfied with the French doctors, Prince/King Nicholas I asked to hire a secretary from Geneva for a salary of 8000 francs (Ferijer, 2007, 107).

Immediately after finishing his studies of Medicine in Geneva, Charles Emile Piguet (1859–1918) moved to Cetinje in 1881 to serve as a head teacher and educator of the Prince's sons. His contemporaries point out that he was a highly educated and diligent teacher renowned for his tolerance, culture and responsible approach to his profession. In a travelogue published in 1895, the Swiss writer and painter William Ritter described his second trip to Montenegro in 1893, where he had the opportunity to meet his compatriot. He points out that Piguet spent most of his free time studying the difficult local „Yugoslav language“ which is „sometimes called Serbian, sometimes Croatian, and could also be called Bosnian, Illyrian or Montenegrin“ (Ritter, 1895, 27). Knowledge of the local language enabled him to translate into French and publish literary and scholarly papers, in an effort to present the significance of Montenegro in the Balkans to Europeans. During his stay in Cetinje, he translated into French the play *Gordana* (or *Uskokova ljubav*) written by Laza Kostić, a Serbian writer who worked in Montenegro as a political advisor to the Prince and an editor of the Montenegrin official newspaper (Ritter, 1895, 87). In his travelogue, Ritter further introduces readers to long excerpts of heroic lyricism - epic poems of Prince / King Nicholas I, including an excerpt from the poem *The Poet and the Fairy* written in 1892, which was translated into French, but inedited, by Charles Emile Piguet (Ritter, 1895, 42–52).

The writer and professor Simo Matavulj, who knew Piguet well, emphasises in his autobiographical work that Piguet was young and original and had a poetic soul, as well as a vast knowledge of literature despite being a physician by education (Vukmanović, 1993, 158). Other foreigners who had a chance to meet Piguet in person in Montenegro were also impressed by his well-built physique and the fact that he was almost always wearing Montenegrin garb. In his travel journal published in 1903 in Saint Petersburg, E. Markov, a Russian travel writer, states that this sturdy Swiss resembled a Montenegrin hero rather than a European teacher (Markov, 2005, 368). Henrik A. Angell, a Norwegian captain who came to Montenegro in January 1893, was also impressed by Piguet's strength talking about it in his book *Montenegro on Skis (Crna Gora na Skijama)*:

My neighbour, a French Swiss, monsieur Charles Piguet, who works for Prince, used to bathe every morning. At seven o'clock I would hear him starting his morning cleaning routine by breaking ice in water cans. He was a diligent man working all day round regardless of the cold, incredibly strong and beautiful naturalised Montenegrin, an athlete to the marrow (Angel, 50, 1991).

Charles Emile Piguet indeed spent all day educating the Prince's sons who, to judge from the photos in our possession and oral testimonies from their later childhood years, were not the most diligent students (Jovanović-Bjeloš, 1998, 66). Danilo, the firstborn son and heir to the throne, continued his education at a military academy in Russia, whilst the youngest, Prince Petar, received his education in Heidelberg under the auspices of his sister, Princess Ana (married name Butemberg), graduating in 1907 after getting into mischief quite often (Jovanović-Bjeloš, 1998, 66). Mirko, Nikola's second-born son, was the only one to have children, he composed music and was passionate about horse riding. He wrote music for *Balkanska carica*, a drama by Prince/King Nikola I, and the Prince's anthem (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1017). Mirko's grandson, Prince Nikola II, is currently the head of the Petrović Njegoš house. He is an architect by profession and lives and works in France and Montenegro. He runs the Petrović-Njegoš Foundation, established in 2011 with the aim of developing and promoting Montenegro through various activities of solidarity, environmental protection, innovations and culture.

In 1905, a summary of Piguet's lecture from his book dedicated to Montenegro (*Le Monténégro*, 1905) was published on six pages in No. 44 of the Geneva geography journal *Le Globe*. At the beginning of his lecture, Piguet points out that Montenegro, a country which has fought Turkey for a long time to earn its deserved freedom, is currently led by one of the most unusual European rulers. In his presentation, he talks affirmatively about the economic development of Montenegro during the last two decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, the construction of the first roads, the railway infrastructure which is being constructed by the Italians and the transformation of a seaport in Bar, the only Montenegrin coastal town. In addition to geographic indicators related to Montenegro, Piguet also talks about its

climate and the lack of rainfall during the summer, which often causes famine among the Montenegrins, and their emigration to other countries where they resort to hard labour to survive. Estates in Montenegro are fragmented and the very existence of each Montenegrin depends on a small piece of land, which often provides barely any opportunities for their survival and the survival of their families. Piguet also talks about the education system, which has expanded in such a short time that, according to him, one can rarely meet an illiterate Montenegrin nowadays. He describes the men as beautiful, tall, slender and fearless, and points out that the women are 'splendid companions to their husbands and accompany them also on war expeditions'. In addition to the information on the population figures for the country and its towns, Piguet's observation about military service is also interesting. On one occasion, Piguet attended a military recruitment rally where he noticed many men with grey hair claiming that they were under 45 years of age, so they could continue their active service. Piguet also talks highly and very emotionally of Prince/King Nikola I, describing him as diligent and a skilful poet and national leader (Piguet, 1905).

After fighting fiercely for the recognition of Montenegro, Prince Nikola I, who became king in the meantime, left his country in January 1916 because of the occupation of Montenegro by the Austro-Hungarian Empire and establishment of a military occupation administration. He went into exile with his court and government to France and kept fighting for the integrity of Montenegro by using all possible diplomatic means, but failed to obtain support from the Great Powers. After the Podgorica Assembly in November 1918 and annexation of Montenegro by Serbia, Montenegro de facto ceased to exist. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created, and the Petrović Njegoš dynasty was dethroned, whilst its property was confiscated (Rastoder et al., 2006, 1040). During a fierce campaign led enthusiastically by Prince/King Nikola I in France until his death in 1921, with the aim of restoring independence and returning to his homeland, he had the sincere support of Charles Emile Piguet, who represented the interests of Montenegro in Switzerland. In 1916, the king of Montenegro proposed to Switzerland the opening of a consular mission in Geneva. The mission was entrusted to Charles Emile Piguet, who was appointed Honorary Consul. He remained in this position during an extremely hard period in the history of Montenegro, until he passed away on 24 September 1918 at 59 years of age. During his two-year term, he put a lot of effort into regaining Montenegro's sovereignty at many key locations, establishing a range of diplomatic contacts and activities. Giving him deserved credit, the Royal Government of Montenegro organised his funeral in Geneva at the state's expense in a manner earned by his life and work. At the funeral, Montenegro was represented by its former Government, President in exile Lazar Mijušković. Geneva newspapers published an obituary of the meritorious deceased. (*Glas Crnogorca*, 15. 10. 1918, 3; *Journal de Genève*, 27.09.1918, 4; *Journal de Genève*, 28.09.1918, 5).

In 1893, France decorated Charles Emile Piguet with the Officer's Cross of the Order of the Legion of Honour for his merit and engagement in the education of the Prince's children, and Montenegro awarded him with the Order of Prince Danilo I for independence (Kapičić & Vujačić, 2005, 179).



Fig. 3: Charles Emile Piguet with Prince Petar in Cetinje in 1900 (National Library of Serbia).

CONCLUSION

With this work, we tried to acquaint readers with the hitherto insufficiently affirmed contribution of the first foreign French language teachers in Montenegro, which is reflected not only in their sincere encouragement of Montenegro's cultural development, but their perennial of dedicated work also had an impact on its international recognition. We could freely call the first Francophone teachers from rich European countries, who in the 19th century arrived to the Balkans to the smallest European capital, Philomontenegrins. Namely, staying at the Cetinje court for many years, these missionaries of adventurous spirit had the opportunity to get to know, experience, see Montenegro and its population in one, not only objective, but also intriguing way, get acquainted with the local language from which some of them translated literary works, and became closer to the Montenegrin rulers, and to convey in the original and emotionally colored writings to the Europeans their positive view and praiseworthy experiences about a country hitherto almost unknown to them.

Through the hitherto unpublished analysis of the perception of Montenegrin reality in the works authored by Francophone teachers Henri Delarue and Charles Emile Piguet, it is observed at first glance that Montenegro, its culture, history and tradition are presented in a very affirmative context. The same observations and views on Montenegro can also be found in other autoethnographic records and in the views of their authors, analysed in this paper. Namely, in almost all works, the exceptional courage and fearlessness of the Montenegrin people in defending freedom is underlined, but also the unjust position of the poor country, which was influenced by the geopolitical and strategic context on a larger scale. In the desire to help Montenegro in the key moments for its independence, all three first Francophone teachers gave a strong impetus to its affirmation in three different periods of its history. The controversial French teacher of Njegoš, Antide Jaume, taught his student to be fluent in a language that was considered diplomatic, which enabled Njegoš to draw attention to the ungrateful position of his country in international circles. The drawing of the first Montenegrin border lines with Austria in 1841 is a proof that his mission bore fruit. With the help of his close friend the French consul in Shkodra, Hyacinthe Hecquart, which Henri Delarue discusses in detail in his book, he had great credit for the favorable outcome of the Battle of Grahovac in 1858, after which Montenegro was de facto granted independence. Finally, the French preceptor at the court of Nicholas I, Charles Emile Piguet, who of all Francophone foreign teachers spent the longest time in Montenegro, promoted the smallest Balkan state in elite European circles by translating literary works and by publishing about Montenegro. This eminent doctor and philologist would decide to represent the interests of the Montenegrin government in exile in Switzerland, at a very ungrateful historical moment, immediately after the occupation of Montenegro in World War I in 1916.

Today, Njegoš's residence in the Montenegrin cultural capital Cetinje, built during Jaume's stay in Montenegro, is very popular with tourists. It is named Biljarda after the first billiard table and game, very favored in the 19th century France. Njegoš apparently learned it from his French teachers. Billiards – the so-called Carambol or Carom version (played by Njegoš) – is one of the most popular sports in Cetinje today and is played in the Billiards Club, which is a member of the European and World Billiard Carom Federation. The fact that one of the rulers on the edge of Europe in the Montenegrin mountains in the 1830s had a billiard room also tells us that the influence of the first Francophone teachers was unavoidable for Montenegro. The results and works of the first Francophone teachers (unjustly neglected, in the opinion of the authors of this paper, especially given the slight interest in studying French language and culture in today's Montenegro) have been translated into a testimony that marked the Montenegrin identity and can nowadays serve in creating the brand of Montenegro as a destination.

PRISPEVEK PRVIH UČITELJEV FRANCOŠČINE NA PETROVIĆEVEM DVORU K PREOBRAZBI DRUŽBE IN UVELJAVITVI ČRNE GORE V EVROPI

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POVZETEK

Članek analizira prispevek prvih učiteljev francoščine v Črni gori k razvoju njene družbe v 19. stoletju, to je v času vladavine zadnjih treh vladarjev dinastije Petrović Njegoš: Petra II. Petrovića Njegoša, princa Danila in princa / kralja Nikole. Glede na to, da so francoščino v 19. stoletju uporabljali splošno izobraženi ljudje po Evropi, v takratni Črni gori pa ni bilo učiteljev, so bili prvi profesorji izobraženi tujci iz evropskih frankofonskih držav. Antide Jaume, ki je prišel iz Francije, da bi poučeval Njegoša francoščino, Henri Delarue, ki je bil učitelj in tajnik Danila I., in Charles Emile Piguet, ki je bil učitelj sinov princa / kralja Nikole I., niso bili le redni učitelji, ki so diplomirali iz filologije, ampak karizmatične osebnosti, ki so na podlagi široke izobrazbe ter energičnih in pogumnih prepričanj dale močne impulze za razvoj družbe in družbenopolitično krepitev Črne gore v Evropi v odločilnih trenutkih za njeno zgodovino. Ti učitelji na misiji so se odrekli udobju in blaginji civilizacije, ki so jo uživali v razvitih delih Evrope, in so najboljša leta svojega življenja preživeli na prostovoljnem poslanstvu v skorajda divjini Cetinja ter skušali svoje učence skozi učenje francoskega jezika in kulture približati kulturni Evropi. Poleg poučevanja se njihova vloga kaže tudi v tem, da so Črno goro predstavljali, opisovali in popularizirali v svojih pisnih pričevanjih, potopisnih besedilih, pa tudi z iskreno podporo in verovanjem v potrebo po njenem mednarodnem priznanju. Članek o prvih učiteljih francoščine v Črni gori temelji na dejstvih, ugotovljenih s preučevanjem arhivskega in knjižničnega gradiva, izvirnost pa predstavlja analiza nekaterih periodičnih publikacij, potopisnih besedil in dokumentov spominskega oz. avtobiografskega značaja, ki doslej še niso bili analizirani. Zaključki te analize so prvič predstavljeni v tem članku in predstavljajo pomembno nadgradnjo doslej objavljenim spoznanjem in vir za nadaljevanje znamčenja Črne gore kot destinacije.

Ključne besede: Črna gora, 19. stoletje, črnogorski vladarji, učitelji francoščine, potopisno pripovedništvo, avtoetnografija, znamčenje

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